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**Functions of Social Conflict in Tourism:
Tourism's Impacts on the Kanas Tuva and
Kazakh Settlements, Xinjiang, China**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

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by

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ABSTRACT

The impacts of tourism have been well researched and such studies have developed into a rich body of literature. Equally the subject of social conflict has also been well developed with its own stream of analytical works; for example in western literature one might cite Machievelli's Renaissance work *The Prince*. However, while academics have proposed concepts of community tourism, a lack of empirical evidence remains as to the functions of social conflict and its relationship with tourism development, especially with reference to locations inhabited by minority groups. Firstly, when such a concern does exist, it is directed primarily toward the reduction of conflict. However, conflict can be a necessary and positive part of all social relationships, and a requisite for social change (Coser, 1956). Secondly, conflict is often accompanied by cooperation, unity and the formation of alliances, but in tourism studies the relation between conflict and cooperation/unity/alliance has rarely been discussed. Thirdly, a theoretical base for social conflict is needed to support the empirical studies regarding tourism development and conflict. Fourth, from the perspective of background and context, functions of social conflict are still an under-researched area within multi-ethnic communities affected by tourism.

Based on one year's ethnographic research in Kanas, Xinjiang, China, this study employs Coser's (1956) social conflict theory for a discussion of tourism impacts on ethnic communities. This study proposes a tension-directed tourism development system to analyse tourism impacts. It also provides a useful tool to compare and contrast tourism impacts and their determinants in tourism destinations. Additionally it provides a holistic view and systematic approach to researching tourism impacts. This study demonstrates the nature, forms, and means of the conflict between the groups and subgroups, thereby contributing to an understanding of the extents, approaches and reasons behind the nature of observed tourism impacts.

In undertaking this study, Coser's (1956) 16 propositions are examined and extended by making comparisons between Western and Chinese societies, by applying those concepts to an ethnic community, and by looking at the administrative realities of the Kanas Scenic Area. Based on the differences in culture between Western societies and China, it is suggested that some theories and research methods might need modification in the Chinese context.

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the research background and general structure of the thesis. After a brief introduction to the research, some important concepts for this study are defined and addressed. The significance and purpose of this study are presented. The final section of this chapter then outlines the thesis structure.

1.1 Introduction

Tourism has impacted significantly on indigenous communities around the world in both positive and negative ways. For example, it provides employment and income, and a monetary value for people's culture in a market economy, but the same process has also framed culture for purposes of tourism marketing and development, and induced commercial changes which arguably are at odds with the original meanings of art, rites, dance and other performative representations of a people's culture. Past legacies are subject to re-creation and/or invention by tourism entrepreneurs, governments and tourists, and issues abound as to the authorisation of performance and the power structures behind such authorisation (Ryan & Aicken, 2005). Traditional cultures are vanishing from the world. Thoughts, modes and insights have disappeared with the vanishing of languages and societies. Many surviving societies have been culturally assimilated into more dominant societies, thereby losing their traditional beliefs and value systems. In this process, the places, environments, peoples, languages, values, beliefs, and cultures of these indigenous communities have been thoroughly challenged by the processes of modernisation.

In these indigenous areas, what changes will occur as a result of the contact between outside culture and their cultures? What are the extents, means, and results of tourism impacts on different populations in one community? How do the changes on individuals contribute to the social transformation and cultural change of the whole community? These questions deserve to be answered. One means of answering these questions is to examine tourism as the main determinant

of social and cultural change of the destination, yet it is also important to note that change may be induced or reinforced by other variables like industry, migrants (Smith, 1989a) and, today, access to social media.

From this perspective the Kanas Tuva and Kazakh settlements in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China possess interest as representing a site where tourism plays an important role in its rapid social and cultural change. The author has conducted fieldwork of a year's duration researching the tourism impacts on the community to identify and understand the changes that have occurred.

Coser's (1956) *Functions of Social Conflict* is adopted as the conceptual framework to illustrate this topic within a broader context of the government-directed society. He condenses that "[f]ar from being viewed merely as a negative phenomenon, social conflict was seen as performing decidedly positive functions (p. 16).

Sofield and Li (1998, p. 388) note that "tourism has provided various contradictory forces and interests in China". However, even a cursory examination of the contemporary work on social conflict clearly indicates that the functions of social conflict have been very much neglected as a field of investigation within tourism impacts. It is my intention to fill this blank, even if only partially. Although analogies between large-scale social phenomena such as war and comparatively less complex patterns of interaction, such as in the religious sphere, are always hazardous or extreme, I feel justified here in pointing to similar processes in interpersonal relations when taking into consideration the study area.

Mechanisms of conflict were found to exist and, to some extent, the changes are determined by opposing and shifting alliances and associations among the main groups such as governments, locals, tourism entrepreneurs, and tourists. Conflict and tensions among groups and in-groups establish, maintain, and bring into being a conscious awareness of cultural values, and their market potential. Conflict leads to the formation of new institutions which themselves become a tidemark and which establish new traces and legacies for the future. It also permits the

unification and alliance of individuals and groups for common purposes. A tension-directed tourism development system is therein suggested.

1.2 Research significances, purposes and objectives

1.2.1 Research significances

From a conceptual perspective, the discussion of the relationships among the main groups of the Kanas Scenic Area provides an example of the applicability of Coser's (1956) theory of social conflict's functions. A tension-directed tourism development system is proposed that involves both macro-perspectives and micro-perspectives of tourism impacts. Also, the study extends Coser's (1956) propositions considering the situation of tourism as well as the context of China, especially minority communities.

This research identifies and analyses tourism impacts on different segments of the community, and assesses these impacts while considering the heterogeneity nature of a community. This also contributes to expanding Butler's (1980) destination life cycle model and Doxey's (1975) Irridex model, since both models "assume a degree of homogeneity and uni-directionality in community" (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997, p. 7).

In terms of the researched peoples and the research area, this study provides some insights about 'few-population ethnic group' development in multi-minority communities, which has been under-researched in Chinese studies. Certainly there is a lack of study of the Tuva people of China in the literature in English, as revealed by a search in Google Scholar, and this study fills this gap.

From a methodological perspective, the combination of ethnographic study, questionnaire, and interview aids a more comprehensive understanding of tourism impacts within the Chinese context. Research that is purely quantitative in nature and dependent upon completion of Likert-type questions is poorly sited to capture the nuances of the cultural norms of China, especially when dealing with tourism impacts (Ryan, Gu & Zhang, 2009). Ethnographic approaches are important in

researching the communities of China, even for Chinese researchers.

The practical significance lies in providing recommendations on Kanas's tourism management based on a detailed understanding of the area, and in trying to provide insights about the development of 'few-population ethnic groups' during the processes of modernisation.

1.2.2 Research purposes and objectives

The study has five main purposes. The first purpose is to examine the extent to which Coser's (1956) 16 suppositions can apply to tourism impact studies in China, using evidence from the Kanas Scenic Area, where the two contexts differ significantly, as seen in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Comparisons of the contexts of Coser's (1956) study and this study

Coser's (1956) study	This study
Western settings	China (a government-directed society)
Sociology	Anthropology (ethnic community)
Theory	Reality (the Kanas Scenic Area/tourism)
Past	Today (21 century/globalisation)

The second purpose is to discuss tourism impacts on the Kanas Tuva and Kazakh community in relation to tension and cooperation, which involves a series of objectives:

- To examine the nature and functions of tensions in social relationships between the stakeholders
- To explore the extents, means, and results of tourism impacts on different populations of the community
- To demonstrate the impact of intra-group conflict upon the structure of the ethnic community
- To analyse the impact of inter-group conflict upon the structure of the ethnic community
- To discuss the unification and alliance between groups/individuals.

The third purpose is to establish a conflict-directed tourism development system of ethnic communities. The objectives include:

- To identify and examine the main stakeholders in tourism development in ethnic communities and their relationships
- To demonstrate the mechanisms of tourism impacts from community and inter-personal perspectives.

The fourth purpose is to explore the development of a ‘few-population ethnic group’. The objectives include:

- To address the paradoxes and adaption of the cross-boundary *few-population minority* Tuva people in multi-minority areas in relation to tourism development
- To explore how the Tuva people in the community maintain boundaries with other groups against the background of modernisation.

The fifth purpose is to address the differences between China and Western countries. The objectives are:

- To address the differences between China and Western societies in terms of political systems, economic development, social structures, and culture
- To present the gaps between China’s eastern developed regions and the western developing and even under-developed minority areas
- To suggest that some theories and research methods might need modification for the Chinese context
- To recommend that researchers and scholars researching China should have a detailed understanding about China and appropriately apply Western theories and research methodology within China’s context.

1.3 Thesis structure and research framework

1.3.1 Thesis structure

The thesis is comprised of ten chapters. The current chapter (Chapter one) presents an outline of the research and its significance, goals and objectives.

Chapter two critically reviews the tourism impact literature relevant to this research to establish the theoretical context. In line with the research objectives, a conceptual framework for studying tourism impact is proposed and is tested empirically in the context of the Kanas Tuva and Kazakh settlements in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, China. Chapter three describes the study area and the specific study sites. China, especially its ethnic minorities, is also introduced to provide English-speaking readers with a broader background to this research. Chapter four covers the research methods that were employed in the field research and data analysis. The research challenges and limitations are also discussed.

The discussion is guided by the conceptual framework. In the main body from Chapter five to Chapter nine, the changes to the community are discussed in line with Coser's (1956) 16 propositions. In these chapters each of Coser's (1956) 16 contentions derived from Simmel's work (1955) is clarified, explored within the context of tourism and applied to the case area.

Chapter five describes the stakeholders involved in the study, namely, governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and local ethnic people by providing a description of these groups. The description serves a function by indicating the potential sources of tension that can arise, and how these tensions, following the theoretical work of Coser (1956), help reinforce sense of identity. Chapter six discusses the nature and functions of opposition and tensions in social relationships between stakeholders in tourism development, and Coser's (1956) four propositions regarding these issues are examined. In Chapter seven, the extents, approaches, and results of tourism impacts on the different populations of one community – the Kanas Scenic Area are discussed, and Coser's (1956) three related propositions are discussed. Chapter eight discusses the impact of conflict with another group upon the structure of the indigenous community, in line with Coser's (1956) further four propositions. In Chapter nine, the role of conflict as a means of unifying antagonists is discussed, and Coser's (1956) final four propositions regarding this issue are developed within the context of China.

The thesis terminates with a summary and conclusions in Chapter ten. Based on

the discussions in this study, a tension-directed tourism development system is established. Its theoretical and practical implications are discussed. Specific implications for China, considering China's specific issues, are provided. Some recommendations relevant to the research objectives are identified. Contributions and limitations of the research are discussed as well. Finally, directions for future research are suggested.

1.3.2 Research framework

Figure 1.1 indicates methodology and subject matter of the various components of the research.

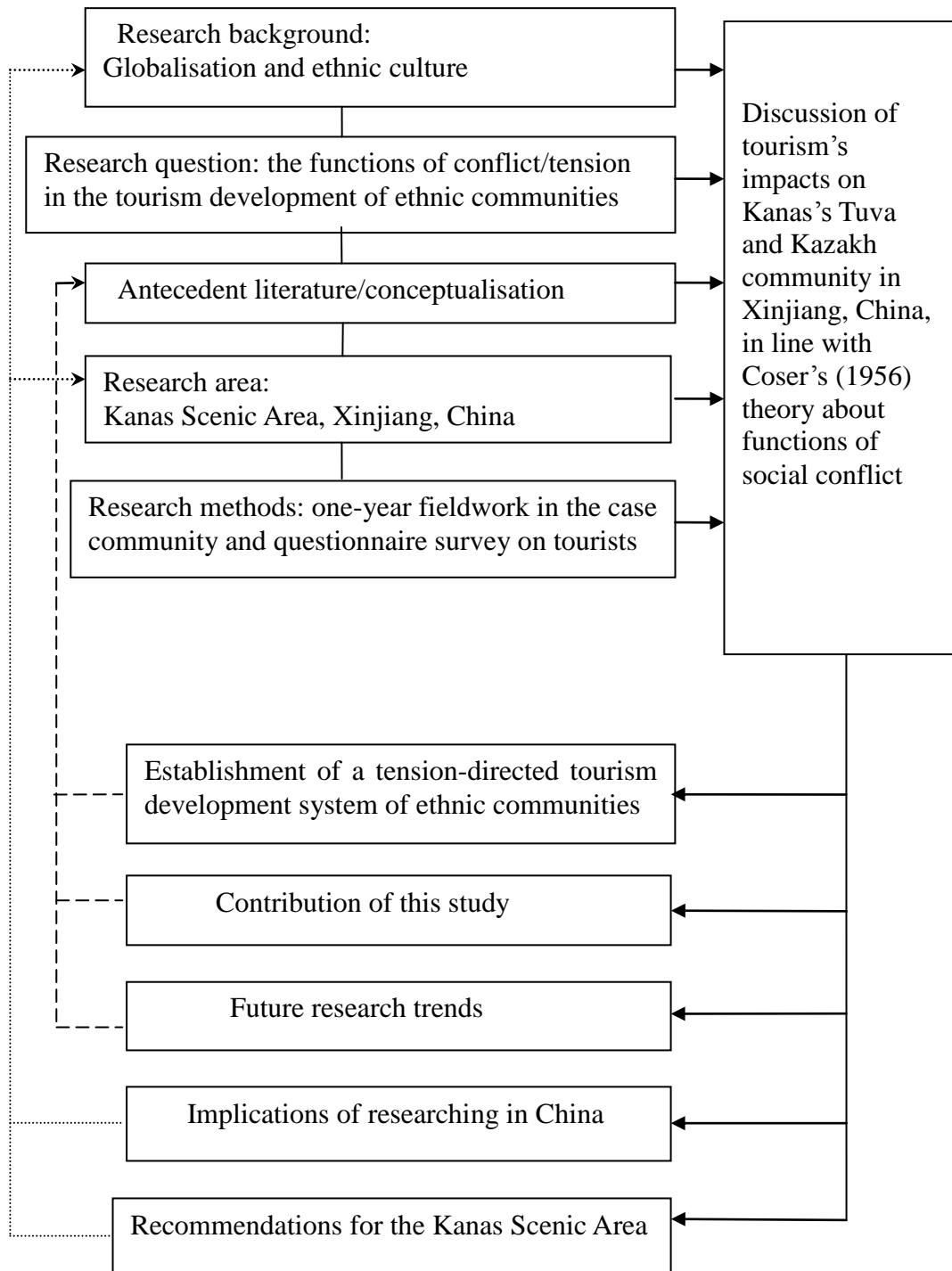


Figure 1.1 Framework of this research

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Tourism's impacts on ethnic communities

The impact of tourism on ethnic peoples has attracted attention among scholars in sociology (e.g. Cohen, 1996), anthropology (e.g. Chambers, 2000; Greenwood, 1977, 1989; Nash, 1977, 1989; Smith, 1977a, 1977b, 1996; Swain, 1977) and tourism (e.g. Fisher, 2000; McIntosh, 2004, McIntosh & Johnson, 2005; Ryan & Aicken, 2005; Ryan, Chang & Huan, 2007; Sofield, 1996; Tucker, 2003). Most of the reviewed studies focus on a specific group at a specific location, such as Hunter-gatherer in Thailand (Cohen, 1996), Maori in New Zealand (Carr, 2007; McIntosh & Johnson, 2005; McIntosh & Ryan, 2007), Eskimo in Alaska (Smith, 1977b), Toraja in Indonesia (Crystal, 1977) and Sa people in Vanuatu (de Burlo, 1996).

The majority of these early studies follow the 'cautionary platform' established by Jafari (1989). Researchers were largely concerned about the negative impacts of tourism, such as the social conflict, crime, commercialisation and degradation of indigenous culture, the decrease of value and sacrilege of religion belief and symbols (Greenwood, 1977; Loeb 1977; Pi-Sunyer, 1977; Urbanowicz, 1977). Kent (1975) defines tourism in Hawaii as a 'new kind of sugar', representing a parody on their premier agricultural export. On the other hand, some studies reflect the characteristics of the Advocacy platform. Mckean's (1977) study about Bali in Indonesia and Deitch's (1977) study about Indians in southwestern United States, among others, emphasise tourism's positive impacts, such as preservation and production of traditional arts and crafts, and enhancement of pride in heritage and ethnic identity. After, the research flows into the knowledge-based platform. The re-study of some communities and re-thinking about some earlier research makes the research more objective and holistic in the broader context that generated it, such as the studies of Smith (1989a) and Greenwood (1989). Recently, it has become commonly accepted that the research about tourism's impacts on ethnic peoples should be within a wider context and holistic, considering the variety of the determinants of tourism impacts.

2.1.1 Tourism's economic impacts on ethnic communities

Tourism is generally seen as leading to an improvement of economic structure, as a major source of income, a major earner of foreign exchange, a means to a better balance of payments, the creation of employment, and as being important for industrialisation and modernisation (Brown, 1998; Ryan, 2003; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). It has been shown that tourism could modify patterns of land ownership, increase competition within the new circumstance, and weaken state intervention in agriculture (Wall & Mathieson, 2006) under some circumstances. Income also accrues indirectly to industries and governments in the form of indirect taxation from customs duties, sales taxes and revenues from state-owned or financed tourism businesses (Brown, 1998). Although economic success may fail with significant long-term costs (Ryan, 2003), profit is still often emphasised in indigenous areas (Bratek, Devlin, & Simmons, 2007).

Tourism has been regarded as a means of changing economic structure and generating employment in vulnerable economies (Brown, 1998; Wall & Mathieson, 2006), as seen in many cases. It has changed the production pattern of Nepalese Sherpas from agriculture to trekking tourism which has increased the number earning a wage in each household at any one time (Adams, 1992). It has directly transformed the slash-and-burn cultivation economic base to a post-modern economy in Wulingyuan community of China's Hunan Province (Wu & He, 2003). Income obtained from tourism can contribute to indigenous economic independence and self-determination (Dyer, Aberdeen, & Schuler, 2003).

Wall and Mathieson (2006) list four economic characteristics of tourism industry. First, tourism is an invisible export industry. Second, tourists require goods and services in destination areas, such as transportation, water supplies, and these have to be created or expanded depending on the situation of tourist areas and the extent of the demand from tourists. Third, tourism is integrated with other sectors of the economy. Fourth, tourism is unstable and is subject to many factors, such as seasonal variations and unpredictable external forces. It can be inferred that,

although tourism may bring an indigenous area economic profit which is often needed urgently; it would be highly vulnerable for these areas to depend solely on tourism.

It has been frequently addressed by researchers (e.g. Ryan, 2003; Timothy, 1982) that opportunity cost must be considered when evaluating tourism and its impacts. The employment in tourism may destroy the balance of the former economic system and then bring social problems. In Tonga, locals abandoned local food production to acquire tourism jobs for greater cash income, which induced the country to import product, and additionally inflation and all other services increased in cost (Urbanowicz, 1977, 1989).

2.1.2 Tourism's socio-cultural impacts on ethnic communities

According to Fox (1977), socio-cultural impacts of tourism are the ways in which tourism is contributing to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family structure and relationships, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organisations. Cohen (1985, p. 385) divides sociocultural impacts of tourism into ten themes: “community involvement in wider frameworks, the nature of interpersonal relations, the bases of social organizations, the rhythm of social life, migration, the division of labour, stratification, the distribution of power, deviance, and customs and the arts”.

Studies show that as a result of tourism, the social structure of ethnic communities may experience some changes (Ireland, 1993; Tucker, 2003; Wu & He, 2003). The assessment of social status, gender role and population structure may subsequently differ after the introduction of tourism from that which existed previously. Tourism may gradually change the traditional social hierarchy in the community. The decline of a traditional economy that was dominated by primitive economy has restructured the social roles of women and men (Ireland, 1993; Wu & He, 2003). Women have more chance to work in public places, directly earn income into bank accounts, to be in charge of financial matters of the family, and

therefore increase their social positions (Swain, 1977; 1989). Lesser numbers of local men leave to big cities to seek work. Instead, they open tourism business, or do other jobs in tourism at home (Tucker, 2003). Tourism creates a need for expatriate labour services and migrants into the community (Cukier, 1996).

Generally, tourism has brought both positive and negative impacts to ethnic communities. Ethnic culture has been devalued and damaged in some tourism destinations. Some studies have stressed the commoditisation and degradation of ethnic culture, and the degradation of sacred sites (Oakes, 1998; Swain, 1989; Xie, 2001), while in other cases it has aided the enhancement of indigenous society, as in New Zealand (Ryan, 2003).

Within the context of China, Guo (1993) discusses the impact of tourism on ethnic culture from three perspectives: (1) it encourages the revival and continuation of customs and traditions, (2) it selects particular customs and traditions for development, and (3) it creates a new culture, which is more developed and modernized while at the same time based on quaint ethnic traditions and customs (as cited in Oakes, 1998, pp.140-141). Oakes (1998) further suggests that ethnic culture is not only reproduced to meet the demands of commodity production, but also is invented and manufactured in order to meet the local desires for economic integration and tourism development, as well as to contribute to the cultural construction of an alternative modern China. He identifies two dominant ideologies regarding the production and commodification of ethnic culture in China. On the one hand, preserving traditional ethnic culture has become important for China's nationalism and modernisation; on the other hand, there is a pursuit of economic and cultural development to combat rural poverty (Oakes, 1998). Ethnic culture, which is promoted as both investment enticement and tourism commodity, becomes important for the economic development in China (Oakes, 1998).

Tourism's sociocultural impacts on personal value systems

During the interaction with tourists, residents' values, ethnic identity and

community attachment experience changes (Fisher, 2000; Gu & Ryan, 2008; Liu, 2006; Tucker, 2003).

Values

Values and morals are created in order to sustain 'form of life' (Wittgenstein, 1952). Pioneering work on value systems was carried out by Rokeach (1968) who proposes three assumptions: (1) some beliefs and values are more important than others to an individual, (2) the more important a belief the more it will be resistant to change, and (3) the more important the belief the greater the consequences should it change. Tourism's impacts on hosts would be considered as negotiation between outside influence and their traditional value systems, and the impacts on individuals will be various (Tucker, 2003).

Some studies are largely concerned with the erosion of ethnic peoples' values. According to Hofstede (1983), within groups, moral values encourage people to comply with what are accepted as local norms because this reduces levels of uncertainty. However, the awareness of business opportunities, competition and risk brought by tourism might replace the traditional values (Liu, 2006). In some minority tourism areas of Guizhou, China, some locals ask their kids to beg money from tourists, instead of going to school, because in the eyes of the hosts, all tourists are 'rich' and should give money to 'poor' people (Wu & He, 2003). The values of these people have been changed from their traditional value of diligence and honesty (Wu & He, 2003). The wealth of tourists induces envy and materialistic desires of locals but beyond fulfilment, thereby adding to the reinforcing of local feelings of deprivation.

Ethnic identity

Against different background, locals' ethnic identity may be enhanced or decreased. The enhancement of ethnic identity through tourism has been proved in Bermuda (Manning, 1979), Cajuns (Esman, 1984), Bali (McKean, 1989) and Yunnan, China (Swain, 1989), among other areas. Many factors contribute to this, including the outsiders' appreciation of their local culture (Crystal, 1979; 1989) and the revival of their traditional handwork (Deitch, 1977). According to Hillman

(2003), tourism development of Shangri-La has increased ethnic awareness and has stimulated the rejuvenation of culture for Tibetans whose traditions were previously ridiculed and suppressed. On the other hand, tourism has been proven to have opposite impacts on ethnic identity of different local segments. Some ethnic peoples, especially young men, begin to doubt their ethnic identity and turn their back on their religion and tradition (Tucker, 2003).

Place identity/attachment

Generally, place attachment means the relation or link between people and specific places (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). In terms of the spatial dimension, it normally means the community/neighbour level attachment (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) measure place attachment within three spatial ranges (house, neighbourhood, and city) and two dimensions (physical and social) and reach three conclusions. (1) Although people show stronger feelings to social attachment than physical attachment, both components should be considered. (2) The city is the strongest in terms of physical attachment and the home is the strongest in terms of social attachment. (3) Women show greater attachment than men in all cases. People show higher general place attachment as age increases, though the attachment levels are different in terms of spatial levels and dimensions. However, this study fails to provide further information about the reasons why people show different levels of attachment towards different spatial places and dimensions.

According to Gu and Ryan (2008), tourism's impact on a vibrant community may have impact on place attachment because of the potential changes that can occur. Economic benefits should be considered with reference to the extent of people's place attachment. In Laos, people who lived far away from tourist areas moved to gain better access to tourists groups, yet the people then found it difficult to get used to the new environment (Suntikul, 2007).

Tourism's impacts on social and cultural values

In the early studies, there was a common criticism that the commercialization of culture causes the missing of traditional cultural values (Cohen, 1988; Greenwood,

1977, 1989; Swain, 1977; Urbanowicz, 1977). As van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) state, “the very presence of tourists transforms the native into a ‘toree’ who fake his culture to satisfy thirst’ interest for authenticity at the same time that the tourist invasion assaults his culture and subjects it to the homogenizing process known as modernization” (p. 346).

Tourism debases local forms of cultural expression (MacNaught, 1982). But the phenomenon is much more complex, according to Greenwood (2004) as evidenced in his revision of his previous comments about the performance in the book edited by Smith (1977a). Greenwood (1977) describes the tourism impacts on a public ritual in Alarde Fuenterrabia of Spain, which was once the holiday of all the residents of the town. Before tourism was introduced, all the residents participated in the ritual and celebrated it for themselves. However, since tourists came, fewer people participated and the city council had to pay people to participate for visitors. Turning a traditional and local festival into a tourist spectacle destroyed its meaning for local people, according to Greenwood (1977).

After it was published, other scholars began to reference Greenwood’s arguments about commoditisation which identifies it as one of the more important works in tourism. However, subsequent researchers obtained different conclusions to those of Greenwood in terms of the Alarde Festival. Young describes the festival as, “a vibrant and exciting ritual which took place in a town alive with expectation and emotion...the people, far from feeling that the Alarde was an obligation to be avoided, were enthusiastic in the preparations and enactment of the week long festival” (as cited in Wilson, 1993, p. 37). She attributes the decline of the festival during Greenwood’s visit to the politics rather than the invasion of tourists; the municipal government was viewed as corrupt and dominated by the Spanish bureaucrats (Wilson, 1993). Young criticises Greenwood’s argument that tourism development led to the commoditisation of the Alarde. Greenwood subsequently revised his analysis about the festival and commented in his work, “it is not that my critique of tourism’s cultural impacts seems wrong, but I now experience the way I researched and delivered this judgment to be professionally self-serving” (Greenwood, 2004, p. 167). Wilson (1993), therefore, addresses the importance of

a longitudinal approach.

Smith (1977b) suggests that 'model culture' and regional planning could protect authentic culture. According to Smith (1977b), both can avoid the disruptive aspects of large numbers of tourists on the host people and satisfy visitors' needs for knowing the 'other'. However, both solutions require further researched. Are locals satisfied with being 'modeled' for protecting authentic culture? A 'model culture' may lead to a 'staged inauthentic culture'. In terms of planning, could the planning meet the demands of local people? Such issues were not discussed by Smith (1977b).

On the other hand, studies have shown that it may be possible to preserve primary culture values while at the same time exploiting them in an alien sphere - the marketplace (Crystal, 1989; de Burlo, 1996; MacNaught, 1982) - in specific areas, or even incorporate and/or innovatively establish their traditional value system in tourism (Adams, 1992; Tucker, 2003). Swain (1977) provides an example of Panama's traditional blouse that remained a key point of ethnic identity as well as a very successful commercial product. According to de Burlo (1996), Sa people in South Pentecost of Vanuatu were extremely careful to control the *gol* (tower) event in the presence of tourists, to retain a quality of authenticity. Furthermore, Sherpas in Khumbu of Nepal incorporated foreigners' economic resource into their traditional life through strategic and innovative establishment of their patron-client relationship within tourism (Adams, 1992). It seems, then, that the debasement of cultural events varies with the success people have in adopting strategies that maintain a duality of meanings attached to these events (MacNaught, 1982).

Tourism impacts on forms of culture

Ritchie and Zin (1978) identify 12 sociocultural elements that contribute to the cultural attractiveness of a tourist region. They are: handicraft, language, traditions, gastronomy, art/music history, work, architecture, religion, education, dress, leisure activities. Conversely, these elements may become the aspects on

which tourism might have an impact. In Sulawesi Indonesia, the religious textiles used only in family religious ceremonies have been sold by some hosts to meet the expense of tertiary education, travelling or to purchase cars (Crystal, 1989). The extent of tourism impact on each element may vary. In Zhenshan Village of China Guizhou Province, changes on dressing, recreation and entertaining, architecture and language are more profound than on other items (Shen & Wang, 2003).

Language is fundamental to social life (Giddens, 2001). The extent to which minority language is still spoken is an indicator of the magnitude of social assimilation, the strength of the culture and identity of ethnic peoples (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). With reference to direct interaction between tourists and locals, ethnic peoples may be required to communicate with tourists in the tourists' own languages, since few tourists would speak the host's tongue (White, 1974). Economic benefit stimulates ethnic peoples to learn the tourists' languages. People who provide service or products for tourists are more likely to demonstrate their language skills, to attract tourists to purchase their product or service, though the language may be confined to 'tourist talk' (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). White (1974) assumes that ethnic peoples copy tourist behaviour and aspire to achieve similar status, which will stimulate them to learn the language tourists speak and replace their own languages with the dominant.

Some studies show that traditional indigenous arts and crafts have been changed by tourism; not only in the styles and forms, but also in the meaning for ethnic peoples and the purpose for production (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). This happened among Indians in south-western United States (Deitch, 1977), Bali (McKean, 1977) and Inuit in Canada (Smith, 1996). Some studies indicate that tourism has accelerated the scarcity of traditional arts and crafts (Crystal, 1977, 1989), induced a deterioration of meaning of the art and its significance and in some cases, constituted a sacrilege of religious and mythical symbols (Loeb, 1989). On the other hand, under some conditions, some scholars indicate that tourism contributes to the preservation and production of traditional arts and crafts and enhances pride in heritage and the ethnic identity (e.g. Deitch, 1977). Wall and

Mathieson (2006, p. 276) suggest four attributes that influence whether the changes on arts and crafts are positive or negative: workmanship, relationship between the art and the producer, motive for art production, and the quality of production.

Anthropologists conclude three major stages of traditional art forms change resulting from outside effort: (1) the disappearance of traditional art and craft forms and artistic designs, particularly those with religious and mythical meanings, as well as the creation of new art and crafts for the new demand; (2) the growth of unsophisticated art and craft forms with stereotypical designs which are produced under the mass advanced techniques; (3) the resurgence of skilful craftsmanship and distinctive style with the meaning of the host society culture (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 272). Tourism plays a role in promoting these stages.

Tourism normally accelerates the production of traditional arts in Stage 2. Smith (1996, p. 294) suggests that craft production repeats traditional guidelines in the Swiss watch industry; that is “minimal raw materials + maximum skilled labour = a product of high value and marketability”. In some minority areas of China, the production of ethnic crafts is driven by maximising gross production to meet the demands of tourists or to generate any income-earning opportunities. Tourism may also accelerate Stage 1. In the case of Iran, the large demand for the antique and other arts and crafts lead to a scarcity of the traditional sophisticated art and crafts, which unfortunately, stimulates the mass production of phony antiques (Loeb, 1989).

The utilisation of ethnic culture by outsiders and governments

As seen in a number of countries, ethnic culture is represented and marketed in order to create cultural exoticism, to establish local distinctiveness, to encourage commercialism, and to enhance the links between local ethnic traditions and the nationalism of modern China (Oakes, 1998). Traditional ethnic culture is being used and marketed by governments and the tourism industry as a resource for attracting tourists and investments and at the same time for promoting economic

and cultural development and ethnic unity (Yang, 2007). The dominant society and its economic interests may develop 'authentic' tourism products and market the 'exotic' image of indigenous peoples motivated by profit rather than by any genuine concern about presenting indigenous peoples in a sensitive and just manner (Silver, 1993). 'Brokers' and 'cultural broker' are found in all cross-cultural situations and likely to bring major social and cultural change (Brown, 1992). Traditional ethnic festivals, pilgrimages, and historical events have been utilised to construct an image of authentic ethnic traditions (Oakes, 1998; Sofield & Li, 1998).

Governments and entrepreneurs are the main powers in developing ethnic tourism in China, but most of the powerful are not members of the ethnic communities (Yang, 2007). This permits a pastiche of the culture in promotion. In Sofield's (1999) case study on Yunnan, China, the most important image of the Stone Forest used by the state to promote ethnic tourism is of a distinctive pillar known as Ashima, which is outlined in tourism literature as a legendary Sani maiden who was turned into stone while resisting a rapacious overlord. It is in fact an artificial construction taken from many Sani folk story elements. The Sani people themselves never called the pillar Ashima or considered her as their representative. However, today Ashima has been used for cultural integration by the state and for cultural identification by the Sani entrepreneurs. Ashima represents the State's appropriation of a major symbol of Sani identity and signifies Sani integration into the Chinese political economy with her image and name on everything from cigarette brands to tourist souvenirs (Sofield, 1999).

According to Lei (1992), ethnic cultural commodification in China is a bridge between ethnic groups and modernisation; the goal is to sell, develop, and modernise ethnic culture. The preservation of traditional ethnic culture, and how to represent and market authentic ethnic culture and articulate ethnic traditions in relation to tourism development and modernisation in China have attracted attention from not only researchers but also governments.

2.1.3 Determinants of tourism impacts

The determinants of tourism impacts are complex. According to Prasad (1987), the magnitude of the impact is dependent upon a number of factors such as the nature of the society, its flexibility or resilience to change, the size of the host population relative to the number of visitors, the degree of dependence of the society upon tourism, and the economic state of the society. Ryan (2003, pp. 152-158) suggests several variables that should be considered in discussing tourism economic impacts: tourism development of the destination area, the level of economic development of the destination area, the nature of the tourist facilities and their attractiveness, the degree of foreign or out-of-region ownership of hotels and tourism infrastructure, the employment of non-indigenous labour, the infrastructure provided by government, tourist types, and their association with other parts of economy.

Urry (1990, 2002) identifies a number of determinants of the level of actual or potential impact of tourism:

- the number of tourists in relationship to the host population and to the scale of the objects being gazed upon,
- the predominant object of the tourist gaze,
- the character of the gaze involved and the resulting spatial and temporal “packing” of visitors,
- the organization of the industry that develops to service the mass gaze,
- the effects of tourism upon the pre-existing agricultural and industrial activities,
- the economic and social differences between the visitors and the majority of the hosts.
- the degree to which the mass of visitors demand particular standards of accommodation and service so that they should be enclosed in an environmental bubble to provide protection from many of the features of the host society.
- the degree to which the state in a given country actively seeks to promote tourists developments or alternatively endeavours to prevent them, and

- the extent to which tourists can be linked to economic and social developments.

According to Urry (2002, pp. 53-54), the negative impacts of tourism development often result from the huge number of tourists and their seasonal demand for services, the gendered work available, the geographical concentration of visitors, the lack of concerted policy response, the cultural difference between hosts and guests, and the many visitors to be enclosed in expensive 'environmental bubbles'. In terms of the types of impacts of ethnic tourism on host communities, Martinez (2003) further suggests that the particular features of the destination, the local culture, the party who controls the tourism development and how tourism is developed should also be considered.

The factors such as politics, tourist gaze, and host-guest interaction that closely related with stakeholders are reviewed in Section 2.3: Stakeholders in tourism development of ethnic communities.

2.1.4 Implications

The impacts of tourism on ethnic peoples have been well researched; however, there is a lack of a holistic view and systematic research for better understanding tourism's impacts. More studies considering the multiple factors including tourists, government, tourism enterprises, local people, and tourism development of the destinations are needed.

Most studies are case studies focusing on a specific group at a specific location. One result is that many such studies lead to different conclusions when discussing the same topics, due to the differences of political systems, economic development, social structures and minority cultures in varying research sites. "There is no universality in the application of these frameworks" (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 231). It indicates that a framework may only be used under some conditions, and may show different features when the conditions change. This study will examine the application of western theories in a Chinese background.

In addition, most impact studies in English literature focus on the impacts of western tourists on ethnic peoples. There is a lack of studies about the impact of domestic tourists on ethnic peoples within a Chinese and Asian setting (Yang, 2007). In many Asian countries, domestic tourism strongly shapes and disseminates ethnic images and stereotypes of ethnic groups (Li, 2004), and the majority of tourists are domestic tourists. Therefore, the impacts of domestic tourists on ethnic peoples need future research.

2.2 Social conflict in tourism development of ethnic communities

Social conflict was mentioned in the early tourism impact studies that characterised the 'cautionary platform' (Jafari, 1989). Those studies were mainly concerned with negative perspectives, such as crime, commercialisation and degradation of indigenous culture, the decrease of value and sacrilege of religious belief and symbols (Greenwood, 1977; Loeb 1977; Pi-Sunyer, 1977; Urbanowicz, 1977).

Conflict of interest, values and goals happens between stakeholders. Examples are the conflict between the indigenous owners of the land and the foreign investor over tourism development (Sofield, 1996), the conflict between ethnic community and outsider entrepreneurs over economic benefits from tourism (Crystal, 1989; Goering, 1990), and the conflict between tourists and locals towards limited resources (Urbanowicz, 1977).

Cultural conflict, as one of the themes of tourism impact studies, has been addressed by researchers, such as the studies in the book *Tourism and Cultural Conflicts* (Robinson & Boniface, 1999). According to Robinson (1999, p. 7), cultural conflicts occur on a regular basis at different levels and between different interest groups in tourism. Robinson (1999) provides four dimensions in which cultural conflict happens: tourism industry-host conflicts, tourist-host conflicts, tourism-tourist conflicts, and host-host conflict. The determinants which influence the conflict between tourism industry and host community are: (1) the nature and extent of the commodification of the host culture; (2) the utilisation of natural

resources and its cultural resources; and (3) the degree of economic dependency of the host community on tourism.

Some researchers emphasise the tensions between national and regional priorities and ethnic identity (Oaks, 1992, 1997, 1998; Swain, 1989) in Asian and Pacific countries (e.g. Picard & Wood, 1997) including China (e.g. Sofield & Li, 1998). In a discussion of tourism development and cultural policies in China, Sofield and Li (1998) suggest that the tensions arising from the application of socialism, the changing and updating of traditions and the demands of economic development threaten to destabilise the nation. For example, opening the Tibetan Potala Palace to tourists raises a series of political and ethical issues involving political domination, forced assimilation, lack of empowerment, discrimination, exploitation practiced by the majority society, economic impoverishment and cultural degradation (Sofield & Li, 1998).

Economic benefit has been a major subject of conflict. It has been commonly believed that tourism brings economic benefit to tourism destinations; however, the economic benefits may not be distributed evenly across different groups. In Toops's (1992) discussion about the relationship between Han tour guides and ethnic groups in Xinjiang, China, the direct tourism income accrued disproportionately to Han as middlemen. Who should be the main beneficiaries from tourism development is always the target of conflict and tensions in developing countries. Conflict and tensions over economic benefits from tourism happen between ethnic community and outsider entrepreneurs (Crystal, 1989; Feng, 2008; Goering, 1990), between local people and local tourism administration (Feng, 2008), and between other different groups and subgroups.

In Feng's (2008) case study of Fenghuang County, Hunan Province, China, the local government sold the development and management rights of some tourism sites to large profit enterprises for 50 years, and the hierarchy of the degree of involvement in tourism and economic benefit among different groups are (from higher to lower): the Phoenix Ancient Town Tourism Company, the local officials and their relatives, local residents that happen to own property at the resorts, local

residents investing in small businesses and the majority of local residents (Feng, 2008). Tensions thus arise between the local government and the enterprises, between the local government and peasants, between local residents and the enterprises, and between the residents and tourists (Feng, 2008).

As minority people are growing more aware of their marginalised position and demanding that more benefits be shared, the tension between the minorities and Han entrepreneurs has intensified, such as in Banan, Yunan (Yang, 2007). Therefore, Yang (2007) suggests that true 'mutual' economic development and 'reciprocal' relationships need to be established between tourism developers and the minorities for long-term harmonious development to avoid the tensions; the legislation governing the regulation of tourism operations also need to be enhanced.

Generally, Swain (1989) identifies four paradoxes encountered in indigenous tourism development: state regulation versus ethnic rights; museumification versus cultural evolution; cultural pluralism versus integration; the state promotion of indigenous ethnic minorities to attract foreign tourists while prejudice relegates minorities to a weaker status in the majority society. Xie (2001) and Yang (2007) further develop this framework in the discussion of cultural authenticity and ethnic tourism planning separately within a context of national tourism. Furthermore, Yang (2007) addresses the specific characteristics of China in terms of the four paradoxes as follows:

- (1) State regulation versus ethnic autonomy. The Chinese central government defines ethnic groups, manipulates patterns of tourism and regulates the tourism market. Ethnic peoples, however, desire more autonomy to control their own resources and destinies.
- (2) Cultural exoticism versus modernity. As a result of increasing exposure to modern lifestyles through mass media, more and more ethnic people are demanding the benefits of modernization.
- (3) Economic development versus cultural preservation. Modernization can result in the loss of traditional culture. On the other hand, attempts to preserve a traditional culture by denying the opportunity for progress – and thus change

- can condemn a culture to marginalization and impoverishment.
- (4) Authenticity versus cultural commodification. Cultural commodification may lead local people to change their behaviour to meet tourist' demands, which further brings a loss of traditional activities and authentic aspects of cultural manifestations.

Within multi-ethnic communities context, Medrano (1996) broadly divides conflict into violent conflict (e.g. Bosnian conflict) and institutionalized conflict (e.g. Quebecois Nationalism), and between ethnic conflict involving territorially concentrated indigenous groups (e.g. Tamils and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka) and ethnic conflict involving ethnic groups that are not territorially concentrated (e.g. African-Americans and the white majority in the USA). The latter generally involves a host majority ethnic group and one or a number of immigrant minority groups.

Swain (1989) provides three resolutions of paradoxes in ethnic tourism which are articulation of the state political economy, the capitalist expansion of international tourism, and the local mixed subsistence and cash economy. Political autonomy is a key factor in indigenous tourism (Swain, 1989).

However, few studies are concerned with the functions of conflict and the relation between conflict and community development. Some evidence suggests that ethnic conflict may reduce the citizenship rights of particular ethnic groups and the multicultural character of a particular society (Medrano, 1996). On the other hand, community bonds have been enhanced because local groups become united against outside enterprises and against the local government, such as in Fenghuang County of China (Feng, 2008).

2.3 Stakeholders in tourism development of ethnic communities

The stakeholder theory, pioneered by Freeman (1984), suggests that an organisation is characterised by its relationships with various groups and individuals, including employees, customers, suppliers, governments, and

members of the communities. According to Freeman (1984, p. 46), a “stakeholder in an organization is (by definition) any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objectives”. Stakeholder theory is often addressed in tourism planning studies. Many researchers address the need for increased collaboration in the planning process (Byrd, Bosley, & Dribberger, 2009; Jamal & Getz 1995; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Sun, 2009). Sautter and Leisen (1999) address the alignment of the stakeholder orientations, and suggest that “if players proactively consider the interests of all other stakeholders, the industry as a whole stands to gain significant returns in the long term” (p. 326).

Accordingly, the identification of stakeholders is often from a tourism planning perspective, and hence sometimes with reference to specific planning projects. On the basis of Freeman’s (1984) stakeholder theory, Sautter and Leisen (1999) define tourism stakeholders as local business, residents, activist groups, tourists, national business chains, competitors, governments and employees. In the case of the tourism planning of China’s Guilin City, Bao and Zhong (2002) identify the stakeholders as tourists, non-local tour operators, business sectors (collective business sectors and private market), tourist attraction developers, service businesses, tourism administrative bureaus, and local residents. Such identifications may be helpful for defining the future development regarding each stakeholder in practice. However, it seems that the categorisations lack criteria; in other words, why are they identified as stakeholders? Additionally some groups and subgroups are not identified. There may be some overlaps and some stakeholders identified may become mistakenly classified as simply one stakeholder. If we take a closer look, we may find that, in the study of Sautter and Leisen (1999), the local business and residents may be identified as one group since they share some common benefits, and local business and residents who are not involved with business may be two subgroups, since they also have different demands. It is the same as in the case of Bao and Zhong (2002) that tourist attraction developers, non-local tour operators and service businesses may be identified as the subgroups of one group - tourism entrepreneurs, since all of the three parties are directed by interest but with different business orientation.

Swain (1989) generally identifies three units as the primary groups in indigenous tourism development: nation state, tourism industry and ethnic group. Byrd et al. (2009) defines residents, entrepreneurs, government officials, and tourists as four separate stakeholder groups in eastern North Carolina and report the differences between each stakeholder's perceptions of tourism's impacts on the rural community. The authors realise that the judgment of 'positive' or 'negative' may differ among different stakeholders in communities (Byrd et al., 2009) and suggest that "if each stakeholder group comes to the meeting with an open mind and willingness to listen, this type of meeting may lessen the conflict between stakeholder groups" (p. 698). However, it seems equally likely that planners and groups may ignore fundamental differences and the different demands of the stakeholders and this can intensify the potential for conflict.

In the context of Chinese ethnic-based tourism, the same four groups have been identified several times as the key players in tourism development: governments at different levels, tourism business, visitors and ethnic communities (Xie, 2001; Yang, 2007). According to Yang (2007), tourism has raised the tensions between the state, entrepreneurs and ethnic people due to their diverse goals and interests (see Table 2.1). However, Yang (2007) mainly discusses the conflict between different groups, but provide little information about the intra-group conflicts. Each of the four groups has different motives, goals, objectives in relating to tourism. These groups, in reality, have different status and power which may change over time.

Table 2.1 Comparisons of stakeholder groups' attitudes toward four contradictions in ethnic tourism

	State regulation & ethnic autonomy	Cultural exoticism & modernity	Economic development & cultural preservation	Authenticity & cultural commodification
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The government at different levels functions as planners, regulators, coordinators, arbiters and investors in the process of tourism development. •They encourage involvement of minority people in tourism, but also stress governmental macro-control of the tourism market and limit ethnic autonomy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government encourages both modernization and the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness. •They have designated a series of minority villages as tourist spots to meet the demand for mass tourism. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic development through tourism is highly supported by the government as an effective way to improve local livelihoods and to foster economic independence of ethnic minorities. • The preservation of cultural diversity is also encouraged. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The state policy provides authoritative rhetoric for cultural commodification. • The local government is facing a dilemma between providing authentic tourism resources and commodification of ethnic culture.
Tourism entrepreneurs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enterprises tend to cooperate with the government to gain political and/or economic capital. • They do not encourage ethnic autonomy, and few of them are willing to hand over economic power to minority people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entrepreneurs are very concerned about the disappearance of traditional ethnic architecture. • They play a dominant role in defining what the essential aspects of authentic minority culture are, and determining what should be revived, developed and preserved in ethnic villages. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic benefits are the driving force for tourism enterprises to preserve and construct ethnic images for tourist consumption. • Preservation of minority culture has been emphasized in the rhetoric concerning the management of cultural attractions and folk villages. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entrepreneurs are the key actors in sifting and selecting aspects of ethnic culture to produce authentic cultural images that meet commercial needs and tourists' interests. • Tourism businesses position selected aspects of minority culture in an entertaining way to appeal tourists.
Tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourists want the government to regulate the tourism market and promote ethnic tourism development. • Most tourists are not aware of ethnic autonomy and only a small number consider ethnic autonomy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural exoticism of ethnic groups is the primary attraction for tourists. • Tourists have little chance to interact with minority people and only see staged cultural shows, and few of them can obtain authentic experiences of the traditional lifestyle of minority people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourists make a significant contribution to local economies through purchasing souvenirs and participating in tourist activities. • Mass tourists consume local cultural resources, and only a few are concerned with cultural preservation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most tourists have little knowledge of ethnic cultures and they judge authenticity depending on stereotyped images. • Tourists' perceptions of authenticity are blurred and fluid.
Ethnic minorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The control of tourism resources and development by ethnic people is weak. • There is a growing awareness of and desire for autonomy among ethnic communities and they require better communication between the government and local people/communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic communities have been facing the challenges of coping with a market economy and modernization. • Minority people have put high priority on making money and pursuing a modern lifestyle. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Older minority people tend to be concerned about cultural changes and advocate preservation of traditional culture. • The need for making a livelihood is a major concern for young minority people, but cultural preservation is not an important issue for them. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The perception of authenticity is strong in ethnic communities. • Although most minority people perceive that ethnic tourism increases cultural commodification, only a small number of people (mainly elders) are concerned that staged shows make ethnic culture less valuable

Source: (Yang, 2007, p. 250)

2.3.1 Governments

The importance of who makes the decisions regarding the tourism direction and development has been discussed by many researchers (e.g. Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Nunez, 1977; Swain, 1977). Political power is important in terms of the tourism impact on the quality of life (Swain, 1977), local people's control of tourism planning and financing (Reiter, 1977) and the redefinition and reallocation of local resources to be used in tourism development (Mbaiwa, 2005; Reiter, 1977). Governments decide when, how, and with whom they would interact in its development, because governments have the legal right to control entry through their borders, to admit some individuals by grant of a visa and restrict others (Smith, 2001, p. 279).

In terms of governments' involvement in the tourism sector in developing countries, Jenkins and Henry (1982) make definitional distinctions between passive and active involvement. Active involvement is seen as a deliberate action by government to favour the tourism sector. Passive involvement, on the other hand, occurs where government undertakes an action which may have implications for tourism but is not specifically intended to favour or influence tourism.

Urry (2002, p. 105) suggests several reasons why local states have been involved in both developing and promoting tourism. First, tourism presents one of the only opportunities available for generating employment. Second, the structure of ownership in tourism towns means the council is often the only agent with the capital to invest in new infrastructure. Third, tourism may help local states obtain funding from central government to initiate projects which may also benefit residents.

Thirty years ago, governments' involvement in tourism in most developing countries was required not only to attain long-term objectives but to compensate for the absence of a strong and tourism-experienced private sector (Jenkins & Henry, 1982). Today, with an emerging private sector capability of many developing countries, especially of Asia, a cooperative relationship between government and private sector for development purposes is not uncommon. In some areas of China, such as Fenghuang County of Hunan Province (Feng, 2008), the local government policies were largely influenced by outside commercial forces since the government depended on the enterprises to bring in capital to develop the local tourism. From the macro perspective, the government of China has encouraged foreign investment since initiating the 'Four Modernizations' policy to rapidly bring the country into the world economic system (Lew, 2000). This endeavour is also embodied in the local governments' policies. Ethnic tourism in China, sometimes, is used as an 'enticement' by local government for external investment in local economic development (Oakes, 1998, p. 10). In addition, tourism may also be used as a support for existing political leadership and power structures (Reiter, 1977). These changes, especially the emerging development of many developing countries including China, require a re-examining of the involvement of government in tourism.

The issue 'who in community X are the power holders?' (Emerson, 1962) is especially crucial in discussing tourism in the Chinese background. Some studies about China (Fan, Wall & Mitchell, 2008; Gu & Ryan, 2009; Sofield & Li, 2007) specifically refer to the roles of government and call for attention on further study about China's specific political environment and the powerful influence of government.

The long-standing oscillation in China's ethnic policies between assimilation and integration has been identified as the main obstacle to expanding minority

autonomy and the development of tourism and the economy (Sautman, 1999). In the process of assimilation, the ethnic groups are losing their own features and becoming a supplementary part of the majority through Hanification (Yang, 2007). According to Sofield (2003), without empowerment, sustainable tourism development by communities is difficult to attain.

Tourism is regarded as one of the main vehicles of cultural development and national integration (Oakes, 1998). “Throughout the countries of ASEAN, centralized states are directly involved in all aspects of tourism promotion and development” (Oakes, 1998, p. 39). “Tourism is regarded as an important development strategy that will result in a modernized national culture with a civic sense of commitment and a common sense of identity.” (Oakes, 1998, p. 39) “The ethnic tourism industry is promoted as a means of ‘cultural development’—in which development and modernization objectives are coupled with rhetoric of preservation and heritage” (Oakes, 1998, p. 229). On the other hand Zeng and Ryan (2012) criticise pro-poor tourism policies in China for failing to more properly target those who are really poor by adhering to institutionally based policies than effectively support power elites in villages, for it is the village that is the unit of the policy, not low income groups. The role of NGOs is thus potentially important, but these are underdeveloped in contemporary China.

The opening up of China to tourism was an integral part of Deng Xiaoping’s “Four Modernizations” policy, with the aim to rapidly develop China’s economy and further bring it into international level. In some places of China such as Guizhou and Yunnan which has regional ethnic diversity, the promotion of tourism as a means of achieving multi-national modernization has become a central feature of tourism development (Oakes, 1998). A substantial tourism industry is being developed around minority cultures. Tourism becomes one of the most promising industries for the ethnic community development in China (Swain,

1993). Oakes (1998) regards the promotion of tourism by locals as a struggle to become subjects of “an unfinished modernity” (p. 223).

In recent years, the state has strongly supported multiculturalism and encouraged minorities to maintain their cultural distinctiveness. It is hoped to establish an environment conducive to national political and economic integration, geopolitical security and patriotism when promoting cultural diversity (Xie, 2001). The state’s charge of commercialising the rural economy makes tourism one of the more desired approaches toward this goal for many rural areas (Oakes, 1998). Tourism is perceived as the best means for many ethnic communities to escape rural poverty and the dependence on an increasingly degraded resource base (Oake, 1998). Oakes (1998) suggests that ethnic tourism is very suitable for the poor minority regions with harsh but scenic mountainous environments and socio-cultural distance from modern Chinese economies and lifestyles. The separation of local residential areas and tourism areas has been a prominent feature of local government policies of China as the government creates National Parks and Reserves for which entry fees are charged and from which populations are moved (Feng, 2008). Eberhard (1962) predicts that the fate of China’s minorities was either assimilation or to become “a live museum, the objects of tourists who look at them as if they were exhibition pieces in a museum, quaint but not fully human” (p. 161).

According to Sofield and Li (2007), how to reconcile the centripetal and centrifugal forces operating on ethnic tourism in China is a fundamental issue. “Tourism policy formulation has had to contend with the centrifugal tensions of socialism, modernization, and traditional culture, while providing the CCP with an avenue to reconcile at least some of the contradictions” (Swain, 1989, p. 35).

2.3.2 Tourism entrepreneurs

Entrepreneurs play a critical role in regional and global tourism development. In terms of the organisation of the industry, several questions should be considered: whether it is private or publicly owned and financed; whether it is locally owned or involves significant overseas interests; whether the capital involved is predominantly small or large-scale business; and whether there are conflicts between the local population and the emergent tourist industry (Urry, 2002).

The appearance of outside entrepreneurs and developers may have economic, social and cultural impacts on the tourist area. On the one hand, entrepreneurs can make significant contributions to tourism development in the Third World (Echtner, 1995). They bring market awareness, an awareness of the role of competition to the community, and have profound impacts on the local entrepreneurs, especially young men (Liu, 2006).

On the other hand, the negative impacts of foreign or non-locally owned and/or managed larger-scale tourism projects have been much criticised in the tourism literature (Echtner 1995). Rodenburg (1989) notes that due to economic leakage, transnational enterprises were not as effective as originally believed in increasing foreign exchange revenue and employment opportunities. Driven by economic profit, they pursue the maximum of the number of tourists and the amount of profits. They bring economic profit for local peoples by providing employment to them; however, they may ignore the negative social impacts on local people. Equally they promote aspects of a destination's culture, though for economic profit, thereby accelerating the social and cultural change of the area, but not necessarily in ways that reflect an original cultural pattern (Liu, 2006; Xie, 2001).

Economic liberalization and the decentralization of administrative power since the

mid-1980s have provided increased opportunities for Chinese entrepreneurs to participate in tourism. The tourism businesses tend to be dominated by Han managers from the outside of the region rather than local minority communities. Handicraft production and sales can serve as an example. In the early stage of tourism development of Xinjiang, China, tourism greatly promoted the ethnic handicraft industry that were the Uygur people's ethnic markers, such as carpets, atlas fabrics, musical instruments and doppa, that have now become iconic tourist souvenirs (Toops, 1993). The tourism crafts industry supports socio-economic change that, in turn, may promote cultural identity (Swain, 1989). However, as both tourism development and tourist demand rapidly grew, Han tailors from other parts of China migrated into these minority areas to mass-produce ethnic handbags, costumes and embroidered vests and tunics to sell to tourists (Yang, 2007). Alternatively, producers manufacture the products in South China and transport the products to many destinations of China. The main beneficiaries of tourism development are often the non-local investors and operators, while minority people who once made an income from small-scale tourism are frequently marginalized as they can hardly compete with experienced Han entrepreneurs (Yang, 2007).

Authenticity is shaped by entrepreneurial interests, bureaucratic mandates and minority economic necessities (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). Production is orientated towards profit. Craft factories are less concerned with cultural preservation and long-term benefits and more interested in earning current profit (Yang, 2007). Entrepreneurs generally are well aware of the power of economic development and cultural evolution, particularly that acculturation has challenged the exotic ways of minority life. Ying and Zhou (2007) suggest that, tourism developments in China, predominantly occupied by externally owned and operated enterprises, cannot be sustainable.

Thus, Yang (2007) suggests that more stable and effective tourism policies and regulations should be established to protect ethnic resources from non-local investors' profit-orientated operations. She further calls for fostering ethnic entrepreneurship and to encourage community based and minority-controlled businesses in future tourism development, but she also admits that to eliminate Han-owned and operated tourism enterprises is undesirable because in part they help to engender a demand for products.

2.3.3 Tourists

Tourists are one of the critical stakeholders in tourism development of ethnic destinations. Their motivations for visiting ethnic attractions, perceptions of ethnic product features, and satisfaction with their experiences are important indicators of tourism development and its impacts on destinations. Studies about tourist motives and gazes are reviewed in this section, while the interaction between tourists and locals are reviewed in the next section under the theme of 'Local ethnic people'.

According to Yang (2007), with the growth of ethnic tourism in recent years, the category of ethnic tourists has been expanded from a limited number of visitors motivated by curiosity and elite peer approval (Smith, 1977a, p. 4), to not only a special type of tourist who travels to observe the exotic cultural expressions and life-styles of ethnic peoples in remote villages, but also to those who consume ethnic products at cultural parks in metropolises as well as ethnic reunion travellers who are motivated by reunion with their cultural roots (King, 1994).

Tourists have undesirable 'demonstration effects' on residents (MacNaught, 1982). According to Fisher (2000), three kinds of imitations should be considered: accurate imitation, inaccurate imitation and social learning. Researchers must consider 'whether local people are correctly or incorrectly imitating tourists'

consumption patterns or whether local people are observing different behavior patterns and adapting them to local conditions and culture' (Fisher, 2000, p. 69). The inhabitants of destinations are not un-reflexive to the tourists' gaze (Maoz, 2005; Volkman 1990).

Tourist motivations

According to Murray (1964, p. 7), "A motive is an internal factor that arouse, directs and integrates a person's behaviour. However, a trip is rarely compelled by one single motive" (Crompton, 1979; Crompton & Mckay, 1997; Mansfeld, 1992). According to Crompton and Mckay (1997), this multiplicity may occur at individual and aggregate levels. At the individual level, a visitor may have a series of needs which he/she desires to satisfy through a (festival) visit. At the aggregate level, different visitors may derive different benefits from the same tour experience. This means motivations of tourists are highly complex. Some studies suggest that only a minority tourists are 'purposeful' cultural tourists or highly motivated for cultural tourism reasons (Ryan & Huyton, 2000, 2002). For most tourists, to meet local people is not their first motivation (McIntosh & Ryan, 2007). For example, Maori culture was not the primary motivation for visits to New Zealand (McIntosh, 2004; Ryan, 2005a).

Push and pull factors are used very often in the studies discussing tourist motivation (Crompton, 1979; Crompton & Mckay, 1997; Dan, 1977). 'Pull' factors are those which attract tourists to a resort and whose value is seen to reside in the object of travel. 'Push' factors refer to those factors that drive tourists to travel (Dan, 1977). Although early studies focus on push factors, increasingly researchers turned to discuss both push and pull factors (e.g. Crompton, 1979).

Crompton (1979) suggests a conceptual framework consisting nine motives for

travel. Seven of these motives follow socio-psychological motivational domains, including escape from a perceived mundane environment, exploration and evaluation of self, prestige status, relaxation, enhancing kinship and relations, regression, and facilitation of social interaction. Novelty and culture are classified as cultural factors. Furthermore, Crompton and McKay (1997) identify six motive domains with reference to visiting festivals, including cultural exploration, novelty/regression, recover equilibrium, known group socialization, external interaction/socialization, and gregariousness.

However, it needs to be addressed that tourists' motivations expressed by tourists may not be fully consistent with their needs in reality. Lundberg (1972) believes that what the travellers say about their motivations for travelling may be only reflections of deeper needs which they do not understand nor wish to articulate. According to Ryan and Huyton (2005), there is often a gap between the premise behind the promotional effort and what are the tourists' real interests. "Tourists (say they) wish to interact with Aboriginal people pre-tour, but where a product offers that opportunity, it attracts far smaller attendance than the staged events" (Ryan & Huyton, 2005, p. 54). Therefore, the understanding of what tourists want from the destination requires not only knowing their motivation pre-tour but also their experience at a destination.

Tourist gaze

Tourist gaze, often objectified in the camera, is said to have the power to create a cultural revival (Bruner 2005), commodify local culture (Philp & Mercer, 1999) and cultivate new forms of self-consciousness amongst the local citizens (Tilley, 1999). Considering the great differences between tourists and ethnic people in terms of language, culture and educational attainments, the impacts of tourist gazing on the locals require to be addressed.

Nature, other environments, and humans are transformed into objects that are passed from person to person (Urry, 2002, p. 129). Urry (1990, 1992, 2002) suggests that the tourist gaze is directed by anticipation and daydreaming, by the promotional narratives of the tourism industry, and by cultural stereotypes and expectations. "Gazes organize the encounters of visitors with the 'other', providing some sense of competence, pleasure and structure to those experiences" (Urry, 2002, p.145). Within an ethnic tourism background, Volkman (1990) suggests that the object of tourist gaze is the local ethnic culture to be scrutinized, admired, photographed, and brought home. In such circumstances, the local culture becomes separated from society, and becomes an aesthetic object or even a commodity to be consumed.

However, few studies have tried to discuss the relation of different 'gazees' and the consequent impacts on locals. Natural environment (Urry, 2002) and the local culture (Philp & Mercer 1999; Volkman, 1990) as the main 'gazees' are normally separately discussed. Although Urry (2002) has noticed that tourist gaze therefore transforms from a romantic gaze to a collective gaze, he neglects a fact that romantic gaze and collective gaze may co-exist and a scenic area could be attractive both for its natural beauty and local culture. The relation between different 'gazees', such as landscape and local culture need to be further researched.

In terms of 'gazers', many studies put emphasis on western tourists, and even particular classes (e.g. Urry, 1990, 2000). Few studies in English literature are concerned with the gaze of eastern tourists. Eastern people are commonly discussed as working in service sectors (Urry, 2000) or as 'gazees' (Volkman, 1990).

Regarding context, there is a lack of English language literature discussing the

tourist gaze of domestic tourism in Asian societies. The theories of the tourist gaze reveals the attitude of most western researchers and the power and authority western tourists hold on the inhabitants of the places they visit. Many studies about the tourist gaze are about western societies, for example Britain (Urry, 1990; 2002) and New Zealand (Perkins & Thorns, 1998). Much of Urry's analysis draws mainly on British tourism, but Urry implicitly suggests that his conceptual framework can be equally well applied to places and people outside Europe (Leiper, 1992).

2.3.4 Local ethnic people

Ethnic minorities are an important stakeholder group in tourism development of ethnic destinations. The studies about local ethnic minorities' attitudes towards tourism, the interaction between 'hosts' and 'guests', and local minorities' involvement in tourism are briefly reviewed in this section.

The attitudes of hosts towards tourism

To know locals' attitudes towards tourism is a good approach to research impacts of tourism. Ryan (2003, p. 277) provides several reasons to explain why residents' attitudes towards tourism are important: residents may have contact with tourists; residents are potential employees in tourism businesses; residents pay local taxes; residents vote; residents may bring pressure to planning procedures, and residents are potential customers. These factors seem to work well in contemporary tourism in western societies; however, many of them would not be the case in ethnic tourism in many developing countries. For example, residents may pay no tax in some ethnic communities. The political systems in many developing countries are different from those of many western countries (Tosun, 2000). 'Residents and other stakeholders participation in decision-making has not been recognized as

important in planning documents, nor has it been addressed in practice' (Timothy, 1999, p. 383). Because of the economic impacts of tourism, most residents in the longhouses of Malaysia welcome tourists to visit at any time, as long as the community benefited (Bratek, et al. 2007). In addition, residents could hardly be consumers in ethnic destinations. Importantly, it does not mean research about locals' attitudes towards tourism is not important; it emphasises the necessity of analysing within specific backgrounds.

Maoz (2005) proposes a concept, 'local gaze', which is made up of images and stereotypes about the tourist, suggesting that tourists' gaze and behaviour influences the local gaze, a situation which in turn affects the behaviour of both the host and guest populations. The gazes interrelate and are thus termed 'mutual gaze' (Maoz, 2005).

Based on a broad literature review about residents' attitudes toward tourism, Lankford and Howard (1994) list independent variables that can influence resident attitudes towards tourism: length of residences, economic dependency on tourism, distance of tourist area from residents' residence, resident involvement in tourism decision making, birthplace, level of understanding about tourism and the local economy, level of contact with tourists, demographic characteristics, perceived impacts on local outdoor recreation opportunities and community growth rate.

Perdue, Long and Allen (1990) indicate personal benefit from tourism development influences locals' perceptions of tourism impact. Many anthropologists suggest that the 'prestigious people' in the community and the culturally marginal people are likely to be innovators within their own communities and/ or the first to accept and possibly promulgate an alien trait or behaviour (Nunez, 1977). In addition, there will be a generational difference in the ways and extents that different subgroups respond to the same elements, such as

tradition. In Goreme, middle-aged men would consider returning to the way of traditional life after immersing themselves in tourism for a period; while young men who have grown up with tourism constantly learn tourist behaviour, and are reluctant to be restricted by traditional codes (Tucker, 2003). Therefore, further analysis of subgroups is needed.

Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* systematically discusses the attitude of ethnic people towards tourism. The most frequently used words in the book are 'colonialism', 'decolonizing' and 'imperialism', which indicates her concern about the lower position of the ethnic people in the society. Smith (1999) argues that the term 'research' is closely linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The indigenous people do not differentiate scientific or 'proper' research from forms of amateurish collecting and film making. "We are the most researched people in the world" is a comment the author heard frequently from several different indigenous communities. It should be taken seriously as to the sense of weight and unspoken cynicism about research that the message conveys (Smith, 1999).

The way in which many ethnic people define or understand tourism differs from what is accepted in 'western' tourism (Berno, 2007). The communities in Ulu Batang Ai of Malaysia expect that tourism, if it were develop at their longhouses, can solve all problems and they will all become business operators (Bratek et al., 2007). According to Pi-sunyer (1977), in the eyes of the hosts-Catalan Maritime community people, tourists are 'faceless' and interchangeable with each other. The host elaborates cultural categories through a process of selecting some traits and ignoring others (Pi-Sunyer, 1977). The Turkish villagers in Tucker's (2003) study believe that tourism is about entertaining people' (p. 151); 'tourism is all negative' (p. 162).

The interaction between 'hosts' and 'guests'

A significant literature deals with locals and tourists after the publication of the seminal collection by Smith (1977a) entitled "*Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism*". The studies are mainly about the locals, the interaction between the two parties (e.g. De Kadt, 1979; Inskip, 1991; Tosun, 2000; Zhou & Ma, 2009), and the impacts of 'guests' upon 'hosts' (e.g., Fisher, 2000; Ireland, 1993; Tucker, 2003; Wu & He, 2003). Different kinds of host-guest relations have been researched and indexed into stages (Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975).

The two terms 'hosts' and 'guests' have undergone several revisions over the years. In most early studies, 'hosts' are generally assumed to be inhabitants in the destination following the concept initially established by Smith (1977a); however, reality is always much more complex than theory. Kenna (1993) proposes a question "who are the hosts?" when tourism development is supported by expatriates, returned migrants or overseas interests (as cited in Selwyn, 1996, p. 4). McNaughton (2006) points out that many local Ezhava families have moved into the relatively new role of landowners, landlords, and employers in tourism development. In terms of 'guests', Pi-Sunyer (1977) addresses the question that local residents regard tourists as strangers and foreigners, rather as guests. Equally importantly is that these two terms should be used with caution if they lack deeper meanings and significance, since these terms often lead to a sense of warmth, hospitality and welcome (Aramberri 2001; McNaughton, 2006).

In addition to the discussion of the concepts above, many authors have identified the limitations of this host-guest paradigm. Some researchers call for an attention to the mobility between the two concepts, suggesting that people adopt both roles of 'hosts' and 'guests' in differing contexts (Duval 2003; Hall & Jenkins 1995; Mordue 2005; Sherlock 2001). The studies of mediation between 'hosts' and

'guests' expand the field of actors by adding 'brokers' (Smith, 2001; Ying & Simkin, 2009; Zone & Farthing, 2007) and 'mediators' (Brown, 1992; Jennings & Weiler, 2006) into this framework. Hence, for example, outsider handicrafts traders in a tourism centre in India are seen as hosts by international tourists, but are seen as uninvited outsiders or interlopers, rather than as guests by locals (McNaughton, 2006). It is true that this framework is an inefficient way to explain the complex interactions in mass tourism (Aramberri, 2001; McNaughton, 2006), but it does not mean the paradigm requires to be discontinued.

Smith (1977) appears to have designed the framework in the early stage of indigenous tourism development. Hence, it is possible that this framework could still be helpful to analyze the host/guest related issues in such circumstances even today. It is crucial to clearly identify who are the 'hosts' and who are 'guests'. Even in mass tourism, 'hosts-guests' relations may still exist, but has developed into variations. Host may become guests, and guests may become hosts. For example, traders who are not members of the year round resident community act as hosts to attract tourists. To some extent, these traders have become temporary permanent residents of a tourist area community since they are present for several years/seasons (Chris Ryan, email, January 4, 2011).

'Hosts' can be understood from four perspectives: (1) A man who lodges and entertains another in his house (Oxford English Dictionary, 2011b); (2) the 'host' in tourist eyes (The 'host', whether resident or not, interact with tourists and perceived by tourists as a local person); (3) the host of local culture (the authentic hosts tourists expect to interact with); (4) the host of tourism enterprises (e.g., the operators, managers, and waiters in tourist restaurants and accommodations). The 'hosts' that tourists expect to interact with are the 'hosts' that are perceived by tourists from the perspective of local heritage culture rather than from the perspective of residency. This is especially the case in multi-minority areas.

Although both Mennonites and Amish inhabit Crystal Side in the United States, tourists expect to interact with Amish because of their special culture, not Mennonites (Cong, 1991, 1994). Although there are Tuva, Kazakhs, Hui, and some Han people living in the Kanas Scenic Area, tourists expect to experience Tuva culture because it is this culture that forms a focus for destination promotion.

According to Wolf (1977), sociocultural impacts are the effects on the people of host communities of their direct and indirect interactions with tourists (as cited in Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 220). The context of the encounter, the frequency of direct interaction, and the difference of tourists and hosts' sociocultural characteristics all have influence on the extent of sociocultural impacts on locals. De Kadt (1979) lists three contexts where tourists and hosts encounter: tourists purchase goods or service from the hosts; they come side by side without communication; and they communicate to exchange information and ideas. Brown (1998) further suggests that social impacts may arise as residents are faced with unaccustomed behaviour and demands from tourists.

The extent of difference between tourists and hosts' sociocultural characteristics influence the extent of interaction. Inskeep (1991) suggests that these variables include: basic value and logic system; religious beliefs; traditions; customs, lifestyles, behavioural patterns, dress codes, sense of time budgeting, attitudes towards strangers. It needs to be noticed that tourists will take different attitudes and behaviour codes when they are away from their normal environment. That means the culture of tourists during travelling is different from the culture when they are at home (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

Involvement of local minorities in tourism

Involvement in tourism may not only change the relationship of an ethnic group

with the state and other groups but may also change the relationships of individuals and institutions within the minority groups (Wood, 1984, 1993). Ethnic minorities are often involved in lower level positions with lower income than the non-locals who are often in managerial positions in many ethnic communities around the world. The degree of participation is often influenced by education level and the type of skills possessed by the ethnic minority (Cukier, 1996). In many places of China, ethnic people are normally in a weaker position in the competition with experienced Han entrepreneurs who are better educated, well funded and have access to planning and business intelligence; ‘marginalized people’ who have little cultural capital, limited access to resources and lack access to decision-making systems can hardly become risk-takers and innovators (Yang, 2007).

Noticeably, some minorities have shown a remarkable talent for expressing their own increased concern for preserving and reviving ethnic characteristics while utilizing tourism to extend their political influence and strengthen their identities (Hansen, 1999). In some minority regions of China, such as Guizhou (Oakes, 1998), ethnic tourism development is a response of the local entrepreneurial middle and upper classes to new economic opportunities (van den Berghe, 1992).

Some ethnic peoples participate in tourism by selling some aspect of indigenous heritage, including their expertise, cultural artifacts, their homes and traditional lifestyles (Butler & Hinch, 1996), such as vendors (Cukier, 1996), business operators (Loeb, 1977) and homestay operators (Wall & Long, 1996). ‘For a native population, an understanding and use of their habitat and heritage, their history of culture contact, and their attitudes and values toward their creative arts are of prime importance for ethnic peoples’ (Smith, 1996, p. 304). Mass tourism offers extended markets and served to heighten artistic productivity for the Indians of the southwestern United States (Deitch, 1977).

Locals not only copy the behaviour of tourists, but also of each other and outsider entrepreneurs. Villagers in Goreme copy the behaviour of each other (especially the villagers involved in tourism business) to remain equal, and such copying snowballs rapidly to become normalised into a new custom (Tucker, 2003). According to Benedict (1934, p. 37), some changes are easily absorbed into some slightly different cultural patterns, and once becoming traditional, they will be given the same importance and value as the older patterns had in other generations. Fisher (2000) emphasises the relationship of demonstration effect with the non-tourist factors, such as television, videos and newspapers.

Resident participation in developed and developing countries is different, due to the differences in terms of economic, sociocultural and political conditions (Tosun, 2000). In many developing countries, a participative approach has been recognised as local people working in tourism or operating a small scale business (Tosun, 2000). “Residents and other stakeholders participation in decision-making has not been recognized as important in planning documents, nor has it been addressed in practice” (Timothy, 1999, p. 383). Given the fact that managers of tourism enterprises are always Han people and minority people are typically lowly-paid labourers, ‘true’ ethnic autonomy does not exist in the Han-dominated tourism industry (Yang, 2007).

Within a Chinese context, Zhou and Ma (2009) compare and contrast the advantage and disadvantage of resident involvement in tourism in two villages. Wang villagers participated in tourism through investing, building, and operating family hostels in a newly created tourism attraction village; while Dong villagers provided accommodation in their own houses that were certificated as family hostels by the local administration. There were more villagers in Dong Village than in Wang Village that participated in tourism and enjoyed the improved facilities and infrastructures; while Wang villagers engaged in tourism operations

obtain more profits. It has shown that an involvement approach largely influences the type and scale of tourism impacts on residents.

Some researchers (e.g. Echtner, 1995) call for developing small-scale, locally owned enterprises and providing tourism education for entrepreneurial development as essential to cultivating an indigenous business sector of resources. For their part Zhang and Zhang (2006) and Zeng (2006) stress the importance of training for ethnic people.

2.3.5 Implications

The main groups (governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and local ethnic people) play different roles in the tourism development of ethnic areas. Tensions and conflicts exist among stakeholders. For the government, tourism development has sought to package and standardise ethnic culture into an exploitable resource for modernization, thus necessitating the production, preservation, and representation of an 'authentic' cultural heritage that contributes to nation building (Oakes, 1998). For tourism entrepreneurs, they are more interested in economic benefits. Economic motives often outweigh other goals in tourism business. As Oakes (1998, p. 158) suggests, whether propagandized as poverty alleviation or legitimized as cultural development, tourism for those most actively involved in its development is simply about making money. For tourists, they visit ethnic destinations for multiple purposes, and their real motivations are often inconsistent with those they express verbally or in response to a survey. Their gazing and travelling behaviours influence locals. For local ethnic people, they are often marginalised or disadvantaged economically and politically and they have a low level of control over their resources and tourism activities. Noticeably, tourism permits the occurrence of more sub-groups with different demands and broadens the differences and demands between sub-groups. The influence of their

different demands and their positions in the society merits more detailed research.

2.4 Tourism and ethnic people in the Kanas Scenic Area

The studies about Tuva people can be divided into several categories:

- (1) The studies on the history and ethnicity of Chinese Tuva people such as *The Mongolian and 'Tuva people' in Xinjiang Altay Region* (Guo & Tu, 1987) and *The Research on Tuva People* (He, 2001);
- (2) More comprehensive research on Chinese Tuva people, such as *Fieldwork and Research of Xinjiang Tuva People's Social Culture* (Nankuaimodege, 2009) and *The Evolutionary Game of Ethnic Group: The Study of Chinese Tuvinians* (Guan, 2009);
- (3) Popular journals that involve the introduction of Tuva people to a wider non-academic audience, such as *Visit at Kanas Tuva Community* (Wang, 2006);
- (4) Those papers and articles concerned with some specific issues of the people including culture and its relation to tourism, such as *The Lifestyle of Chinese Tuva People* (Wang & Wang, 2007) and *The development strategy of Xinjiang Kanas Tuva community* (Dong & Kan, 2005).
- (5) The studies on Tuva language, such as *Tuva Language Studies* (Wu,1999); and
- (6) Studies written by officials and writers about Chinese Tuva people, such as *Kanas Tuva People* (Zhang, Ma & Wu, 2009) and *The Book about Tuva People* (Wang, 2005).

The publications in categories (2), (4) and (6) are more related to tourism. Some studies in the second category that approach Tuva culture based on one year's fieldwork are more detailed and comprehensive, and have proposed some insightful arguments, such as the studies of Nankuaimodege (2009) and Guan (2009).

Based mainly in Hemu Village, Nankuaimodege (2009) comprehensively introduces Tuva culture in relation to ethnicity, history, lifestyle, production means and lifestyle from an anthropological perspective. She provides some description about the changes occurring within Tuva people in tourism development, though it is only one part of the whole work. Conflict of Tuva people with other stakeholders is provided but there is a lack of detailed analysis.

Based mainly in Baihaba Village, Guan's (2009) study discusses the evolution of Tuva people in the interaction with external forces that shape their history. He suggests that Tuva's social-cultural system is deconstructed by ethnic identity and modernisation. The driving force of the evolution is the competition for self-interest and resources; the fundamental concern is about protection of social-cultural system, and the direct cause is the desire for development and pressure from outer groups. The need for benefit is over the needs for cultural protection. The study provides a rationale for the evolution of Tuva culture: game playing. It is mainly concerned with the Tuvas in Baihaba Village rather than the other two villages where tourism plays an important role in the evolution of the society. The conflict and alliance of other stakeholders are less involved in this work, which is not the subject of the work.

Some books in the category (6), such as *Kanas Tuva People* (Zhang, Ma & Wu, 2009) and *The Book about Tuva People* (Wang, 2005), illustrate Tuva culture with beautiful photos and interesting stories, and have become promotional materials for tourism.

The studies in relation to tourism impact on Tuva people can be categorised into Category (4): those concerned with some specific issues. These studies have just emerged in recent years (e.g. Kan, Yang & Dong, 2009; Zeng, 2006; Zhang, X-L & Zhang, H.-X 2006; Zheng, Jiang & Zhao, 2006; Yao & Tian, 2007). All the

studies are in Mandarin except the study of Wang, Yang, Chen, Yang and Li (2010). Some studies are largely concerned with the negative consequences, such as the unfairness of economic profits distribution (Zheng, et al, 2006), the leakage of economic profits to outsiders (Zhang, X-L & Zhang, H.-X, 2006), inflation (Zheng, et al, 2006), the reduction of ethnic values (Dong & Kan, 2005; Zeng, 2006; Zheng, et al, 2006), the change of traditional dress and architecture (Dong & Kan, 2005), and culture commercialisation (Dong & Kan, 2005; Zeng, 2006). According to Dong and Kan (2005), Tuva culture is being assimilated by the outside influences. On the other hand, a few studies indicate the positive consequences of tourism (Zeng, 2006; Zhang, X-L & Zhang, H.-X., 2006), which is often from economic perspectives, including higher incomes, more employment opportunities, and a higher standard of living (Zhang, X-L & Zhang, H.-X, 2006). According to Zeng (2006), tourism strengthens the ethnic identity of Tuva and promotes the communication with outside, and promotes the revival of local culture.

A number of studies are from the product-market perspective (e.g. Dong & Kan, 2005; Zhang, X-L & Zhang, H.-X, 2006; Zheng et al., 2006). Tourism's impacts on Tuva people, especially the negative, are presented as one of the problems and consequences of Kanas tourism development. These studies provide a series of recommendations about future tourism development in terms of ecological tourism development, leisure tourism development, Tuva cultural marketing and managerial capacity building.

Zeng (2006) examines the applicability of social exchange theory, acculturation theory and Doxey's Irritation Index in explaining the sociocultural impacts of tourism on Kanas. According to Zeng (2006), Doxey's Irritation Index is not applicable to Kanas. Although Kanas tourism has come into the rapid development stage, residents are still 'enthusiastic' and thrilled by tourist

development, largely because of pecuniary gains. Although Zeng (2006) suggests social exchange theory and acculturation theory are applicable, he does not further adopt the theories to explain the changes.

Based on a questionnaire survey on 40 people (36 locals, 2 specialists and 2 officials), Kan et al (2009) argue that tourism has strong economic, sociocultural and environmental impacts on the Tuva community. Income, land and house prices have changed greatly. Results indicate that resident participation in tourism is still low, and Tuva culture and the community harmony have been greatly devastated (Kan, et al, 2009).

Generally, the studies from anthropological perspectives are more detailed, comprehensive and have proposed some insightful arguments. The examples are the studies of Guan (2009), Nankuaimodege (2009) and Zhang, et al. (2009), though tourism is only one theme of their discussion.

Comparatively, the studies from tourism perspective, especially those on tourism impacts on Tuva people, are descriptive and exploratory, lacking a fundamental conceptualisation. These studies fail to discuss impacts on different groups. A community comprises individuals with different interests (Liu & Var, 1986). The extents, forms and results of impacts on different people will be different. Some studies stress the involvement of Tuva people in tourism, and propose recommendations, such as strengthening their education and training (Yao & Tian, 2007) and providing opportunities for them to be involved in decision-making and planning process of community (Zeng, 2006). However, some residents of Kanas do not hope to be involved in regional tourism decision-making and management (Wang, et al, 2010). Therefore, to know what the people need is the precondition of providing recommendations. Tourism-related studies adopting an anthropological method are required.

As a multi-ethnic community as well as a state-level nature reserve and a scenic area, there is a history of diverse and evolving relationships between groups and between subgroups in tourism development. However, this history appears not to have been well-documented as a single phenomenon.

2.5 Theories and conceptualisation

“Conflict provides many sociologists the central explanatory category for the analysis of social change and of ‘progress’” (Coser, 1956, p. 16). The social process is defined as “incessant reaction of persons prompted by interests that in part conflict with the interests of their fellows, and in part comport with the interests of others” (Small, 1905, p. 205). It is commonly seen as performing both positive and negative functions. Studies about social conflict theory have a long history and a deep root. The functions of social conflict proposed by Coser (1956) will be used as the conceptual framework for this study to research the tourism impacts on the ethnic community. A conflict-directed evolution system of tourism destinations is expected to be established. Hence, a brief literature review about tourism destination lifecycle models is also necessary.

2.5.1 Social conflict theory

Conflict is common among humans. However, when it comes to what exactly constitutes conflict in the general sense, there are various views. Pondy (1967) points out that the word ‘conflict’ has been used in the literature to describe variously: antecedent conditions of conflict behavior, affective states of individuals, cognitive states of individuals, and various types of such behaviours. Fink (1968) describes the terminological and conceptual confusion surrounding the study of social conflict, and concludes that “...scientific knowledge about social conflict has not yet moved to a level of analytical precision superior to

that of common sense knowledge” (p. 430). A plethora of terms in common usage are cited in support of this point, none of which have precise definitions: conflict, tensions, opposition, quarrel, disagreement, competition, violence, conflict resolution.

The conceptual confusion about conflict has been recognised and articulated (Fink, 1968). Some authors have used the term conflict in specific ways, for example, as the opposite of cooperation (Easterbrook, Beck, Goodlet, Plowman, Sharples, & Wood, 1993), or as a particular species of struggle (Coser, 1956). Pruitt and Kim (2004, pp. 7-8) define it as “*perceived divergence of interest*, a belief that the parties’ current aspiration are incompatible”. In other words, conflict is a belief that if one party gets what it wants, the other (or others) will not be able to do so. Others advocate the use of the term ‘conflict’ in a more general sense. According to Rahim (2011), conflict is a natural outcome of human interaction that begins when two or more social entities (i.e., individuals, groups, organisations, and nations) come in contact with one another in attaining their objectives. Relationships among such entities may become incompatible or inconsistent when two or more of them desire a similar resource that is in short supply; when they have partially exclusive behavioural preferences regarding their joint action; or when they have different attitudes, values, beliefs, and skills (Rahim, 2011, p. 1). Some distinguish between conflict and competition, others do not. The various uses of the term ‘conflict’ in the literature reflect the various conceptual frameworks for studying conflict (Fink, 1968).

Over the years, the study of social conflict has received attention from economists, historians, anthropologists, novelists, philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, and theologians. Scholars in organisation theory became interested in scientific investigation of conflict phenomenon during the late 20th century. There have been renewed interest and significant changes in the

study of conflict in social and organizational contexts. Recently, a number of universities and research organizations in the United States have shown great interest in teaching and research on social and organisational conflict. In contrast, though tourism and cultural conflict has been a theme in tourism studies (e.g. Robinson & Boniface, 1999) over the years, the conflict issues in tourism destinations have been little systematically investigated by tourism scholars, or if analysing issues of power have chosen not to use the concepts of conflict resolution, being drawn more to the concepts of network theory.

Most of the contributions to social conflict theory came from philosophy and sociology, and some contributions are derived from other disciplines, such as biological science. I do not attempt an exhaustive coverage of the many studies of conflict. Rahim (2011) reviews the classical thinkers and their arguments in philosophy and sociology on conflict, and some of his review is referenced here. A specific review about Coser's research on the functions of social conflict would be fundamentally necessary for this research given that his propositions are taken as a framework for an analysis of the findings that emerged from the ethnographic study undertaken for this thesis.

Philosophy

Western perceptions date from the period of classical Greece. Thus Plato and Aristotle discussed in detail the need for order in a society. Plato believed that tension within society conflict could be kept at a minimum if an appropriate balance of the segments of a society knew the part it had to play and carried out its functions accordingly. Plato suggested that such a balance of the parts could be obtained only through appropriate leadership. In *The Republic*, Plato proposed that the needs of the society could be satisfied if private property was eliminated. To satisfy the needs of society, he particularly realized the necessity for

eliminating private property for those who would provide political leadership. Plato believed that the leaders could not do their job properly if they were motivated by private interests. Aristotle agreed with Plato on the need of order in the state, but he disagreed with Plato on the form of the government and he believed that Plato's philosophy called for 'extreme unification', or communism, and that was neither practical nor possible. Both of them stressed that an absence of conflict is a *sine qua non* for the attainment of the just form of life in the city-state. Both classical philosophers assigned social conflict a pathological status.

Social contract theorists Thomas Hobbes and John Locke suggested that the purpose of the government was to establish order in social relations, without which there would be constant violence between human beings. Hobbes believed that the Sovereign, such as a monarch who is granted absolute and permanent power to control social conflict, should control human beings. Whatever the Sovereign decides becomes the laws, and all the citizens must abide by it. This is the only way to control social conflict effectively, according to Hobbes. Locke disagreed with Hobbes on the type of government, and believed that government was to be organised by the people through their common consent, and its duty was the preservation of lives, liberties, and estates. According to Sipka (1969, pp. 15–16), "Hobbes and Locke had an extraordinary sensitivity to the dangers of social conflict and sought, through government, to control it as much as possible. . . . not only did these men not see a growth or re-constructive potential in social conflict, but they considered it a flaw in the body politic. Though neither man insists that all conflict is to be removed, it is clear that this is their intention" (as cited in Rahim, 2011).

A distinct shift of views on conflict in philosophy occurred during the nineteenth century. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Karl Marx, and others, held a

functional view of conflict. Hegel's philosophy is dominated by the notion of the dialectic, which has developed four different meanings: (1) arriving at the truth, (2) dialogue or debate, (3) process of ascertaining the unrestricted truth, and (4) process of change through the conflict of opposing forces (Rahim, 2011). Hegel's dialectic was most often characterised as a three-step process, 'thesis, antithesis, synthesis'. Hegel's dialectic asserts that every finite thesis bears within itself its own antithesis. One must reconcile the opposing thesis by coming to a synthesis in order to overcome the opposition. The fundamental notion of Hegel's dialectic is that things or ideas have internal contradictions. According to Hegel, analysis or comprehension of a thing or idea reveals that underneath its apparently simple identity or unity is an underlying inner contradiction. This contradiction leads to the dissolution of the thing or idea in the simple form in which it presented itself and to a higher-level, more complex thing or idea that more adequately incorporates the contradiction.

On the other hand, Marx suggested human history was full of conflict between classes—bourgeoisie (business class) and proletariat (working class)—which was the mechanism of change and development. Marx was a revolutionary who wanted the capitalists to relinquish their power. The fundamental notion of Marx's dialectic is about class conflict rooted in economic disparities. Marx believed that this class struggle (between haves and have-nots) would ultimately lead to a classless society devoid of repression where human beings are, for the first time, truly free. This new society would be free from conflict, and the individuals would be perfectly reconciled to themselves and their fellows.

John Dewey is one of the philosophers who significantly contributed to the study of social conflict during the 20th century. According to Dewey (1922, 1957), "Conflict is the gadfly to thought. It stirs us to observation and memory. It instigates us to invention. It shocks us out to sheep-like passivity, and sets us at

noting and contriving” (as cited in Rahim, 2011). According to Dewey, when the relationship between human beings and environment is interrupted by obstacles or conflict, persons should use their intelligence to readapt through a change in their accustomed modes of conduct and belief. Dewey suggested that individuals should examine a conflict situation to discover the various possible actions and choose the most effective one (Rahim, 2011).

Sociology

The sociology of conflict is partially concerned with how social order is challenged and maintained (Easterbrook, et al., 1993). Georg Simmel, Talcott Parsons, Lewis A. Coser, among other classical sociologists has made a significant contribution to the study of social conflict theory from the perspective of sociology. Particular theories or hypotheses about conflict in general have been applied to various types of conflict. It is generally agreed that social conflict has both functional and dysfunctional consequences. If a social system is to benefit from conflict, the negative effects of conflict must be reduced and positive effects must be enhanced. Having recognised that conflict is an important social concept, we can then look into the specific functions of social conflict proposed by Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956).

Simmel sees conflict as part of the dynamics by which some men are drawn together and other areas driven away from each other. Simmel’s general hypothesis was that a certain amount of conflict is as essential to the proper functioning of groups, as are stability and order. He believed that in small groups such as the marital couple, “a certain amount of discord, inner divergence and outer controversy, is organically tied up with very elements that ultimately hold the group together; it cannot be separated from the unity of the sociological structure” (Simmel, 1955, pp. 17–18). Competition is regarded as a specific type

of conflict (Simmel, 1955). Simmel also indicated that hostile or aggressive impulses do not account for social conflict. Simmel (1955) stated a number of hypotheses about the positive social functions of conflict, hypotheses which have been repeated or reformulated in general discussions of conflict by several writers including Coser (1956).

Lewis A. Coser's (1956) *The Functions of Social Conflict* was one sociological work that critiqued the dominant sociological paradigm—structural functionalism, and has contributed to its diminishing influence in the discipline. Coser (1956) depicts conflict as “a form of socialization” (p. 31) and analyses conflict in terms of interactive processes. Some certain degree of conflict is an essential element in group formation, resulting in both association and dissociation which serve a social function. Coser (1956) reveals functionalism's conservative biases and its inability to capture the conflict, competition, and tension that characterise group life, but he does not impetuously dismiss this paradigm's insights. Based on Durkheimian premises, Coser suggests that conflict is a persistent phenomenon and serves some latent social functions. However, by departing from functionalism's assumptions of stability and harmony, Coser also facilitates the shift towards the conflict paradigm by suggesting that conflict is ubiquitous and an inherent part of social relations. In order to devise a theory of social conflict, Coser has re-formulated and analysed sixteen of Simmel's propositions regarding conflict. These hypotheses apply to a wide range of conflicts from racial tensions to religious differences. They have valuable explanatory power for analysts of contemporary social relations, and many of these assertions still sound reasonable today. For example, Coser states that social conflict often acts as a ‘safety valve’, releasing tension while preserving social relations and conflict with an out-group enhances identity and consciousness for the in-group. Further empirical research is required to test these propositions' validity in contemporary society.

Mach and Snyder (1957) list the characteristics of and empirical conditions for the identification and characterisation of conflict phenomena and situations. (1) At least two parties or analytically distinct units (actors, groups, collectivities, etc) are necessary for social conflict. (2) Social conflict derives from two types of scarcity, ‘position scarcity’ and ‘resource scarcity’. Position scarcity prevails when a certain object cannot be in two places at the same time or cannot perform two different functions simultaneously. Scarcity of resources prevails when the desired object is limited in such a way that the actors cannot obtain as much as they would like. (3) Conflict behaviour is oriented toward destroying, thwarting, or otherwise controlling the opposing side. (4) Social conflict requires interaction between the sides so that actions and counteractions are mutually opposed. (5) Conflict relations always include the striving for control of scarce resources or the striving for influence behaviour in a certain direction.

Theories and hypotheses of social conflict have been applied in discussion of various disciplines and subjects, such as religion, race, and ethnicity (Dodson, 1958; Hager, 1956; Hines, 1966), intertribal relation (Murphy, 1957), international relation (North, Koch, & Zinnes, 1960; Timasheff, 1965), and many others. According to Arzenek (1972), a model for studying social conflict must contain at least three factors: (1) institutional identification of the society; (2) identification of social conflict; (3) identification of institutional change.

2.5.2 Tourism Area Life Cycle

Among theories and models discussing destination evolution, the conceptual framework of the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) has received much recognition since it was first proposed by Butler in 1980. On the basis of the product cycle concept, Butler (1980) divides the process of a tourist area development into six stages: the exploration stage, involvement stage, development stage, consolidation

stage, stagnation stage and post-stagnation. The last stage is further characterised by a period of decline, rejuvenation, or stabilization. The two edited volumes on the model (Butler, 2006a, 2006b) further highlight its significance as one of the most used frameworks within tourism studies. The original work of Butler (1980) has been much more cited than the modified ones of Butler (2007) and of other researchers. As Hall wrote in the Introduction of the book *The Tourism Area Life Cycle: Application and Modifications* (Butler, 2006 a, xv), “TALC remains one of the most-cited works in tourism studies even if many people have never read the original article and have instead only read the interpretations of it in texts books or journals”. It is not the purpose of this section to provide a comprehensive literature review on the model (please refer to Butler, 2006a, 2006b for a detailed review), rather this section is to provide a foundation for what this research tends to accomplish.

The applicability of the model has been assessed and judged in previous studies by discussing to what extent the evolution of a tourist destination development has matched the theoretical phases. The application of this model are at different units of analysis, ranging from a single tourist resource (e.g., Niagara Falls, Getz, 1992) to a destination of varied features (e.g. Hovinen, 2002; Keller, 1987), and at different locations, such as China (Bao & Zhang, 2006) and Canada (Lundgren, 2006). The analysis is from different perspectives, such as marketing (Papatheodorou, 2006) and social, environmental and/or economic changes (Berry, 2001; Tooman, 1997; Xie & Lane, 2006). In addition, TALC has also been used together with other theories, for example, chaos theory (Russell, 2006a), entrepreneurship theory (Russell, 2006b), and Lamarckian theory (Ravenscroft & Hadjihambi, 2006). Butler’s (1980) model, as examined in these studies, was generally proven to be a useful framework in explaining the dynamics of tourism development for a destination, although its applicability and validity has been much criticised.

According to Butler (1980, p. 10), “not all areas experience the stages of the cycle as clearly as others”. That suggests that areas experience the stages, though not explicitly. However, some scholars (e.g. Haywood, 1986; Yan, 2001; Yang, 1996; Yu, 1997) contend that it is meaningless for destination’s development and should not be considered at the operational level. Haywood (1986, p. 167) suggests that “planners need to look beyond the tourist-area life cycle concept if they are searching for meaningful insights as to how to manage a tourist area as it evolves”. Dhala and Yuspeh (1976) suggest the basis of tourism area cycle - product life cycle - is misleading. Getz (1992), Yang (1996) and Yan (2001), among other researchers, contend that empirical studies do not support this model.

Butler (1980, p. 11) states that “the shape of the curve must be expected to vary for different areas, reflecting variations in such factors as rate of development, government policies, and number of similar competing areas.” According to Haywood (1986), a tourist area or the evolution process is mainly influenced by seven factors: competition among existing tourist areas; new tourist areas; substitutes for the traveling experience; organizations that oppose tourism; tourism businesses, tourists and political forces. The influencing factors can be categorised into two groups: internal and external factors (Agarwal, 1997). Internal factors include those inherent to a destination (i.e., uniqueness of resources and attractions, local residents and their attitudes toward tourism development, and gradual deterioration of tourism resources) and associated management, service practices, and qualities (Zhong, Deng & Xiao, 2008). The external factors include producers, consumers, and regulating authorities (Keller, 1987). The question thus arises - to what extent and how do these factors (or a particular factor) influence the lifecycle model of a particular destination?

Obviously, more studies are needed to test the model (Agarwal, 1997; Berry, 2001) According to Butler (2006a), an “understanding [of the way that tourist

destinations develop] is still far from complete” (p. 286). Zhong, Deng and Xiao (2008) suggest that special attention should be paid to areas to which the model has been rarely applied (i.e., national parks or other peripheral areas), particularly those in developing countries with a rapid economic growth. In response to the above concerns, this paper applies the TALC to the Kanas Scenic Area. Agarwal (1997) points out that research on the TALC should focus on either one of two aspects: (a) testing the applicability of the model and (b) redeveloping the model to incorporate different issues. Many studies combine the two aspects. This research also follows the two approaches.

2.5.3 The conceptual framework of this research

A conceptual framework is important for a study. A good study needs to own not only the primary analysis of the data collected, but also the critical discussion of the relating theories, such as place attachment (Gu & Ryan, 2008). Based on the literature review and in line with the research objectives, a conceptual framework for studying tourism impacts on the ethnic community has been developed. The framework addresses (1) the four stakeholders of tourism development, (2) the conflict and unification of the groups and subgroups, and (3) the functions of conflict on the evolution of tourism destinations.

(1) Key stakeholders in the development of ethnic tourism

Four key groups of stakeholders have been identified as units of analysis: governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists, and local ethnic people. It should be acknowledged that there is some overlap among the groups defined. Members of one group may have multiple interests which draw them into a second or even third group, as in the example of a local who is involved in governments is also involved with a small enterprise. Conflict may arise from this notion of multiple

memberships.

(2) Coser's (1956) *Functions of Social Conflict*

This study, instead of using some of the central conceptions from the 'classical' sociological literature about social conflict, solely applies the classical propositions of Coser's (1956) *Functions of Social Conflict* which are derived from the classical work of Georg Simmel, *Conflict*. The reason for confining the primary source is in part a purely pragmatic one. "It seemed more convenient, for purposes of exposition, to follow an author with a consistent general orientation rather than to shift between writers whose orientations may be divergent" (Coser, 1956, p. 30).

But a more important reason is that Simmel's and Coser's work about the conflicts arising in a community experiencing an developmental process meet the purpose of this study: to discuss the social transformation and cultural change of a society. However, some of their discussions which were mainly derived from western societies are not wholly applicable or can be developed in China and/or in tourism and/or Kanas (minority places). This meets another purpose of this study which is to address the differences between western societies and China and call for appropriately applying western theories in China considering Chinese specific culture and situations. In addition, it is necessary to develop the theory of Coser (1956) based evidence from conflicts in China and within tourism context to assess its applicability. Hence, Coser's (1956) 16 propositions will be accordingly borrowed and examined in the discussion of the changes of the Kanas Scenic Area.

Conflict and group boundaries

Proposition 1: Group-binding functions of conflict

Hostility and tensions in conflict relationships

Proposition 2: Group-preserving functions of conflict and the significance of safety-valve Institutions

Proposition 3: Realistic and nonrealistic conflict

Proposition 4: Conflict and hostile impulses

Proposition 5: Hostility in close social relationships

In-group conflict and group structure

Proposition 6: The closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict

Proposition 7: Impact and function of conflict in group structures

Proposition 8: Conflict as an index of stability of relationships

Conflict with out-group and group structure

Proposition 9: Conflict with out-groups increases internal cohesion

Proposition 10: Conflict with another group defines group structure and consequent reaction to internal conflict

Proposition 11: The search for enemies

Proposition 12: Ideology and conflict

Conflict –The unifier

Proposition 13: Conflict binds antagonists

Proposition 14: Interest in unity of the enemy

Proposition 15: Conflict establishes and maintains balance of power

Conflict calls for allies

Proposition 16: Conflict creates associations and coalitions

The definition of ‘conflict’ adopted in this study therefore generally follows that of Coser (1956, 1968). He provides a working definition of ‘conflict’ in the book *The Functions of Social Conflict*: a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize,

injure, or eliminate their rivals (Coser, 1956, p. 8). Subsequently, in 1968, in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Coser (1968) reorganises the definition of conflict as:

a struggle over claims to resources, power and status, beliefs, and other preferences and desires. The aims of the parties in conflict may extend from simply attempting to gain acceptance of a preference, or securing a resource advantage, to the extremes of injuring or eliminating opponents. (p. 232)

The latter definition will be adopted in this study, since, first, the scope of the latter one is broader than the first one; second, the latter is more sophisticated than the former which was regarded as ‘a working definition’.

(3) The functions of conflict on the evolution of tourism destinations

The validity and applicability of Butler’s (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) is tested in the tourism development evolution of Kanas Scenic Area. The conflict of main groups is incorporated to redevelop the model, and a conflict-directed tourism destination evolution system is expected to be established.

The framework, as well as a hypothesis for a tension-directed mechanism of tourism impact (community development perspective) is presented as follows.

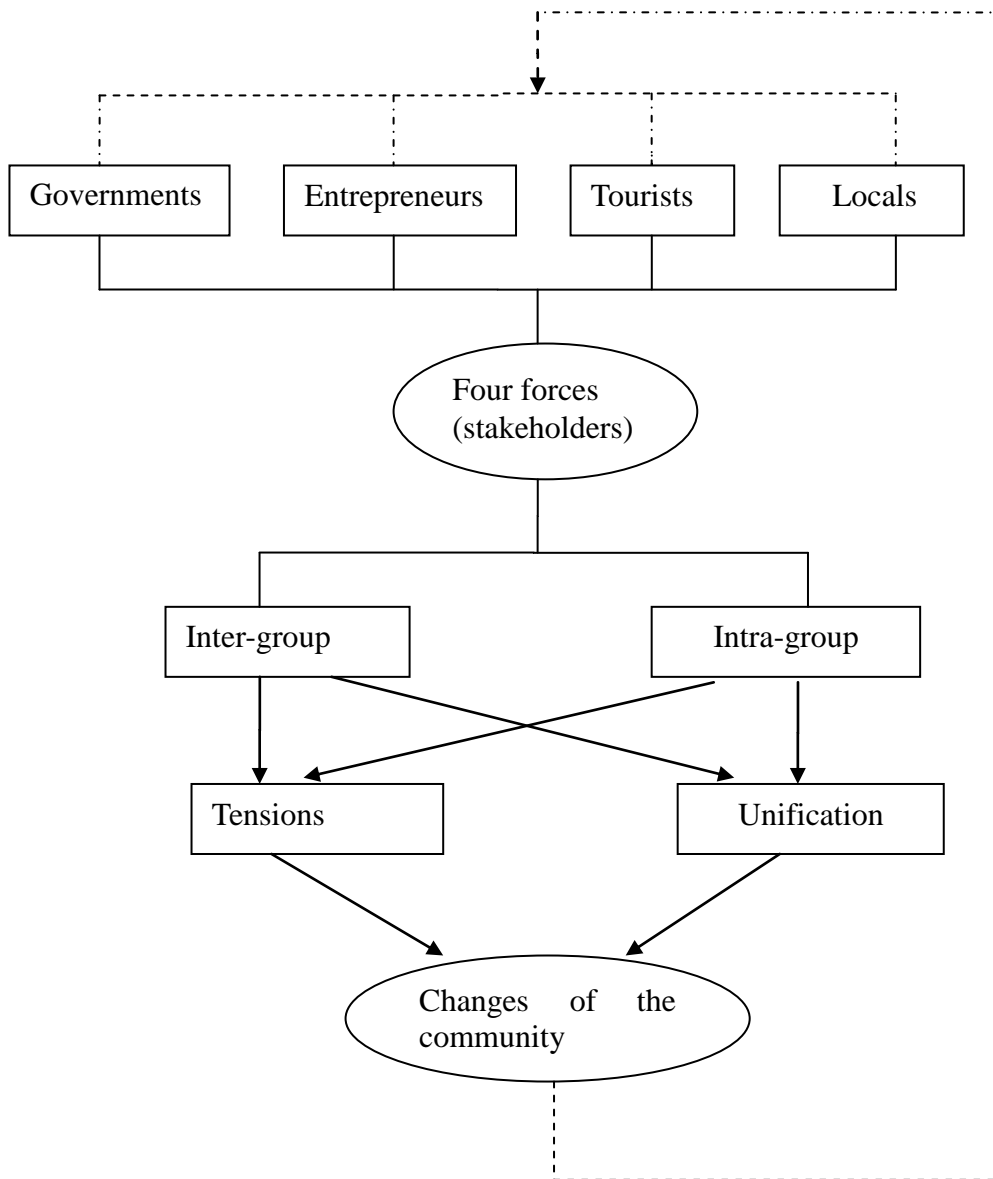


Figure 2.1 A hypothesis for a tension-directed mechanism of tourism impact (community development perspective)

The application of western based theory to a Chinese situation can be justified on other grounds. While there is little doubt that cultural differences possess importance, there is equally an argument that similarities also exist in any debate over tourism impacts, its nature, extent and consequent implications for changing power structures, regardless of the societal context. Good theory is therefore able to inform patterns of societal, political and economic change wherever it might occur. Second, the context of the Chinese State is one that has been significantly impacted by European 19th century thinking. Ryan, Gu and Zhang (2009) have drawn attention to the influence of scientific rationalism inherited from Marxian thought through Maoist socialism, and the structure of China's government still owes much to this tradition, while calls for more democratic and participative forms of government, both within and external to China are equally influenced by Western thought.

It can also be argued that to dichotomise Western-Chinese thought is also a simplistic approach to the issue. It is not the purpose here to analyse Chinese philosophical and cultural traditions, but while western attention has tended to potentially concentrate on an understanding of Confucian traditions, these are far from simple and 'monopolistic' in Chinese philosophical thinking. First, within the Chinese classical tradition the role of dichotomies and their fusion have a long history. Zhang Qizhi (2009) describes the debate over Lao Zi's original work and the observation that strength has within it the seeds of its own decay within the natural cycle and the opposing views inherent in the *Explanatory Notes of Change* by Liao-Fan during the Ming Dynasty. Again, while in western thought relativism is associated with post-modernism, then it could be argued that Chuang Tzi's (Zhuangzi) arguments relating to relativism in value systems predates the work of a writer such as Foucault by 2,300 years. Equally Mozi's rejection of ritual and an emphasis on a moral teaching that stressed self-reflection posed a constant challenge to Confucian and Taoist thought. Allison (1989) provides a

comprehensive introduction to Chinese thinking that shows its complexities and, for example, its Maoist concerns with semantic truths that are the equal, and at times parallel with anything enunciated by their western counterparts.

It can also be suggested that Coser's conceptualisation shares concerns within Chinese thought. Cheng (2006) notes that implicitly within Chinese concepts of harmony lies its opposite in disharmony, or conflict. He argues that Chinese Confucian and Taoist concepts of harmony generate a different dialectic to the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic, and he cites 18 polar characteristics of Chinese thought. Among these are *li* and *yu* (reason and desire) and *fa* and *li* (law and propriety). Cheng (2006, p. 45) thus notes that "Conflict in society is primarily a discord between individual interest and social interests; it is to be overcome by regulating individuals according to the social order". For Coser conflict begins to impose its own order, whereas within the Chinese State, order is to be externally imposed by the State. Arguably however, the 'realpolitik' of contemporary China is that boundaries are both challenged and sustained by a testing of the relative strength of individual and social interests as evidenced later in this thesis. Accordingly Coser's arguments augment traditional Chinese thought.

2.6 Summary

Tourism impacts have been well researched and a rich body of literature has been developed. Social conflicts involved with both economic and social-cultural changes have also been discussed from the start. In recent studies, conflict has been discussed within a wider and more holistic context with reference to various issues in tourism development, such as cultural authenticity (Swain, 1989; Xie, 2001), ethnic tourism planning (Yang, 2007) and ownership and management of tourism resources (Feng, 2008).

However, there are still some literature gaps relating to social conflict in tourism and its conceptual development. First, there is a lack of empirical evidence as to the functions of social conflict and the relationship between tourism impacts and conflict. When such concerns are expressed, they are directed primarily toward the reduction of conflict. But conflict is a necessary and positive part of all social relationships, and a requisite for social change. Generally though, tourism impact studies have not been extended to include the functions of social conflict. Second, conflict is often accompanied by cooperation, expressions of unity and alliances; however, in tourism studies, the relationships between conflict and these outcomes have hardly been discussed. Third, a theoretical base of the social conflict is needed to support the many empirical studies about different tourism impacts. Fourth, it is still an under-researched area in terms of social conflict within multi-ethnic communities affected by tourism.

A systematical research about social conflict in tourism is needed. Conflict is often treated as solely the impact of tourism or as the barrier to advanced tourism development (Swain, 1989; Xie, 2001; Yang, 2007). It is often mentioned in discussing other topics, such as cultural authenticity (Xie, 2001) and ethnic tourism planning (Yang, 2007). In these studies (e.g. Sofield & Li, 1998; Swain, 1989; Yang, 2007), the resolution of conflict carries more significance than the functions of conflict. In reality, intergroup and intragroup conflict is not only the consequence of tourism, but also are approaches toward an evolution of tourism impacts to new entities and fusions of past, present and future.

The Kanas Scenic Area serves as the case area in relation to the theory. Tourism's impacts on the Kanas Scenic Area have been discussed to different extents by researchers, journalists, tourists and governments. Their comments and analysis are based on the community itself. The studies mainly describe the tourism's impacts on the community, and lack a holistic approach involving not

only the locals but also other stakeholders including governments, tourists, and tourism entrepreneurs. The conflict between locals and other forces is mentioned but lacks a comprehensive study in relation to the functions of conflict on the evolution of the area. Therefore, this study holds two main purposes: (1) to discuss the tourism's impacts on the Kanas Scenic Area in relation to conflict, and (2) to examine the application of Coser's (1956) social conflict theory in the case of the Kanas Scenic Area. An introduction to China and the case area is provided in the following chapter.

A discussion of the relationships of main groups of the Kanas Scenic Area provides an example of the applicability of the functions of social conflict developed by Coser (1956) to an actual situation of conflict. The Kanas Scenic Area is a typical natural scenery destination. Although its tourism development has a history of more than ten years, it is still in the stage of development in Butler's (1980) model. The various conflicts are obvious. If it was in the exploration stage, the conflict might not be so obvious; if it was in the consolidation stage, the groups may have settled down the conflicts. In addition, the three Tuva settlements of the Kanas Scenic Area are each at a different stage of tourism development which provides evidence for comparison and contrast among them and for explaining some hypotheses about the conflict between subgroups.

This research fills two gaps. From the perspective of the functions of social conflict proposed by Coser (1956), it provides an empirical test of the functions of social conflict within China especially minority communities in relation to tourism development. From the perspective of tourism, functions of social conflict have been little discussed in tourism studies, particularly tourism impacts. A conflict-directed tourism destination evolution system is also intended to be established.

CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH SITES

This chapter justifies the selection of the research area and its specific sites of enquiry. A detailed description of the study area and selected villages is presented. The purpose of the chapter is to provide a better understanding of the research setting in which the conceptual framework was implemented. The villages of Hanas, Hemu and Baihaba in the Kanas Scenic Area of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China were chosen as the research sites.

The chapter starts with a brief outline of China's economics, current state of ethnic minorities and its tourism sector. In the next section, a description of Xinjiang's geographic attributes, history and resource, ethnic minorities and tourism development is provided. It is followed by an introduction to the geography, resources, local economy and ethnic minorities of the Kanas Scenic Area and then a review of the local economy and tourism development. Besides, the three specific villages are described and their selection as study sites is justified. A brief summary is then provided in the last section of this chapter.

3.1 The People's Republic of China (PRC)

Located in the east of the Asian continent and on the western shore of the Pacific Ocean, the People's Republic of China has a landmass of about 9.6 million sq km, and is the third largest country in the world (China Internet Information Center, 2004). It is bordered by Korea to the east, Mongolia to the North, Russia to the northeast, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan to the northwest, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal and Bhutan to the west and southwest; and Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam to the south. Across the seas to the east and its southeast are the Republic of Korea, Japan, Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia and Indonesia.



Figure 3.1. Map of China: continent view

Source: Maps of China (n.d.)

China has 23 provinces, 5 autonomous regions, 4 municipalities directly under the Central Government and 2 special administrative regions. It has a variety of topography: a vast land of lofty plateau, large plains, rolling land and big and small basins surrounded by lofty mountains. All the five basic topographic types in the world exist in China, creating appropriate conditions for the development of industry, agriculture and tourism.

China has made dramatic progress in economic and social development since the implementation of the Reform and Open-door Policy in the 1980s. For the first 30 years of the PRC which was founded in 1949, the government practiced a planned economic system, strictly controlling industrial and agricultural production, and the stocking and selling of goods to consumers. After realising this restricted the vitality and growth of the economy, economic reforms began in 1978 after the death of Mao Zedong. In 1992 the Chinese government formulated a policy to establish a market economy and set out the main principles of economic restructuring, so as to promote overall economic development and ensure social stability (China Internet Information Center, n.d.-a). A Chinese socialist market economic system has now taken shape, and the role played by the market has been permitted to develop as a means of resource allocation. Meanwhile, a mixed macro-control economic system continues to be developed. A pattern has been

formed in which the public sector plays the main role alongside non-public sectors comprising individual and private companies to achieve common development (China Internet Information Center, n.d.-a). Now China is the world's fastest-growing major economy, with an average growth rate of 10% for each of the past 30 years.

China is also the largest exporter and second largest importer of goods in the world. Its top six trade partners (US, Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, Germany) form over 50% of China's total international trade. Japan had been the world's second-biggest economy after the United States for 42 years, while in 2010 China overtook Japan as the world's second largest economy in nominal GDP after the United States.

Table 3.1 The top10 countries by GDP in 2010

Rank	Country	GDP (\$ Million)
—	World	74,004,249
—	European Union	15,150,667
1	United States	14,624,184
2	People's Republic of China	10,084,369
3	Japan	4,308,627
4	India	4,001,103
5	Germany	2,932,036
6	Russia	2,218,764
7	Brazil	2,181,677
8	United Kingdom	2,181,069
9	France	2,146,283
10	Italy	1,771,140

Source: International Monetary Fund (2010)

Table 3.2. Population of China: 1953 – 2000 Census Data

Item	1953	1964	1982	1990	2000
Total population (10 000 persons)	59435	69458	100818	113368	126583
<i>Male</i>	30799	35652	51944	58495	65355
<i>Female</i>	28636	33806	48874	54873	61228
Average Family Household Size (person/household)	4.33	4.43	4.41	3.96	3.44
Population by Residence (10 000 persons)					
<i>Urban Population</i>	7726	12710	21082	29971	45844
<i>Rural Population</i>	50534	56748	79736	83397	80739
Population by Age Group (%)					
<i>Aged 0-14</i>	36.28	40.69	33.59	27.69	22.89
<i>Aged 15-64</i>	59.31	55.75	61.50	66.74	70.15
<i>Aged 65 and Over</i>	4.41	3.56	4.91	5.57	6.96

1. Total population from the five national population censuses include the military personnel. Military personnel is listed as urban population in population by residence.
2. Total population of 1953 National Population Census includes the population from indirect survey, but this is not included in the ethnic minority population and the urban/rural population.

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (2010)

On the other hand, owing to China's large population, it ranked the 95th worldwide by per capita GDP (nominal) and the 93rd by per capita GDP (PPP) worldwide in 2010. China has the largest population in the world with 1.33 billion people resident in 2009 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010), accounting for approximately one fifth of the world's population. With the reforms and faster economic development commencing in 1978, China's urban population growth has significantly increased. The urban population in 1982 rose 65.87% from 12.71 million in 1964. The urban population in 2009 was 0.62 billion with the 46.59% of the population now living in urban centres (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010), while the 12th 5 Year Plan announced in March 2011 envisaged this figure to grow to 54% in 2016. However, when "comparing with developed countries, China remains at a low level of urbanization" (Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, 2005). Population data to 2000 are shown in Table 3.2, the 2010 full census data not being available at the time of writing. It can be concluded that many millions of people have been lifted from

poverty in the last 30 years, but equally concerns are now being expressed about inflation, an over-heating economy, and a need to shift from over-dependence on export led growth. Current problems relate to bank lending, degrees of liquidity in the Chinese banking system, over capacity in some areas of capital goods production and an urban-rural division (Wen, Hua, Zhang, & Tian, 2011)

3.1.1 Minority nationalities in the People’s Republic of China

The Chinese words *min* and *zu* more or less correspond to ‘a people’ and ‘an ethnic group’ respectively, and the combination of the two words *minzu* can be translated as the words ‘nationality’ or ‘race’, or ‘ethnic group’ in English. Ethnic groups in China are often called ‘nationalities’ in the official English-language documents of the People's Republic of China, but English-language terms such as ‘ethnic minorities’, ‘ethnic groups’, and ‘national minorities’ are also officially used. *Minzu* is not specific to any citizenship status. All the minority nationalities in China are Chinese citizens, regardless of the fact that they are sometimes referred to as different ‘nationalities’ in English.

Table 3.3. Ethnic minority population (five National Population Censuses)

Item	1953	1964	1982	1990	2000
Total population of China (10 000 persons)	59435	69458	100818	113368	126583
Han nationality (10 000 persons)	54728	65456	94088	104248	115940
Percentage to total population (%)	93.94	94.24	93.32	01.96	91.59
Ethnic minorities (10 000 persons)	3532	4002	6730	9120	10643
Percentage to total population (%)	6.06	5.76	6.68	8.04	8.41

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (2010)

As can be seen in Table 3.3, the population of the Han majority was 1159.4 million in 2000, constituting 91.59% of the total population; while the population of 55 minority nationalities (many of which include subgroups) was 106.43 million, making up only 8.41% of the total population. In total, the minority

nationalities are referred to as the non-Han Chinese in China, and China officially recognises 55 minority nationalities. Recognition as an official minority nationality provides certain entitlements, such as exemption from the population growth control of the One-Child Policy, easier access to local political office and post-secondary education, and special economic assistance and tax relief programmes. In addition to the officially identified ethnic minority groups, there are some Chinese who privately classify themselves as members of unrecognised groups. Modern Chinese ethnic theory is heavily influenced by that of the Soviet Union. Minority nationality classification is based on a number of criteria. Marxist ethnic theory determines that if an individual is a member of a group that is ever linguistically, economically, geographically, or culturally distinct from others, he or she is a member of an ethnic minority, (Xinhuanet, 2009). There are significant cultural, regional, and developmental differences among the groups.

The minority nationalities are scattered over approximately two-thirds of China, mainly in the border regions from northeast China to north, northwest and southwest China. These regions are normally poor in terms of economic development, urbanisation, provisions for health care and education, communication and transportation infrastructure, and the general standard of living (Postiglione, 1992).

**Table 3.4 Population and geographic distribution of minority nationalities
(Data from the Fifth National Census, 2000)**

Minority nationalities	Population (person)	Main geographic distribution
Zhuang	16,178,811	Guangxi, Yunnan and Guangdong
Manchu	10,682,262	Liaoning, Hebei, Heilongjiang, Jilin, Inner Mongolia and Beijing
Hui (Muslim)	9,816,805	Ningxia, Gansu, Henan, Xinjiang, Qinghai, Yunnan, Hebei, Shandong, Anhui, Liaoning, Beijing, Inner Mongolia, Tianjin, Heilongjiang, Shaanxi, Guizhou, Jilin, Jiangsu and Sichuan
Miao	8,940,116	Guizhou, Hunan, Yunnan, Guangxi, Chongqing, Hubei and Sichuan

Uygur	8,399,393	Xinjiang
Tujia	8,028,133	Hunan, Hubei, Chongqing and Guizhou
Yi	7,762,272	Yunnan, Sichuan and Guizhou
Mongolian	5,813,947	Inner Mongolia, Liaoning, Jilin, Hebei, Heilongjiang and Xinjiang
Tibetan	5,416,021	Tibet, Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan
Bouyei	2,971,460	Guizhou
Dong	2,960,293	Guizhou, Hunan and Guangxi
Yao	2,637,421	Guangxi, Hunan, Yunnan and Guangdong
Korean	1,923,842	Jilin, Heilongjiang and Liaoning
Bai	1,858,063	Yunnan, Guizhou and Hunan
Hani	1,439,673	Yunnan
Kazak	1,250,458	Xinjiang
Li	1,247,814	Hainan
Dai	1,158,989	Yunnan
She	709,592	Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi and Guangdong
Lisu	634,912	Yunnan and Sichuan
Gelao	579,357	Guizhou
Dongxiang	513,805	Gansu and Xinjiang
Lahu	453,705	Yunnan
Shui	406,902	Guizhou and Guangxi
Wa	396,610	Yunnan
Naxi	308,839	Yunnan
Qiang	306,072	Sichuan
Tu	241,198	Qinghai and Gansu
Mulam	207,352	Guangxi
Xibe	188,824	Liaoning and Xinjiang
Kirgiz	160,823	Xinjiang
Daur	132,394	Inner Mongolia and Heilongjiang
Jingpo	132,143	Yunnan
Maonan	107,166	Guangxi
Salar	104,503	Qinghai
Bulang	91,882	Yunnan
Tajik	41,028	Xinjiang
Achang	33,936	Yunnan
Pumi	33,600	Yunnan
Ewenki	30,505	Inner Mongolia
Nu	28,759	Yunnan
Jing	22,517	Guangxi
Jino	20,899	Yunnan
De'ang	17,935	Yunnan
Bonan	16,505	Gansu

Russian	15,609	Xinjiang and Heilongjiang
Yugur	13,719	Gansu
Ozbek	12,370	Xinjiang
Moinba	8,923	Tibet
Oroqen	8,196	Heilongjiang and Inner Mongolia
Drung	7,426	Yunnan
Tatar	4,890	Xinjiang
Hezhen	4,640	Heilongjiang
Gaoshan	4,461	Taiwan and Fujian
Lhoba	2,965	Tibet

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (2010)

Since the mid-1950s, China has established 155 ethnic autonomous areas. These areas cover 6,117,300 sq km, comprising 64 percent of the country's territory (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010). China currently has five autonomous regions (Table 3.5), 30 autonomous prefectures, 120 autonomous counties, and 1173 ethnic townships (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010). According to the fifth National Census, 44 minorities have their own ethnic autonomous areas accounting for 71 percent of the total population of ethnic minorities in China (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010).

Table 3.5. The foundation time of the five autonomous regions

Five autonomous regions	Foundation time
Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region	May 1, 1947
Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region,	October 1, 1955
Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region	March 5, 1958
Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region	October 25, 1958
Tibet Autonomous Region	September 9, 1965

The population of the ethnic minorities in the autonomous areas has continuously increased in the last four decades. In 2008, the minority ethnic peoples accounted for about half of the population in the autonomous areas. In these areas, the population employed in agriculture accounted for 75% of the total population,

though this proportion has been falling in the last decades, as can be seen in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6. Composition and overall population of ethnic minorities in autonomous areas (10, 000 persons)

		1978	1988	1998	2008
Population of ethnic minority autonomous area	Total	11077.22	14579.84	16615.95	18075.39
	Agriculture	9376.34	12037.74	13155.42	13723.48
	Non-agriculture	1700.88	2542.10	3460.53	4351.91
Proportion (Total population in ethnic minority autonomous area=100)	Agriculture	84.65	82.56	79.17	75.92
	Non-agriculture	15.35	17.44	20.83	24.08
Total population of minority nationalities		4342.36	6442.79	7577.45	8616.02
Population of minority nationality as percentage of total population in ethnic minority autonomous areas		39.2	44.2	45.6	47.7

Source: Le & Li (2010)

Traditional farming and pasturage and the slash-and-burn method of farming are still practiced in some minority areas. Many minority nationalities have suffered from low agricultural productivity and an underdeveloped economy. The poor life quality can be partially revealed from the life expectancy statistics. According to the Fifth National Census in 2000, the population life expectancy of the population in four out of the five minority autonomous regions was lower than the average of national total (71.40 years old) (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010). Eight out of 31 provinces and autonomous regions had less than 70 years life expectancy; they are Inner Mongolia (69.87 years old), Jiangxi (68.95 years old), Gansu (67.47 years old), Xinjiang (67.41 years old), Qinghai (66.03 years old), Guizhou (65.96 years old), Yunan (65.49 years old) and Tibet (64.37 years old). All these eight areas are minority autonomous regions or minority settlements. The population life expectancy of Tibet was even 10 years lower than that of Beijing which was 71.40 years old in 2000.

Some minorities survive in relative isolation permitting the romantic envisioning of them as primitive peoples living in places far from contemporary society (Schein, 1994). Minority nationalities are portrayed as distinct, different and unique, invariably clothed in exotic costumes and possessing unusual customs (Gladney, 1999). Tourism marketing is one of the reasons accounting for this perception. Minority nationalities have become a ‘marked’ or ‘signed’ category of people, characterised by sensuality, colourfulness and exotic customs in tourism development (Gladney, 1999).

3.1.2 Tourism in the People’s Republic of China

Tourism in China has greatly expanded over the last few decades due not only to the economic improvements since the 1980s but also accession to the World Tourism Organization that further encourages international arrivals through compliance with policies such as more open trade and an easing of visa arrangements. From 1949 to 1978, tourism was specifically a form of special political activity – a diplomatic activity serving foreigners with permission to visit China. In the late 1970s, when Deng Xiaoping decided to promote tourism vigorously as a means of earning foreign exchange, China started to develop its tourist industry. The changes in the Chinese political and economic systems, the improvement in transport and accommodation infrastructure, as well as tourism facilities and services, all contribute to China’s rapid tourism development. Since 1986, the tourist sector has been included in the 5 year national social and economic development plans and in the 2011 5 year plan has been classified as a pillar of the economy. Many local governments in China have identified the tourist sector as one of the leading or core industries in their locality. The government has continued to foster tourism as a new economic growth point since 1998.

Today, China's tourism sector plays a significant role in the country's national and local economies. China is the third most visited country in the world. The number of inbound tourists was 126 million person-times, with international tourism receipts of US\$39.68 billion in 2009. The outbound tourist market accounted for 47.6 million person-times in 2009, up by 4% compared to 2008. The domestic tourist market has maintained a fast growth rate, receiving 1.9 billion person-times nationwide through the year, with a total income of 1.02 trillion yuan (US\$155 billion) in 2009, up by 11.1% and 16.4% respectively compared to 2008. China's tourism revenue amounted to 1.29 trillion yuan (US\$200 billion) in 2009 (China National Tourism Administration, 2010). According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), in 2020, China will become the largest tourist country and the fourth largest for overseas travel.

3.2 Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (Xinjiang)

3.2.1 Location and history

Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, called *Xin* for short, is located in northwest China. It is the largest political subdivision of China, with an area of 1.66 million sq.km which accounts for more than one sixth of China's total territory. The length of the boundary is equivalent to a quarter of the total boundary length of China. Situated in the hinterland of the Eurasian continent, Xinjiang shares borders with eight countries, making it the largest such region in China. The eight countries are Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Mongolia, India and Afghanistan. This geographic position bestows a strategic importance to Xinjiang. The east-west chain of the Tianshan Mountains separates the Dzungaria Basin in the north from the Tarim Basin in the south. Dzungaria is dry steppe. The Tarim Basin is desert surrounded by oases. In the east is the Turpan Depression. In the west, the Tian Shan split to form the Ili River valley. Generally, a semi-arid or desert far north climate prevails in Xinjiang. Only about 4.3% of Xinjiang's

land area is fit for human habitation. The region is marked by great seasonal differences in temperature.



Figure 3.2. Location of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in China

Source:

<http://gochina.about.com/od/maps/ig/Autonomous-Regions-Maps/Xinjiang-AR.htm>



Figure 3.3. Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region map

Source: <http://www.johomaps.com/as/china/xinjiang/xinjiang1.html>

Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, as one of the five minority autonomous regions of China, was founded in 1955. The capital city is Urumqi City. China has three types of levels of administrative divisions. Xinjiang generally follows the four-level system; that is provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government – cities with districts and autonomous prefectures – counties, autonomous counties and cities – townships, ethnic townships and towns (China Internet Information Center, n. d. -b).

Xinjiang has 14 prefectures of varying status (prefectures, autonomous prefectures and prefecture-level cities) and 88 counties (including cities and cities at county level) of which 33 county-level cities are located in border areas. Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC), as a unique economic and semi-military governmental organization in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, has 174 regimental agricultural and stockbreeding farms within its control (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Government, n. d.).

Table 3.7 Administrative divisions of Xinjiang

Unit	Administrative division
2	City at prefectural level
7	Prefectures
5	Autonomous prefectures
11	Districts under the jurisdiction of cities
19	Cities at county level
62	Counties
6	Autonomous counties

Source: Le & Li (2010)

3.2.2 Multiple nationalities in Xinjiang

Xinjiang is home to 53 ethnic groups of varying religious traditions. The main 13 nationalities include Uygur, Han, Kazakh, Hui, Kyrgyz, Mongolian, Xibo, Russian, Tajik, Uzbek, Tatar, Manchu and Daur. The population of the minority nationalities in Xinjiang was 12.94 million in 2008, accounting for 60% of its

total population.

Table 3.8. The main nationalities and their populations in Xinjiang (2008)

Nationality	Population (10 000 persons)	Percentage (%)
Uygur	983.18	46.14
Han	836.33	39.25
Kazakh	151.05	7.09
Hui	95.3	4.47
Kirghiz	18.64	0.87
Mongolian	18.10	0.85
Xibo	4.32	0.21
Russian	1.16	0.2
Tajik	4.54	0.12
Uzbek	1.69	0.08
Tatar	0.49	0.05
Manchu	2.59	0.03
Daur	0.68	0.02
Others	12.74	0.6

Source: Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Chronicles Compilation Committee (2010)

As the main hub for economic and cultural exchanges between the East and the West in ancient times, Xinjiang has always been a region where a variety of religions exist. The majority of the region's total population today adheres to Islam. Prior to Islam being introduced into Xinjiang, there had already been Zoroastrians, Buddhists, Taoists, Manicheans and Nestorians. These religions spread to Xinjiang along the Silk Road and thrived together with the indigenous religions (China Connection Tours, n. d).

The predominant nationalities, Uygur, Han and Kazakh among others, live in specific and separate communities. Uygur mainly live in South Xinjiang; while Han and Kazakh predominantly live in North Xinjiang. A large number of Kazakh inhabit the Altay Region which is under the administration of Yili Kazakh Autonomous Region. On the other hand, major cities in Xinjiang, such as the capital city Urumqi, host a variety of nationalities similar to other metropolitan cities worldwide.

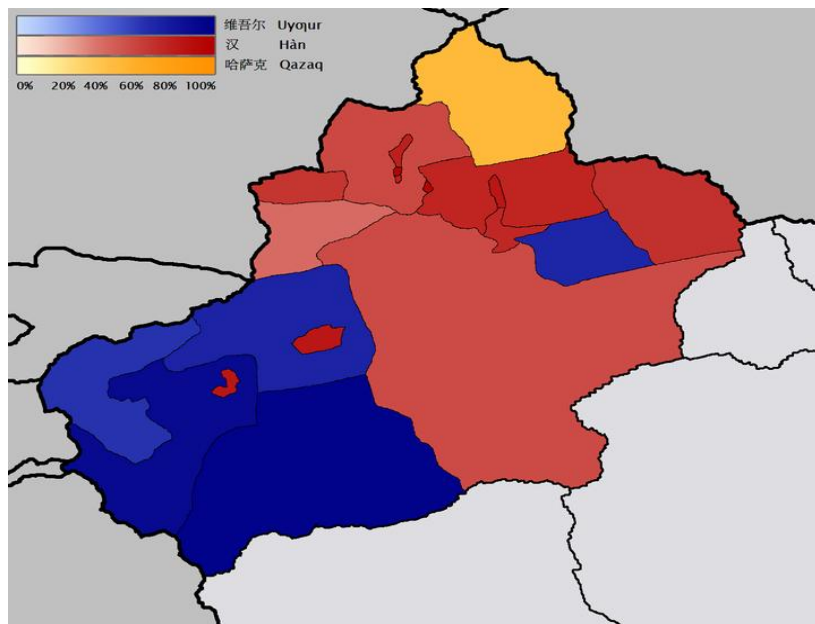


Figure 3.4. Distribution of Uygur, Han and Kazakh populations in Xinjiang

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Xinjiang_nationalities_by_prefecture_2000.png

3.2.3 A variety of natural and cultural resources

Xinjiang is well known for its rich supply of natural resources which provide a good basis for industrial and tourism development. It has a unique array of fascinating landscapes, including year-round snow-covered mountains and glaciers, lakes, hot springs, highlands and coniferous forests. From the top of a mountain, there come clearly into view desert oases, distant hills in the wilderness, grass land and forest, snow covered mountains, lakes, river basins, and valleys. The vast stretches of grassland are covered with colourful wild flowers, cattle and sheep, as well as picturesque landscapes. Xinjiang has many spectacular characteristics – the driest, hottest, and coldest places, the longest inland river, the lowest land and the largest desert. The Turpan Basin is the second lowest land on the earth next to the Dead Sea in Jordan. Xinjiang is famous for a spectacular topography known as ‘Yadan Landforms’, which refers to a series of ditches and ridges that range on the surface of clay rock formed by the combined effect of wind and water erosion. Xinjiang has abundant oil reserves as well and is China’s

largest natural gas-producing region. In addition, Xinjiang has many rare desert animals and plants. It is famous for its fruits and melons, the breeding of horses, and a country of gold, jade and carpet manufacture from ancient times.

In consequence it also has tremendous cultural resources because of its long history and the many minorities and cultures residing here. The historical tourist resources in Xinjiang boast unique charms. The Silk Road across the territory is famous worldwide; it had three routes across Xinjiang totalling over 5,000 km. Hundreds of cultural sites such as ancient cities, tombs, Buddhist caves, garrisons, and cultivated land are found along ancient highways. Xinjiang has more than 200 famous historical, artistic or scientific legacies, including ancient cultural ruins, ancient tombs, ancient caves and temples such as the Thousand-Buddha Cave, stone carvings, and modern artistic memorials, 10 of which have been rated as key national cultural relics under protection. There are also 16,000 Buddhist cave sites, with more than 550 caves being fundamentally intact (China Radio International, 2005). The culture and folk customs, arts and festivals of the many minorities are also attractive tourism resources. Many minority nationalities are famous for their singing and dancing.

3.2.4 Lack of economic and social development of Xinjiang

Economically Xinjiang has maintained stable rates of growth in the last three decades. Xinjiang's GDP increased from 3.9 billion RMB in 1978 to 427.7 billion RMB in 2009. The Chinese Central Government provides support through varying policies that include the China Western Development policy introduced by the State Council to boost economic development in Western China, and these have played an important role in the development of Xinjiang in the previous decades. However, it is still less developed than other regions of China. Xinjiang ranked 25th amongst China's 31 cities, provinces and autonomous regions in terms of

GDP in 2009 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010). Its GDP per capita was 19,119 RMB in 2009, which was one-quarter that of Shanghai, and ranked 22nd in China (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010).

Table 3.9. Gross Domestic Product by sector in Xinjiang, 2009

Index	Added Value (100 million RMB)	Composition (%)	Compared with 2008 (%)
Gross Domestic Product of Xinjiang (100 million yuan)	4277.05	100	+8.1
Primary industry	759.74	17.8	+4.5
Secondary industry	1929.59	45.1	+8.5
<i>Industry</i>	1555.84	36.4	+6.2
<i>Construction</i>	373.75	8.7	+20.9
Tertiary industry	1587.72	37.1	+9.2
<i>Transport, storage and post</i>	209.10	4.9	+7.0
<i>Wholesale and retail trades</i>	253.60	5.9	+13.4
<i>Hotels and catering services</i>	62.25	1.5	-14.9
<i>Financial intermediation</i>	198.87	4.6	+11.8
<i>Real estate</i>	115.23	2.7	+23.3
Others	748.67	17.5	+8.7

Source: Statistical Bureau of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (2010)

The economy of Xinjiang heavily depends on its secondary industry, the percentage of which (45.1%) is a little more than its tertiary industry (37.1%) and much higher than the primary industry (17.8%). In 2009, the proportions of each of the three sectors accounted for in GDP were 17.8%, 45.1%, and 37.1% respectively. The rich natural resources serve as the basis for economic development, and the investment on these resources are the primary reason for the continuous economic development. However, the large-scale mining, hydraulic and hydro-power engineering construction and the heavy chemical engineering industry have caused severe environmental problems. The extensive development of natural resources, a lack of proper supervision and effective management, insufficient environmental protective measures and investment have brought negative impacts on the sustainability of natural resources and ecology (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Tourism Bureau & Xinjiang Institute of Ecology and

Geography of Chinese Academy of Sciences, 2011).

The low level of education development is another important factor restricting Xinjiang's economic development. The proportion of the population with an educational attainment below senior secondary school level is about 80% of the total residents (as seen in Table 3.10). Those with an educational attainment at college and higher levels only account for 10% of the population. The insufficient and uneven distribution of investment on education, delays in education policies, and the lack of educational resources in some isolated areas have together restricted educational development in Xinjiang (Li & He, 2008). Xinjiang's isolated location and less than modern information technology mean it is difficult to obtain more contemporary knowledge.

Table 3.10. Population by educational attainment in Xinjiang (2009)

Education received	Total (person)	Male (person)	Female (person)	Percentage (%)
Population aged 6 and over	17442	8822	8620	100
No schooling	678	294	383	3.9
Primary school level	5875	2847	3028	33.7
Junior secondary school level	7179	3799	3380	41.2
Senior secondary school level	2052	1060	992	11.8
College and higher level	1658	822	837	9.5

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (2010)

3.2.5 Tourism development in Xinjiang

As in other parts of China Xinjiang's tourism started to grow steadily after 1978. The rich tourism resources, preferential government policies, mass marketing and the continuous improvement of the transportation system and tourism facilities and services all contributed to the progress of Xinjiang's tourism. However, its tourism development is far behind Sichuan, Yunnan and other western provinces. Its tourism income from 2005 to 2010 ranked 26th in all the provinces and regions of China (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Tourism Bureau & Xinjiang

Institute of Ecology and Geography of Chinese Academy of Sciences, 2011). Some factors restrict Xinjiang's tourism, such as the high cost and lengthy travel times from the main tourist generating regions to Xinjiang, the uncertainty of the political environment, restricted season due to harsh winters and a lack of specialised tour enterprises and specialized managers, all contribute to holding back development. Generally, Xinjiang's tourism development is still at a low level.

Since the 1990s, the numbers of travel agencies and tourists (including international and domestic tourists) and tourism incomes have increased, as seen in Table 3.11. Domestic tourism has made notable progress; the domestic tourism income in 2009 was 25 times more than that of 1995. The role of the tourism sector has also shifted from being a convenient way of earning foreign exchange to become a new focal point for economic growth.

Table 3.11. Main figures about Xinjiang tourism development in recent years

Item	1995	2000	2009
Total number of travel agencies (unit)	79	130	441
Total number of international tourists inbound (person)	203579	256082	354895
Total number of domestic tourists (10,000 persons)	514	758	2098
Total number of outbound tourists of Xinjiang residents (person)	591	4535	7566
Earnings from international tourism (USD 10000)	5268	9494	13663
Earnings from domestic tourism (100 million RMB)	7.10	62.67	176.75

Source: Statistic Bureau of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (2010)

As its official tourism slogan 'Xinjiang is a good place' (新疆是个好地方, *pinyin*: *Xinjiang shi ge hao defang*), the magnificent landscapes, beautiful scenery and various ethnic cultures constitute important resources for its potential tourism

development. There are 468 scenic areas in Xinjiang, among which 197 scenic areas are A level and above ¹(3 AAAAA scenic areas, 29 AAAA scenic areas and spots), 4 national level scenic areas, 9 national level natural reserves, 14 national forest parks, 3 national geographic parks, 24 international safari resorts, 34 national industrial and agricultural demonstration zones (areas), 22 ski resorts over level S², and 296 starred Farming Home Visit properties. Thirteen cities have been awarded the status of National Excellent Tourism City, and one county, Buerjin County, where Kanas was located, obtained the honour of National Excellent Tourism County issued by China National Tourism Administration. Tourism has been developed around ‘five tourism zones and three tourism lines’ with the centre of Silk Road (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, & Tourism Bureau and Xinjiang Institute of Ecology and Geography of Chinese Academy of Sciences, 2011).

In 2009, Xinjiang had altogether 448 star rated hotels, among which 12 were five star hotels, thereby ranking as number one among the five provinces and autonomous regions in northwest China. It owned 442 travel agencies and tour operators, 9425 tour guides possessing multiple language skills, 200 employees in the tourism industry and 800 employees in tourism related industries in 2010 (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Tourism Bureau & Xinjiang Institute of Ecology and Geography of Chinese Academy of Sciences, 2011). The construction and improvement of airlines, railway, road, border, communication, energy, electricity and other tourism relating industries help to promote its tourism development.

¹ According to the *National Tourist Administrative Measures for the Quality Grade Evaluation of Tourist Areas* issued by China National Tourism Administration (2005), 5-A system is adopted for ranking tourist areas. 5As represents the highest level tourist area.

² According to *Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Quality Grade Evaluation Standard of tourist ski resorts* issued by Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (2009), 5-S system is adopted for ranking tourist resorts.

Although tourism development has made great progress in recent years, the advantages of its tourism resources have not been fully converted into the advantage of economic development. The long cold winter of North Xinjiang leads to the strong seasonality of tourism development; tourist expenditure is mainly on transportation and tourist attractions tickets; tourist activities are not enough to satisfy tourists' needs. The competitiveness of tourism enterprises is low. Although the number of travel agencies has reached over 400, only 2 agencies are in the list of TOP 100 travel agencies in China. A comprehensive support system has not been fully established. Tourism and other industries are poorly related to each other, and tourism can hardly promote the development of other industries (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Tourism Bureau & Xinjiang Institute of Ecology and Geography of Chinese Academy of Sciences, 2011).

Also of significance Xinjiang tourism is subject to political uncertainties. Tourism was severely destroyed by the July 5, 2009 riots. Some 1,450 tour groups involving 84,940 travellers, which included 4,396 tourists from overseas, cancelled their plans to visit Xinjiang due to the July 5 riots, according to the report of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Tourism Bureau at a press conference (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Tourism Bureau, 2009).

3.3 The Kanas Scenic Area

The Kanas Scenic Area is located in the Altay Region of Yili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, China. Altay Regions covers 1 city, 6 counties, 41 townships, 13 towns and 3 state farms. It had a population of 645,100 people, half of which are occupied in agriculture. The population density per square kilometre is 4.83.

The southern boundary of the Kanas Scenic Area reaches N 48°13', and it is

bordered by Kazakhstan and Russia to the north and Mongolia to the north east. It covers an area of 10,030 square kilometres including the 2,200 square kilometres Kanas State-level Nature Reserve. The Kanas Scenic Area consists of seven natural attractions including Kanas State-level Nature Reserve, Kanas National Geo-park, Baihaba National Forest Park, Jiadengyu National Forest Park, Buerjin Valley, Hemu Valley and Hemu Grassland, and three cultural attractions including Hemu Village, Baihaba Village and Hanas Village.



Figure 3.5. Moon Bay on Kanas Lake



Figure 3.6. Location of the Kanas Scenic Area in China

In Mongolian, 'Kanas' means 'fair, rich and mysterious land'. It features many types of natural habitats, including glaciers, forests, grassland, lakes and rivers. The variety of landscape and weather provide good environment for fauna and

flora. In the Nature Reserve there are hundreds of kinds of plants and animal species, 28 of which are under state level protection.

The crescent-shaped Kanas Lake is the core of the Kanas Scenic Area. As the deepest alpine fresh water lake in China, it occupies 45.78 square kilometres and is 1,370 meters above sea level. It is a part of a European eco-system and is also the largest branch river head of Etix River – the only water system to the Arctic Ocean flowing from China. The colour of the Kanas Lake varies according to the seasons and weather. Sometimes it is blue, sometimes green, while sometimes white. There are six bays along the Kanas Lake and each is a site of story-telling. The colourful lake, the beautiful scenery around the lake and the mythical creatures in the Kanas Lake contribute to the attractiveness of the area.

Kanas has a temperate continental climate heavily influenced by its mountainous terrain. Large temperature differences exist between day and night and between the different seasons. The tourist season is predominantly in the cool summers when the rainfall is frequent, with an average temperature of 15.9 °C in July. The long winter lasts from October to the following March. The average temperature is -16°C in the coldest month, January, and the lowest temperature can be below -40 °C. The snow in its north high mountain areas remains all year round. Running water is not available in winter. In Figure 3.7, locals are getting water from a well and will then pull the bottle of water back home using a sledge.



Figure 3.7 Locals getting water from well

Snow is frequent in winter and reaches 1 to 2 meters in depth. The heavy snow always blocks the road from Kanas Scenic Area to the nearby counties. This reinforces the isolation of the area and brings great inconvenience to locals. Before the start of winter, locals purchase food and stuff for daily use from nearby counties in preparation for the long winter in the villages. It is argued that tourism accelerates the resolution of transport issues. In order to promote Kanas winter tourism, the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee started to clear the snow on the road in 2006 and established a new traffic flow system in 2007 to ensure the road was passable for much of the winter. In Figure 3.8, the truck is clearing the snow on the road between Kanas to the nearby Buerjin County.



Figure 3.8. Clearing the snow off the road

3.3.1 Tuva people and Kazakh people

The Kanas Scenic Area has 7 administrative villages under the direction of two township governments. It is multi-minority in character. The total population of 4,330 consists of Tuva, Kazakh, Hui, Russian and Han.

Table 3.12. The population of the Kanas Scenic Area in 2008

Village	Total household	Total population
Total	1185	4330
Hemu and Hanas Mongolian Township	603	2149
<i>Hanas Village</i>	217	801
<i>Hemu Village</i>	386	1348
Tiereketi Township	582	2181
<i>Baihaba North Village</i>	92	276
<i>Baihaba South Village</i>	162	587

<i>Tiereketi Village</i>	119	442
<i>Akebulake Village</i>	139	561
<i>Qibaqilike Village</i>	70	315

Source: The data about Hanas Village was obtained from Kanas Primary School. The data about Hemu Village was obtained from Hemu and Hanas Township Government. The data about the five villages of Tiereketi Township was obtained from Tiereketi Police Office (2008).

Tuva and Kazakh are the main minority groups inhabiting in this area. Because of the cold weather, the materials available for building houses, and the policy of the local government, both Tuvas and Kazakhs live in freestanding houses featuring steep roofs, with the walls and ceilings constructed of logs. The space between the roof and ceiling ventilates the attic and stores meat as well as other goods. The inner house is normally decorated with floral blankets on the wall for retaining warmth, while heated-brick beds are common. Their main diet comprises milk-derived products, mutton and beef, and wheat-based foods. Tuva women make milk into different kinds of products, such as yogurt, cheese, milk-derived alcohol, etc. Dairy tea is the daily drink of both Kazakhs and Tuvas. They boil dairy tea in the early morning, every day to drink through the day. They share many similarities in terms of diet and patterns of life but they also have differences, especially in terms of religion. For example, the Tuva are Buddhist while the Kazakhs are Islamic.



Figure 3.9. Example of a common food: bacon bread (namely Naan)

Tuva people

The Tuva are also called the ‘Tuwa’, ‘Dewa’ or ‘Kukumenqiak’. Most live in Russia and Mongolia. In the Tuva Republic of Russia, there are altogether 240,000, 96% of the global Tuva population. The people in Mongolia mainly live in two areas, Wubsu Province and Bayanwoga Province, and have a population of around 31,000. Only about 2,000 Tuvas live in the five settlements of Xinjiang Altay Region of China. The Kanas Scenic Area is the main settlement of Tuva people in China. The three culturally defined landscapes are Hanas Village, Hemu Village, and Baihaba Village and have a total population of 3,012, of whom almost 60% are Tuvas.



Figure 3.10. A Tuva man in the 2011 Spring Festival

In addition to the three villages of the Kanas Scenic Area, the nearby Fuyun County and Altay City of the Altay Region are also places of settlement of Tuvas in China, but they number only 500 or so. Tuvas in Altay City and Fuyun County live together with Mongolians and Kazakhs, and due to frequent interaction many Tuvas in these two regions cannot speak the Tuva language, but speak the Mongolian and Kazakh languages, and their culture is being strongly incorporated with Mongolian patterns of life (Guan, 2009).

Table 3.13. The five Tuva settlements in China

Settlement location	Within the territory of	Population of Tuvas
Hanas Village	Kanas Scenic Area	680
Hemu Village	Kanas Scenic Area	627
Baihaba Village	Kanas Scenic Area	378 (Village One 106 Tuvas; Village Two 272 Tuvas)
Alahake Township	Altay City	280
Tiemaik Township	Fuyun County	230

Source: The data about Hanas Village was obtained from Kanas Primary School. The data about Hemu Village was obtained from Hemu and Hanas Township Government. The data about Baihaba Village was obtained from Tiereketi Police Office (2008). The data about Alahake Township and Tiemaik Township was sourced from Guan (2009).

Although Tuvas in China are classified as a Mongolian tribe, there have been different suppositions as to their ethnicity and origin among academics and the Tuva themselves. Some scholars hold the view that Tuva people in the Kanas are the descendants of the old, weak, sick and disabled soldiers left by Genghis Khan when he led his troops to attack the West. Tuva elders state their ancestors migrated from Siberia 500 years ago, and that they are the same ethnic group as the Tuva people of the Tuva Republic of Russia. Some Tuva claim Tuva nationality, since they were just once controlled by Mongols but were not themselves Mongols. Other Tuva believe that they are one tribe of a wider Mongolian nation. This disagreement was also reflected during my interviews with Tuvas. However the origin of Tuvas is not the priority of this research; therein it is not fully discussed here. It should be emphasised that there is a great difference between Tuvas in Kanas and the Mongolians in Inner Mongolia of China in terms of food habit and living habits, but Tuvas share many common aspects with Kazakhs due to the cohabitation with them. Indeed, marriage between Tuvas and Kazakhs is no longer uncommon.

Tuva people speak multiple languages. They speak Tuva language themselves. Almost 30 ethnicity languages spoken in China belong to the Sino-Tibetan language family, but Tuva language belongs to the Altay language family and is a

close relation to the Kazakh language. Tuvas in Kanas speak Kazakh to communicate with Kazakhs and Hui, and speak Mongolian language with Mongolian people. Their written language is Mongolian, since they are categorised as a tribe of Mongolian in China and they receive education in Mongolian language institutions.

Tuva people adhere to Tibetan Buddhism, and are deeply influenced by Shamanism. They hold religious sacrificial activities, such as offering sacrifice to heaven, river, mountain, fish and fire. Milk-derived alcohol is regarded as the purest and sacred drink by Tuvas. On religious festivals and sacrificial performances, only milk-derived alcohol could be brought to the venue and offered to sacred spirits. Tarer Temple in Qinghai is the dreamt of holy place of many Tuvas. However, in the conversations with the locals, I found that only 20 Tuvas had gone there. Some Tuvas plan to go there once in their lifetime. There is a Lama in each of three villages. The Lamas in Hanas Village and Hemu Village are locals, while the Lama in Baihaba Village is from a nearby county. All the three Lamas have married. Lamas chair religious ceremonies on the traditional Mongolian Aobao Festival, Zoulu Festival (Winter Festival), and Spring Festival. In local daily lives the Lama is invited to preside over the Tuva funeral ceremony. A few children are also 'baptised' or 'named' by the Lama. When Tuva encounter difficulties, they may also seek help from Lama to 'discover' the causes for those difficulties and hope that the Lama may find ways to overcome them – either practically or through seeking spirit intervention.

Kazakh people

The Kazakh nationality is one of the principal nomadic minorities in northwestern China. Altay Region, which belongs to Yili Kazakh Autonomous Region of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China. Altay Region had a resident population of 328.6 thousand Kazakh people in 2007, comprising 50.9% of the

total population and 88% of the population of 35 minorities living in the region.

The Kazakh language is a member of the Turkic language family. Many Kazakhs in Kanas can speak Mandarin because of the Mandarin courses in schools and interaction with tourists. They hold to the Islamic faith, but arguably (based on personal observation) less devotedly than Kazakhs in other places of Altay Region. They celebrate various traditional festivals, such as the Kurban Festival and Fast-breaking Festival. They also hold special ceremonies for birth, death and marriage. Most Kazakhs are open, direct and hospitable. They like singing and dancing. All these contribute to their easy interaction with tourists.

Kazakhs are skilled in the performance of Kazakh traditional songs. Two instruments play a key role in the traditional Kazakh orchestra. The dombra, a plucked lute with two strings, is the most commonly used Kazakh traditional musical instrument. It is often used to accompany solo or group singing. Now it is commonly used in the performances of Home Visit in Hanas Village. The kobyz, a bow played on the knees, is another popular instrument.

3.3.2 Local economy

Generally, the economy of the Kanas Scenic Area is directed by animal husbandry and tourism. Another important income is the grants received from national and regional governments. The income of the two industries accounts for over 70% of the total gross income of the Kanas Scenic Area in 2009. Tourism has great economic impact on the area, which can be clearly proven by the contrast of tourism villages and non-tourism villages. Hemu and Hanas Township which has two famous tourist villages far exceeds Tiereketi Township (which owns only one tourist village) in terms of tourism income and locals' per capita income. In 2009, the per capita income of Kanas Scenic Area was 3,833 RMB, and it was 4,432 RMB in Hemu and Hanas Township, 1,237 RMB more than Tiereketi Township.

The annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Hemu and Hanas Township was 14.35 million RMB, a 43.5% increase on the previous year (2008). The tourism income was 4.5 million RMB.

Table 3.14. Per capita oncome of locals in the Kanas Scenic Area in 2009

Income Level (RMB)	Total		Hemu and Hanas Mongolian Township		Tiereketi Township	
	Household	Population (person)	Household	Population (person)	Household	Population (person)
Total	1054	4019	582	2218	472	1801
Below 1000	106	540	0	0	106	540
1000-1200	53	170	0	0	53	170
1200-1300	42	160	0	0	42	160
1300-1500	27	107	0	0	27	107
1500-1800	16	70	0	0	16	70
1800-2000	24	102	0	0	24	102
Over 2000	786	2870	582	2218	204	652

Source: the Agriculture, Farming and hydrology Division of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee

Kanas is one of the best locations for *Cordyceps sinensis*, a fungus that is highly valued for its medical benefits. It can only be found in extremely cold regions and snow covered mountains. It has been popular not only among the Chinese but also among many western countries. In recent years, the price of *Cordyceps sinensis* has increased significantly which motivates many outsiders to Kanas to collect and then sell them to traders or sometimes tourists, though they are aware that digging out *Cordyceps sinensis* in state-level nature reserves is illegal. Inspired by these outsiders, some locals have started to dig for *Cordyceps sinensis*. This exploitation has brought some benefits to local families, but also poses a threat to the natural environment and resources. Many environmental issues such as deforestation, land degradation and soil erosion have emerged, not simply from this exercise but also from wider patterns of exploitation. The Kanas Nature Reserve Administration Bureau has implemented a series of measures to counter this illegal behaviour but because of the weak penalties and the potentially high

financial returns, there are still some locals and outsiders digging for *Cordyceps sinensis* in summer and autumn every year.

3.3.3 Tourism development in the Kanas Scenic Area

The tourism development of the Kanas Scenic Area generally follows Butler's (1980) *Tourism Area Life Cycle*, though some characteristics are not as described in Butler's model. Butler (1980) divides the process of a tourist area development into six stages: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline or rejuvenation stages. Generally, Kanas today is in the development stage. When considering each of the three villages as a separate attraction, different villages are in different stages.

It is documented in the *Kanas Chronicles* (Altay Region Chronicles Committee & Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, 2006) that Kanas has experienced the beginning stage (before 1987), exploration development stage (1987-1996), high involvement development stage (1996-2000), and fast speed development stage (since 2000). Considering the characteristics of Butler's (1980) *Tourism Area Life Cycle*, the stages are rephrased as follows, based on the information provided in the *Kanas Chronicles*.

The exploration stage of Kanas tourism started in the early 1980s. In 1980, an investigation team organised by the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Government investigated the forest grassland and wild fauna and flora in Kanas area, and then Kanas Nature Reserve was established. The investigation made Kanas resources, especially the beautiful Kanas Lake, known to the public. Some individuals and organisations from neighbouring cities came to visit this place with an escort familiar with local language. At this time there were no specific facilities provided for visitors. Visitors had to spend a whole day driving on the

dirt road to Kanas, and took much longer than the three hours drive on asphalt road as today. The use of local facilities was high. Although the contact between visitors and locals was high, the interaction mainly happened when they were in close proximity, albeit with little actual communication. With reference to direct interaction between tourists and locals, ethnic peoples may be required to communicate with tourists in the tourists' language, since, as in the other tourism destinations, tourists can hardly speak the host's tongue (White, 1974), but the locals could hardly speak Mandarin at this stage. Visitors were impressed by the simplicity, kindness and primitive lifestyle of locals. According to some who visited Kanas in this period, the locals even tried to 'feed' grass to the vehicles, because in their mind, the vehicles would be very hungry after a whole day running on the road. However, it could hardly say the local culture was a "significant attraction" (Butler, 1980, p. 7) for tourists, since few tourists visited Kanas for the local culture and visitors commonly regarded the local people's life as 'backward'. The first wave of mass tourists sees themselves as innovators and risk takers who are different and somehow better than other members of society (McKercher, 2008). The physical fabric and social milieu of the area was not changed by tourism, and the arrival and departure of tourists was of relatively little significance to the economic and social life of the locals (Butler, 1980), except, possibly, for some local elites.

During this short period, leaders and high ranking officials from the Central government and the Xinjiang government visited this area. In July 1985, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of China Hu Yaobang visited the Altay Region, suggesting that Altay should develop animal husbandry, mining and tourism, and tourism referred to Kanas (Altay Region Chronicles Committee & Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, 2006). Local government quickly realised that developing tourism could generate huge economic gains. After a re-investigation into Kanas resource in 1985, this area was rated as a state-level

nature protection area in 1986. In 1987, the Buerjin Tourism Bureau was founded, indicating that the development, construction and administration of Kanas were under way.

Since 1987, as the visitor numbers increased and the development of tourism resources commenced, Kanas tourism entered the involvement stage. The involvement achieved the highest level between 1996 and 2000, the period which the local government called “the whole society to develop tourism”. Tourism was still mainly based in Hanas Village. In the Butler’s (1980) model, involvement refers to local residents providing facilities primarily or even exclusively for visitors. However, in the case of Kanas, many groups including national and regional bureaus, public sectors, enterprises, private operators from nearby counties and cities flew into Kanas to provide facilities and services for tourists. The governments and enterprises established and operated hotels, restaurants and shops, and some Hui and Kazakh people from nearby counties began recreational horse riding. On the other hand, only a few locals were directly involved in tourism through renting horses to tourists. Many locals in Hanas Village rented their houses to outside entrepreneurs operating accommodation and restaurants in the tourism season, and they, themselves, moved to the mountainous areas and grasslands to maintain their nomadic lifestyle. The houses in the village became so popular that even the stables were rented out for reconstruction into tourist accommodation. In the early 1990s, the first tour travel arrangements were organised by the Kanas National Travel Service, a large-scale travel agency in Buerjin County. Tourism and non-tourism seasons emerged. In summer, the tourist season, the village became full of outsiders including tourists, private vendors, employees of tourism enterprises and governmental officials. After October the outsiders left. Generally, contact between visitors and locals remained low.

The government played an essential role in the development of the area during this stage. It is the leaders and high ranking officials from the Central government and Xinjiang government who officially visited this area that instructed the local government on the significance of tourism. This promoted the foundation of the local tourism administration institution and the following administrative measures. In 1987, the officials from Xinjiang government and the local officials had a meeting regarding Kanas tourism development, which greatly pushed the development of the area (Altay Region Chronicles Committee & Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, 2006). The pressure of the increasing needs and demands of tourists pushed the local governments to conduct the infrastructure construction. A large proportion of the 11 million RMB spent on the construction of transport, electricity supply system, water supply system and other facilities was from the financial subsidies of China's central government (Altay Region Chronicles Committee & Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, 2006). Some festivals, such as the Kanas Ecological Tourism Festival and Kanas Autumn Photography Festival, were specifically inaugurated to attract tourists. Local governments encouraged all parties to operate tourism facilities to meet the demands of tourists. In addition, government officials from the Central government and Xinjiang government provided the local officials crucial suggestions on tourism development when they visited this area.

Kanas entered into the development stage after 2000 when large-scale infrastructure construction for tourism commenced after the development of Kanas was listed as an important priority project by the Xinjiang government. This stage marked a rapid increase in visitor numbers, which had increased from 24,000 in 1998 to 662,000 in 2010 (Table 3.15). The number of tourists at peak periods far exceeded the permanent local population which is over 4,000 in the whole Kanas Scenic Area and around 800 in Hanas Village. The tourist type changed from individual tourists to packaged tourists, representing the

mid-centrics of Plog's classification, or Cohen's institutionalised tourist (Butler, 1980). Governments played an important role in marketing, planning and regulating the area.

Table 3.15. Kanas tourism development (1998 – 2010)

Year	Tourist number (10,000)	Ticket income (10000 RMB)	Tourism income (1,000,000 RMB)	Tourism income compared with last year (%)	Tourist number compared with last year (%)
1998	2.4	48	9.2	104.44	166.7
1999	4.03	161	19.0	106.52	106.5
2000	5.55	388	350.	84.21	84.2
2001	4.86	340	62.0	77.14	77.1
2002	11.43	894	160.0	158.06	158.1
2003	16.52	1422	250.0	56.25	56.3
2004	23.38	1850	350.0	40.00	40.0
2005	28.52	2280	440.0	25.71	25.7
2006	35.15	3500	560.0	27.27	27.3
2007	65.7	6433	810.0	44.64	44.6
2008	37.6	3800	390.0	-51.85	-51.9
2009	34.1	2532	368.0	-5.6%	-5.6
2010	66.2	7411	890.0	241	141.8

Source: The Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee

Note: The rapid decrease of tourist number in 2008 and 2009 could be largely attributed to the impacts of Olympic Games in 2008 in China and the July 2009 Urumqi riots in Xinjiang.

Table 3.16. The changes to ticket prices in the Kanas Scenic Area

Time	Price (RMB per person)
1997—1998	20
1999	40
2000—2002	80
2003—2005	100
2006—2007	130
2008-2010	150

Source: Interview with Ticket office staff of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee

With the support of the Central government, regional and local governments have made great efforts to further improve facilities. Until 2006, 1 billion RMB had been allocated on the construction of infrastructure including power supply system, telecommunications, broadcasting, internet, and environmental initiatives. Change in the physical appearance of the area was noticeable. The Kanas Scenic

Area became increasingly modernised. Jiadengyu Tourism Area, which consists of accommodations, restaurants, shopping centers and leisure facilities, was established. It is not welcomed by the local population because since then they were forbidden to rent their houses in the village to outsiders. Tourists were asked to live only in the accommodation at the Jiadengyu Tourism Area. All the tourism facilities at the Jiadengyu Tourism Area are operated by external enterprises and investors. Imported labour is utilised and auxiliary facilities for the tourist industry have emerged. Natural attractions are developed and marketed specifically. Since 2000, ten Home Visit properties have been operated and serve as supplements to the natural attractions. Tourist activities include sightseeing, boating, hiking, horse riding and 'Home Visit'.

The development stage is shaped in part by heavy advertising (Butler, 1980). Continuous efforts have been made not only by governments at regional but also by local levels to market and advertise the area. The local administrative organizations of the Kanas Scenic Area produced many advertising materials around the theme 'beautiful scenery, mysterious Tuva people'. Photography festivals have been held in this area and even some films were made in Kanas to facilitate tourism marketing. Marketing through the Internet, press and newspapers has also been strengthened. Kanas website was established in 2003 to facilitate a comprehensive introduction of Kanas. As Kanas becomes better known it has won many awards for its beautiful scenery and the preserved natural and cultural landscape, as in the list of Table 3.17. These awards further contribute to its high reputation.

Table 3.17. The main awards and honours of the Kanas Scenic Area

Time	Honour	Awarded by
2002	Member of China Biosphere Reserves Network	Chinese National Committee for Man and the Biosphere Programme
August 2003	The 8 th prize of The TOP Photography Site in China	China Photographers Association
September 2003	National Forest Park	China Forest Ministry
2004	National Geopark	The Ministry of Land and Resources of PRC
2005	The 2 nd prize of The TOP 5 Beauty Lake in China	<i>National Geographic</i> (a travel magazine)
2005	The 3 rd prize of The TOP 6 Beauty Historical Villages and Towns in China	<i>National Geographic</i> (a travel magazine)
2006	Golden Honour in The TOP 50 Worthy Places to Visit in China for Inbound Tourists	<i>Global Travel</i> (a travel magazine)
2007	National AAAAA Scenic Area	China National Tourism Administration
2010	The 1 st of TOP 10 Autumn View in China	National Geographic

Source: Altay Region Chronicles Committee & Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee (2006) and <http://www.kns.gov.cn/>

Since 1990s, the local administration has allocated millions of dollars on various development planning projects which are not completely in keeping with local preferences. The main planning projects are listed in Table 3.18. In 2000, large-scale construction of tourism infrastructure started following the instruction of *Xinjiang Altay Region Kanas National Nature Reserve and the Surrounding Areas Tourism Development and Construction Plan*. In March 2006, the *Great Kanas Scenic Area Master Plan (2006-2020)*, which was co-produced by China National Tourism Administration, Xinjiang Tourism Bureau and Center for Tourism Planning & Research of Sun Yat-sen University passed the evaluation from tourism specialists and governmental officials. *Great Kanas Scenic Area Master Plan (2006-2020)*, and specific areas plans including *Xinjiang Kanas Scenic Area Hailiutan and Tiereketi Region Plan*, and *Xinjiang Kanas Scenic Area Hemu Village Cultural Landscape Protection Plan* which were produced according to the development strategies proposed in *Great Kanas Scenic Area*

Master Plan are the main references for local administrations in tourism development. The China Communist Party Kanas Scenic Area Committee and the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee were established according to *Great Kanas Scenic Area Master Plan (2006-2020)*, to be in charge of the implementation of the master and regional planning projects. Local administrative organisations have been undergoing significant change, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

Table 3.18 The main tourism planning projects about the Kanas Scenic Area

Finished in	Planning project	Producer(s)
1996	<i>Tourist activity plan in Xinjiang Kanas State-level Nature Reserve</i>	Xinjiang Agriculture University and Xinjiang Kanas State-level Nature Reserve Administrative Committee
1998	<i>Buerjin County Tourism Resources Investigation and Tourism Development Plan</i>	Xinjiang Institute of Ecology and Geography, Chinese Academy of Sciences
1999	<i>Kanas Lake Tourist Area Plan</i>	Xinjiang Urban and Rural Planning & Design Institute
2000	<i>Kanas State-level Nature Reserve Tourism Development Plan</i>	Xinjiang Urban and Rural Planning & Design Institute
2000	<i>Xinjiang Altay Region Kanas State-level Nature Reserve and the Surrounding Areas Tourism Development and Construction Plan</i>	Department of Landscape Science and Tourism, College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Shanghai Tongji University and Shanghai Habitat Landscape Planning and Design Ltd.
2004	<i>Xinjiang Kanas Lake Scenic Area Master Plan</i>	China Academy of Urban Planning and Design
2006	<i>Great Kanas Scenic Area Master Plan(2006-2020)</i>	China National Tourism Administration, Xinjiang Tourism Bureau, and Center for Tourism Planning & Research, Sun Yat-sen University, China
2007	<i>Xinjiang Kanas Hemu Tourist Area Master Plan</i>	Research Center of Forest Tourism, Central South University of Forestry and Technology, Central South Ecology Tourism Planning and Design Ltd, and Buerjin County Kanas Tourism Ltd.
2008	<i>Xinjiang Kanas Scenic Area Hemu Village Cultural Landscape Protection Plan</i>	Planning and Design Institute, Sun Yat-sen University and Center for Tourism Planning & Research, Sun Yat-sen University

Source: Altay Region Chronicles Committee & Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee (2006) and official documents from the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee

However, although a major part of the area's economy is tied to tourism, which is one of the characteristics of the consolidation stage of Butler's (1980) model, Kanas tourism is still in the development stage of TALC. Tourism development is restricted in some parts of the area. Tour products are mainly based around sightseeing. Tourist expenditure is mainly on tour tickets and accommodation. A comprehensive tourism industry has not been fully established.

Findings indicate that the scenic area has experienced three stages (i.e., exploration, involvement, and development stage) that confirm Butler's (1980) model, though obvious discrepancies still exist. This study further proves the argument that simply transferring concepts from western academic literature to inform research in China is not wholly appropriate (e.g. Li & Sofield, 2009; Ryan, Gu & Zhang, 2009; Yang, Ryan & Zhang, 2010).

The Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) of this ethnic community is strongly influenced by governments at various levels in terms of planning, regulating, and directing the development of the area through policy making, financial subsidies, official visitations and suggestions, marketing and events organisations. The local administrative organisation of the Kanas Scenic Area has had frequent changes in the last few decades to meet the demand of tourism development. Although theoretically the area will enter stagnation and post stagnation stage, it seems that dramatic decline is impossible since such a decline is unacceptable both economically and politically (Agarwal, 1994) given the area's heavy dependence on tourism. Government intervention and administration will occur, which will influence the curve trend of the TALC. From this perspective, it may be too early to say that this model can be entirely applied to the area, since the area has not completed its cycle of development. This is, evidently, a limitation of this study.

3.3.4 Study sites – Hanas, Hemu and Baihaba villages

The three Tuva settlements in the Kanas Scenic Area: Hanas Village, Hemu Village and Baihaba Village, were chosen as the study sites of this research. Three criteria were used for selecting specific sites in order to gather data to best answer the research questions. First, it should be a Tuva settlement. Second, the site should be a popular tourism attraction. Third, multiple stakeholders should be involved in the development of the site. The three villages allow comparison and best suit the study given the defined research objectives.

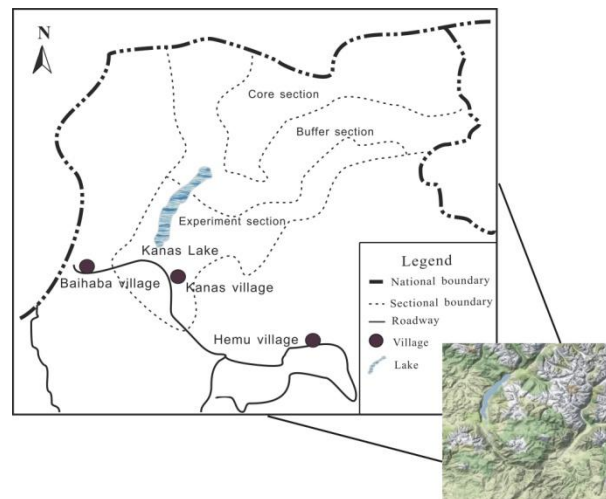


Figure 3.11. Location of Hanas, Hemu and Baihaba villages

Source: Wang, et al. (2010)

Tuvas are good at archery, horse-riding and skiing because before the 1980s, the Tuvas were highly dependent on hunting, fishing and animal husbandry for their livelihoods. Tuvas, a once self-sufficient people in an extremely harsh environment have traditionally been hunters. Horses and skis were their main transportation means for hunting in summer and winter, and guns, bows and arrows, and ropes are their main tools. Almost each family owned at least one hunting gun. In 1986, Kanas was rated as a State-level Nature Reserve and hunting in such reserve has been restricted according to *China's Wildlife Protection Law* enacted in 1988. Since then, the jurisdictions have imposed

firearms restrictions and the local governments confiscated all the guns from the Tuvas. The Tuvas have had to hunt by using traditional hunting tools made by themselves. Their prey includes bear, deer, wolf, wild pig, rabbit, marmot, rooster, fox and other wild animals, and were served as food and made into different kinds of tools. The heads and bones of some big animals were hung in the houses, which can still be seen today; this is 'borrowed' by Home Visit operators to decorate their venues as a Tuva's house, which is further illustrated in the following sections. In the 2000s, governments published a series of strict rules about wild animal protection and hunting in Kanas State-level Nature Reserve has been strictly prohibited. Animal husbandry thus became the main means of support for the Tuva. They raise cows, horses, and goats, and ten years before they raised deer. They used wood, cow leather, horse leather or wild plants to make daily utilities which become today's tourist exhibitions.

Tuvas live a semi-nomadic life: their lifestyle is largely nomadic but they plant some crops at a base point. Each family is assigned a certain area of grassland by the local government. The houses of many Tuvas are adjacent to their grassland. Each administrative village has 4-7 natural villages due to the random location of the grassland. Some Tuvas settle permanently in one location: village or grassland. Some people live in villages in summer and move to their grasslands with the herds of cows and sheep in winter. All the locals, wherever they settle, cut the grasses on their grasslands for 20 to 30 days in summer and prepare the forage for domestic animals for the whole winter. Production of wheat and potato is a major agricultural activity. Tuvas learnt the cultivation methods and beekeeping from Russians who once lived in Kanas in the 1920s, and who brought seeds of wheat and potatoes, and the methods of cultivation and beekeeping.

After the foundation of the People's Republic of China, Tuvas's animal husbandry made progress due to the policies and direct administration of governments from

the 1950s to the early 1980s, a period when the People's Commune System was applied throughout the country. Under this system, all aspects of rural life were incorporated into a single commune and all production activities were arranged by the commune. Politics, administration, production management, finance and welfare, education, healthcare, social security and public services were exclusively integrated into the Commune System (Sysamouth, as cited in Yang, 2007). Tuvas were divided into production groups and moved following the seasons. Males were responsible for farming and cultivation, while women were responsible for raising goats, milking and making dairy products. In the commune, everything was shared (Nankuaimodege, 2009).



Figure 3.12. Locals moving from their winter house to summer house

Poverty became more widespread after the 1980s because the Tuva were unused to the lack of direction after the implementation of the previous land reform policy. The household became the basic production unit and were given a number of animals by the Production Team which was formerly the basic accounting and farm production unit in the people's commune system in China from 1958 to 1984. The Production Team was subsequently disbanded. However, the local people did not know how to organise production and business expenditures. Some Tuva simply sold the animals and consequently had a hard life once the capital was spent.

After the 1980s, some outside vendors have opened convenience stores in this isolated area. The villagers, who had seldom seen so many products in the village,

consequently spent freely in these shops and even bought items on credit. All the shops gave credit to locals. However, some shops sold items at much higher prices than those in the nearby county. Alcohol abuse is another reason for the poverty. Alcohol was not easy to purchase until the shops came. Moreover there was a lack of supervision within these shops and some of the products sold were out of date. The poor quality alcohol was sold at low prices and was welcomed by the locals. Some Tuvas lost their capacity to work and some even died because of the alcohol abuse. Additionally some locals pledged their domestic animals against credit, and these had to be sold when they had no money. The shopkeepers, for their part, sold the animals in nearby counties and cities and made a good profit from the transactions. Generally, in this period, there was a lack of strong supervision of and within the Tuva community. Tuva society faced significant problems of social dysfunctioning with low levels of self-control and self-discipline which led in a paradoxical fashion to what was seen as illogical behaviour when 'opening up' their villages. Generally, except for a few Tuva people who were engaged in public sector employment, many local Tuva have had a hard life in recent decades. This story of social dysfunctioning is not uncommon among colonised peoples and thus some parallels exist with other indigenous groups such as Australian Aboriginal peoples.

With the development of the free market, some Tuva bartered with Hui and Kazakh merchants from nearby counties and townships and sold them hunted prey and sheep skins for alcohol, powder, oil and some daily used items. These Hui and Kazakh merchants communicated in Kazakh language with the Tuva. When tourism development commenced, some Tuva began to participate in tourism through renting their houses to outsiders or rented horses to tourists. Meanwhile, some Tuva started to collect pine nuts or searched for *Cordyceps sinensis* in the forests.

Today, Hanas and Hemu villages are popular tourist villages in the Kanas Scenic

Area, based on tourist flow and generated revenue. Although Baihaba Village currently receives fewer tourists than the other two villages, it is also being officially promoted as ‘the first village in northwest China’, recommended by photographers as an ideal place for photography and it is suggested by some tourists on internet blogs as a less commercial tourist destination when compared to others. All these three villages are highly recommended to tourists in the local tourist brochures and promotional videos. There are many accommodation units, restaurants and souvenir shops in each village and the Jiadengyu Tourism Area during the tourism season (Table 3.19).

Table 3.19. The businesses of each village in the 2009 tourism season

	Jiadengyu Tourism Area	Hanas Village	Hemu Village	Baihaba Village
Restaurant	5	2	1	1
Accommodation	47	14	39	15
Souvenir shops	1	5		1
Convenience stores	6	11	26	5
Tuva Home Visit	0	10	3	1
Boating	0	4	0	0
China Mobile Company Branch	1	1	0	0
Night Performance	1	0	0	0
Total	59	47	69	23

Note: Many of the accommodations provide catering service.

Source: Kanas Tourism Bureau of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee

After recovering from the impact of the 5th July riots in 2009, Kanas tourism achieved a new record in terms of the tourist numbers hosted, and ticket and tourism incomes which increased by 1.9%, 7.1% and 9.5% respectively when compared to those of 2007. A year later the total ticket income was 6.853 million RMB in 2010, 131% more than 2009 (Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, 2010a). Tourism income achieved 890 million RMB in 2010, increasing 141% over that of 2009. The tourist numbers visiting the three villages

are listed in Table 3.20.

Table 3.20. Tourist numbers in each of the three villages (2010)

	Tourist number	Compared with last year
Total	662, 000	↑ 81%
Kanas Village	397,000	↑ 52%
Hemu Village	204,000	↑ 131%
Baihaba Village	61,000	↑ 222%

Source: Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee (2010a)

Hanas Village

Hanas Village is 90 miles from Hemu Village, and 120 miles from the nearest county – Buerjin County. It has 5 natural villages, and two of them – Hanas Tuva Old Village and Hanas Tuva New Village are involved in tourism. The public sectors include the Hanas Villagers’ Committee, Kanas Mongolian Language Primary School, Medical Centre, Police Station, and Township Government Branch Office. In 2008, Kanas had a population of 801 people, 85% of which were Tuvas. Some Kazakh, Hui and Han also reside here.

Table 3.21. The population of Hanas Village (2008)

	Total	Tuvas	Kazakh	Hui	Han
Household	217	194	16	6	1
Population	801	680	96	23	2
<i>Male</i>	419	356	45	17	1
<i>Female</i>	382	324	51	6	1

Source: Statistics of Kanas Primary School

Hanas Village was the earliest village to participate in tourism because the famous Kanas Lake is located near this village. Over 60% of tourists coming to Kanas to visit this village. The main tourist attractions are Kanas Lake, Fish-viewing Platform, Sacred Spring Water and Tuva Old Village. There are Home Visit

business, convenience stores, restaurants and souvenir shops in the Tuva Old Village. Tourist activities in this village include scenery viewing, boating on Kanas Lake, visiting “Tuva” homes, and horse-riding.

Table 3.22. The stakeholders’ participation in tourism: Hanas Village, 2010

Participation modes	Administrative institutions	Tourism entrepreneurs		Locals
		Middle-scale enterprises	Small-scale outsider enterprises	
Administration	★			
Entrance Ticket	★			
On-site shuttle bus		★		
Accommodation operation		★	★	
Restaurant operation		★	★	★
Souvenir shops operation		★	★	
Convenience stores			★	
Peddery			★	★
Tour guiding		★		
Horse-riding renting			★	★
Boating operation	★	★		
Home Visit operation			★	★
Financial subsidies	★			★

★Refers to the participation of the party

As can be seen in Table 3.22, governments, tourism entrepreneurs and locals are all involved in tourism development, to different extents. The main sources of tourism income: entrance ticket income and on-site shuttle bus tickets, flow into the authority and middle-scale tourism enterprises. Outsiders from nearby counties and townships fully participate in Kanas tourism through providing catering, souvenir selling, horse-riding and Home Visit operations. On the other hand, only a few locals directly participate in tourism. Owing to a lack of business organisational skills on the part of the Tuva, their participation in tourism was mainly through renting their houses in Tuva New Village and Tuva Old Village to outsiders before 2006. The strategy of “(Locals) no participation in tourism is the best participation means” was proposed in the *Great Kanas Scenic Area Master*

Plan (2006-2020), in order to “protect authentic Tuva culture”. To counteract this, the authority paid compensation from 2006 to 2010 to the local Tuvas not to rent houses, but from the perspective of locals, this compensation is much less than the incomes derived from rents before 2005 when renting houses was permitted by the authorities. Since 2011, the authorities have implemented new grant policies; that is to distribute a portion of tourism income to each local every year. It will be discussed in the following chapters.

Hemu Village

Hemu Village is the largest among the three villages. Hemu and Hanas Mongolian Township Government is located in this village. It comprises 7 areas of residence, and three of them, Donghala, Weihala and Qibaluoyi, are mainly involved with tourism. The public sectors include Hemu and Hanas Township Government, Hemu Villagers’ Committee, Hemu Junior Middle School, Medical Centre and Police Station. It had 386 households with a population of 1,348 people in 2008, including 627 Tuva, 673 Kazakhs, 17 Hui, 26 Han and 4 Koreans (Statistics of Hemu and Hanas Township Government).

Tourism development of Hemu Village started in the early 2000s. It is famous for its abundant natural resources and biological species as well as the distinctive tourist and cultural facilities. In autumn, the leaves of the forest take on a variety of different colours that creates a colourful collage together with the surrounding sky and grassland. It is regarded as possessing the most beautiful autumnal colours in the Kanas area. It is renowned for its picturesque landscape and tranquillity, and is positioned as ‘Sacred Garden’. The main tourist attractions in the village are Hemu Hadeng Platform, Beauty Mount, Hongbasi Grassland, Hemu River and Sacred Spring Water. In the village, there are 4 Home Visit properties, convenience stores, restaurants and souvenir shops. Tourist activities in

this village include viewing scenery, photography, Home Visit, and horse-riding.

Table 3.23. The stakeholders' participation in tourism: Hemu Village, 2010

Participation modes	Administrative institution	Tourism entrepreneurs		Locals
		Middle-scale enterprises	Small-scale outsider enterprises	
Administration	★			
Entrance Ticket	★			
On-site shuttle bus		★		
Accommodation operation		★	★	★
Restaurant operation		★	★	
Souvenir shops operation			★	
Convenience stores			★	
Peddlerly			★	★
Tour guiding		★		
Horse-riding renting				★
Home Visit operation				★
Financial subsidies	★			★

★Refers to the participation of the party

Although authorities, tourism entrepreneurs and locals are all involved in the tourism development of Hemu Village, the modes and levels of participation of each group differ from those of Hanas Village. The tourism development level of Hemu Village is lower than of Hanas Village. Hemu villagers, especially the Kazakhs, have stronger business sense than Hanas locals. In Hanas Village, 80% horsemen are from nearby counties and townships, while in Hemu Village, all of the horsemen are locals including Kazakhs and Tuvas in 2010. The reasons will be fully discussed in the following chapters.

Baihaba Village

Baihaba Village is located alongside the Habahe River – the natural border

between China and Kazakhstan. It is 31 miles from Hanas Village, and 108 miles from the nearby county – Habahe County from which Baihaba was governed until 2006. Water melted from the ice-capped mountains flows through the village and divides the community into two sides: Baihaba South Village (Baihaba No.1 Village) and Baihaba North Village (Baihaba No.2 Village). Baihaba South Village is mainly inhabited by Kazakhs, and Baihaba North Village is predominantly occupied by Tuva people. The public sectors include Baihaba North Villagers’ Committee, Baihaba South Villagers’ Committee, Baihaba Kazakh Language Primary School, Baihaba Mongolian Primary School, Medical Centre and Baihaba Boundary Station. In total, it had 254 households with a population of 863 people in 2008 including 378 Tuva, 478 Kazakhs, 1 Hui and 6 Han.

Table 3.24 The population of Baihaba Village (2008)

	Total	Tuvas	Kazakh	Hui	Han
Baihaba Village	863	378	478	1	6
<i>Baihaba North Village</i>	587	272	1	0	3
<i>Baihaba South Village</i>	276	106	477	1	3

Source: Urban and Town Public Station, 2008

Tourism development of Baihaba Village started in the late 1990s. Baihaba is famous for its beautiful landscape and cultural environment, the No.5 Boundary Tablet and the boundary river between China and Kazakhstan and the title of ‘First Village of Northwest China’. Baihaba Village is normally not in the standard itinerary of package tourists, but serves as an optional tour attraction that tour guides suggest to tourists visiting Kanas. Package tourists normally spend less than two hours in the village. They first visit the No. 5 Boundary Tablet, and then a stone carved with "The First Village of Northwest China”, and then look around in the village. Individual tourists probably visit other tourist attractions, such as White Lake and Naren Farm.

Table 3.25. The stakeholders' participation in tourism: Baihaba Village, 2010

Participation modes	Administrative institution	Tourism entrepreneurs		Boundary station	Locals
		Middle-scale enterprises	Small-scale outsider enterprises		
Administration	★				
Entrance Ticket	★				
On-site shuttle bus		★			
Accommodation operation		★	★	★	★
Restaurant operation		★	★		★
Souvenir shops operation					★
Convenience stores			★		★
Peddlerly					★
Tour guiding		★			
Horse-riding renting					★
Financial subsidies	★	★			★

There are fewer tourism enterprises participating in tourism in Baihaba Village than in the other two villages because of the smaller tourist numbers. On the other hand, Baihaba Village ranks number one in the number of locally owned and operated family hotels and restaurants. Some villagers also run horse rental business. Generally, Baihaba Village is in the early participation stage of Butler's (1980) tourism destination lifecycle.

3.4 Summary

Owing to the reform and 'opening up' policy of the 1980s, China's tourism has achieved significant progress in the last decades in terms of domestic, inbound and outbound tourism. It has become a popular tourist destination worldwide. Hemmed in by mountains and isolated from the rest of China, the various minorities have preserved their differing cultures and maintained uniquely

different lifestyles from the Han Chinese, and these have a great appeal to both Han Chinese and foreign tourists. Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, owing to its beautiful scenery, mixture of cultures and indigenous cuisines has attracted tourists in increasing numbers. Within Xinjiang, the Kanas Scenic Area is one of the more popular destination areas. The amazing Kanas Lake, beautiful scenery, 'mysterious' Tuva culture and its boundary location make it a unique attraction to visitors from the rest of the country and abroad.

Multiple groups participate in tourism of each village. Tourism development and participation in tourism by different groups in many parts of China are still benefit-directed. Cultural negotiations between tourists, villagers and the various authorities are clearly vibrant and social relationships among villagers are very much alive with the push and pull of various negotiations as will be described later in this thesis. This means that Kanas cannot remain in any sort of static state, protected from change and the perceived homogenising forces of tourism, but rather is a continuing 'work in progress'.

CHAPTER FOUR RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter covers the research approaches that were employed for this project, providing details about the research methods undertaken in a one year ethnographic research in the Altay Region Kanas Scenic Area of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in China. Research design, access to the area and the locals, and field relations are outlined. The socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry are stressed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). A mixed research approach, including qualitative and quantitative methods, as well as a variety of primary and secondary data sources, was applied to answer the research questions. Ethical issues considered in this study are presented. The value of western social research methods when used in a Chinese context was investigated and some requirements of the ethical guidelines of western research institutions are critically analysed.

4.1 Ethnographic research

The uniqueness of the indigenous Tuva and Kazakh people in Kanas requires the researcher to initiate detailed understanding prior to researching them. I employed an ethnographic approach whereby I lived in Kanas, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, China, for a whole year from summer 2009 to autumn 2010. Ethnographic study enables researchers to understand the values of indigenous people and to analyse these values and the lives that give rise to them within the background of indigenous culture at a depth greater than that which might otherwise be achieved. Malinowski (1961, p. 25) describes the goal of ethnographer as to grasp (a) the native's point of view, (b) his relationship to life, and (c) to learn and appreciate his/her vision of his/her world. Besides achieving these goals, I try to demonstrate how and to what extent the determinants of tourism development in Kanas have impacts on the local people during the tourism and non-tourism seasons.

There is reason to believe that western social research methods require adaptation if research is to be conducted in China and if the results are to be accurate and meaningful. Although an interview is designed to elicit 'the inside story' and people's feelings (Atkinson & Silverman 1997), this is not entirely the case in China and potentially especially so in the case of Kanas. It needs to be noted that: (1) as China is a relationship-oriented society, Chinese people may not respond well and tell the truth to strangers, (2) they are concerned that the researcher might inform others of what they have said, especially the government, which might have negative consequences for them or alternatively, and (3) they may tend to provide answers that they believe are the responses desired by the questioner. These predispositions can be overcome when eventually, over time, the researcher establishes a friendly relationship based on trust. Establishing this friendship and trust takes time, which explains the necessity of utilising long-term ethnographic research in western China.

In Kanas, some information I obtained from government officials, locals and outsider business people in the early stages of the research was different from that I obtained in the later stages. As relationships with the respondents became closer, they began to relay to me more negative but I believe more realistic assessments about the villages. Thus, it appears that the respondents were hiding problematic information from me in the early stages of the project but revealing these more complex 'truths' in the later stage. It is suggested this is because the respondents regarded me as a member of a 'different outsider group' in the early stage, while eventually considering me to be part of 'insider-group' in the latter stages.

From a wider perspective ethnographic and anthropological study may be classified as being based upon functionalism, structuralism, interactionist theories, Marxist analysis, organic and socioecological approaches (Layton, 1997). As with any system of classification the boundaries between the different categories

become blurred, especially when working in the field. Broadly speaking the following may be stated:

Functionalism seeks to understand the internal segments of society, especially the traditional patterns of society, and is associated with early anthropological attempts to examine the pre-colonial state of colonised peoples. It is associated with the Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, and in part Durkheim, and customs as maintaining the integrity of social systems and the identification of individual's roles within that society.

Structuralism emerged in the 1960s from functionalism with its adherents arguing that societies were too complex for simple descriptions of functions, and that collections of cultural signs demarcated different societies. This view was based upon Durkheim and Mauss's work on Australian Aboriginal peoples, and thus is concerned with totemism and linguistic symbolism. Rituals are thus a major part of any societal identification.

Mauss later examined Maori culture and noted the role of gift giving among Maori, which in a tourism context is examined by Ryan (1997). Both stress the interactionist role where meaning is constructed in terms of mutual recognition of responsibilities as gift giver and gift receiver recognise terms associated with the gift. This can be expanded into an analysis of mutual role playing as understood within the culture being examined. Within the wider anthropological literature the descriptions of Nuer culture and kinship by Evans-Pritchard (1989) exemplifies this approach.

Within China Marxist analyses of society were, arguably, the only form of social analysis permitted within the Chinese universities during periods of Maoist rule, and in consequence still has adherents in Chinese social thought. Technology,

social relations and ideology form drivers of social evolution through a series of historical stages. In terms of examining minority people's culture it reinforces the notion that small scale societies are not isolates, but are tied to wider elements of the colonial and post-colonial world. Equally the social actor is driven from the material to the ideological, never the reverse.

Socioecological approaches draw upon the biological observations of success through cooperation and indeed altruistic action. It emphasises the role of learning in the modification of behaviour and views societies as being organic, adaptive and in particular in its studies of 'smaller societies' took into account the role played by the wider environment in shaping patterns of behaviour.

The above descriptions are, of necessity, brief, but help to shape the types of knowledge that the ethnographic researcher seeks when immersing him or herself in the lives of community otherwise foreign to them. Consequently a thesis such as this straddles different modes of examination. One examines the patterns of cultural behaviour, the degrees of power that existed between locals, ethnic groupings and local government, the role of tourism as a material source of influence and power, the scopes and gazes of tourists, the degrees of access to image formation and delivery of product to a preconceived image possessed by the tourist, the patterns of both indifference to and obtaining advantage from the curiosities of visiting outsiders, and of course, in the final resort, an examination of my own role as the outsider becoming immersed as an insider, but one who eventually leaves again for the outside – perhaps as a different form of tourist, but nonetheless a tourist gazing upon a social scene.

The approach adopted combines both emic and etic paradigms. The discussion replies on "the actors' interpretation and local inside knowledge of the meaning of the behaviour under study" (Pearce, 1988, p. 91), and on "the externally

constructed models by ‘outsider’ researchers to describe the social situation under discussion (Sofield, 2003, p. 3).

Two levels of emic and etic paradigms are involved in this research. The first is from the perspective of the researched indigenous community: based on my ‘insider’ fieldwork in the community, I tried to reflect the values and perspectives of the locals and provide a ‘true’ picture of the area; on the other hand, I provide explanation and my thinking from theories as an “outsider” researcher. The second level is regarding my identity of Chinese (insider) and the understandings of Western readers (outsider). Chinese specific values and perspectives are different from those of western world. I have been trying to show the difference, to think from both perspectives and to enable readers, especially westerners, to better understand China, especially the research area. An example is the provision of an introduction of China and Chinese minorities in Chapter three, as the background of this study.

My fields

Three Tuva settlements in the Kanas Scenic Area, Hanas Village, Hemu Village and Baihaba Village that are geographically close to each other were my main research settings. In addition, I visited the nearby villages where a few tourists had been and the nearby counties and cities, to have a better contextual understanding of tourism impacts on the locals of the three villages.

The three villages: Hanas Village, Hemu Village and Baihaba Village

I lived for a period of time in each of the three main Tuva settlements, in order to compare and contrast locals’ lives, the numbers of outsiders that visited and their interactions with locals, the roles of government, tourism development, and tourism impacts on locals’ tangible and intangible culture and locals’ reaction to

tourism in each village.

I lived in different forms of accommodation in each village for the convenience of collecting data. I lived with a Tuva family in Hanas Village for the whole winter and two months in summer so as to compare and contrast the local Tuvas' life and the peak and off-peak tourism seasons. I also lived with three female officials in a dormitory of Hemu and Hanas Township Government in Hemu Village for around three months to primarily interview officials while also observing the impacts of tourism there. Additionally, I lived in a youth hostel for three weeks in Baihaba Village to closely interact with tourists and outside Kazakh operators, and to conduct a survey of visitors. I continuously travelled among the three villages, back and forth, in order to compare and contrast locals' lives and while also observing the cultural performances that were being promoted. I also attended different village events with local people, in order to compare and contrast locals' lives and cultural performances occurring simultaneously. Such travel was sometimes on horseback. Additionally, during the period I had opportunities to learn Kazakh language from them.

I chose to live in Hanas Village for the longest time for two reasons: (a) tourism development in Hanas Village occurred much earlier than in the other villages and hence (2) the impacts of tourism were the greatest. Indeed, Hanas Village is promoted as the 'must see' destination for each tourist visiting the Kanas Scenic Area.

The nearby villages: Tiereketi Village, Qibaqilik Village and Axiabulak Village

In addition, I spent a week in the three nearby non-tourist villages – Tiereketi Village, Qibaqilik Village and Axiabulak Village, which are under the same local administrative authority (the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee), to compare the lives of locals in the non-tourist villages with those residents in the

tourist villages. I lived in a guesthouse which was operated by a local Kazakh official of Tiereketi Township Government. The guests of the guesthouse were primarily the guests of the township government.

The nearby counties: Buerjin County and Habahe County

I also spent almost two months in the nearby counties of Buerjin County and Habahe County, locations preferred by local Tuva and Kazakh village people as their main retail centre. This was to observe their retail and leisure behaviours and to understand their preferences for the 'modern life' of counties. I often visited the homes of some Tuvas and Kazakhs in the counties as my network of friends expanded. About 50 Tuva and Kazakh families based in the three main study villages have rented or purchased houses in the two counties for the convenience of education, medical treatment, employment and shopping.

Living in Buerjin County was also for the purpose of interviewing officials and obtaining governmental documents, since all the bureaux of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee were located at Buerjin County. Another reason that determined a period residency in Buerjin County was for the recovery of my injured ankle. When I was there, I lived in either a Tuva friend's house or a tourist hostel as was convenient for my friends and to also assess tourist behaviours.

The nearby cities: Beitun City, Altay City and Urumqi City

I also spent 10 days visiting the nearby cities of Beitun City and Altay City which some Tuvas and Kazakhs of the three villages sometimes visited for better medical treatment and entertainment. Many Tuva and Kazakh students of the villages studied at the primary middle school and high middle school of Altay City. Furthermore, I visited Urumqi City, the capital city of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region which was the 'dream place' for many young Tuvas and Kazakhs, and which some elders also visited for its 'advanced' medical treatment.

4.2 Research design pre-fieldwork and re-design on site

4.2.1 Research approach

A case study based on ethnographic principles was adopted in this research to collect data. Beeton (2005, p. 42) defines a case study as a holistic empirical inquiry used to gain an in-depth understanding about a contemporary phenomenon in its real life context, using multiple sources of evidence. Although case studies are likely to reflect the bias of the researcher who is the primary instrument of research design, data collection and analysis (Beeton, 2005), bias is not restricted to this method (Yin, 1994). Bias could enter into any method. For example, the modes of statistical analysis that a researcher may use reflect personal choices and preference by the researcher as much as any conventional usage.

Data triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation were adopted in this study. Triangulation has been proposed as a means for improving the credibility, dependability and objectivity of study findings (Decrop, 1999). Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (1991) identify four different types of triangulation: (1) data triangulation, where data are collected at different times or from different sources; (2) investigator triangulation, where different investigators independently collect data; (3) theory triangulation, where a theory is taken from one discipline and used to explain a phenomenon in another discipline; and (4) methodological triangulation, where multiple methods including quantitative and qualitative techniques are employed to study a single question. The key to triangulation is the selection of research strategies and measures that do not share the same methodological weakness, such as errors and biases (Singleton, Strait, Strait & McAllister, 1988).

In terms of data triangulation, both first and second-hand data were used in this research. First-hand sources included observations, oral accounts of locals,

interviews and a survey. They were complemented by a variety of secondary data, including academic literature, newspapers, online information, government reports, tourism planning reports, and local chronicles. In terms of theory triangulation, theories taken from tourism and sociology are used in this study to explain the tourism phenomenon. In terms of methodological triangulation, both quantitative and qualitative approaches were employed in this study, as seen in the questionnaire survey and fieldwork research in the area.

4.2.2 Foreshadowed problems and related questions

The origin of the inquiry is to discuss the extents, approaches, and results of tourism impacts on different populations in one indigenous community. After selecting the Kanas Scenic Area as the setting, the foreshadowed problem was turned into a set of questions under three themes: (1) tourism development of Kanas; (2) tourism impacts on Kanas; and (3) tourism impacts on local Tuva and Kazakh people.

Different interview questions were designed for several groups, including government officials, local Tuva people, outsiders participating in tourism, and tourists. The themes of the questions can be seen in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Interview questions designed pre-fieldwork

Respondents	Interview themes
Governmental officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Tourism development of Kanas</i>• <i>The changes in Kanas in recent years</i>• <i>The changes of the locals' lives in recent years</i>• <i>The role of tourism in the changes</i>• <i>The determinants of the changes</i>• <i>The strategies relating to tourism development and their impacts on locals</i>• <i>The protection of Tuva culture</i>
Local Tuva people	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>The changes tourism have brought to them and their families</i>• <i>Tourism impacts on Tuva culture</i>• <i>Their attitudes towards the future of Tuva culture</i>• <i>Their attitudes towards tourism</i>• <i>Their participation in tourism</i>• <i>The protection of Tuva culture</i>
Outsiders participating in tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Their understanding of Tuva culture</i>• <i>Their understanding of tourists' perception of Tuva culture</i>• <i>Their attitudes towards Tuva people</i>
Tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Their motivations for visiting Kanas</i>• <i>Their experiences in Kanas</i>• <i>Their understanding about Tuva people and Tuva culture pre-visit</i>• <i>Their expectation to see 'the authentic' Tuva people</i>• <i>Their understanding about Tuva people after their visit</i>

4.2.3 Questionnaire design

A questionnaire survey of 500 visitors, including independent tourists and package tourists in Kanas, was planned to ascertain tourists' motivations for visiting Kanas and their satisfaction with their experience. It was planned to only use Mandarin because over 98% tourists were domestic tourists. The English and Mandarin questionnaires are attached at Appendix 1 and 2.

The questionnaire comprised both closed and open ended questions. A 7-point Likert perception scale was used allowing the measurement of respondents' perspectives about their motivations and experience. Demographic characteristics were also included to permit the measurement of variations in perceptions based on age, sex, ethnicity, education, occupation and income.

The questionnaire consisted of five sections. The first section contained 9 questions about visitors' visit information. The second section contained 22 attitudinal questions designed to measure tourists' motivations for visiting Kanas. Participants were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with each statement on their motivations on a 7-point Likert scale, in which 1 means 'of no importance', 2 means 'of little importance', 3 means 'of some importance', 4 means 'important', 5 means 'very important', 6 means 'very highly important' and 7 means 'extremely important'. A total of 23 questions in the third section were designed to assess tourists' experiences during visiting Kanas. A 7-point Likert scale was also used. The numbers from 1 to 7 represent the extents from 'dissatisfied' to 'extremely satisfying' and 0 means 'not applicable'. The fourth section consisted of 10 questions which were designed to evaluate tourists' impression towards local people's culture. A 7-point Likert scale was also employed. The last section contained 2 open-ended questions as well as demographic and socio-economic items. The purpose of the open-ended questions was to collect more comments and concerns from tourists to encourage them to indicate their attitudes towards tourism development of Kanas and tourism impacts on the locals. The questionnaire was previously approved by the Waikato Management School Ethnic Committee.

4.2.4 Research re-design on site

Some plans designed pre-fieldwork were cancelled or changed during fieldwork. Research design is crucial to ethnography, but it is a reflexive process that operates throughout each stage of the project (Maxwell, 2004). Due to a lack of understanding of the research area pre-fieldwork, the initial research design was found to be inappropriate and impractical. For example, interviews were planned to take place in public places (largely considering the relating ethnic requirement) but respondents there preferred to be interviewed at their homes — that is in private places. The survey of visitors was planned to be conducted at the airport;

however, after I arrived at the area, I found that only a small proportion of tourists visited Kanas by plane and most came by bus from Urumqi City.

Observations made during the fieldwork also re-ordered some of the priorities within the research design. After I had lived in Kanas for 3 months, I had a general understanding about the cultural brokering in the Home Visit context. Although this had been noted in the literature review, it was made more important and minor amendments designed to elicit more information were made to the questionnaire and approaches made to respondents. The questions are attached at Appendix 3.

4.3 Access

Access to the site

The first requirement to access the research area was to obtain permission from the local government. In April 2009, I sent an email to the administrator of Xinjiang Buerjin County via the ‘Inbox of administrator’ on its official website. In the email, I explained my research purpose – to research tourism impacts on the local people of the Kanas Scenic Area; described my method – to conduct a one year ethnographic research there; and proposed my intention – to teach in the school of Hemu or Hanas Village during fieldwork. I instantly received an email from the Education Bureau of Buerjin County in which the official welcomed me, and attached contact details. Afterwards, I established contact with the deputy head of Politics Division of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee.

Normally, the journey from any city of China, like Beijing, to the Kanas Scenic Area takes at least one day, and sometime even longer, following a complicated transit from one place to another. Firstly I took a 3.5 hours plane from Beijing to Urumqi airport in the early morning. After 3 hours wait at Urumqi airport, I took a

one hour plane to Altay City, followed by one and a half hour drive to Buerjin County. Normally, it was already at night when arriving at Buerjin County. After spending one night at Buerjin County, it took around 3 hours to drive to Hanas Village the next day. An alternative approach is to take a direct plane from Urumqi to Kanas which is only available in tourism season. Such approach less the time spent on transport to less than one day.

Access to the locals

To gain the trust of locals is the preliminary step for doing ethnographic research. Living with a local family is one such means of getting in touch with them and so become accepted as a member of the local community. The family members I lived with were part of elites in the village. The host is the head of the Hanas Villagers' Committee, and the hostess is a teacher in the only primary school in Hanas Village. The younger sister of the host, who lived with me in the same room, is one of the three doctors in the village hospital. With the introductions provided by the family members, more and more villagers established good relationships with me over time. Chinese people place much more trust in knowing someone personally or through a close friend/relative (Bond, 1991). Being accepted by a member of local elite eases entry into any community, but further understanding depends upon the relationships between the 'elite' and the wider community. In this case, given the small numbers of the village communities, the daily contacts that existed and the similarities in life styles meant that 'early adoption' by an 'elite' family did not, as far as I could judge, prejudice my position in subsequent discussions with members of the wider community.

My initial plan of teaching in the local school was cancelled, since I did not understand Mongolian or Kazakh language upon my arrival, because all the courses were taught in Mandarin and Mongolian, or Mandarin and Kazakh. As an alternative, I was asked by the head of the school in Hemu Village to write

different kinds of documents and reports in Mandarin for officials from China's Central Government and Xinjiang Autonomous Region Government. The teachers were all Tuva or Kazakh, and their written Mandarin was not very good and they were not confident to write the reports for such high ranking officials. The reports and documents of the school were essential parts of the school reporting system and my help in writing these documents resolved a major problem for them. In addition, on behalf of my former company, I donated 100 books and bags for the students there. These actions helped me establish a good relationship with local students and teachers in the school. Overall, although the initial plan was not put into practice, I still achieved the goal: to become immersed in the community.

4.4 Field relations

4.4.1 Initial responses

The research was overt; people in the fieldwork area tried to place me within the social landscape defined by their observation and their experience. Some locals in Hemu Village initially believed that I was a teacher in the local school since I was often in the school writing reports in the early research period; some locals assumed that I was a new staff of township government since I lived in the dormitory of the township; some regarded me as a tourist since I often took photos; some suspected me as a journalist, since sometimes I made notes in notebooks, while some outside vendors even suspected that I was a spy since I came from New Zealand – another country!

The longer I stayed there, the more my identity transformed from 'teacher', 'new staff of township government', 'tourist', 'journalist', 'spy' to a 'Doctor' researching Tuva people. I had been telling people that I was only a 'doctoral student' and would not be a 'Doctor' until I finished the thesis. However, they found it hard to distinguish the titles and, according to them, I would be a 'Doctor'

some day; therefore, many people there named me as ‘Doctor’ or ‘Doctor Yang’.

Some people were familiar with ‘research’ since there had been some researchers researching animals, plants and local human culture. Some viewed me as expert in tourism and often asked me to forecast the tourism development next year: will a lot of tourists come to Kanas? A few people held negative attitudes towards research. They complained that many so-called ‘researchers’ came to collect various data from them; however nobody really helped the villagers to resolve their problems and often participating people gained nothing from their research. A balancing act was taken between these roles and attitudes.

Whether or not the people knew about social research, and whatever attitudes they took towards it, all welcomed me and regarded me as a friend. On the one hand, the local residents are kind, welcoming and hospitable. On the other hand, the locals are often more concerned with what kind of person the researcher is than with the research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 65). I continually tried to give a good impression to all I met.

4.4.2 Impression management

A researcher’s personal appearance is a salient consideration when locals try to appraise to what extent the researcher can be trusted, and to what extent the researcher might be able to offer a ‘return’ as an acquaintance or friend (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 66). Some of my clothes were bought from Buerjin County, which was the shopping place for the Tuvas and Kazakhs. I dressed in clothes and shoes similar to those of the locals, which shortened the visual distance between me and the local minorities. In some exceptional circumstances when, for example, I wore a sun hat and sunglasses, the locals asked me: “Why do you dress like a tourist?” Some Han officials joked with me

that I seemed like a Tuva girl of Kanas, rather than a young lady from a modern city.



Figure 4.1. The author cooking local food

When I lived with the Tuva family, I ate the same food as them and cooked the local food on a daily basis with the family members, and shared the raising of cows and horses with them. The Tuva family came to regard me not as a ‘respectable’ doctorate student (an outsider), but as one of their family members (an insider).

Due to the daily interaction with local Tuvans and Kazakhs, my vocabulary and diction of Mandarin language changed. I spoke Mandarin in the way the local minority people spoke, with local dialect, in order to make them understand my words. They regarded me as a member of them when I spoke their languages or I spoke Mandarin in their ways. Some Han officials of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee commented that I was more immersed in the local life than them.

I learnt a number of skills necessary for living in that traditional community but rare in modern society, for example, the Tuva and Kazakh languages, horse riding, and cooking the local food. For attending the traditional Aobao Festival at a remote site (a location still largely closed to outsiders), I rode a horse for 6 hours on one day. I learnt Kazakh language during the fieldwork by attending Kazakh

language class, self-learning and communicating with locals, which shortened the distance between me and the locals to a great extent. The notes taken on Kazakh language classes can be seen in Figure 4.2. My assertiveness, intelligence and hard-working spirit impressed the locals and contributed to establishing a good relationship with locals and therein collecting data.

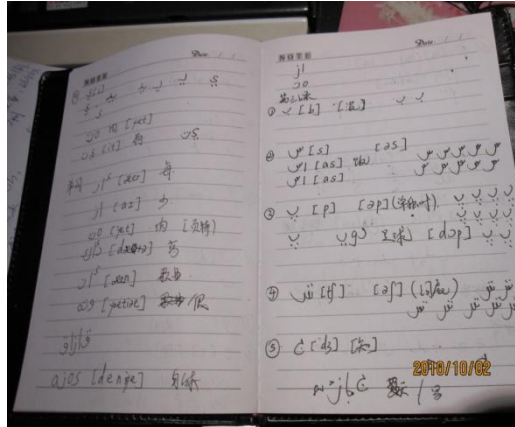


Figure 4.2. The author's Kazakh language learning notes after class

4.4.3 My personal characteristics

Ethnography is a demanding activity, requiring diverse abilities and skills. My cultural background greatly contributed to the success of my fieldwork. I am Chinese and can speak Mandarin which helped me launch the research as described above and to communicate with officials and the locals throughout the whole research project. Most officials are Han Chinese and they speak primarily and often only Mandarin. As tourists have become more in number over the years, many local Tuvas and Kazakhs could speak some Mandarin, and that aided communications and we would speak in a 'cross-over' of Tuva, Kazah and Mandarin. I grew up in a city of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in northeast China where there are many Mongolian people. The similarities of characteristics of people in north China, such as being direct, open and good at drinking, helped me get well along with the people in the Kanas Scenic Area in northwest China.

My past work and research experience assisted me maintaining a good relationship with people in different segments, like locals, officials, migrant workers, tourism business enterprise operators and tourists, although there could be conflict between or among the different stakeholders. My work experience in the China National Tourism Administration helped me better understand the bureaucratic system of China. My experience of working in China CYTS Tour Co. Ltd, a leading tourism company in China, equipped me with good skills to deal with people in different segments. All told my past ethnographic research experience during graduate study helped me conquer all kinds of hardships and difficulties during the fieldwork research.

4.4.4 My contribution to the research area

As part of the process of establishing myself, I also ran a 3-day training programme for governmental officials of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee. The training programme was concerned with three themes: ski tourism development, customer service management and advanced tourism development experience of New Zealand, all of which were designed to be useful for the development of Kanas. The news about the training was broadcast on local TV news and Kanas official website (see http://www.kns.gov.cn/Article_Show.asp?ArticleID=1648).



Figure 4.3. The author training local administrative staff

In addition, I provided two reports for the local government, one of which was the

Tuva Culture Museum Development Project. The traditional Tuva culture, developed Tuva culture, and the future Tuva culture will all be embodied in the Tuva Culture Museum. Authentic Tuva houses and facilities, videos, photos will all be employed. The other report was the *Kanas Tuva Culture Association Regulation*, designed as a set of rules and recommendations for disciplining the Kanas Tuva Culture Association which the local government planned to establish.

After leaving the area, I have since provided several presentations about Kanas and local people at international academic conferences. The photos presented in the PowerPoints and my presentations have served to promote the Kanas Scenic Area at an international level.

4.4.5 The strains and stresses of fieldwork

Drinking culture

The main stress felt during the fieldwork was the local drinking culture. The locals' and the government officials' hospitality is fully expressed by their custom of drinking, often to excess. They greet guests by offering guests drink and urging guests to drink more regardless of whether guests can drink or not. The drinks are normally a form of milk-derived alcohol, alcohol, beer and sometimes red wine. Guests are expected to show their respect to hosts by drinking as much as possible. I was always urged to drink more by officials and locals. If I refused to drink, a good relationship was difficult to establish. Although I was a good drinker, I got drunk several times to the point of suffering diarrhoea and one occasion having a fall that caused a fractured ankle. This was broken after I got drunk once during fieldwork. The fractured ankle was kept in plaster for one and a half months. I spent that time in a room at a tourist hostel in the Buerjin County for the convenience of seeing a doctor in the Buerjin Hospital and going to the bathroom inside the room. There was no TV programmes or Internet in the room. Under

such circumstances, my daily work was to collect, review, analyse and translate the official documents, all in the same room, since movement was neither convenient nor encouraged with the cast on my ankle. Sometimes I interviewed the administrative staff when they came to see me or when I walked on crutches to the bureaux. I finished the writing of the *Kanas Tuva Museum Development Project* in that period. After my recovery, I went back to the villages. However, the cold weather in the mountainous area was impeding the recovery of a bone injury and I sometimes felt pain during the winter.

The ankle injury did not stop my research, nor did it stop locals urging me to drink in the latter research period. It was very hard to avoid drinking during the fieldwork, especially in summer when the Tuvas brew their milk-derived alcohol. It was regarded as very rude if the guest refused the drink proposed by the elder host in local minorities' houses. I got diarrhoea after I drank the milk-derived drink in a local traditional way and it took 5 days for recovery. Drinking helped me establish a good relationship with many people there. However, it is at the risk of injuries. Sometimes when I got drunk, I felt I probably made myself too acceptable to others: I did not like to drink; but I had to drink to achieve my goal of being an accepted member of the community.

Avoid the not welcomed behaviour of former researchers

I was not the first researcher to have visited the Kanas Scenic Area, but I seemed to be the most welcomed researcher ever in that area. I had been humbly conforming the village rules, behaving according to their criteria of an 'unmarried girl', learning their languages and more importantly avoiding the behaviour of former researchers that had not been welcomed by the local residents.

Among some of the inappropriate behaviours of former researchers, asking the local minorities to complete questionnaires is among the least welcomed.

Experience indicates the reaction of the local Tuva and Kazakh respondents when asked to fill the questionnaire, as illustrated in the following two cases:

Case one: Researcher A designed a questionnaire for locals to complete. He first asked a local Tuva girl who graduated from a technical school to translate the questionnaire into Mongolian which is the written language of Tuvas. However, as the Tuva translator noted, the locals were reluctant to fill the questionnaire; they did not know what questionnaires were; they objected to the questionnaire, and some locals even threw it away as rubbish.

Case two: Researcher B formulated a questionnaire prior to the research study. Owing to a lack of understanding about the research site and the locals, some questions were subsequently found to be neither appropriate nor suitable for the local people. The questionnaire was in the Mandarin language which many local people did not understand. The researcher asked some college students to go to locals' homes to administer the questionnaire with the help of interpreters. Although some locals could communicate in the Han language, there were many locals that could not speak Han (Mandarin). In such circumstances, the student would first read the question and the interpreter would then translate the question into the Tuva or Kazakh language. After the local answered the question, the interpreter translated it into Mandarin. Then the researcher wrote down the answer on the questionnaire. It took 1.5 hours to 2 hours to finish a 6 page questionnaire. As a consequence, in effect it became an interview, not a self-administered questionnaire, and the results recorded on the questionnaire largely depended on the interpreter. With the interpreter normally being both local and an official of the government, there was no way of telling whether the interpreter was interpreting the questions as intended, answering accurately or telling the truth. The 'interview' became too long, and many locals did not

complete it.

The two cases reveal that conducting a questionnaire for the locals of Kanas did not work well. Based on the observation and informal conversations with locals, the following reasons are suggested as contributing to the failure of survey. First, there are different languages of the questionnaire designer and respondent. The researchers are mostly Han and speak Mandarin while the respondents are Tuva or Kazakhs speaking their respective languages. As tourism has developed in the last 10 years, more local people can speak but cannot write or read Mandarin. Second, there is huge gap between the questionnaire designer and the locals in terms of educational background. The locals have mostly graduated from primary or middle school and had difficulty understanding the meaning of the questionnaire which was formulated by researchers who had received tertiary education. Third, locals, who are nomadic minorities, are not used to reading and writing. Fourth, they are not familiar with the concept of a questionnaire and do not know how to fill it in. Fifth, they are concerned that it would put them in an invidious position if they fill in the questionnaire. Sixth, researchers normally formulate a questionnaire prior to the research study and may not have visited the area and thus the questions may not be suitable for the case area. From the above discussion, it can be seen that using a self administered or interpreter administered questionnaire method is problematic in the minority settlements of western China, such as Kanas. A questionnaire can be seen to be uncomfortable and inappropriate, and may not be a useful method of collecting valid data.

The impact of the July 2009 Urumqi riots

The July 2009 Urumqi riots, happened at the capital of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, had tremendous negative impacts on tourism development of Kanas that year. Although I started distributing the tourist questionnaire as soon as I arrived there in late August, only 1 of 8 questionnaires had been collected

back. The questionnaire survey had to be postponed to 2010. In addition, Internet and the international phone calls had been blocked by the government from 5 July 2009 to 21 May 2010. This restricted the communication between me and my supervisors, and communication was only possible via contacts in Beijing.

Appeal for the locals

When villagers asked me to release information about the social problems to journalists or high ranking officials of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, I felt very frustrated for a number of reasons. I questioned whether it was my role to become involved in such ways, and I was only too aware that my time within the community would be limited and hence I had ethical reservations about adopting such a role, and second, I felt it was beyond my ability to change their reality. Third, I worried if by seemingly taking ‘sides’ it might prejudice my future ability to obtain information.

The field research was a very valuable learning process for me. I learned to adjust myself to becoming immersed in the field research, building local networks, thinking from local people’s perspectives and gleaning their insights. In spite of many stresses and strains, the field research achieved good results and overly sufficient data was collected.

4.5 Observation, oral accounts and interviewing

One of the features of ethnographic work is that, although data is gathered from many sources, participation observation and/or relatively informal conversations are commonly the main sources (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 5).

4.5.1 Observation

According to Babbie (1989, p. 288), field research is a social research method that involves the direct observation of social phenomena in their natural settings.

Observation is used to interpret and understand the meanings and experiences of a group (Burgess, 1984). It involves a systematic description of events, behaviours and artefacts in the research site (Neuman, 2003). It seeks to discover and reveal the meanings people use to make sense of their daily lives (Jorgensen, 1999). Through observation, a researcher can gain knowledge of local behaviours and events, and the meanings attached to those behaviours (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

On site observation was undertaken to observe the daily life of Tuva and Kazakhs in winter (non-tourism season) and summer (tourism season), and also tour guiding, ethnic performers, tourist activities and behaviours, and the interaction between tourists and minorities. As part of everyday local life in each of the villages, I often accompanied the members of the Tuva family I lived with and my female friends on some of their more formal visits to neighbouring houses and to celebrations such as weddings, funerals, giving birth celebrations and festivals in addition to informal visits, chats and simply gossiping. In the tourism sphere of each village, I often walked around the scenic spots, tourism accommodations, chatting with the owners, managers and tourists. I also went on tours with package tourists and individual tourists, to observe their behaviours and experiences in the area. Through direct participation and observation, I developed a general understanding of tourism development of Kanas, how and what ethnic products were delivered to tourists, how locals obtained economic gains from tourism and what the determinants of tourism impacts were.

Data from direct observation can usefully complement information obtained by virtually any other technique (Robson, 2002). These data stimulated the oral accounts and interviews, and sometimes, helped fill the gaps in interviews and survey data.

4.5.2 Unsolicited and solicited oral accounts

The accounts people provided were a useful source of data. These accounts were produced in the course of my observation and in interviews. Unsolicited and solicited oral accounts were main sources of data I collected in the research area. Oral accounts provided me both indirect information about the setting and the evidence about the attitudes, concerns and daily life of the people who produce them.

Some oral accounts were produced by respondents answering my questions; while some were unsolicited. People often provided accounts to one another: spreading news about ‘what happened’ in the village and discussing the policies of the government, each other’s moral characters and abilities and so on. Gossip is an integral part of human social relations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 99). Males of Hanas Village often gathered in front of the shops in the centre of the village. In winter the gathering was normally at around 11 am to 12 pm, after they finished raising domestic animals. In summer, there was no fixed time since everyone was busy with cutting grass or earning money from tourism.

The unsolicited oral accounts provided me with a very good approach to grasp the local Tuva culture, and to know how to ‘correctly’ respect the local culture especially in the early stage of my research. Some solicited oral accounts were derived from the issues mentioned in unsolicited oral accounts. Details of how records were made are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

4.5.3 Interviews as participation observation

An interview is another important source of data. The main difference between the way in which ethnographers and survey interviewers ask questions is whether questions are “reflective or prestructured”, rather “unstructured or structured”

(Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 117). I seldom asked the people my precise research questions, nor usually decided beforehand the exact questions I wanted to ask. I adopted a more flexible approach, allowing the discussion to flow in a way that seemed natural. Therefore, I prefer to name my interview as “conversations”, though I had a research agenda and the research questions in mind and always retained some control over the proceedings.

Over 250 people were interviewed. These respondents include locals, outside entrepreneurs, tourism operators, outside Kazakh vendors, tourists and officials of different bureaus. Most of them were interviewed on more than one occasion. The interviews are different from conversations mainly in three aspects: the length, the topics, and the number of participants. These interviews normally last more than half an hour, though sometimes interrupted by phone calls or other people. These interviews were normally taken just between me and one respondent, rather than several people as in conversations, and the topics were closely related to the research.

Normally, I initiated the conversations and interviews. However, sometimes, the respondents came to talk to me when they saw me and therein we started conversations. Sometimes, the interviews were developed from conversations. One example is that when I wrote an article in the township government office, an official came in and initiated conversations with me. Gradually, she provided me a lot of information about very sensitive issues which I may not have gotten if I asked her about the issues on some other days. The best time for interviewing is when the respondent is eager to say it. In such circumstances, I stopped what I was doing and carefully joined in the ‘deep conversations’.

The interviews were complemented by my observations drawn from daily contact and participation in village life. Sometimes, the data obtained from interviews

were not consistent with my participation observation, which forced me to explore more in detail and the underlying issues and reasons. Sometimes, the effect worked in the other way. What people said in interviews led me to see things differently in observation.

Most interviews and conversations were conducted at the respondents' territories: their houses or business venues. Many disliked to be interviewed in public places. For example, on the way to a funeral, I asked an elder about the Shamanism of locals, and to my surprise, the elder said nothing. Others subsequently told me that the elder preferred to be interviewed at home, not outside. Compromises were always made between the ethical requirements of the university and respondents' preferences. All such compromises between formal rules of the university and the realities were always considered. As Ryan (2005b) states, the good researcher is a reflective researcher.

Interpreter - broker between researcher and respondent

Though I could speak some Tuva and Kazakh languages and some locals could speak some Mandarin, there was sometimes a language barrier between me and members of the local minorities, especially in the early stage of research until my language skills improved and respondents got to know me better. Any assumption that translators may be depended upon is subject to caveats of which two are: (1) local translators might not be familiar with research or academic studies and might misinterpret information and important concepts, and (2) if the translator is a governmental official, the translator may not interpret the exact meaning of the researcher or respondent if the question concerned has possible negative implications relating to the community or government. One potential way to overcome this requires direct communication with locals which pushed me to learn Kazakh language in the latter stages of research in addition to my acquiring skills in Tuva.

Respondent – do they express truthful feelings and opinions or not?

Chinese people do not always openly express themselves. This is particularly so with the minority people in the Kanas area. There tend to be two types of statements where Tuva and Kazakh people do not express open opinions. The first is where what they say is different from what they think. This is largely because the respondents are concerned about their future, considering their social roles. For example, government officials will probably not tell of underlying problems to researchers and the public unless the officials assume it will not be harmful to them. The second type is where they are reluctant to express their views and require the researcher to judge, analyse and suspect. This is consistent with Chinese traditional education that requires students to be obedient and show respect to teachers, elders and strangers. The characteristics of a people are another factor and, as a group, Tuvas, the locals of Kanas, are slow to open up and talk with outsiders. Only after they come to regard you as a friend will they express their open feelings or opinions. A western approach that seeks to 'get down to business quickly' simply will not work in China generally, and especially when dealing with the people of the Kanas.

Interviews and expectations

Experience had showed me that I should not expect to obtain all the answers from respondents to all my questions in minority areas, since in some circumstances, even the respondents do not know the answer. They regard some rituals, performances, or taboos as *habitus*, and seldom think of the reason why the performance or ritual is provided or why they should obey the taboos. For example, why are married Tuva ladies not allowed to attend the heaven sacrificing ceremony on the morning of the first day of the Spring Festival? Why is it that here the Lama could get married and even participate in tourism business? Such questions were asked to locals and many did not know the reasons. Admittedly, some may not want to tell the reasons, not because they do not know but because

they have never consciously thought about these issues, and they simply stated “It (the ritual, the taboo, etc) is as told by my parents”.

4.6 Questionnaire, documents and artefacts

4.6.1 Questionnaire

The initial questionnaire survey for the tourists was planned before fieldwork: indeed initially before I left New Zealand. Questionnaires are commonly used in political, business, media, and research domains in western societies. Generally, respondents regard it as a way of expressing their views about the issue discussed in the questionnaire. In recent years, this method has also been adopted into China in terms of media, business and academic studies. However, based on the experience of conducting questionnaires of tourists in the Kanas Scenic Area, some unique features about Chinese people responding to a questionnaire began to appear.

Many survey respondents did not fill out questionnaires seriously. Respondents were told that the questionnaire would take around 15 to 20 minutes to complete. In practice, different answers and patterns of responses seemed to occur as noted in Figure 4.4.

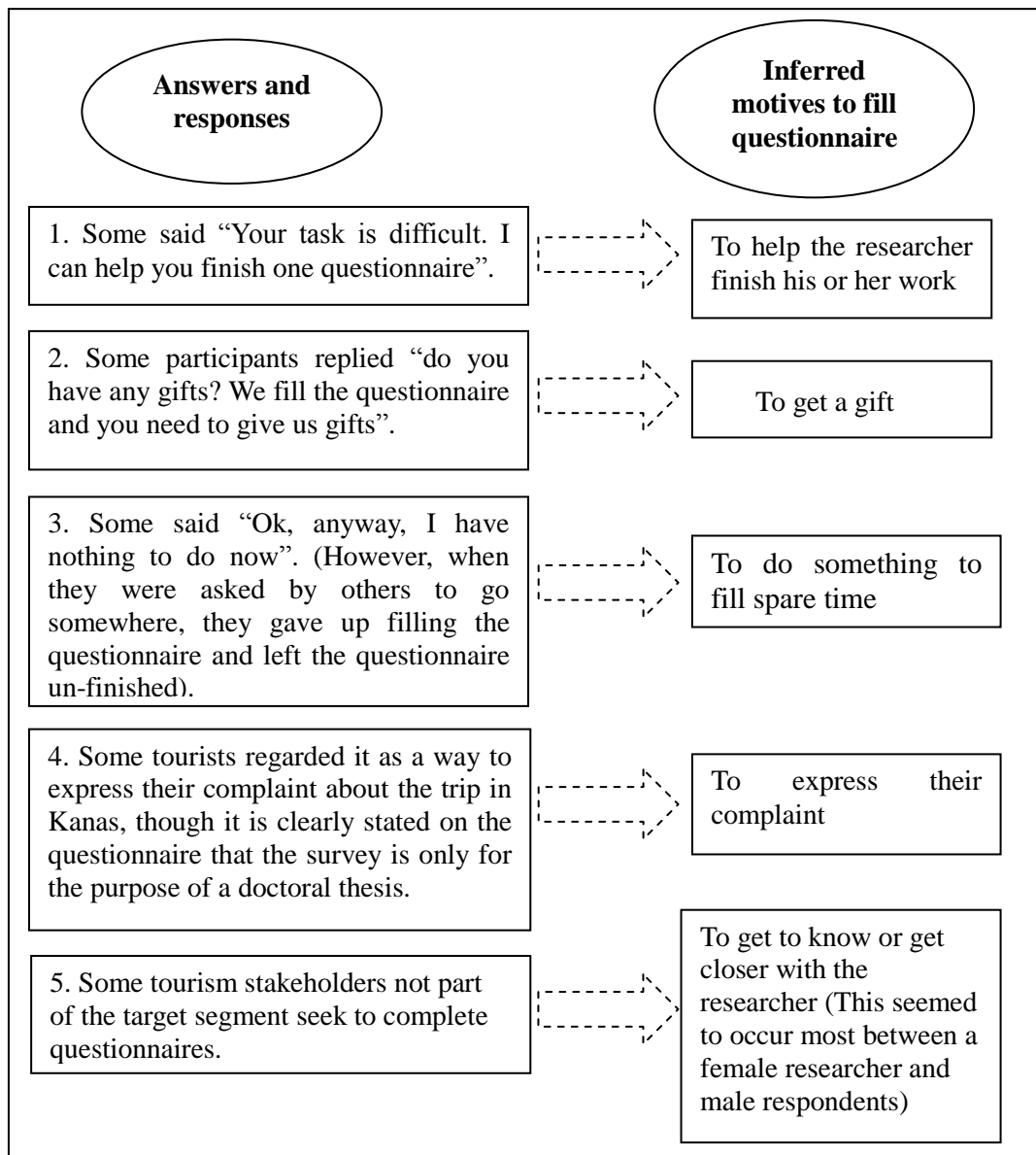


Figure 4.4. Tourist responses and inferred tourist motives completing questionnaire

Figure 4.4 shows that participants completed the questionnaire for a variety of reasons, some of which are unrelated to the intent of the study. Although the questionnaire was only completed at one site, Kanas, the target respondents were the tourists who were mainly from eastern China and some parts of western developed areas.

Consequently, data obtained from questionnaire survey cannot be used as the only source for analysing tourist motivations and experiences. They were

supplemented by data derived from interviews, oral accounts, and observations.

The original plan was to obtain a sample of 500 respondents but this was increased to 800 respondents and eventually 650 questionnaires were valid for analysis. In the latter research period, fortunately, I obtained the help from Lecturer Yao and her several undergraduate students from the Xinjiang Urumqi Professional University who distributed many of the questionnaires to tourists; otherwise it would not have been possible for me to collect such a number during the short tourism period available to me before my return to Beijing and thence to New Zealand.

4.6.2 Documents

Documents and artefacts are an essential part of ethnographic research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 121). Documents provide information about the research area, about their wider contexts, and particularly about the main actors, figures or organizations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 122), while documents stimulate analysis. On the other hand, information obtained from informants or observation may provide challenges to the documents, which is obvious from the data collected from local government.

There is a variety of documentary materials of some relevance to the research. The documentary sources include books, journals, reports, websites, local newspapers, and other written materials. The documents are mainly government reports, tourism planning reports, local chronicles, the promotion of Kanas and Tuva people on websites and tourists' experiences of visiting Kanas. These documents helped me understand the problems occurring in tourism development, the promotion of Tuva people for tourism development, tourists' attitudes to Tuva people and the future strategies of the area.

4.6.3 Artefacts

The role of artefacts is often overlooked by ethnographers (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 134). However, the material goods, objects and traces played an important role in my research. The houses built in different periods, the decoration of the rooms, the modern facilities the Tuva people selected for use, the clothes and health care products they bought from the nearby counties, were all artifacts I paid much attention to. The purpose of referring to these items is not simply in the interests of documenting the ‘contexts’ of the local social society, but to understand the patterns of changes in local lifestyles and the impacts of tourism development from a wider perspective.

Many social phenomena are impossible without the use of material goods. Many social relationships are embodied in material objects (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 134). All the material objects in the Home Visit, for example the house rent from local Tuvas, the carpet embroidered with the photo of Genghis Khan, the niche for Buddhist statue of Chos-kyi Rgyal-mtshan (the tenth Panchen Lama) on the wall, traditional Tuva musical instrument performers play, minority clothes hung on the wall, utilities of local Tuvas, some dairy tea and dairy food on the table, contributed to giving tourists an impression that it was the home of a Tuva, and not the home of a Han person, though many of these properties were operated by Han.



Figure 4.5. Material objects in one Home Visit property

4.7 Recording and organising data

Documents and other materials

Documents and other materials, including promotional brochures, guides, and circulars, were canned for retention where possible. Copying by hand, indexing, and summarising were the three main modes of noting the documents. Copies, photographing and video-recording were also used in the case of material objects.

Recording observations and conversations: field notes

Field notes, a traditional means in ethnography for recording observational and conversational data, were always taken on a daily basis. Some field notes were typed directly onto a laptop; while some were handwritten when there was a blackout or when the laptop was not available, and then subsequently entered onto a laptop. Field notes were written in English or Mandarin, depending on the time and the content.

Making notes during the interview is a good way for researchers to correctly note what the respondents said. However, it was not always possible or easy during fieldwork research. Open and continuous note-taking was sometimes not welcomed by the hospitable locals and was perceived as inappropriate. During informal interviews with locals, when a notebook was used to write down the respondents' words, one respondent said "Do not write it down. If you make notes, I will not say anymore. It is a conversation between friends. Take it easy". Recording is also rejected by the locals. In order to respect the locals' habits, recording and making notes during interviews were abandoned. I had to train my own powers of recall!

Finding time and place to write up field notes presented at times severe problems. In summer field notes were always written at night after people went to sleep. In

Hanas Village, I wrote the field notes in the kitchen of the Tuva family, sometimes accompanied by the sounds of mice gnawing and squeaking. In Hemu Village, I wrote the field notes in the office of township government. Making field notes was, I felt, at the risk of fatigue and illness when I was tired. I caught a cold for more than 20 days, because it was always very cold at night even in summer. In Bahaba Village, where there was no power, I wrote my field notes in the hostel, which was one of the few places with a gas-powered generator for four or five hours every evening. In winter, the note-taking was always by hand, since the blackout in Hanas Village lasted for three months.

What I saw, heard and thought each day was written in the field notes. Although sometimes I did not immediately understand my observations, subsequently it has been proven that these field notes were useful. For a variety of reasons, some of the field notes taken were jottings, but they were valuable aids in the construction of a more detailed account. As Schatzman and Stauss (1973, p. 95) suggest:

A single word, even one merely descriptive of the dress of a person, or a particular word uttered by someone usually is enough to ‘trip off’ a string of images that afford substantial reconstruction of the observed scene.

Photography and video-recording

The collection and use of visual materials were adopted in this research. Photography and video-recording were employed to record the locals’ daily life patterns, tourism products, and cultural performance, etc. They were used to provide a visual image of what happened in the place.

4.8 Analysis process

There are mainly four methods to research social-cultural changes: historical reconstruction analysis, cross sectional analysis, study-restudy analysis and longitudinal analysis (Woods, 1975). Cross sectional analysis and historical

reconstruction analysis are both adopted in this study, as are content and conversation analysis. Questionnaire data collected from the survey are analysed by SPSS 18.

Triangulation

Thus, of necessity, triangulation was employed in the data analysis. “Data-source triangulation involves the comparison of data concerning the same phenomenon but deriving from different phases of the fieldwork, different points in the temporal cycles occurring in the setting, or the accounts of different participants (including the ethnographer) differentially located in the setting” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 183).

The key point of triangulation is that data must never be taken at face value (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It is generally believed that the documents obtained from government may be comprehensive; however, the documents are not always congruent or compatible with each other. It is not uncommon to find that data for the same item obtained from different sources are not identical. For example, the numbers of tourist arrivals in Kanas in some years in the local statistical yearbook or on the website are different from the data obtained from the local administration. Even different levels of administrations use different data for the same items in their published or unpublished documents. It is hard to know whether data from one source is more reliable than that of other sources. The lack of consistent and accurate statistics is a prevailing problem in statistical practice in China (Yang, 2007).

In addition, some documents were used only for reviews conducted by officials of higher level administrations and have no other purpose beyond the roles of status and face. Such approaches meant that if I stayed at the research site for only a few days, I might not obtain more detailed information. It is not the purpose here to

explore the reasons for the data problems, but it is worth noting that it is good to be cautious when using official statistics and it is necessary to collect primary data in order to examine the validity of the secondary data.

Challenges also existed in the data obtained from the questionnaire. The analysis of data from the questionnaire has to be combined with the data obtained from observation, oral accounts and interviews. In Section Four of the questionnaire which is to examine respondents' impressions about aspects of the local people's culture, many respondents marked '6' or '7' on the statement of 'the traditional food of local people' or 'the traditional local milk'. It would be expected that respondents were 'very impressed' by the local culture. However, during the conversation with tourists, I found that many of these respondents' impression about local culture were derived from their visits of Home Visit. Critically, few knew that the Visit properties were operated by outsiders and "Tuvas" were actually outside Kazakhs or Mongolians adopting the role of being a Tuva person. The food and the performance were not actually "local". The respondents were effectively misled by performers in the Home Visit; however, the researcher should be careful to interpret the data collected from the questionnaires, for not all respondents were unaware of this situation.

4.9 Ethics

Research ethics are highly emphasised by western research institutions and it is expected that researchers from such backgrounds should comply with ethical guidelines or rules as required by their universities or research entity. These ethical principles emphasise the rights of participants, and contend that the researcher should follow protocols of honesty and informed consent (e.g. not to practice deceit), to respect the local culture and local people, protect participants' identities, to minimise risks for participants, and to ensure the research is

culturally safe and non-offensive for the participants. During the ethnographic research in Kanas, the research was undertaken according to such ethical dictates. However, it was evident that Chinese researchers had not been trained about such ethical issues, and one result was that the locals came to appreciate the respect I paid to them and the local culture.

However, there were two aspects of the ethical requirements that proved problematic during fieldwork. Asking minority people to complete an interview consent form and asking the translator to abide by research protocols were hard to implement in practice. The following therefore emerged:

Set aside the interview consent form for participants

University regulations require obtaining the consent of respondents before conducting an interview. In order to keep the respondents informed, some western research institutions ask the researcher to provide two documents to prospective respondents, namely the Interview Information Sheet and a Consent Form for Interview Participants. An Interview Information Sheet includes the description of the research, the questions that will be asked, issues concerning confidentiality, the rights as a participant, and the contact information of the researcher. Consent Forms for Interview Participants include details about what is involved (time, tasks etc), what will happen to the data collected from them; how it may be used; whether they will be identified; how the researcher protects confidentiality; risks there may be to them; benefits there may be to them etc, and finally the participants are asked to sign the form to formally give their consent to be interviewed.

However, in Kanas, these two documents were not welcomed by the locals, and the western ethical rules were hard to implement in this minority settlement. Their first response to the documents was typically: “What is that?” which revealed they

were unfamiliar with the forms. Some of the locals said that “I am an illiterate and I cannot read the words”. A Tuva respondent who was studying in a tertiary institution told me that “You could ask whatever you want to know”, but he refused to sign the consent form. The reasons for refusing to sign a consent form are poor language, comprehension, reading and writing skills (related to a low educational level); concern about the potential risk, and not being accustomed to providing signatures, etc. It should be emphasised that the study group are still nomadic people. Additionally, the existence of the form can be interpreted by respondents as meaning that I did not trust them to tell the truth!

Translator was not familiar with research protocol

According to the university rules of interviewing, if a translator is needed, the translator should also abide by the protocols of research required by the related institutions. However, this was proved to be impractical in Kanas. Many locals, including translators, graduated from middle school or even lower level educational institutions, were not familiar with research study and the ethical requirements of western universities, thereby making it difficult to ensure any compliance with university requirements.

4.10 Summary

This chapter discusses the details of research methods of data collection and analysis used to carry out this study. Data and methodological triangulation were adopted. Regarding data triangulation, different data sources, including both primary and secondary sources of information, were used. Primary sources included participation observation and non-participation observation in village life and tourism operation, oral accounts, interviews, and questionnaire. They were complemented by a variety of secondary data, including academic literature, artifacts, newspapers, online information, official documents and statistics. With respect to methodological triangulation, both quantitative and qualitative

approaches were employed. Quantitative data were coded and analysed by using statistical software SPSS. Qualitative data were coded by classifying and categorising individual pieces of data. A combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials and perspectives in a single study is regarded as a good strategy to answer any inquiry (Flick, 1998).

Based on the differences in culture between western societies and China, it is suggested that some rules of methodology and some research methods might need modification for the Chinese context. Allison (1989) has argued that these differences are not those of an either/or nature, but are complementary in achieving a better understanding of human nature that transcends yet complements east-west cultural divides. Understandably, the rules of the ethics committee would pose problems in conducting such research through not clearly recognising the culture and understandings of the Tuva and Kazakh people. The gaps between the practices found workable in the study in Kanas and the principles of ethic committees are not unbridgeable – for both operate on the basis of achieving trust between respondent and researcher – but as argued by Ryan (2005b) – trust is not something that can be subjected to defined sets of rules that emerge from committee structures. Rather, it arises from immersion in social situations and from reflective decision making by the researcher informed by knowledge of cultural sensitivities and continuous concern about the truths of those situations – not just the concerns of process as an end in itself.

CHAPTER FIVE CONFLICT AND GROUP BOUNDARIES

Coser's (1956) Proposition 1: Group-binding functions of conflict

From Chapter five to Chapter nine, each of Coser's (1956) 16 propositions are clarified and explored within the context of tourism, and applied into the discussion of tourism's impact on the Kanas Scenic Area. The conflicts discussed in this study follow the definition of conflict provided by Coser (1968, p. 232), as mentioned in Chapter 2:

a struggle over claims to resources, power and status, beliefs, and other preferences and desires. The aims of the parties in conflict may extend from simply attempting to gain acceptance of a preference, or securing a resource advantage, to the extremes of injuring or eliminating opponents.

This chapter discusses Coser's (1956) first proposition which is about the functions of conflict in establishing and maintaining group identities, and the attraction of higher strata to lower strata as well as the mutual antagonism. The purpose behind this chapter is two-fold. First it describes the stakeholders involved in the study, namely, governments, entrepreneurs, tourists and local ethnic people, by providing a description of these groups. Second, the description serves a function by indicating the potential sources of tension that can arise, and how these tensions, following the theoretical work of Coser (1956), helps reinforce sense of identity.

Consequently this chapter is structured in the following manner. In the first section, Coser's (1956) first proposition is introduced and explained, and the way in which I draw the parameters for this study will be provided. Secondly, the main groups and subgroups in the Kanas Scenic Area are clearly defined and their specific characteristics and interests are also addressed. Thirdly, the tensions and conflicts between the groups are briefly introduced. Fourth, the symbiotic nature

between the different social and political strata of the stakeholders in the touristic development of the region is illustrated by the evidence from the Kanas Scenic Area obtained for this study and is shown to be nuanced and complex as individual groups work their way around various conventions and regulations to achieve their ends.

Concepts of Group Identities and the Role of Conflict

One of the key frameworks of analysis in any assessment of stakeholder relationships and group formation is the work of Coser (1956): *The Functions of Social Conflict*. Coser presents a number of contentions, the first one in his book being that conflict helps reinforce the feelings of group cohesiveness as it seeks to rebut the actual or perceived attacks upon itself and its values. In turn Coser's concepts are derived from the earlier work of George Simmel (1955). Indeed, Coser (1956, p. 38) rephrases Simmel's (1955) work thus:

Conflict serves to establish and maintain the identity and boundary lines of societies and groups.

Conflict with other groups contributes to the establishment and reaffirmation of the identity of the group and maintains its boundaries against the surrounding social world.

Patterned enmities and reciprocal antagonisms conserve social divisions and systems of stratification. Such patterned antagonisms prevent the gradual disappearance of boundaries between the subgroups of a social system and they assign position to the various subsystems within a total system.

In social structures providing a substantial amount of mobility, attraction of the lower strata by the higher, as well as mutual hostility between the strata, is likely to occur. Hostile feelings of the lower strata in this case frequently take the form of *ressentiment* in which hostility is mingled with attraction. Such structures will tend to provide many occasions for conflict since, as will be discussed later, frequency of occasions for conflict varies positively with the closeness of relations.

A distinction has to be made between conflict and hostile or antagonistic attitudes. Social conflict always denotes social interaction, whereas attitudes or sentiments are predispositions to engage in action. Such predispositions do not necessarily eventuate in conflict; the degree and kind of legitimation of power and status systems are crucial intervening variables affecting the occurrence of conflict.

A clarification is necessary here. The arguments above can be briefly categorised into three points: (1) conflict helps the establishment, maintenance, and reaffirmation of the identity of groups in a society; (2) higher strata may be emulated and aspired as well as resented by the lower strata in a society; (3) conflict is different from hostility. All these three points are detailed and applied into tourism as follows.

The first point might be further divided into two parts. The first is about the functions of conflict in terms of the *establishment* of groups: “conflict serves to establish the identity of societies and groups”. The second part is about the contribution of conflict (with other groups) to the *maintaining and reaffirmation of the identity of the group and boundary lines against the surrounding social world* (Coser, 1956), which will be demonstrated in the next section. For the first part, Simmel (1955) gave the example that conflicts between Indian castes may establish the separateness and distinctiveness of the various castes. Coser (1956), on the other hand, cited the work of George Sorel and Karl Marx to support this argument. Sorel felt that only if the working class was constantly engaged in warfare with the middle class can it preserve its distinctive character. Individuals may have objective common positions in society, but they become aware of the community of their interests only in and through conflict (as cited in Coser, 1956, p. 35). “It seems to be generally accepted by sociologists that the distinction between ‘ourselves, the we-group, or in-group, and everybody else, or the other-groups, out-groups’ is established in and through conflict. This is not confined to conflict between classes. Nationality and ethnic conflicts,

political conflicts, or conflicts between various strata in bureaucratic structures afford equally relevant examples”. (Coser, 1956, p. 35)

Admittedly, the first part of the argument is probably true in terms of class. According to Marx, classes constitute themselves only through conflict. In this study, governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and local ethnic people are defined as the main groups in the society of the Kanas Scenic Area. However, it is not accurate to say that “conflict serves to establish the identity of societies and groups” (Coser, 1956, p. 38) in terms of these four groups; the establishment of each group is largely dependent on the “similar general positions” (Coser, 1956, p.37) or the unique elements of each group which distinguish it from other groups. These differences may not be formed by processes of conflict, but through other means such as religious or cultural practices, which in themselves do not automatically create tension with other groups, especially if there is no need to compete for resources. The Marxian analysis is arguably about processes of power structures, and in this thesis what can be observed is that tourism provides a monetary value to certain ethnic cultural values where previously no such value existed. It is this externally imposed modern force of tourism that has reinforced a sense of difference; yet ironically many Tuva remain indifferent to it whereas Kazakh and Han perceive in it an opportunity for material advancement – both personal and communal.

5.1 The groups in the Kanas Scenic Area Tourism

“Groups are broadly defined as all nominal categories of persons who share a social position (social attribute) that influences their roles relations” (Blau, 1977, p. 276). This section introduces the groups involved in the study, namely, governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and local ethnic people by providing a description of these groups. Their specific characteristics and interests are also

addressed, which serves a function by indicating the potential sources of tension that can arise.

5.1.1 Governments

It is the power and functions of governments that distinguish them from other groups and strongly contribute to the establishment of the subgroups: national government, provincial and autonomous regional government, and local government. The People's Republic of China is a socialist state and its tourism development is government-directed. The structure of state power in China is divided into three main levels: (1) national, (2) provincial and autonomous regional, and (3) local. Governments at different levels have crucial influence on the tourism development of a destination, especially in the less-developed regions. Governments function as planners for tourism development, regulators in the tourism market, coordinators between competing interests, and arbiters of relations among producers, marketers and consumers (Li, 2004; Yang, 2007). In China, tourism development will lack direction, coordination and cohesion without government involvement, and short-term initiatives might jeopardize long-term potentials (Xie, 2001). The power and functions of governments cannot be easily achieved by other groups and thereby the boundary is established between government and the surrounding groups.

China's Central Government

“The Communist Party of China (CPC) is the party in power in the country. The CPC has both central and local organisations. At the top is the Central Committee and, while when it is not in session, the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee exercise the power of the Central Committee” (China Internet Information Center, n.d. –c). “The State Council, or the Central People's Government of People's Republic of China, is the highest executive organ of State

power, as well as the highest organ of State administration in China. The State Council exercises unified leadership over local state administrative organs at various levels throughout the country, regulates the specific division of power and function of the state administrative organs at the central level and the provincial, autonomous regional and municipal level” (China Internet Information Center, n.d. –d).

China’s ethnic minority policies represent a concession by CCP that recognises the social and economic reality of ethnic minorities (Yang, 2007). The PRC’s constitution and laws guarantee equal rights to all ethnic groups in China and help promote ethnic minority groups’ economic and cultural development. Thereby it makes concessions in for example, access to university education, that privileges these minorities to offset the disadvantages they otherwise experience. Additionally, there are important natural resources or strategic international borders in many of the minority settlements; therefore these regions have been paid much attention by China’s central government. Since 1949, the central government has made it a basic state policy to help ethnic minorities-inhabited border areas with their political, economic and cultural development, and to lead all the ethnic groups of China onto the road to common prosperity (China Internet Information Center, 2003). These minority policies have promoted locally-managed social and economic development, to integrate ethnic culture into the national political and economic framework, while seeking to protect their cultural identities. Also, China’s policies towards its ethnic minorities reveal the concerns with national security and ethnic unity and these concerns dominate and influence other policies, such as policies about tourism development (Sofield & Li, 1998). There is therefore a balancing act between the protection of different means of perceiving the world as shaped by ethnic minority cultures, the protection of those cultures that are the foundations of difference, even whilst ensuring access to the mainstream economic and social development of

contemporary China. China is not alone in dealing with these issues, as is witnessed by similar concerns in Canada, the United States and other nations including New Zealand, Taiwan and Australia.

Government policies and regulations are designed to help guide China's ethnic tourism industry through the complexities of tourism investment, production, and consumption (Swain, 1990). Opening up such areas for economic and cultural development has led to the promotion of tourism in minority areas, which is considered to be an effective means of regional development, particularly for the economy of industrially backward and remote minority regions with substantial tourism potential (Zhang, 1989). Tourism activity in China was limited by the state from 1949 to 1978, and like the rest of China, both domestic and international tourism in Xinjiang were almost not existent during this period. Since 1978, a series of policies have been issued to promote tourism development. Poverty Alleviation through Tourism Development, as one of the programs, aims to foster the development of western regions. Also, the opening of ethnic minority regions to tourists is to demonstrate to the world the diversity of Chinese culture and how well the minorities within it are integrated (Matthews & Richter, 1991). The main minority nationalities regions, like Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Yuannan Province, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, attract millions of tourists every year, which greatly contribute to the development of the local economy and the improvement of locals' life.

In addition to its preferential policies, China's central government provides sizable financial aid to Xinjiang especially since 1996 with the implementation of the Great Western Development Strategy. In the 10 five-year plans of the central government, infrastructure construction projects, projects involving basic agricultural development and modern industrial construction projects in Xinjiang have always been listed as key state projects (China Internet Information Center,

2003). From 1955, when Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was founded, till 2000, the financial subsidies Xinjiang received from the central government totalled 87.741 billion RMB (China Internet Information Center, 2003). In the late 1990s, a large proportion of the 11 million RMB spent on the construction of transport, electricity supply system, water supply system and other facilities was from the financial subsidies of China's central government (Altay Region Chronicles Committee & Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, 2006). The central government of China has also increased its input of funds and support of other forms through all kinds of special financial transfer payment in addition to the transfer payments under the preferential policy for ethnic minorities. China National Tourism Administration plans to provide 100 million RMB in financial subsidies from 2011 to 2015 to support Xinjiang tourism development in terms of tourism planning, financial support, human resource education, etc (Xinhuanet, 2010).

In the last thirty years, political leaders and high ranking officials from central government have officially visited Kanas Scenic Area, which further promotes the reputation of this area. These leaders and officials emphasised the importance of a scenic zone plan, the maintenance of natural beauty, and a balance between development and environmental preservation, equipping local officials with strategic instructions for the establishment and implementation of a series of policies and administrative procedures. The official visits and the recommendations of political leaders and high ranking officials of China's central government are listed in Appendix 4.

Local administration

China is divided into provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government. A province or an autonomous region is subdivided

into autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties and /or cities. A county or an autonomous county is subdivided into townships, ethnic townships and/or towns. Municipalities directly under the Central Government and large cities are subdivided into districts and counties. Autonomous prefectures are subdivided into counties, autonomous counties and cities. Autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are all ethnic autonomous areas (China Internet Information Center, n.d. -b).

“Local governments at and above the county level, operate within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, and conduct administrative work concerning the economy, education, science, culture, public health, physical culture, urban and rural development, finance, civil affairs, public security, ethnic affairs, judicial administrations, supervision and family planning in their respective administrative areas; issue decisions and orders; appoint or remove administrative functionaries, train and make evaluations of their performance and reward or punish them” (China Internet Information Center, n.d -b). The government of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is the highest level of government within Xinjiang. The Altay Region Administrative Office, as the representative of the government of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, coordinates the work of the counties and cities within the Altay region. The Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, as the representative of the Altay Region Administrative Office, supervises and administrates the economic and social development within the Kanas Scenic Area. The two township governments which are directed by the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee are directly responsible for the administration of the seven villages.

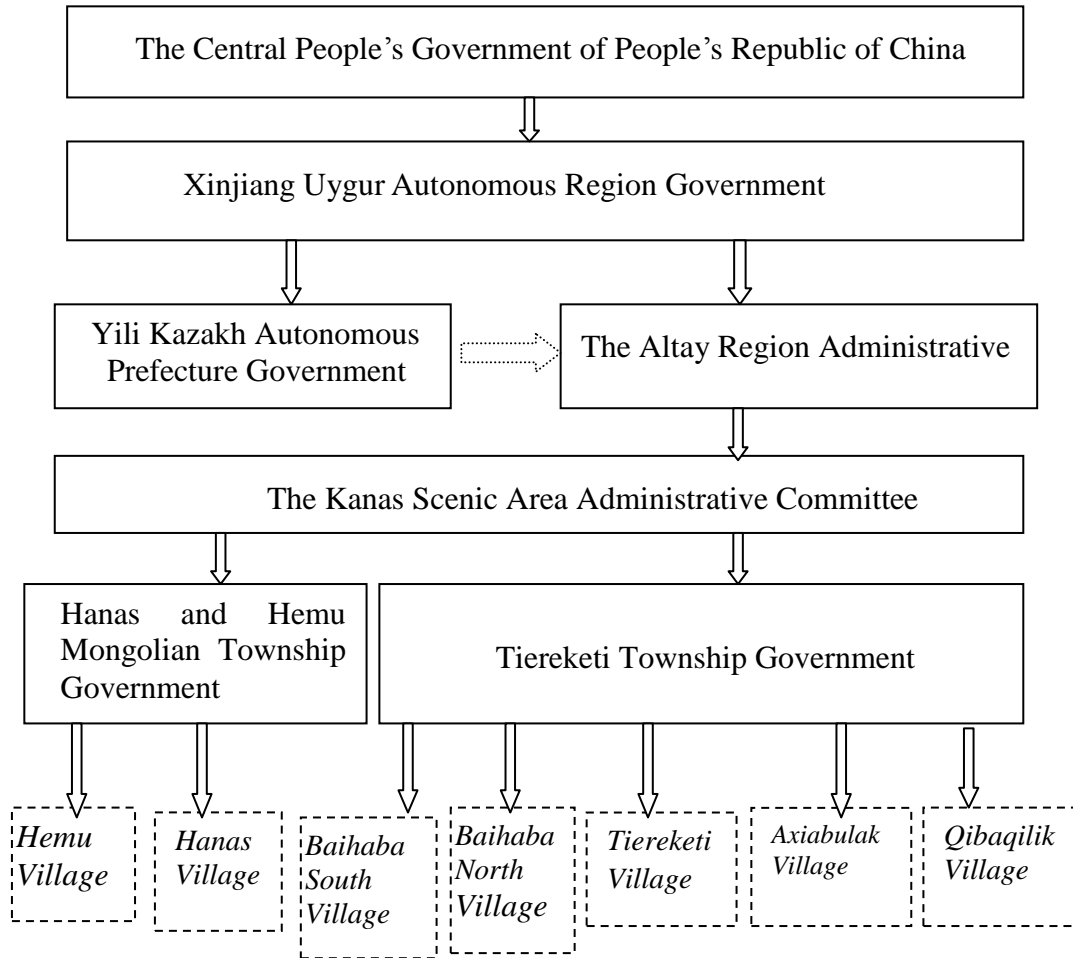


Figure 5.1. Organisation chart in relation to the Kanas Scenic Area

Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Government

A government in an autonomous area includes a number of ethnic members. The constitution states that the head of government of each autonomous area must be of the ethnic group as specified by the autonomous area. Autonomous regions, prefectures, counties, and banners are covered under Section 6 of Chapter 3 (Articles 111-122) of the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, and with more detail under the *Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy*. The government in autonomous areas enjoys more extensive self-government rights than their counterparts in other areas, including enacting self-government regulations and other separate regulations in light of the particular political, economic and cultural conditions of the ethnic group, having

independent control over the local revenue, and independently administering local economic development, education, science, culture, public health and the internal affairs of their ethnic group (China Internet Information Center, 2003).

However, these autonomous areas do not have real independent self governance, but rather simply a more flexible agenda or framework for implementing the state policies (Tan, 2000). Therefore, issues and contradictions emerge in the process of implementing minority policies. The central control over development policy and financial resources in minority areas has weakened political and economic autonomy of minorities (Yang, 2007). There is tension between the *de jure* ethnic legal rights and the *de facto* lack of ethnic control. The *realpolitik* is that the economic resources and authority lie in the hands of central government. As a result, issues and contradictions occur in the process of implementing minority policies. The ideal political goals do not match ethnic reality and demands. Ethnic policies place an emphasis on minorities' loyalty to the central authority, while the fundamental ethnic problems are not solved. However, as Eberhard (1982) argued:

it is hard to think of any other feasible policy toward the compact, large minorities . . . If China should allow them to develop totally on their own and become independent states, it is more likely that they would ally themselves with the neighbours on the other side and become a serious danger for China . . . China wants to create a situation in which the danger of aggression across her border will be minimized. The questions as to whether the people living there like it or not is of secondary importance. One can call this imperialism or colonialism, but after the experience China has had in the last 150 years, and with the situation of the world today, its policy is understandable. (p. 62)

The Xinjiang government has established and implemented a series of preferential tax policies towards tourism enterprises operation, in order to foster the investment from enterprises and therein stimulate the tourism development of Xinjiang. A series of tourism rules and regulations, in addition to state laws and

regulations, have been issued by the Xinjiang government to secure the tourism market. In an attempt to improve the tourism planning and management, overseas tourism experts and consultants have also been sought to help prepare tourism development programmes.

In addition, Xinjiang government has put an emphasis on tourism marketing especially in recent years. The officials, tour operators and managers of tourist destinations attend various international, national tourism conferences and festivals to promote tourism, and a variety of tourism events and festivals have been held in Xinjiang to facilitate tourism growth. Specific marketing strategies have been established and implemented aimed at the main tourist generating regions and potential tourist markets to facilitate regional cooperation. Marketing through Internet, press, and newspapers has been strengthened these years (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Tourism Bureau & Xinjiang Institute of Ecology and Geography of Chinese Academy of Sciences, 2011). These marketing programmes have opened and strengthened tourist markets, thereby contributing to stable tourism development.

Importantly, political stability, rather than economic development, is the priority of the Xinjiang government, owing to its multi-ethnic population and the strategic importance of the geographic location, and the sensitivities associated with concerns about fundamentalist Islamism in a post 9/11 world. Economic development serves political development as elsewhere in China, but particularly so in this region. To some extent, tourism development serves as an index of political stability. The leaders of Xinjiang government highlighted the rebound of Xinjiang tourism in 2010. The domestic tourist number, inbound tourist number and tourism income achieved a total of 30.38 million, 1.06 million and 28 billion RMB respectively in that year (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Tourism Bureau, 2011).

The Altay Region Administrative office

The Altay Region Administrative Office was named such in 1979 and is an agent established by the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Government. In the political system of China, provincial and autonomous regional governments may send out agencies when necessary, upon approval of the State Council (China Internet Information Center, n. d.-b). “The administrative offices, as agencies of the provincial and autonomous regional governments, are not governments themselves. The regions under their jurisdiction are not administrative divisions either. The basic responsibilities of the administrative offices are to provide guidance and coordinate the work of the counties and cities within the regions, on behalf of provincial or autonomous regional governments” (China Internet Information Center, n. d.-c).

“An administrative office has a commissioner, vice commissioners and advisors, appointed and removed by the provincial or autonomous regional governments. The working meetings of administrative offices are attended by the commissioners, vice commissioners, advisors, assistant advisors, secretaries-general and deputy secretaries-general to discuss major issues in the work of the administrative offices. The commissioners are responsible for the overall work of the administrative offices” (China Internet Information Center, n. d.-b). Among the 22 commissioners, vice commissioners, advisors, assistant advisors, secretaries-general and deputy secretaries-generals in 2009, 17 were Han and 5 were Kazakhs and the commissioner was Kazakh. Altay Region Administrative Office has various bureaus.

The Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee

Since 2006, the Chinese Communist Party Kanas Scenic Area Committee, the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee and Hanas State-level Nature Reserve Administration Bureau have become one institution but their respective

names remained. This institution is responsible for the economic and social development of this area. The Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee functions as a quasi-governmental body. The details are provided in Chapter 9.

Township governments

The Kanas Scenic Area is composed of two townships: the Hemu and Hanas Mongolian Township and the Tiereketi Township. The famous two cultural attractions (also two administrative villages), Hanas Village and Hemu Village, are under the administration of Hemu and Hanas Mongolian Township Government. The other cultural attraction Baihaba Village and the three non-tourism (until now) administrative villages are under the administration of Tiereketi Township Government. Before 2006, the Hemu and Hanas Mongolian Township was directed by Buerjin County; the Tiereketi Township was directed by Habaha County. Since 2006, the two township governments have been under the direction of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee.

One issue in the relationship with local governments is the question – to what degree are politicians engaged in private enterprises? Political *guanxi* is thus an important key to any understanding of the local political scene. However, an important caveat in this situation is the ethnic situation where local government members may be Han – the question then arises as to the nature of Han-Kazakh-Tuva relationships at local level. Power largely determines the nature of the relationships. According to Mach and Snyder (1957), in a conflict relationship there is always an attempt to attain or use power, or the actual attainment or application of power. Power is defined as control of decisions (disposal of scarce resource or positions) and as the basis of reciprocal influence between parties (control of behaviour). Conflicts reflect the striving for power (the desire to achieve or change control of decisions). Opposing actions are directed toward the change or preservation of the existing structure of power.

5.1.2 Tourism entrepreneurs

Striving for economic profits can be regarded as the common characteristic of tourism entrepreneurs not only in the Kanas Scenic Area, but also in other ethnic communities of China. Most tourism benefits are usually gained by external entrepreneurs rather than by local ethnic communities (Crystal 1989; Goering 1990; Li 2004; Oakes 1998; Yang, 2007). According to Oakes (1998), this economic leakage is a risk to development for many communities. Most entrepreneurs are interested in obtaining immediate economic returns but show little concern towards the long-term impacts of tourism on the physical and social environment. Economic benefits are often the driving force for entrepreneurs to preserve and construct ethnic images for tourists' consumption and few are concerned about minority people's voices and actual needs (Yang, 2007).

Issues of financing appear to be central to the governance, operation and management of scenic areas in China. In addition to government budgets and public investments, private investments have also emerged as an increasingly important source of funding in the scenic area in the past decade. This is not uncommon in the less developed western regions of China where high-scale tourism development would otherwise be deterred or rendered impossible due to the lack of funding (Su & Xiao, 2009). Since the mid 1990s when the government encouraged all, including national and regional bureaus to initiate business ventures, an increasing number of external businesses and private operators from nearby counties and cities have come to Kanas to provide facilities and service for tourists seeing opportunities when local Tuva and others have not responded to a growing market demand.

Tourism enterprises in developing countries range from large transnational corporations (usually foreign owned and managed), to medium-sized enterprises

(either state or locally owned), to small-scale businesses (usually locally owned) (Echtner, 1995). In the Kanas Scenic Area today, the enterprises are mainly medium-sized and small-scale business. Although a large transnational corporation signed a ski resort development contract with the local administration in 2009, the project has not been formally put into practice. Tourism businesses in China normally consist of three types of ownership: state-owned, joint venture and private businesses. The enterprises in the Kanas Scenic Area are either joint venture or privately owned. Many entrepreneurs in tourism businesses of the Kanas Scenic Area, both in medium and small-scale businesses, are not members of ethnic minorities, a situation that is quite common in other ethnic minorities of China (Yang, 2007). Han investors from outside of the region have become significant players in the local market and they exploit minority resources for their own benefits

Medium enterprises

Until now, four main medium enterprises have participated in the tourism business of the Kanas Scenic Area. They are Xinjiang Kanas Tourism Development Co., Ltd, Kanas Branch Company of Xinjiang Great Western Region Tourism Co., Ltd, the three subsidiary companies of the Department of Communication of Xinjiang, and Xinjiang Jianyuan Investment Co., Ltd. The total operating revenue reached to 126.1 million RMB in 2010, accounting for 15% of the total tourism income of the Kanas Scenic Area. *The report of the business operation of tourism enterprises in Kanas Scenic Area in 2010*, conducted by Xinjiang Kanas Tourism Development Co., Ltd, which I obtained from the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, provides a detailed description of the four enterprises as follows.

Table 5.1. The operating revenue of three enterprises in recent years

(10,000 RMB)

Enterprises	2007	2008	2009	2010
Xinjiang Kanas Tourism Development Co., Ltd	6717	3811	3402	5845
Xinjiang Great Western Region Tourism Co., Ltd	4862	2655	1747	3955
The three subsidiary companies of Department of Communication of Xinjiang	–	–	–	2810

Source: the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee

None of these enterprises originates from the villages, and their headquarters are located at either Buerjin County or Urumqi City. They are involved in catering, accommodation, transportation, tourist activities, tourist souvenir production and sales, and tour operations in the three villages and the Jiadengyu Tourism Area. A brief introduction of the four enterprises is necessary here.

The predecessor of Xinjiang Kanas Tourism Development Co., Ltd was Kanas Villa which was founded in 1986. Xinjiang Kanas Tourism Development Co., Ltd is mainly involved with the operation of a shuttle bus tour in the Kanas Scenic Area, restaurants, accommodation and the Fish-viewing Pavilion (a spectacular tourist attraction to view the whole Kanas Lake). It has 402 seats in two restaurants, 2 star hotels, and 153 shuttle buses.

Kanas Branch Company of Xinjiang Great Western Region Tourism Co., Ltd was founded in 2001. It consists of three sub-companies. It is mainly involved with yachting and rafting operations, tour services, accommodation, catering, souvenir development and sales, tour buses and caravan operation. It has 720 seats in two restaurants, 2 star hotels, 19 yachts and 31 rafting boats, and over 16 buses including 10 caravans.

The three subsidiary companies of Department of Communication of Xinjiang are

the Buerjin County Kanas Lanhu Hotel, the Xinjiang Kanas Scenic Area Tourism Transport Co., Ltd, and the Buerjin County Kanas Scenic Area Road Maintenance and Administration Co., Ltd. The companies are mainly involved with the operation of restaurants, shuttle bus transport in the scenic area, hotels, Baihaba Village tours, the bus operation from Buerjin County to Kanas, yachting and road maintenance. The companies have 570 seats in two restaurants, 430 beds in 2 star hotels, 3 yachts and several buses.

Xinjiang Jianyuan Investment Co., Ltd has just entered into Kanas market. Its tourism resort is under construction and is expected to open in 2011. It will have 200 seats in one restaurant and one hotel.

The four enterprises altogether have over 1000 staff in the tourism season and the majority of these staff are Han from the nearby counties and cities. The staff live and work in the three villages and the Jiadengyu Tourism Area in the tourism season and leave the area in October. Few locals are engaged in these enterprises.

Small enterprises

Many outsiders are involved in small enterprises in Kanas. Motivated by profit, hundreds of outsider Han, Hui and Kazakh people come to the Kanas Scenic Area every summer to participate in tourism. The majority of these entrepreneurs in small enterprises are from the nearby townships and counties in the Altay Region, and some are from other parts of Xinjiang. Few entrepreneurs were from other parts of China, since it is hard to participate in tourism without *guanxi* at a local level. Even the outsiders from other provinces digging out the *Cordyceps sinensis* have some *guanxi* with some local people and even the staff of some bureaus.

These entrepreneurs in the small enterprises participate in almost all areas of tourism operation including accommodation, catering, transport service, tourist

activities (horse riding, Home Visit, etc.), and tourism product production and selling. Owing to the different policies and tourism development stage of different villages, their participation modes in tourism are different in each village, as described in the previous chapter.

5.1.3 Tourists

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) defines tourism as “the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited” (Gee, Fayos-Solá & World Tourism Organization, 1999, p. 5). In other words, tourists are people who go to another place for private interest or who are sent there (e.g. by a company), but is not employed at this place. Business tourists may visit this place for conferences, workshops or further education. Private tourists may visit this place for leisure, adventure, education, pilgrimage or other purposes.

Crompton (1979) suggests a conceptual framework consisting nine motives for travel. Seven of these motives follow into sociopsychological motivational domains, including escape from a perceived mundane environment, exploration and evaluation of self, prestige status, relaxation, enhancing kinship and relations, regression, facilitation of social interaction. Novelty and culture are classified as cultural factors. Furthermore, Crompton and McKay (1997) identify six motive domains with reference to visiting festivals, including cultural exploration, novelty/regression, recover equilibrium, known group socialization, external interaction/socialization, and gregariousness.

Table 5.2 lists the main motivations of tourists visiting the Kanas Scenic Area in 2009 and 2010 tourism seasons as revealed by a survey I conducted. As indicated in Chapter Four, surveys of tourists generated 650 valid questionnaires.

Table 5.2. Tourists' primary motivation for visiting the Kanas Scenic Area

Motivations	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Sightseeing	229	35.2	35.2	35.2
Leisure/holiday /relaxing	200	30.8	30.8	66.0
Experiencing a minority culture	48	7.4	7.4	73.4
Visiting friends and relatives	8	1.2	1.2	74.6
Religion	5	.8	.8	75.4
Others	18	2.8	2.8	78.2
<i>Multiple primary motivations</i>	142	21.8	21.8	100.0
Total	650	100.0	100.0	

It can be seen from Table 5.2 that the main motivations for tourists visiting the Kanas Scenic Area were sightseeing and leisure/holiday/relaxing. It should be noted that Chinese tourists often regard sightseeing as a kind of leisure/holiday/relaxing, so it is not very meaningful to categorise tourists according to their answers in terms of these two motivations. Business, experiencing a minority culture, visiting friends and relatives, religion, and other motivations are also represented. These purposes are “not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited” defined by WTO (Gee, et al., 1999, p. 5). On the other hand, other groups including governments, tourism entrepreneurs and locals visit or stay at the community for political, economic and residency purposes.

The length of staying at the places could also be attributed to another criterion distinguishing tourists and other groups. WTO defines tourists as “(overnight visitor) visitor who spend the night in a collective or private accommodation in the place visited” (Gee, et al., 1999, p. 5) for “not more than one consecutive year” (p. 5). According to Table 5.3, all of the tourists spent at least one night in the Kanas Scenic Area and none of these respondents spent more than one consecutive year. On the other hand, governments (especially the township

government) and some tourism businesses stay in the area for more than one year for administration and business purposes respectively. Locals stay at the places for their whole life until they move to other places.

Table 5.3. The nights tourists spent in the Kanas Scenic Area

Nights	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
2	257	39.5	39.7	39.7
3	126	19.4	19.4	59.1
4	93	14.3	14.4	73.5
1	65	10.0	10.0	83.5
5	41	6.3	6.3	89.8
7	23	3.5	3.5	93.4
6	13	2.0	2.0	95.4
10	6	.9	.9	96.3
15	6	.9	.9	97.2
8	4	.6	.6	97.8
9	2	.3	.3	98.1
16 -200	12	2.2	2.2	100
<i>Total</i>	648	99.7	100.0	
Missing	2	.3		
<i>Total</i>	650	100.0		

Tourists are one of the main stakeholders in tourism development of a destination and are central to examining tourism impacts on the destination. Their assessments of the attractions and satisfaction with their experiences are important indicators of the success of destination and their experience is central when examining their interaction with locals and resultant impacts. Their motivations, perceptions and feedback are very helpful for future planning and development. The personal circumstances and general travel information of respondents are first provided, in order to profile travellers and assess possible conflict between them and other groups.

The proportion of males (54.6%) is higher than females (43.1%). One factor is that males tended to fill out questionnaires when they were asked to fill by the female researcher. When the questionnaires were distributed to each person of couples,

women tended to let their male partners complete the survey, and some couples completed one copy together. This can lead to higher proportion of male respondents in the returned questionnaires.

Table 5.4. The demographic profile of respondents – ethnicity

	Frequency	Percent of the total (%)	Valid percent (%)
Han	539	82.9	92.4
Chinese minorities	35	5.6	6.0
Foreigners	9	1.5	1.6
Missing	67	10.3	100
Total of the sample	650	100	

The tourists were predominantly national tourists. Han Tourists accounted for over 90% of the sample while Chinese minorities accounted for a further 6% of the total. One quarter of the respondents were from Xinjiang while over 60% of the respondents were from other parts of China. Guangdong, Beijing, Shanghai, Shandong and other developed cities and regions are the main tourist generating regions. It should be noted that, due to the July 2009 Urumqi riots, there was a sudden decrease of the number of tourists from other places of China. This has some influence on the distribution of tourist by origins.

Table 5.5. The demographic profile of respondents – origin

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Xinjiang	165	25.4	27.1
The other parts of China	572	62.6	67.1
<i>Guangdong</i>	46	7.1	7.6
<i>Beijing</i>	31	4.8	5.1
<i>Shandong</i>	30	4.6	4.9
<i>Shanghai</i>	31	4.8	4.77
Overseas	36	5.5	5.8
<i>Total</i>	602	93.5	100
Missing	42	6.5	
Total	650	100.0	

The number of overseas tourists in 2009 was small due to security concerns related to Xinjiang, the underdeveloped nature of the region from a western perspective (although for some tourists this may be an attraction in itself) and the poor provision of English language services in the local tourism market for foreigners. There are few English-speaking tour guides in the Altay Region and a lack of English speaking service at attractions and public places. According to my observation and interviews with foreigners, many of them were individual tourists who worked in China or they had friends working in China who recommended them to visit this place.

The data obtained from the questionnaire survey is generally consistent with the official statistics. According to the official of Tourism Bureau, in 2008, international tourists accounted for 2% of all tourists, Xinjiang tourists represented 23% and tourists from other parts of China occupied 75%.

According to a manager who has worked in a restaurant in Kanas for seven years, national tourists are mainly from Beijing, Shanghai and Zhujiang Delta Region. From 2003, there have been more and more tourists. At the beginning, there were many people from Guangdong and Shenzhen, then Hunan, Hubei and Shanghai, and then Beijing, Taiwan and Singapore. In the recent years, there have been more package groups from Taiwan and Singapore.

A practical way to categorise tourists is to classify them as independent and package tourists. The more important reason is the difference between the two subgroups in terms of consuming behaviours, demands, length of stay in the place and the interaction with locals, etc. As can be seen from Table 5.6, there is no gap between package and independent tourists in terms of contributing to market share, which implies that generally the Kanas Scenic Area has entered into the development stage of Butler (1980)'s destination lifecycle model.

Table 5.6. The travel information of respondents – tourist type and gender

		gender		Total
		female	male	
Tourist type	independent	21.4%	25.2%	46.6%
	Package	22.4%	29.9%	52.3%
	missing	0.3%	0.8%	1.1%
Total		44.1%	55.9%	100.0%

Many of the package tourists purchased a Kanas tour from Urumqi City, the capital of Xinjiang. The three or four day tour from Urumqi to Kanas was only around 400 RMB (about US 60 dollars) including bus transport from Urumqi to the Kanas Scenic Area, the entrance ticket of the core area of the Kanas Scenic Area (Hanas Village involved), two or three nights' accommodation, and tour guiding service. The price excludes the tour bus within the scenic area, meals, and the visit to Hemu Village and Baihaba Village. Considering the high food prices in this scenic area, some lower income level tourists brought their own convenience food and the food packaging visibly causing littering and hence an environmental pressure on the destination. It led to hostility from the locals towards tourists since many cows ate the rubbish in the rubbish bins in the scenic area and some cows died as a result while additionally the owners obtained no compensation from either the government or tourism industry. It also led to the hostility from the local tourism operators since “they do not consume in our restaurants” according to a restaurant operator in Hemu Village.

5.1.4 Local ethnic people

The local minorities are distinguished from the other stakeholders by reason of their residency (which represents their high level place attachment), economic base (animal industry) and their minority identity. According to Table 5.7, animal husbandry income was larger than from tourism in the GDP of the area in 2009, and animal husbandry is still the predominant industry of the Kanas Scenic Area. The main income of animal husbandry was from the sale of cows, goats and dairy products.

Table 5.7. Gross income of the Kanas Scenic Area by industry, 2009

(10,000RMB)

	Total	Hemu and Hanas Township	Tiereketi Township
Total	1922.7417	1261.2884	661.4533
1.Agriculture	53.9326	0	53.9326
<i>Cultivation</i>	28.3889	0	28.3889
<i>Other agriculture income</i>	25.5437	0	25.5437
2.Forestry	0	0	0
<i>Sale of Forest products</i>	0	0	0
3.Animal Husbandry	776.8669	411	365.8669
<i>Sale of animal husbandry products</i>	685.58	363	355.58
4. Fishing	70.2884	70.2884	0
<i>Sale of fishery products</i>	0	0	0
5. Industry	0	0	0
6. Architecture	77.58	70	7.58
7. Transport	154.95	144	10.95
8.Business and catering	334.7141	323	11.7141
9. Service	135.972	117	18.972
10. Others	318.4377	126	192.4377

Source: Agriculture, Farming and Hydrology Division of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, 2010

Although the market economy and tourism development provide the Kanas locals with additional income, they have no significant impact on locals' traditional means of production. Local minorities still adhere to their traditional animal husbandry. According to the statistic data in Table 5.8, only less than 10% labour force of the whole area worked outside the scenic area. Almost half of these migrant workers worked in the nearby counties, and almost all were Kazakhs in Tiereketi Township. Most locals were self-employed at home, and over 70% of these people were engaged in primary industry, though some were also engaged in tourism in summer. The seasonality of Kanas tourism, the lack of local business knowledge and a lack of competitiveness of locals compared with external entrepreneurs, among other factors, contributed to this pattern of employment.

Table 5.8. Labour force in the Kanas Scenic Area in 2009

	Total	Self-employed at home		Migrant workers				
		Total	Engaged in Primary Industry	Total	Long-term migrant workers			
					Total	Outside own townships but within the county	Outside own counties but within Xinjiang	Outside Xinjiang
Total	2154	1371	1008	263	71	30	22	19
Hemu Township	1220	976	732	0	0	0	0	0
Tiereketi Township	934	395	276	263	71	30	22	19

Source: Agriculture, Farming and Hydrology Division of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, 2010

The minority peoples live a nomadic life and they raise cows, horses, and goats. This production means requires high attachment to the land – the most important resource. A conversation between me and a Tuva elder of Hanas Village is as follows:

I: Do you want to live in Buerjin County?

Tuva: No. because I cannot find a job in the county. However, there are many villagers staying there in winter.

I: Do they come back in summer?

Tuva: Yes, they have to cut grass for the animals.

All the locals, wherever they settle, spend a couple of days (normally around 20 – 30 days) on their grasslands in summer to cut the grass and prepare the forage for domestic animals for the whole winter. The peak tourism season in the Kanas Scenic Area just lasts two to three months. Tourism entrepreneurs thus need to earn 12 months' income in just 2 or 3 months. However, many of the internal entrepreneurs, for example the horsemen, have to suspend their tourism business for a couple of days for cutting the grass. This means they could not obtain income from tourism in these days. I joined a local Kazakh horseman, his family members and three men employed from nearby townships for cutting the grass. My conversation with the Kazakh included the following:

- I: You cannot earn money these days since you do not rent horse riding.
- The horseman: Yes. The money will be earned by others (giggling).
- I: Have you ever thought about giving up the animal husbandry and then totally depending on tourism?
- The horseman: No, never. If I give up (the animal husbandry), I will starve to death. Tourism season is too short.
- I: You have employed three guys to cut the grass. They can do the grass cutting and you can rent the horse riding, or you can employ more guys.
- The horseman: It is hard to find more hands in summer. Also, I have to supervise them to guarantee all the grass cut before the grass turn yellow.

The locals' high attachment to the means of production and land can be seen from the two conversations. However, local people have little control over resources (Ying & Zhou, 2007) in China. Local governments, and sometimes with the cooperation large or medium enterprises, deprive ethnic community of their rights over resources. Therein, conflicts between local governments and ethnic peoples emerge because the former always try to convert the land into other uses (e.g. real estate, mining) while the latter must safeguard their resources required for both their traditional life styles and future possible economic development.

From the perspective of ethnic group membership, the Tuvas and Kazakhs can be categorised as two main subgroups of the ethnic community. The relationship between the two minority groups changes as the community changes. They share some similarities, for example, both local Tuvas and Kazakhs adhere to traditional means of subsistence. On the other hand, in contrast with the Kazakhs, many Tuvas are less skilled in terms of Mandarin language, social communication skills, educational attainment, and business understanding as previously described. These social characteristics of each minority group largely determine their influence in any conflict. A contrast between the two minority groups is provided here to illustrate the tensions between the two minorities and other groups which issues will be detailed in the following chapters.

Although the number of locals achieving tertiary level degrees is still few, the

education of both Tuvas and Kazakhs has been much improved since the 1990s. Most local Kazakhs know the importance of education and their education level is higher than that of the Tuvas. Most Kazakhs have finished the compulsory primary middle school education and some have even attended training programmes in nearby cities.

Generally, the Mandarin that is spoken by Tuvas is worse than that of Kazakhs. Tuva can fluently speak Tuva, Kazakh and Mongolian languages but could hardly achieve the same fluency in Mandarin. In the tourism season, some Tuva girls work as servers in restaurants, rather than in the Home Visit business, although the salary of working in a restaurant is similar to working in a Home Visit operation. One of the reasons for this choice is the language barrier, for as one respondent put it, “working in restaurants does not need (require one) to communicate with tourists very often”.

There are many more Kazakh officials than Tuvas in administrative bodies including the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee and the township governments. The administrative positions held by Kazakhs are generally higher than those of Tuvas and this means that the former generally have a larger influence than the latter when discussing policies for the area.

Another criterion by which to classify an ethnic community is that of influence and power, and four divisions can be identified, namely:

- (1) Locals who achieve higher positions than other locals in government;
- (2) Locals in government who are both envious and resentful of the more successful and their policies;
- (3) Locals not in government who negotiate with the implementation of policies to mitigate those things they do not like but who seek to gain from policies;
- (4) Locals who just carry on doing what they wish to do.

Overall, it is the power and functions of governments, the nature of tourism entrepreneurs (profitability), the motives (sightseeing and leisure) and length of stay (less than one consecutive year) of tourists, the attachment towards land (animal husbandry) and the minority identity of ethnic community that contribute to the establishment of the four main stakeholder groups in the Kanas Scenic Area, and possibly in other ethnic tourist destinations in China. A list of the main groups, the key elements, their interests and aims, and possible subgroups are provided in Table 5.9. The differences between groups in terms of their general positions and interests and aims are revealed in the tensions that maintain boundaries between groups by strengthening group consciousness and awareness of separateness.

When discussing the relationships between those promoting tourism and those supporting environmental conservation, Bodowski (1977) suggests three kinds of relationships: conflict, coexistence, and symbiosis. Coexistence refers to the situation in which two or more units/stakeholders occupy the same spatial environment, tolerating each other possibly with little or no interaction. Coexistence is not static and is followed either by symbiosis or by conflict and tensions, largely due to the increase in tourism and the shrinking of natural areas (Bodowski, 1977). Symbiosis refers to a mutually satisfactory relationship between stakeholders with different interests, and symbiosis between tourism and conservation in the wide sense for example, can bring many physical, cultural, ethical, and economic benefits and advantages to a country (Bodowski, 1977). However, conflict and symbiosis can coexist at times especially given the globalisation trend in today. They are closely related. Conflict can lead to symbiosis and strengthens the groups' identity and boundaries in the symbiosis relationships. Symbiosis is usually achieved by negotiation between stakeholders, especially if external forces exist that can impose an order for a dysfunctional state of affairs, for example, Libya in 2011.

In terms of Kanas, locals, governments, tourism entrepreneurs and tourists coexist in the same spatial environment. Conflict and symbiosis coexist in the relationships between stakeholders. The groups have their respective interests and demands, which lead to the boundaries with other groups; on the other hand, some of these interests and demands can only be achieved from other stakeholders' contributions or inputs. The tension and cooperation co-contribute to the stakeholders' relationships.

Parasitism and extinction may also be the outcomes of conflict. Parasitism refers to a parasitic mode of life or existence; in other words, one stakeholder 'living off' another. In Kanas, a few locals who frequently drink alcohol are highly dependent on the compensation from the government. Extinction indicates that conflict is resolved by the forced disappearance or complete removal of a stakeholder from the equation. It rarely happens.

Table 5.9. Groups, key elements and their subgroups involved in the Kanas Scenic Area

Groups	Key elements	Interests and aims	Possible subgroups
Governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ·Power ·Functions 	<p>Government bodies: meet the requirements of higher level governments, etc.</p> <p>Administrative Staff: promotion of the area, personal interests including pecuniary and status, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Central government (2) Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Government (3) Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Government representative – the Altay Region Administrative Office (4) the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee (5) Hemu and Hanas Township government and Tiereketi Township government
Tourism Entrepreneurs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ·Profitability 	<p>Economic profits, business growth, employment of family members and friends, product development, linkages with chain of distribution, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Medium enterprises (2) Small enterprises
Tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ·Length of stay ·Motivations to visit the places 	<p>Satisfactory tour experience, gift buying, collection of stories for telling, new experiences, meeting old friends, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Independent tourists (2) Package tourists
Local ethnic people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ·Residency (which represents high level place attachment) ·Economic base (animal industry) ·Minority identity 	<p>Welfare improvement, a better life, sustaining traditions and possibly traditional life styles, wish to have the opportunity for choice making</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Status improvement in Officialdom <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Locals who achieve higher positions than other locals in government (2) Advantage seeking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ·Locals not in government who negotiate with the implementation of policies to mitigate those things they do not like but who seek to gain from the policies · Locals in government who are both envious and resentful of the more successful and their policies (3) Indifferent to government policies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Locals who just carry on doing what they wish to do

5.2 Conflict and opposition serve to maintain group identities

Coser (1956, 1968) defines conflict as struggles over claims to resources, power and status, beliefs, and other preferences and desires among groups. However, the accurate meanings of resources, power, status, belief and other preferences and desires were not clearly defined. Therefore, first, these concepts are defined, and further illustrated within a Kanas context. Resources refer to natural resources (e.g. forest), economic resources (e.g. land, capital), social resources (e.g. reciprocal relations, or *guanxi*) and cultural resources (e.g. Suer-Tuvas' musical instrument, minority art, songs and dances). "Social status is a characteristic of people that rank-orders them and affects their role relations in accordance with this ordering" (Blau, 1977, p. 278). Sociologists distinguish status into ascribed status and achieved status. Ascribed status is a status in which one is born. A person, for example, is born either male or female, is born into a particular ethnic group, and may be born of rich or poor parents. Another type of ascribed status is contingent upon one's place in the life cycle (the statuses of child, adolescent, and so on). Achieved status, on the other hand, refers to a status that one acquires through effort or choice (such as becoming a college graduate or a parent or working in a certain occupation) (Magill, 1995, p. 1360). The level of the status strongly depends on the ownership of resources and power. Beliefs can be referred to "[s]omething believed; a proposition or set of propositions held to be true. In early usage *esp.*: a doctrine forming part of a religious system; a set of such doctrines, a religion" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2011a). In the circumstance of the community of the Kanas Scenic Area, it can be argued that the conflicts occur between governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists, and local ethnic community.

Conflict is closely related with power and resistance. "Power implies potential resistance and, therefore, conflict" (Dahrendorf, 1968, p. 227). One of the more widely accepted definitions of power is provided by Max Weber.

“ ‘Power’ (*Macht*) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests (Weber, 1964, p.152).

Weber's definition of power implies that the possibility of conflict is inherent in power relations. “A social relationship will be referred to as ‘conflict’ in so far as action within it is oriented intentionally to carrying out the actor’s own will against the resistance of the other party or parties” (Weber, 1964, p. 132). Conflict is usually determined by the relative power of the stakeholders involved and their capacity to exercise it, and the importance attached to the disputed object is power. This also indicates that power that does not invite resistance is more powerful. In China, to some extent, to question is regarded as to against harmony.

Power relations can be characterised as being both asymmetrical and reciprocal. Balandier (1970, p. 37) suggests that “if those relations were established on the basis of perfect reciprocity, social equilibrium would be automatic and power would be doomed to perish. Reciprocity indicates that the asymmetrical structure of power relations results from an imbalance between agents who differ only in how much power they each have (Barbalet, 1985). Such argument is also obvious in Gidden’s (1979) discussion of two-way power relations:

Power relations are always two-way; that is to say however subordinate an actor may be in a social relationship, the very fact of involvement in that relationship gives him or her a certain amount of power over the other. Those in subordinate positions in social systems are frequently adept at converting whatever resources they possess into some degree of control over the conditions of reproduction of those social systems. (p. 6)

Resistance implies the imposition of some limitation on the initiative of others (Barbalet, 1985). The relation of resistance and power is embodied in many

definitions of power, including the one provided above by Weber (1964). Although Weber treats the power relation in terms of power and resistance, the interdependence of resistance and power is not adequately analysed in Weber's discussion of power (Barbalet, 1985). Dahrendorf (1968), Foucault (1980) and Barbalet (1985) explicitly address the role of resistance in understanding power. Barbalet (1985) regards resistance as "an irreducible concept in any adequate theory of power" (p. 646). "Pragmatic or expedient acceptance of power includes a significant resistive element, either because of an absence of interest in the realization of the goals of power, or because of an overt hindrance of its proper operations" (Barbalet, 1985, p. 531). Importantly, the understanding of the relation between power and resistance must incorporate statements of the systemic context, since power and resistance function through different types of social bases or resources, and are associated with different aspects of the social system (Barbalet, 1985, p. 546).

Therefore, relations of power, as one type of social relations, exist within the social context. According to Marx (1966, p. 87), "[social] relations are not relations between individual and individual, but between worker and capitalist, between farmer and landlord, etc. Wipe out these relations and you annihilate all society, and your Prometheus is nothing but a ghost without arms or legs". In other words, those who participate in the social relations cannot be regarded as simply interchangeable. An understanding of the institutional and systemic characteristics of the context is important for understanding social relations, in particular the power relations (Barbalet, 1985).

Politics is about who gets, what, where, how, and why (Lasswell, 1936), and power constitutes the fundamental of politics (Hall, 1994; Sofield, 2003). According to Jaensch (1992, as cited in Hall, 1994), there are five major elements to politics. First, it is concerned with the activity of making decisions in and for a collection of people, whether it is a small group, a community, an institution or a state. Secondly, it is about

the decisions, policies and ideologies that lead to the choices which influence decisions. Thirdly, it is about who is making the decisions, and how representative they are. Fourthly, it is related with the decision-making process and the various institutions within which they are made. Finally, the politics are related with the implementation of the decisions in the community.

In terms of communities, “policies and regulations are made *for* the communities rather *by* them” (Sofield, 2003, p. 7). Empowerment is frequently discussed in sociology and anthropology, especially in terms of indigenous/ethnic/minority groups. Empowerment is believed as a necessary component if the minorities intend to succeed in the conflict with mainstream society and withstand mainstream values (e.g. Kymlicka, 1995; Sofield. 2003). Sofield (2003) suggests that empowerment is fundamental for communities to achieve sustainable tourism development (p. 7). Empowerment is the result of social exchange process in which the power balance changes between the actors (Sofield, 2003, p. 8). Resistance is often involved in the process of power and empowerment process.

Jacobsen and Cohen (1986) make a distinction between power resources and power potential. Power resources are “anything tangible or intangible, which either side can muster to its aid in a confrontation with one another” (Jacobsen & Cohen, 1986, p. 109) and are the counters in a power-dependence relationship. On the other hand, potential power is “the capacity to use these resources in order to influence outcomes regarding specific contended issues”, and this capacity depends not only on the amount and type of resources but also on the degree to which either side is in a position to bring its resources to bear on the contended issues (p. 75). They argue that, potential power cannot be translated into action in all situations. Groups with relatively poor power resources can at times impose their wills on those who have more power resources (Jacobsen & Cohen, 1986). Sofield (2003) provides an example of Papua New Guinea to further discuss the argument. A number of traditionally

oriented village communities in Papua New Guinea successfully achieved compensation for pollution from Australia's largest company Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd after eight years negotiations and legal actions, since the villagers' grievances attracted international attention and received legal support from an Australian law firm (Sofield, 2003, p. 72). The communities were able to obtain aid from a source of countervailing power to reinforce its own resources. This ability is itself a component of social capital.

According to Braithwaite (1992, p. 469), if conflict was purely in economic terms, the powerless would usually be beaten since the stronger can access more resources and always prevail, but in the conflict with a powerful player, the powerless may succeed through taking their cause into the public and political arenas and seize the high moral ground, especially when they can link their cause with national interest. In terms of Kanas, the locals - the powerless, at times achieve their wills in the confrontation with the local administration - the powerful player. The reason is more related with national and regional stability and ethnicity harmony, especially given such issues in Xinjiang. The uniqueness in this circumstance is that, it is usually the local government, rather than the locals, that links the locals' causes with the national and regional interest. On the other hand, the locals' appeal would be purely in the economic terms. However, if understanding the issue from the perspective of 'relativity', the stronger prevails over the weaker still stand. Compared with the locals, the local administration is a powerful player and the locals are the powerless; however, in the relationship between the local administration and the higher (regional and national) authorities, the local administration is the 'powerless', and the higher authority is the 'powerful' party. Therefore, it can be understood that although apparently the powerless locals prevail in the confrontation with the local powerful administration, it is the higher administration that prevails over the local administration, which influences the positions of locals and local administration. The underlying issue in this circumstance is that China has top-down governance with

strong power.

Therefore, the differences in terms of the political system between western countries and China should be considered. In western countries, power, resources, and status may be loosely related. However, in China, resources, power and status are closely related; to some extent, the claims over power could be equal to the claims over resources. For example, in the early development stage of Hemu Village, Buerjin Tourism Company held the power relating to the tourism operation of the village. In 2008, the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee obtained management power over Hemu Village from the company. Status may be gained through the exchange of resources and power. The external entrepreneurs might be expected to have lower cultural status in the society since they are outsiders; however, in reality, they have higher economic status since this brings capital, market opportunities and other economic resources to the region.

As seen in Table 5.10, struggles over resources happen between tourism entrepreneurs and governments, tourism entrepreneurs and locals, governments and locals, tourists and locals, entrepreneurs and tourists, and even governments and tourists. Struggles over claims to power exist between governments and local ethnic peoples and governments and tourism entrepreneurs. Conflicts over belief mainly occur between tourists and locals, between entrepreneurs and ethnic communities, governments and tourists and between governments and locals. The struggle over status occurs between governments and locals and tourism entrepreneurs and locals. Conflict (with other groups) serves to maintain and reaffirm the identity of the group and boundaries lines against the surrounding social world (Cosser, 1956). The reciprocal patterns of claim and counter-claim create a balance between these groups therein maintaining a total social system (Simmel, 1955).

Table 5.10. Conflict and hostility between groups

Main groups	Governments	Tourism entrepreneurs	Tourists	Local ethnic people
Governments	–	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Resources (e.g. booth location) •Power (e.g. the management of attraction) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Resources (tourists need for improved access and better infrastructure) •Belief (tourists’ demand for authentic culture vs. governments’ commodification of culture) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Resources(e.g. land, Not enough recognition of rights) •Power (e.g. the management power of the village, insufficient local decisions making) • Belief (e.g. the arrangements relating to traditional festivals; the commodification of local culture) • Status (minority elders & governmental officials)
Tourism entrepreneurs	(As seen in the row of ‘governments’)	–	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Resources (over pricing perceived poor value for money) •Belief (e.g. product based on misrepresentation) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Resources (e.g. the benefit of tourism) •Belief (e.g. commodification of culture) •Status
Tourists	(As seen in the row of ‘governments’)	(As seen in the row of ‘tourism entrepreneurs’)	–	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Resources (e.g. environment pollution brought by enterprises, insufficient payment) •Belief (too many tourists threaten traditional way of life)
Local ethnic people	(As seen in the row of ‘governments’)	(As seen in the row of ‘tourism entrepreneurs’)	(As seen in the row of ‘tourists’)	–

Note: conflict and hostility also occur between subgroups, which will be demonstrated in the following chapters.

Coser (1956, p. 37) addresses the necessity of distinguishing between conflict and hostile sentiments and criticises that Simmel did not explicitly distinguish between hostility feelings and actual behaviour of expressing the feelings. Conflict always occurs in social interaction, but hostile attitudes are just predispositions to engage in action and may not necessarily lead to conflict (p. 37). For example, some locals displayed negative attitudes and sometimes resentment towards the staff of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee and criticised their working performance and style; but such predispositions did not eventuate in conflict.

Coser (1956, p. 38) argues that “the degree and type of legitimation of power and systems are crucial determinants of the occurrence of conflict”. He supports this argument with the difference between the Indian caste system in which hostility feelings do not lead to open conflict and the American class system in which conflict (e.g. management and labour) happen frequently. It should be noted that Coser does not explicitly distinguish between the actual degree of the legitimation of power and systems within the wider political system and the degree of the legitimation of power which is evaluated or believed by the individuals. Sometimes, there is a gap between the actual and the expected degree of the legitimation of power. This is particularly true in the highly centralised political systems.

Turning to the forms of the influencing factors, Both Simmel and Coser emphasise the external conditions for the occurrence of conflict. Mutual contact between two sides is regarded as an important factor by Simmel and Coser for the occurrence of conflict. According to Simmel (1955, pp 19-20), “.....conflict in its latent form, that is, by aversion and feelings of mutual alienness and repulsion which upon more intimate contact, no matter how occasioned, immediately change into positive hatred and fight”. The legitimation of power and system and

also the interaction between the two sides relating to conflict or hostility are all external factors influencing the occurrence of conflict. On the other hand, the internal factors of the groups are also important. It is argued that the strata and strength of the two sides especially the lower caste, and the benefits the lower caste obtained from the structure or organisation are also important determinants for the occurrence of conflict.

This part will be further explained in Proposition 4 *Conflict and Hostile Impulses* in Chapter 6 and Proposition 13 *Conflict Binds Antagonists* with the evidence of Kanas Scenic Area.

Before tourism development, the main stakeholders in the Kanas Scenic Area were only two groups, governments and local people. Tourism brought the other two groups, tourism entrepreneurs and tourists. The former social structure was replaced by the new structure, to meet the development of the society as perceived by China Central Government. The four groups together contribute to the social system of the community in the tourism season. The common interests and positions in the society of each group and the reciprocal antagonisms conserve social divisions and systems of stratification. Governments, entrepreneurs, tourists, local ethnic people play their own roles in the system with their own goals and interests.

The patterned antagonisms that occur in the process prevent the gradual disappearance of boundaries between these groups and assign positions of power to the various subsystems within a total system. For example, some external male entrepreneurs have married local girls and to some extent have acquired the identity of 'locals' and so enjoy the preferable policies of local government towards local minorities. These external entrepreneurs, though gaining trust from their wives may not necessarily be accepted by others as 'locals'. From the

conversations with some villagers and external entrepreneurs, these outsiders may have married local girls just to enjoy the preferential policies whereby some tourism businesses could only be operated by locals. The identity status of locals determines economic opportunities. Therefore, a number of locals, particularly the Kazakh horsemen, have appealed to the township government not to make preferential policies available on the basis of marriage where one partner is a non-local person. Consequently conflicts among these ‘married locals’, locals, and governments have occurred. However, it is argued that, in this circumstance, the resolution of conflict largely depends on the external authority of government on this issue.

In the discussion of boundary maintenance in an Old Order Amish community in Lancaster Country, Pennsylvania, the staged tourist activities designed and provided by tourist enterprises play the function of maintaining the boundary between Amish and the modern world, though they are largely profit-oriented (Buck, 1978). The separation of Amish ‘backstage’ life from tourists reinforced Amish’s culture. Authentic contact with the Amish is replaced by staged attractions provided for tourists, including Amish museums, schoolhouses, weddings, barn raising, etc. Buck (1978) suggests that although Amish people were faced with the pressure of tourism’s presence, they have not been influenced by cultural erosion, disorganization or personal distress. “That commercialized staged tourism may contribute Amish culture vigor...” (Buck, 1978, p. 234).

Wilson (1993) suggests that Buck’s (1978) arguments are problematic and points out a number of questions, for example, who were the tourist middlemen and culture brokers; who were the “teaching guides, “specialists” and “Mennonite guide” etc. North undertook fieldwork among the Amish and found that the boundary maintenance was no longer so evident (as cited in Wilson, 1993). She found that up to 800 Old Order Amish farms were involved in tourism and in

1980 some 400 farms were providing tourism services. Since farms can no longer support the increasing population, Amish welcome tourism which provides more employment. Without tourism the young generation may go outside the community to seek jobs, which would be far more strongly disapproved of by the elders. Many Amish welcome tourists to visit their houses and farms. It is argued that Buck carried out the research only on one faction of Amish and only along Highway 30 which led to an incomplete picture and debatable arguments (as cited in Wilson, 1993).

The separation of tourist and Amish areas that constitutes the basis of the community boundary addressed by Buck (1978) seems superficial. Indeed, an absolute 'boundary' between the Amish and tourists seem to be impossible, giving the same spatial territory contains the Amish's backstage' and tourism attractions. The 'staged' culture attractions described by Buck (1978) are not uncommon in other indigenous communities in the world, one example being the Home Visit attraction in Kanas, which will be discussed in the following chapters. However, many of such communities have been influenced by the modern/western culture to different extents. One reason may be that tourists are merely one of the forces of the modern/western culture. Tourism enterprises, governments, mass media, new technologies, and NGOs (if required) can also influence the indigenous culture. The boundary maintenance is more related to the balance of interest of different groups/communities, rather than with separation in a geographic sense, especially given the nature of tourists' activities - movement.

5.3 Attraction of the lower strata by the higher strata

According to Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956, p. 38), "in social structures providing a substantial amount of mobility, attraction of the lower strata by the higher, as well as mutual hostility between the strata, is likely to occur". However,

what the exact meaning of lower strata and higher strata and the criteria of defining the levels of strata were not clearly illustrated in their studies. In this study, considering the reality of China and of the case area, power including economic power and political power is adopted as the criterion of categorising different levels of strata. Therefore, it can be argued that the ethnic community are 'lower strata' and governments are 'higher strata'. Furthermore, Simmel's (1955) arguments about the relationship of the local and the dominant structures of power where the latter are external to the former, and the mutual hostility between strata can be illustrated with reference to the relationships between the ethnic community and local administrations in the Kanas Scenic Area.

Ethnic peoples are generally placed in the political and economic margins of tourism development, which can be seen from the terms used in research, such as neo-colonialism (Akama, 2004; Fisher, 2004; Jackson, 2004), postcolonialism (Hall & Tucker, 2004; Wels, 2004), and imperialism (Nash, 1977). Smith (1999) adopts the term 'decolonize' to show ethnic peoples' opposition to tourism. Fisher (2004) suggests that tourism is an agent of neo-colonialism in Levuka in Fiji. Oakes (1992, p. 12) interprets authentic tradition as "a dominant culture's expectation of a subordinate group's traditions" and in China the Chinese government plays a fundamental role in deciding ethnic identity (Xie, 2001).

Misunderstandings and at times hostility occur between the two stakeholders. The officials complained to me that they had sought to the development of the area and a great deal of money had been distributed to the villagers, but on their part the locals remained unsatisfied with the work of the administrations and sometimes even appealed to the higher authorities against decisions or for more funding. On the other hand, the locals complained to me that the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee paid too much attention to tourism development but ignored the welfare of the community and that the government earned a lot of

money from their land but the locals obtained very little. Some locals argued that officials were not specialists in their administrative sectors.

However, the mutual distrust between the two groups is accompanied by the locals' being attracted to the positions in governments. Locals regarded working in governments as an honour and made great efforts to obtain governmental positions. Locals working in the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, township governments, and even the villagers' committees (though they are not formally of government rank) were proud of their positions and were admired by other locals. A Tuva girl who obtained a position as an administrative staff member in the Tourism Bureau of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee was admired by her peers including those who participated in tourism and earned more income than her. When the locals came to the office building of the Administrative Committee to deal with some issues, they often visited the girl and admired her computer, the big office table, and also the environment in her office. According to the locals, the girl had "a good fortune".

In the summer of 2010, as in the former years, over ten internal and external entrepreneurs operated catering and accommodation businesses in Hanas Village, though the policy forbade this type of business operation and forbade locals renting their houses for such business operations. Among these locals and outsiders, only two locals and one outsider gave up the operation of their businesses or renting houses to outsiders operating such business under the pressure of administration. The common reason was that they were working in the local administrative bodies and the villagers' committee. They were concerned about their positions in the organisations which they might lose if they insisted on continuing to be involved in such business. These cases are briefly described below:

Case 5.1: A local staff member in the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee operated a restaurant and hostel in the early summer of 2010. After the Administrative Committee noticed this, the administrative staff asked him to close down the business otherwise he would lose his job in the Administrative Committee. Finally, he closed down the business and then rented the house out to an outsider operating a Home Visit business.

Case 5.2: A member of the Hanas Village Communist Party Committee rented his house to an outsider who operated a Home Visit business. After two to three weeks when the Administrative Committee and the township government found that the business was involved with catering and accommodation, they prohibited the Committee member from renting the house to the operator, and suspended his work and his salary until the operator moved out. According to the operator, for each day when the landlord was suspended from work he was asked by the landlord to relinquish his business. At last, the operator moved out, the landlord regained his position in the the Hanas Village Communist Party Committee and rented the house to some outsiders as a dormitory at a much lower rent than that the operator had paid.

Case 5.3: According to the wife of a local staff in the Hemu and Hanas Township Government, they rented their house in Hemu Village in 2007. However, the Administrative Committee and the township government prohibited them from doing this and ordered her husband to cease work in the government for almost one month.

Case 5.4: The Hemu and Hanas Township Government planned to demolish some houses in the village, starting from the houses of the staff working in the public sector. According to the wife of a local staff in the township

government, the government asked him to demolish five rooms of their house; if not, they would suspend him from his government post. The staff was very worried and did plan to demolish the rooms. At last, he, as suggested by his wife, told lies to the head of the government that he and his wife had divorced; thereby saved their house.

Case 5.5: In the conflict between government and locals in Hemu Village about the grassland in 2009, hundreds of locals participated in the struggle; however, few locals working in the public sector were involved in that event due to their concern about the positions in the organisations.

These locals working in the public sector gave up their businesses which were against the policies and rules of administrations in order to retain their governmental posts. The administrative bodies utilised the desires for positions in the public sector to prohibit local people from acting against the rules and policies, though other locals did that. According to a tourist who fell in love with a local horseman and stayed in Hemu Village for three summers, locals admired the members who earned salaries from the government posts and once these members achieved positions in governments, they feared to lose them. “These members are like plastic bags; they are empty. They have to listen to the leaders, and do whatever they are told to do. They fear to say (anything) on behalf of the minority”, she criticised.

This phenomenon can also be partially attributed to the excessive pursuit for governmental positions in the whole China and of course in Xinjiang. The highly competitive annual National Public Servant Exam has attracted candidates in increasing numbers over the years. The exam offered in December 2010 in major cities across China, attracted 1.03 million candidates for 16,000 vacancies around the country, among which 4961 candidates were applying for a position with the

National Energy Bureau, that year's most sought-after jobs (Xinhuanet, 2011). In addition to the perceived stability (namely 'iron rice bowl') of government jobs, people including top-ranking university graduates are attracted to the power and social status that come together with the positions.

Being a member of the China Communist Party is the perquisite for some higher positions in governments. The Constitution of the Communist Party of China stipulates that Chinese, who have reached the age of 18, accept the program and constitution of the CPC, is willing to join and work in one of the Party organizations, carry out the Party's decisions and pay membership dues regularly, may apply for membership in the CPC (China Internet Information Center, n.d. -c). In 2009, the total members of Communist Party of China reached 77,995,000. In the Kanas Scenic Area, there were a total of 328 Communist Party members in 2010, and the village members of Communist Party numbered 230 people. Most of these members worked in the public sector.

Some locals in the Kanas Scenic Area occupied positions of deputy head of bureaux, heads of townships and administrative staff in the various layers of government. However, some of these locals are resentful of government officials, especially their leaders, although the resentment is in part due to envy. Additionally while they do not agree with the policies or the orders of their leaders, they have to implement these policies and orders, because this is their 'responsibility' as staff in government.

Conflict happens, but not very often, because of the weaker positions of these indigenous people in government and their desire for keeping their positions in the government. On the other hand, the governments utilise locals' such intentions to implement some tough policies. Mediation is the primary method of conflict resolution in China, and it works extensively and effectively (Wall, 1990). The

local government officials were frequently asked to mediate between the locals and the government leaders.

5.4 Summary

Governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and local ethnic people are defined as the main stakeholders in the development of tourism in the Kanas Scenic Area. While tensions serve to establish the identity and boundary lines of these four groups, more generally it is the unique elements and general positions of each group that serve to establish the identity lines of societal groups. However, it can be argued that conflict with other groups contributes to the reaffirmation of the identity of the group and the maintaining of its boundaries against the surrounding social world. These four groups together contribute to the social system of the community and the reciprocal tensions create a balance between various groups therein maintaining the total social system (Simmel, 1955).

Attraction of the lower strata by the higher, as well as mutual hostility between the strata occurs, which is arguably most evident between locals and local governments. Hostile feelings of the lower strata frequently take the form of resentment in which hostility is mingled with attraction. However, although such structures will tend to provide many occasions for tension, open conflict seldom happened, since “the degree and kind of legitimation of power and status systems are crucial intervening variables affecting the occurrence of conflict” (Cosser, 1956, p. 38) and locals are in the weaker position in the government-directed society.

CHAPTER SIX HOSTILITY AND TENSIONS IN CONFLICT RELATIONSHIPS

The objectives of this chapter are to discuss the nature and functions of opposition and tensions in social relationships between stakeholders in tourism development. Coser's (1956) four propositions regarding these issues are examined and to what extent and how these suppositions can apply into tourism are explored by the evidence from the Kanas Scenic Area.

For the purpose of consistency, this chapter borrows the structure of the counterpart chapter in Coser's (1956) book *The Functions of Social Conflict*. The four propositions discussed in his chapter and accordingly explored here within the tourism background are:

Proposition 2: Group-preserving functions of conflict and the significance of Safety-Valve institutions

Proposition 3: Realistic and nonrealistic conflict

Proposition 4: Conflict and hostile impulses

Proposition 5: Hostility in close social relationships

The numbering of these propositions adheres to Coser's nomenclature.

Therefore, the first section of this chapter discusses conflict and three types of hostility expression, and how they fulfill the function of a safety-valve to maintain social relationships. Secondly, realistic and unrealistic conflicts are explored within tourism background. This is followed by a discussion of tensions and three types of interactions between local minorities and tourists. The roles of mediator discussed by Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) are critically analysed within a Chinese context. Then the tensions in the close social relationships between villagers, townships and villages are separately discussed. Finally, a brief summary is provided.

6.1 Coser's (1956) Proposition 2: Group-preserving functions of conflict and the significance of safety-valve Institutions

In this section, Coser's (1956) three types of hostility expression are explored with reference to the evidence from the Kanas Scenic Area. The functions of displacement of hostility expression as a safety-valve are introduced to analyse tourists' travel motivation and behaviour anomaly in tourism destinations.

Coser (1956) reformulates the work of Simmel (1955) as:

- (1) Conflict is not always dysfunctional for the relationship within which it occurs; often conflict is necessary to maintain such a relationship. Without ways to vent hostility toward each other, and to express dissent, group members might feel completely crushed and might react by withdrawal. By setting free pent-up feelings of hostility, conflicts serve to maintain a relationship.
- (2) Social systems provide for specific institutions which serve to drain off hostile and aggressive sentiments. These safety-valve institutions help to maintain the system by preventing otherwise probable conflict or by reducing its disruptive effects. They provide substitute objects upon which to displace hostile sentiments, as well as means of abreaction. Through these safety valves, hostility is prevented from turning against its original object. But such displacements also involve costs both for the social system and for the individuals: reduced pressure for modifying the system to meet changing conditions, as well as dammed up tension in the individual, creating potentialities for disruptive explosion.

Release of hostile sentiments upon a substitute object (as distinct from simple symbolic expression) creates a new conflict situation with that object. (pp 47-48)

The suppositions above and the discussion conducted by Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) relating to hostility and tensions in social relationships can be generally summarised into three points: (1) expression of antagonism through conflict permits the maintenance of relationships under conditions of stress (Simmel, 1955); (2) there are three possible modes of hostility expression to

release tension (Coser, 1956, p. 41); (3) displacement of hostility on substitute objects and through substitute means can serve as safety-valve institutions to release tension and maintain the social relation (Coser, 1956). Each of the three points is explored in Kanas's context as follows.

6.1.1 Expression of antagonism through conflict

According to Simmel (1955), conflicts serve to maintain a relationship through releasing feelings of hostility towards the persons or groups that are the causes of such feelings, because “opposition gives us inner satisfaction, distraction, relief; makes us feel that we are not victims of the circumstances; allows us to prove our strength consciously and only thus gives vitality and reciprocity to conditions” (p. 19). This argument places high value on conflict's function of ‘release’ (Coser, 1956). The objectification of the out-group therefore permits communication with that group because they now possess a status that is symbolised as being ‘different’ – not of the ingroup. They represent an opposed group, but relationships while tense fall short of hostility. In these conflicts in the Kanas Scenic Area, although the ‘given group’ could not achieve their aims, the nature of debates enabled groups to reinforce their own senses of identity as stakeholders in the tourism processes, thereby permitting longer term healthy relationships based on respect for difference on ethnicity and culture. This is evidenced by the following ‘mini case’.

Case 6.1: In 2009, over 100 families of Hemu Village appealed to the local administration because (a) their pasture was being occupied to establish tourism buildings, and also (b) a desire to obtain more economic benefits from tourism. According to the *Xinjiang Kanas Scenic Area Hemu Village Cultural Landscape Protection Plan* (Planning and Design Institute of Sun Yat-sen University & Center for Tourism Planning and Research of Sun

Yat-sen University, 2008), a tourism area was to be established at the entrance area of Hemu Village. According to the *Plan*, the land for planning use of the Tourism Area was 225 *mu* (equals to 15 hectares; *mu* is a Chinese unit of area) and the construction land was 44.13 *mu* (2.94 hectares). The land was originally national agricultural land, and some local families' pastures were involved.

The petitioner villagers occupied the construction site of the tourism area to stop the construction of the buildings for over 10 days, in order to push the local government to resolve the issue in their favour. Finally, the government compensated the villagers who had a share of that pasture land, but provided nothing to the other petitioners who had no place at the pasture land. Moreover, the local government did not resolve the other issues that the petitioners proposed, such as a better distribution of the economic benefits from tourism.

It may be argued that, to some extent, such conflict has helped to maintain the relationship between the locals and the government. Through the appeal, some villagers obtained compensation from the government. The appeal enabled the villagers to assess their political strength and achieve satisfaction. The success achieved by the appeal meant the villagers believed that an appeal was a useful way to show their dissatisfaction towards the policies and local government regulations, as evident from subsequent appeals in this village and other villages. From a governmental perspective, although challenged, the challenge was within 'the rules of the game' and concession permitted those rules to be sustained without progression to more serious civil unrest. The way the events unfolded permitted the *realpolitick* to continue without the village being subject to risks of oppression, albeit each such instance of conflict has the potential to change the previous terms of the relationship of the participants. One result is that the local

government pays more attention to local demands when designing and implementing policies and rules and initiates several approaches to enable locals to directly express their concerns about policy implementation, as evident from the discussion in the first section of 6.1.2: direct opposition towards the primary sources of frustration. At the same time the position of the local government and the Chinese Communist Party is sustained as it is they who retain the power to provide what is required.

Simmel (1955) argues that opposition achieves such aims of intergroup and political stability even where it has no noticeable success in specifically meeting the demands of any one group. However, conflict is different from hostility (Coser, 1956), as discussed in the previous chapter. The occurrence of conflict represents the accumulation of hostility to a certain level where tensions have to be released in violent action to sustain senses of self identity and independence, since "...we could not bear to have any relation to people from whose characters we thus suffer" (Simmel, 1955, p. 19). That means, whether the very immediate cause of the conflict is resolved or not is important for the antagonists. In addition, the reciprocal interaction of the two sides in the conflict and the reaction of the frustration sources also influence the level of 'inner satisfaction, distraction, relief' of the aggrieved. The level of 'satisfaction' is expected to be higher if antagonists achieve success in the conflict and will be lower otherwise. This will be more complex taking subgroups into consideration. The persons who have succeeded in achieving their aims in the conflict will be more satisfied than the ones who have not achieved success, as shown in the subgroups of the locals in the case study above. Furthermore, conflict may even cause disintegration of the group; this part will be further illustrated in Chapter seven.

6.1.2 Three types of hostility expression and the evidence from the Kanas Scenic Area

Coser (1956) addresses the distinction between hostile feelings and behaviour, and proposes three modes of expression of hostile feelings in behaviours: (1) direct expression of hostility against the persons or groups that are primary sources of opposition; (2) displacement of such hostile behaviour onto substitute objects; (3) tension-release activity which provides satisfaction in itself without need for object or object substitute. All these three forms can be proxies for conflict (Coser, 1956, p. 40). Though hostility is expressed, the core relationship between parties remains unchanged; thus these expressions may be welcomed by the powerful parties as essentially their dominant role is sustained (Coser, 1956). All these three forms exist in tourism destinations such as the Kanas Scenic Area as shown from the following discussions.

(1) Direct opposition towards the primary sources of frustration

This mode refers to expressing opposition directly towards the person or group which is the source of frustration. This mode was not uncommon in Kanas. For example, locals directly expressed their disagreement towards the local administration over some issues (e.g. the uneven distribution of tourism income); while employees complained about the low salary offered by employers; and tourism entrepreneurs show their dissatisfaction towards the government about the heavy tax, etc. One example is provided here.

Case 6.2: In 2009 tourism season, the Tourism Bureau of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee commended the vendors in Hemu Village to move their stalls from the roadside to the courtyard of Hemu and Hanas Township government. The vendors disagree with this order since the business would be negatively influenced. When the staff of the Tourism

Bureau asked the vendors to move, some of them directly expressed their opposition towards the staff and insisted on operating the business roadside. After a couple of days, even the vendors who had moved to the new designated venues moved back to their previous venues. It may be argued that the direct opposition made the group of the frustration source – the Tourism Bureau realise the strength of the people (vendors) involved, and understand the issue from other perspectives.

This mode serves as an outlet for the release of tensions and the relationship as such remains unchanged; otherwise the tensions may possibly convert into conflict and the terms of the relationship may be changed (Cosser, 1956). From this perspective, the group which may be the target of conflict may welcome this mode. The local administration of the Kanas Scenic Area encourages the locals to express concerns directly to local officials, partly, it is suspected, to avoid locals appealing directly to the governments of higher levels. The local township government also implemented a survey on locals and outside entrepreneurs to know their difficulties and concerns and their evaluation of government's work. These measures provide ways for locals and outsiders to express their dissatisfaction and maintain the relationship between the government and locals and outsiders, though the problems revealed on the survey may not be wholly resolved. During some festivals (e.g. New Year Festival and Teacher's Day), officials usually visit some locals with gifts or money, to get to know about locals' concerns and living difficulties and to demonstrate government's concern about locals' welfare. Such practice is not only common in the Kanas Scenic Area, but also around China. One of the purposes of this practice is to reduce the tensions between locals and the government. It purportedly provides people opportunities for directly expressing their difficulties or dissatisfactions, though in practice many do not directly express the negative attitudes due to fears about the possible consequences of too blunt a criticism.

(2) Displacement of objects

The displacement of opposition feelings onto substitute subjects helps the aggrieved release the antagonism and thereby maintains existing relationship (Coser, 1956, p. 42). Coser (1956) gives an example of witchcraft, "...those accused of witchcraft had not in any way harmed their accusers or aroused hostility, but were singled out as a means for the release of hostility which could not be expressed safely against the original object" (p. 42). However, Coser (1956) does not further discuss the relationship between the original object, the substitute subjects and the aggrieved which may also determine the displacement of objects and also the choice of a specific substitute object.

It is compulsory for tourists to take the onsite shuttle bus provided by tourism companies in Kanas Scenic Area. The high price of the bus tickets set by the tourism companies led some private entrepreneurs providing cheaper car or motorcycle taxi services to satisfy the demands of tourists for low price. Therefore, tensions arose between the tourism companies and the private entrepreneurs.

Case 6.3: The return bus ticket between Hanas Village and Baihaba Village was 150 RMB (around 20 US dollars) in 2009. During the conversations with tourists who stayed at different lodges, many of them complained that the price was too high for taking a 55-seats public bus and for just 38 kilometers distance one way. In May 2009, among the 12 tourists who stayed at the Tuva house in Hanas Village where I lived, only 2 tourists purchased the Baihaba tour and all the rest of the tourists chose to hang around at Hanas Village. On the other hand, private entrepreneurs offered car and motor car services at a price below 100 RMB, which attracted a number of tourists and thereby led to the opposition of the bus company towards them. However, the company did not directly display *resentiment* to the entrepreneurs, but displaced its feelings

to the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee and asked the Administrative Committee to supervise the operation conduct of the private entrepreneurs.

The displacement of objects above can be attributed to several reasons. (1) The direct expression of further opposition to the local private entrepreneurs was not safe, since the relation between the company and the locals had already been intense and further opposition may well have led to violence. (2) The company had no legal right to supervise the business behaviour of outside entrepreneurs. (3) The company had cooperated with the Administrative Committee over several projects, and the Administrative Committee also obtained a certain percentage of income from the operation of the company. (4) The Administrative Committee is in charge of the administration and management of tourism operation in the area, and thereby can regulate the operation of these private businessmen. In this case, the tourism company displaced its opposition towards private entrepreneurs to the local administration in order not to worsen its relationship further with the private locals and outsider entrepreneurs.

Such issues also happen in other ethnic destinations, as in the case of Guilin Yangshuo's Shangri-La Scenic Area, Guangxi, China, provided by Sun (2009). The tourism company has been positively reacting to the locals who proposed a number of 'unreasonable' compensation and some other requirements and trying not to lead conflict with the locals (Sun, 2009). "The tourism company often made detailed records of the locals' complaints and then passed the issues to the local county government, since the tourism company has neither power nor means to discipline the locals" (Sun, 2009, pp. 210-211).

In addition, in some scenic areas in China, such as Kanas, the locals may block the ways of tourists and suspended their tours. The purpose is not to be against

tourists, but to push the local government to resolve some issues. This will be detailed in the next section, *Realistic and non-realistic conflict*.

(3) Displacement of means

A third type of hostility expression is to channel or displace the tension through activity which provides satisfaction in itself without need for an object or object substitute (Coser, 1956, p. 41), such as wit, political jokes, theatre or forms of entertainment. In these cases, no conflict is present, but the tension is released to some extent; thereby the original relationship is safeguarded. In mass society, shopping, mass culture such as boxing and wrestling matches, TV series and movies, play the same role (Coser, 1956), besides playing other functions. It may be the same case in travelling, as further discussed in the following discussion.

The pressure and stress present in modern and non-literate society make drinking a popular means of relieving or escaping from tension. Many Tuvas and Kazakhs in the Kanas Scenic Area are fond of drinking. During the daily conversation with the outsider entrepreneurs, some argued that “If the locals do not drink, what do they do (for entertainment)?” Loneliness and stress which may be partially attributed to the isolation and harsh climate are possibly displaced through drinking. Observation during the period (and indeed at times participation) indicated that drinking was not uncommon, especially during winter months. Some locals died or became impoverished because of excess drinking. I was informed by both local officials and villagers that, two or three years ago, it was not uncommon to see drunkards just lying in the streets.

6.1.3 Safety-valve institutions

According to Coser (1956), displacement of hostile sentiments on substitute objects, and periods of socially condoned ill-behaviour can stave off hostile and

aggressive sentiments, thereby serving the function of safety-valve processes that maintain the system. Coser (1956) cites, for example, situations where the ordinary rules of sexual behaviour may be disobeyed during orgiastic feasts in primitive societies, and where drama provides continual release of the stress through laughter in Bali where the social structure is highly stratified and rigid. An additional method is via the role of scapegoating which refers to tension-release by substitute objects and through substitute means.

Travelling can be seen in the same light as serving as a safety-valve to release tourists' tensions grounded in their working and living environment. Escape from routine and stressful environment and relaxation are commonly regarded as tourists' motives for travelling (Crompton, 1979; Mannel & Iso-Ahola, 1987). Mannel and Iso-Ahola (1987) suggest a two-dimensional theory on two motivational forces – escaping from routine and stressful environments and seeking recreational opportunities for certain intrinsic rewards. Leisure participations can provide change or novelty, which enable a person to escape from the everyday environment and leave behind the personal (e.g. troubles, failures) and/or interpersonal world (e.g. roommates, family) (Mannel & Iso-Ahola, 1987). Mannel and Iso-Ahola (1987) suggest that tourism is more of an escape-oriented than seeking-oriented activity, which means the escape dimension plays a more important role for most people in most conditions, especially for those frequent but shorter duration vacationers.

Such motive may influence tourists' behaviour in tourism destinations. For example, it was found that some female tourists sought romantic relations with local horsemen, even to the point of engaging in extra-marital liaisons. Some tourists were found to be overly demanding of tour guides and staff at attractions, and it is suggested that some of such behaviour may be a compensation for the behaviours of their own bosses and/or supervisors in their workplaces.

These tourists seem to meet the features of the fourth type of scenario provided by Ryan (1993, p. 178) regarding to tourism-crime typology. He identifies five types of scenarios. The fourth sees tourists as an imported demand for deviant activities. They escape from their home and indulge in anti-social and self-destructive behaviour that could lead to crime-binges and 'lager louts', drug taking, and soliciting prostitutes (Ryan, 1993). Tourists indulge in behaviour not normally undertaken and which crosses the division between the legal and the illegal. Such behaviour is consistent with the notion that an important component of the tourism culture is the loosening of a sense of responsibility and the opportunity for self-indulgence. This is partially because of the fact of being away from home and using the anonymity of the tourist resort (Ryan, 1993).

Zhang's (2008a, 2008b) discussion about 'usual environment' and 'unusual environment' may help explain this issue. The 'usual environment' refers to the area around people's residences and places they normally stay at; it consists of people's daily working (study) environment, living environment and socialisation environment (Zhang, 2008a, 2008b). Tourists may show different psychological and behavioural characteristics when they are in an 'unusual environment' as distinct from their 'usual environment'. In tourism destinations (an 'unusual environment'), the temporary disappearance of the conventional social rules and ethics of living and working environment ('usual environment') may permit tourists to behave differently from normally.

Based on my observations and conversations with locals and tourists, some female Han tourists seek sexual or romantic liaisons with the accommodation operators or horsemen. Tourists normally stay for a couple of days in Kanas which is 'unusual environment' for them. During the long journey of horse-riding from one attraction (e.g. Hemu Village) to another attraction (e.g. Hanas Village) which often takes over one day, they talked and would have relation at the night or in the

other days of the tour. A general comparison and contrast of the features of female tourists and horsemen are summarised in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Comparing and contrasting female tourists and horsemen

	Female tourists	Horsemen
Original places	Big cities and regions including Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Taiwan, etc.	Kanas area and its neighbouring townships
Educational attainments	Some of them have received tertiary education.	High middle school or below
Occupation	‘White collars’, private enterprise owners, no job, etc.	Private entrepreneurs
Income	Average or above the average income (of where the tourists live and work)	Uncertain (depending on tourism)
Marriage status	Not known	Mostly not married
Age	20-40	20-30
Physical appearance	Not bad, attractive in horsemen’s eyes	Strong, young, exotic, attractive in female tourists’ eyes
Attitudes towards the ‘romance’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relax • For one night (419) • A surprise during the trip • Love 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Happiness • A good way to earn money • Dangerous

Case 6.4: A horseman described what happened between him and a female tourist from Beijing in summer 2010. Introduced by her friend, the female tourist contacted the horseman ahead of the travel and the horseman helped her make all arrangements including accommodation and catering. After the horseman picked her up at the airport, the lady turned off her mobile phone and said, those days were holiday and she needed to relax. In those days, she drank a lot and had a happy time with the horseman. After she left the area, the horseman called the lady twice. The first time she answered and said she was very busy. The second time, he could not get through to her phone.

In the short periods spent at the Kanas Scenic Area which is ‘unusual environment’ for tourists, the female tourists were found to pay more attention to the physical

appearance of the host males, rather than to apply the traditional standards for finding a partner in the big cities ('usual environment') such as money, status, educational background, personality, etc. In addition, the tourists take advantage of anonymity and the absence of friends, family members to engage in such romantic relationships. In their sexual experiences with males in the tourism destinations, the ordinary rules of sexual behaviour and avoidance can safely be infringed (Coser, 1956, p. 41). Such presence of the tourist outlet preserves their normal social life from the potentially severe consequences of such behaviour in the *usual* place.

These avenues fulfil 'safety-valve' functions. Through the expressions of opposition/resentment/ pressure on substitute objects or through substitute means, feelings of tension and opposition are prevented from overturning the social status quo, and thereby the original relationship remains unchanged (Coser, 1956). However, a distinction between displacement of objects and of means require to be identified. Displacement of objects may lead to a new conflict with the substitute object, while no conflict is involved in the displacement of means (Coser, 1956, p. 44), as discussed in the subsequent section.

6.2 Coser's (1956) Proposition 3: Realistic and non-realistic conflict

This section discusses and attempts to apply Coser's (1956) arguments about realistic and nonrealistic conflict in tourism areas within the evidence of the Kanas Scenic Area.

Based on Simmel's (1955) discussion about conflict as an object or as a means, Coser (1956) develops two concepts: realistic and nonrealistic conflict. Coser (1956) suggests that realistic conflict takes place with the frustrating agents themselves in expectation of attaining specific results, while unrealistic conflict

consists of a release of tension in aggressive action directed against shifting objects. Coser (1956) comments that,

Implicit in this differentiation between conflict as a means and conflict as an end in itself is a criterion by which to distinguish between realistic and nonrealistic conflict. Conflicts which arise from frustration of specific demands within the relationship and from estimates of gains of the participants, and which are directed at the presumed frustrating object, can be called *realistic conflict*, insofar as they are means toward a specific result. Non-realistic conflicts, on the other hand, although still involving interaction between two or more persons, are not occasioned by the rival ends of the antagonists, but by the need for tension release of at least one of them. In this case the choice of antagonists depends on determinants not directly related to a contentious issue and is not oriented toward the attainment of specific results. (p.49)

Non-realistic conflicts arise from deviations and frustrations stemming from the socialization process and from later adult role obligations, or ...from a conversion of originally realistic antagonism which was disallowed expression. (p.54)

Realistic conflict situations may be accompanied, especially where there are no adequate provisions for the carrying out of the struggle, by unrealistic sentiments which are deflected from their sources. ...One of the sources of unrealistic admixtures in realistic conflicts lies in institutions which define free expression of overt antagonism as 'dangerous and wrong'. (pp. 53-54)

A clarification about the differences between realistic and nonrealistic conflicts is necessary here. Coser's (1956) discussions about the roles, objects, aims and possible causes of the two types of conflict are summarised in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2. Realistic conflict and non-realistic conflict

	Realistic conflict	Non-realistic conflict	Realistic conflict accompanied by non-realistic conflict
Roles of conflict	A means	An object	Both a means and an object
Objects	Frustrating source persons or groups	Shifting objects	Frustrating sources or shifting objects
Aims	To obtain specific results (higher stratus, more power, great economic returns)	To release aggressive energies	To obtain specific results (higher stratus, more power, great economic returns)
Possible causes	Conflict is the only or best means that can be chosen to achieve the results.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The deprivations and frustrations from socialisation process • Conversion of originally realistic antagonism which was forbidden from expression 	Free expression of overt antagonism is regarded as dangerous and wrong.

Source: Coser (1956)

In realistic conflict, the means can be replaced by others, such as cooperation, since the aim is to obtain specific results (Coser, 1956). Realistic conflict will cease if the actor can find alternative ways to achieve his or her end. Means other than conflict are potentially available. Non-realistic conflicts, on the other hand, result from one antagonist's need to release tension. In such circumstances, conflict is an end in itself, and need not be oriented toward the attainment of specific results (Coser, 1956). It is a psychological need as distinct from economic, social or political gain. To an extent it is internally motivated, while the realistic may be externally imposed, or a reaction to attempted external imposition (Coser, 1956). It is primarily a response to frustrations in which the object appears suitable for a release of aggressiveness. There are no alternatives to means, though the target of hostility can easily change (Coser, 1956).

6.2.1 Realistic and nonrealistic conflicts in tourism

In the field of tourism, realistic and nonrealistic conflicts coexist. Each tourism destination contains sources of realistic conflict since individuals and organisations in tourism development have claims over scarce resources, more power, higher status and more economic returns. An example about conflict over economic returns is provided as follows.

Case 6.5: Many outsiders rent houses from locals to operate lodges and restaurants. According to a local Kazakh in Hemu Village, in the early stage of the tourism development, the tenants and house owners simply make a deal with the help of a person understanding Mandarin, no formal contracts being signed. In 2008, a local house owner sued the tenant in court for delaying payment of rent. The lawyer then suggested the local adopt the formal module contract and gave a module to the locals.

The nonrealistic elements, on the other hand, which may be intermingled in the struggle are contingent and play, at most, a reinforcing role (Coser, 1956).

Expressing opposition towards the subjects is often regarded as dangerous by the antagonists since stakeholders in tourism are often symbiotically connected in terms of benefits. Although the allocation of resources and power is expected to be governed by norms and role allocation systems, it is also an object of competition. In China, resources, power and benefits are closely bounded, and more resources and power means more benefits possibly obtained. This is one of the reasons why tourism development in tourism destinations, especially in the minority regions, are dominated by large and middle sized enterprises rather than small, locally based businesses. In rural areas, ownership of land may still be in the hands of local authorities, village communes or other bodies, but not in the

hands of individuals. A second feature is the ownership of the banking system. In the absence of private ownership of land or access to lending, small businesses are almost wholly dependent upon their ability to raise money from within their own family circles, and for those who are impoverished, such a resource is limited. The power therefore lies in the hands of the well connected, and often in rural China this is in the organisations of the local authority, the Chinese Communist Party or the army, and businesses emanate from these sources rather than private individuals. Hence the power status quo is reinforced.

6.2.2 Admixture of unrealistic in realistic conflicts

Realistic conflict situations may be accompanied by unrealistic sentiments, especially where there are no adequate provisions for effective pursuit of claims. The reasons vary and one of them lies in institutions which define free expression of overt antagonism as “dangerous and wrong” (Cosser, 1956, pp. 53-54).

In the Kanas Scenic Area, some locals, after they got drunk, would come to the township government to appeal to the heads of the government, as I observed when I stayed in the Hemu and Hanas Township government staff’s dormitory that was located in the same courtyard of the government offices. These locals complained about their problems of daily life such as a lack of money, no power, no running water, etc. Sometimes, they uttered abusive statements against the officials. They hope the government will resolve the problems for them; however, they are afraid of informing the heads of government of these problems. Drinking gives them the courage to come to the heads of the government, but they fail to realise that the officials might simply regard their complaints as drunken words and a kind of release, rather considering the realistic or core issues being raised.

Although the distinction between realistic and unrealistic conflict theoretically

shows that we should not explain the social phenomena of conflict entirely in terms of tension release, it often happens in the real world. With the possibility of realistic conflict ruled out, the local administrations look for “therapeutic measures” (Coser, 1956, p. 52) instead of investigating the causes of conflict. The administrations see all conflict as a “social disease” and the lack of conflict as “social health” (Coser, 1956, p. 53). Misunderstandings and at times hostility occur between locals and the local governments in this area, and in many other areas. Different stakeholders perceive tourism impact from different ways (Byrd, Bosley, & Dribberger, 2009).

6.3 Coser’s (1956) Proposition 4: Conflict and hostile impulses

This section discusses (1) the formation of conflict within three types of interaction between tourists and locals, and (2) the role of mediators. Coser (1956) reformulates the work of Simmel (1955) as:

Aggressive or hostile “impulses” do not suffice to account for social conflict. Hatred, just as love, needs some objects. Conflict can occur only in the interaction between subject and object; it always presupposes a relationship.

Realistic conflict need not be accompanied by hostility and aggressiveness. “Tensions” in the psychological sense are not always associated with conflict behaviour. Yet it might be “useful” to hate the opponent. The propagandist expects that such hatred will reinforce the emotional investment in the conflict and hence strengthen the readiness to carry it out to the end.

Conversely, the main function of the mediator is seen as divesting conflict situations of nonrealistic elements of aggressiveness so as to allow the contenders to deal realistically with the divergent claims at issue. (pp. 59-60)

Hostile feelings arise in the interplay between an “impulse of hostility” and opposing objects, and interaction greatly contributes to the occurrence of conflict (Simmel, 1955). Besides interaction, some analysis further suggest that social position, cultural norms, and social structure should also be considered in the

analysis of conflict but are often neglected (Coser, 1956). This section seeks to confirm this argument through the provision of evidence of the interaction between tourists and local minorities in the Kanas Scenic Area. Three types of interaction between tourists and locals are suggested: unsymmetrical interaction, symmetrical interaction and invented interaction. In addition, Coser's (1956) arguments about mediators are critically analysed, considering the differences of mediation in Western and Chinese settings.

6.3.1 Interaction between locals and tourists in the Kanas Scenic Area

This part explores the tensions and interaction between local minorities and tourists. Interaction is an important factor for both potential conflict and the impacts of tourism on locals. According to Wolf (1977), socio-cultural impacts are the effects on host communities of their direct and indirect interactions with tourists.

De Kadt (1979) lists three contexts in which tourists and hosts interact: (a) tourists purchasing goods or services from hosts, (b) being side by side without communication, and (c) interacting to exchange information and ideas. This categorisation is from the perspective of an external factor of interaction – context. In this study, from the perspective of tourists and locals themselves, three types of interaction are suggested based on the levels of their participation in the interaction. They are asymmetrical interaction, symmetrical interaction and invented interaction.

- **Asymmetrical interaction: active – active**

The participation levels of tourists and locals are not symmetrical. The participation level of tourists is expected to be higher than that of locals due to tourists' interest in the, to them, exotic local culture. "Tourist gaze"

(Urry, 1990, 2002) is an example of this type of interaction. Tourists actively participate in the interaction (especially by taking photos); locals, on the other hand, are just passively gazed upon and photographed by these outsiders.

- Symmetrical interaction: active – passive

Both tourists and locals actively participate in the interaction. This type of interaction happens especially when locals sell products and/or service to tourists.

- Invented interaction: active – mediated active – passive

Tourists believe that they are interacting with the indigenous people while in fact the persons tourists interact with are outsiders who pretend to be the local minority people. The occurrence of invented interaction is largely due to the information asymmetry between tourists and locals and it often happens in ethnic minority places, such as Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park in Smithfield, Cairns, Australia, where Maori, Islanders and Murris employees pretend to be Djabugay people and provide Djabugay cultural performances to tourists (Dyer, Aberdeen & Schuler, 2003). In the Home Visit business properties in the Kanas Scenic Area, invented interaction happens between the tourists and the ‘Tuvas’ imitated by outsider Kazaks.

All the three types of interaction exist in the Kanas Scenic Area. Cases representing each type of interaction are provided as follows. These cases represent the common phenomenon and/or problems in the Kanas Scenic Area. However, it cannot be wholly applied to all the locals and tourists, since any group cannot be homogeneous. The difference of subgroups and the conflict among the subgroups will be discussed in the next chapter.

(1) Asymmetrical interaction

In the Kanas Scenic Area, it is common to see that tourists gaze and take photographs of the minority peoples, especially during some cultural performances when the minority peoples are dressed in their traditional clothes. In the eyes of some tourists, researchers and journalists, the minority peoples became an attraction, so these outsiders made their best effort to take ‘good’ photos, regardless of the feelings of the ‘gazees’.

Case 6.6: For experimental purposes, I wore a Mongolian dress offered by a local Tuva for a religious festival held at Hemu Village in June 2010 (as seen in Figure 6.1). My purpose was to see whether the tourists would stop taking photos of me if I said ‘no’ to them. At the festival venue, some tourists took photos of me without asking my permission. When I said “Do not take photographs (of me), thank you” to them or lifted my hand up to prevent them from taking a photo, some tourists stopped taking photos while others still took photos from behind me. During the festival, I was introduced by the local government officials as a ‘Doctor’ doing research here to some visiting guests from south China who then asked me to take photos with them. I frankly told the guests that I was not a local Tuva and I just dressed like them. Interestingly, the guests told me that “Never mind. The point is you are dressed in the traditional clothing, and others (my friends, colleagues or relatives) don’t know you are not a local.”



Figure 6.1. The author dressed in Mongolian clothes during an Aobao Festival

Many of the locals dislike being gazed upon and are also concerned about the use of these photos by the outsiders. However, it can be assumed from my experiment above that, even if the locals show their disagreement towards being subject of photos, some tourists may not stop photo-taking.

Case 6.7: Tourists were curious about how to make and eat the local food. When the local Tuva lady (sitting at the left side of the table in Figure 6.2) and I prepared and had lunch at the dining room, some tourists who stayed in this house for 2 nights just stood besides the table and gazed at the lady, me and the local food. Both the Tuva lady and I invited the tourists to have lunch together with us, but the tourists refused and said that they just wanted to see. After the tourists left, I asked the Tuva lady whether she liked being gazed on or not. She said, “No. Tourists want to see everything. Just let them look if they want to look”. Such statements are open to various interpretations including (a) a tolerance of or resignation of being the subject of a tourist gaze and (b) if tourists seek to gaze at what to her is ordinary, then tourists are fools or (c) a recognition that tourists fill the role of being a tourist.



Figure 6.2. Tourists ‘gazing’ at people eating

The interpretation (a) may be more applicable to the local as seen in another case. The lady hoped to sell the tourists milk and dairy food and asked me to sell to them. I suggested her to invite the tourists to observe how she milked

the cow, since by doing this, the tourists may be interested in the 'pure nature' of the milk and may have more possibility to buy. As expected, the lady disagreed with my suggestion.

Tourists are interested in the local minority culture in the area. In the two cases above, tourists gazed at the locals and took photos of them. The locals may not wish to be the subject of photos taken by so many outsiders, especially when tourists entered into the back stage of locals' life. And, as noted above some were concerned about how these photos would be used by the outsiders in the future.

(2) Symmetrical interaction

Symmetrical interaction occurs between tourists and locals when locals provide products and services for tourists. In such circumstances, the conflict and/or resentment are mainly over economic resources and beliefs.

Case 6.8: Horse-riding is one popular tourist activity in the Kanas Scenic Area. Both outsiders and locals rent horses to tourists. During mid-July to mid-August 2009, the Tourism Bureau received six tourist complaints about Hanas Village, of which three were about tourists falling off horses during riding. Such accidents happen each year in each of the three villages. In some cases, the tourists were responsible for the injury since they insisted on riding horses but then they could not control the horses. In some cases, the horsemen were responsible for the accidents since they did not take good care of the tourists. The Tourism Bureau and the Horsemen Team are in charge of resolving the accidents. Once accidents happen, some tourists blame the horsemen even when the accidents were caused by tourists themselves. In such circumstances, the local horsemen had to apologise and compensate for the tourists' medical costs if the injury cost was not covered by the insurance.

This led to locals having hostile feelings towards these tourists and sometimes towards the Tourism Bureau and Horsemen Team for their rulings in favour of tourists when it was perceived that the tourists were at fault.

Locals' hostility towards tourists over culture and belief arises especially when the tourists stayed in accommodations provided by locals and closely interact with them. Local Tuvas have traditional practices relating to fire. For example, they never put rubbish into fire for 'respecting fire and maintaining the purity of fire'. However, some tourists sometimes litter the cigarette butts into the wood-burning stove of the houses they stayed at. Consequently locals involved are not happy about such behaviours, but they seldom told tourists that such actions were against local customs.

(3) *Invented interaction*

Case 6.9: A Home Visit is a cultural attraction with the name of displaying Tuva culture. Among the ten Home Visit properties in Hanas Village in 2009, eight were operated by outsiders and most performers were Kazakh or Mongolian from neighbouring townships and counties. Firstly, a guide introduced Tuva culture for 5-10 minutes. Then, a player played the traditional Tuva musical instrument, namely the *suer*, and a Kazakh traditional instrument known as a *dombra*. After that, the singer sang for guests and proposed a toast. Lastly, all the performers danced with the tourists. Some Kazakh performers told tourists that they were Tuva people, since it was the Tuva culture that was being sold as an attraction to the tourists who cannot distinguish between Kazakh and Tuvas from their physical appearance. The Kazakh performers dressed in the traditional clothes of Tuva, welcomed tourists in the way of Tuva people, and played the *suer* – a traditional Tuva musical instrument. What tourists obtained from the Home Visit was arguably

an inauthentic Tuva culture experience. Although tourists supposed that they were interacting with local Tuvas, the truth was not like that.

The authentic Tuvas are not satisfied about the ‘pretended Tuvas’ in the Home Visit, but in the 10 years of the operation of Home Visit, only a few conflicts have occurred between locals and these outsider operators and performers. Equally, few conflicts occur between tourists and the ‘pretended Tuvas’ even in circumstances where tourists found that the ‘Tuva’ performers are not authentic.



Figure 6.3. A Kazakh girl dressed in Mongolian clothes performing for tourists

Locals’ resentment towards tourists and private outsider entrepreneurs arise during the three types of interaction above; however, the resentment did not necessarily lead to conflicts. Besides interaction, other external factors including social position, cultural norms, and social structure also determine the occurrence of conflict (Coser, 1956). China has a top-down political system, and government holds strong power especially in those underdeveloped regions. Locals are in the lower strata as discussed in last chapter. In addition, from the perspective of the antagonists themselves, the potential danger of conflict on their benefits is a key factor being considered.

Overall, the social phenomena of aggression and conflict can be attributed to three types of variables, inherent attributes of human beings, external variables and

personal concerns. The examples of these three variables can be seen in Table 6.3. All such variables influence the occurrence and resolution of conflicts.

Table 6.3. Variables influencing the social phenomenon of conflict

Types	Examples
Inherent attributes of human beings	Impulse of hostility, personality
External variables	Interaction, social position, culture norms, social structure
Personal concerns	Economic benefits

6.3.2 Mediators

Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) contend that, the distinction between objective and realistic causes for engaging in conflict and the emotional energies helps to understand the role of mediator. According to Simmel (1955), the mediator can achieve reconciliation only when both parties believe the objective situation justifies reconciliation and make peace advantageous. The main function of the mediator is seen as divesting conflict situations of unrealistic elements of aggressiveness so as to allow both the opposing parties to deal more realistically with their competing claims (Coser, 1956). In other words, the mediator can only help remove the unrealistic rather than the realistic underlying causes of difference which can only be dealt with by the opponents.

Both Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) explain the role of the mediator from the distinction of realistic causes and emotional factors of conflict in Western settings. However, China's context is different from Western mediation circumstances (Wall, 1990). Although Coser (1956) addresses the importance of social structure, social position, and cultural norms in discussing conflict, he fails to consider such variables in discussing the roles of mediators. Within the Chinese top-down society (social structure), power (social position) and *mianzi* (cultural norms) play important roles not only in eliminating non-realistic elements of aggressiveness but also in resolving the realistic causes of conflicts and disputes.

Mediation is a common practice in China. Wall (1990) discusses the Chinese mediation process based on a case study of the mediators of 25 street committees in Nanjing City, China. He basically explores the differences between Chinese and Western mediation, though some arguments are poorly generalised. For example, Wall's (1990) suggestion that Chinese mediators apply a standardised approach to disputes is solely based on the mediation approach of the mediators of the street committees. In reality, due to the common use of mediation, the mediation approaches vary according to the level and status of the parties. Table 6.4 identifies some of the differences between Western and Chinese approaches as specified by Wall (1990).

Table 6.4 The differences between Chinese and Western mediations

	Chinese mediation	Western mediation
Frequency	Common	Rare
Voluntary or not	Not voluntary; any known dispute is mediated	Voluntary
The role of mediators	Mediators educate, criticise, and effectively woo disputants towards their own positions.	Neutral
The relation of mediators with disputants	Familiar	Not certain
Mediation approach	Mediators have a standardised approach that applies to disputes.	Mediators modify approaches to fit the dispute.

Source: Wall (1990)

Mediating personal issues

Wang (1990) suggests that there is a strong reliance on third-party assistance which is a unique feature of Chinese mediation. Chinese mediators educate, criticise, and effectively woo disputants towards their positions (Wall, 1990). However, while this is often true of Western situations, a key Chinese difference is that of *mianzi (face)*. This incorporates the *mianzi* of the mediators themselves, and the conflicting parties own thinking will be shaped by the status of the mediator. The selection of the mediating party is thus a significant social and

political process. An example is provided below:

Case 6.10: During a dinner with some local officials, they told me about the negotiation process for compensation relating to a local Tuva's property. For tourism development purpose, a Tuva's house would be demolished and the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee would compensate the property owners for the loss. Before the formal meeting between the house owner and the staff of the Administrative Committee, the township government staff, as the mediators between the house owner and the Administrative Committee, firstly asked the house owner how much compensation he would seek. The house owner asked for 450,000 RMB, giving the reason that he would earn 15,000 RMB per year if he operated a shop in the house, and would earn 450,000 RMB in 30 years. The township government staff suggested he sought 18,000-20,000 RMB from the head of the Administrative Committee because "450,000 RMB was too much and the Administrative Committee might not agree with it".

A head of the Administrative Committee, two staff from the township government and the house owner attended the actual subsequent meeting at the township government office. The property owner asked for 150,000 RMB, probably because he was afraid of the head of the Administrative Committee. The head of the Administrative Committee replied that the price was too high. Then, the four people involved visited the local's house. They had dinner first and then played cards. After that, they started to again talk about the compensation. One staff of the township government knew that the hostess 'wore the pants' in the family, so he asked the hostess the amount of compensation she hoped to receive. The hostess thought for a while and said 100,000 RMB. Then the staff of the township government asked the host to reduce the requested compensation, giving the reason that the hostess had

lowered down the price and he should also lower his demands. The man secretly signalled 'eight' to his wife, implying that he planned to ask for 80,000 RMB. Then he said 80,000 RMB. After that, the staff of the township government asked the host to further reduce 30,000 RMB to 'give face' to the three officials. The host agreed and then the hostess left with anger. Finally, both sides, with the mediation of the staff of the township government, agreed the compensation price at 50,000 RMB.

For western people who have little understanding about China, the process is probably difficult to comprehend. One question might be, how can the compensation fee for the property be negotiated in such a manner? Is there no law regulating such issues? Undoubtedly, China has a number of laws relating to property issues. However, in some places and especially in the underdeveloped regions, the administrative power of the government supersedes legal regulations and therein there are often conflicts and disputes over the compensation fee of properties between property owners, local governments and sometimes development corporations. A second factor is that individual legal ownership of property is less clearcut in China after the Maoist period the enforcement of village communes where collective property rights were established.

In China, the relationship of mediators with opponents, the influence of power and *mianzi* (face) strongly influence the resolution of disputes. In this case, the lesser gap between the locals and the officials in terms of social positions determines the weaker position of the Tuva party in the negotiation. As discussed in Chapter Five, locals have a lesser status than government officials. The local Tuva need to consider the power of both the disputant and the mediators. *Mianzi* (face) as a specific cultural norm of China should be considered in many circumstances, with no exception made in the case of mediation. In this case, the *mianzi* (face) of one official was worth 10,000 RMB when the mediating staff of the township

government persuaded the local to lower the compensation. In rural China, the mediators are often familiar with the disputants, and are not above using such knowledge to play parties off one against the other as in this example of turning to the hostess for her view on the value of the required compensation.

The relationship between the mediators and the disputants should also be considered. It can be argued that although at first sight the staff of the township government played the role of mediators, in fact the township government and the Administrative Committee are subgroups of governments, and the township government was under the administration of the Administrative Committee. In short, the mediators in this case greatly helped to lower the compensation fee for one party, rather than being neutral between the two parties.

Weber treats domination as “a special case of power” (as cited in Barbalet, 1985, p. 535). “Imperative control (*Herrschaft*) is the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons” (Weber, 1964, p. 152). ‘Domination’ specifies the basis of power as authority, or, possibly, a constellation of interests (Barbalet, 1985). Weber (1964, p. 328) identifies three ideal or pure forms of legitimate authority (‘domination’): traditional, charismatic, and legal authority. The validity of their claims to legitimacy is based on:

- (1) Rational grounds – resting on a belief in the ‘legality’ of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority);
- (2) Traditional grounds – resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority);
- (3) Charismatic grounds – resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him (charismatic authority).

In terms of the role of mediator in China, it is the exercise of legal power that has influence on conflict resolution. Obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order in terms of legal authority (Weber, 1964, p. 330). The locals, especially the ones in public sectors, are concerned about their own interests which are largely influenced by the governors.

Mediating administrative issues

Mediation is commonly used not only in dealing with personal issues, but also in resolving the tensions between different public organisations. In a scenic area which is administrated by several government departments at different levels, when conflicts or overlaps of responsibilities occur, local government agencies are usually responsible for establishing and administrating a management committee in an attempt to avoid conflicts (Su & Xiao, 2009). The China Communist Party Kanas Scenic Area Committee and the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee were established to solve such tensions between different bureaux, especially those of Forestry and Tourism.

The administrative organisations of the Kanas Scenic Area have frequently changed in the last few decades due to the development of tourism. Mediation, which is the primary method of conflict resolution in China, has been frequently adopted to resolve the conflict between different groups and subgroups of governments. For resolving the conflict between the tourism bureau and the forest bureau, higher level governments have implemented new policies and rules and established new organisations and committees. Not only have the unrealistic elements of the conflict been released, but also the realistic causes have been changed or adjusted, due to the change of the responsibilities of the bureaux or changes in their supervisory organisations. The detailed discussion is in Chapter 9 – 9.1.2 Tension stimulates the establishment of new institutions.

Generally, mediators release the unrealistic elements of conflict and require contenders deal realistically with the divergent claims at issue. Furthermore, in some circumstances, mediators may also influence the resolution of realistic causes of the conflicts. In addition, social structure, social positions and culture norms should also be taken into account when understanding conflicts and conflict resolution. In China, the Chinese philosophy *Harmony is the most precious* (以和为贵 *pinyin: yiheweigui*), is a strategy often adopted in mediation to release the emotional factors of conflict. In addition, within the Chinese top-down system (social structure), power (social position) and *face/mianzi* (cultural norms) strongly influence the resolution over realistic causes of disputes. Wall (1990) addresses the necessity of more studies on the differences between Chinese and Western mediation. The discussion above basically meets his call.

6.4 Coser's (1956) Proposition 5: Hostility in close social relationships

This section discusses antagonism in close social relationships. According to Freud (1948, pp. 54-55), *ambivalence* of feelings arise from the intimacy of the relationships (e.g. between two persons, two neighbouring towns, etc). After some comments on the concepts of Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) about this contention, the *ambivalence* between villagers in one village, and *ambivalence* between different townships and between villages in the Kanas Scenic Area are separately explored.

Coser (1956) reformulates the work of Simmel (1955) as:

Antagonism is usually involved as an element in intimate relationships. Converging and diverging motivations may be so commingled in the actual relationship that they can be separated only for classificatory and analytical purposes, while the relationship actually has a unitary character *sui generis*.

Close social relationships, characterized as they are by frequent interaction

and involving the total personality of the participants, may be said to include in their motivational structure an essential ambivalence in that they contain both positive and negative cathexes inextricably intertwined. (p. 65)

The discussion above is derived from the perspective of interaction which Simmel stresses as the locus of sociological and social-psychological analysis. Therefore, Proposition 5 can be seen as a further discussion of the former proposition that conflicts arise from interaction. Social relationships involve both converging and diverging motivations which are intricately linked (Simmel, 1955). Hostility and likings increase as the interaction becomes more frequent (Simmel, 1955; Coser, 1956).

Coser (1956) suggests that the closer the relationship and the greater the involvement of personality, the greater the tendency to suppress hostile feelings. This is because close participatory action creates synergies that parties may not wish to risk. However, it does not mean that “in secondary relationships, such as with business partners, feelings of hostility can be expressed with relative freedom” (Coser, 1956, p. 62). The segmented participation in secondary relationship does not mean the participants are not concerned with the maintenance of the relationships. This is especially the case when secondary relationships are involved with powers, benefits, social positions, and other factors. For example, the participant may have to suppress his/her resentment towards the business partners for benefit purposes; the lower strata suppress their resentment toward the higher strata due to the power of the upper strata. On the other hand, hostile behaviour may occur more readily in close social relationships, as Malinowski (1941, p. 528) notes, “[a]ggression like charity begins at home.” This may be partially attributed to the close interaction and that no power and benefits are involved in close relationships. In short, conflict between equals may be more intense.

Close social relationships are characterised by frequent interaction and involvement of the total personality of the participants. According to Freud (1948, pp. 54-55) , “almost every intimate emotional relation between two people which lasts for some time marriage, friendship, the relationship between parents and children – leaves a sediment of feelings of aversion and hostility.... Of two neighboring towns, each is the other’s most jealous rival...” Due to the isolated location and the small population of the Kanas Scenic Area, different villagers, villages and townships have frequent interactions in which liking and disliking arise.

6.4.1 *Ambivalence* in villagers’ relationships

Ambivalence of feelings arises from the intimacy of relationships between villagers. Both positive and negative cathexes are inextricably intertwined. Tourism provides more interaction opportunities for the villagers participating in tourism, and thereby tourism potentially attracts a higher frequency of conflicting interests of varying degrees of seriousness. One such case about tension between local horsemen is provided below.

Case 6.11: In the summer (tourism season), the local horsemen have frequent interaction due to the common business interest. When there were no tourists, some just hung around together, chatting and drinking. When tourist groups came, sometimes they went together to approach tourists for horse riding. Often the horsemen are friends and/or relatives; they are also business partners and often pass business opportunities to each other if they themselves are not available. On the other hand, hostility exists in their relationships. They compete with each other for many reasons, among which three causes stood out. The first was business opportunities when tourist numbers were small. The second was for ‘better business’ which means more money. The

third was ‘better tourists’ which represents tourists not heavy in weight (in case they make the horse very tired during the long journey in mountainous areas), easy to get along with, and sometimes beautiful ladies. They are jealous when the others have ‘better business’ and ‘better tourists’. Some even compete with each other for the number of female tourists they attracted and with whom they have relationships.

The positive cathexes are based on friendship and relatives’ relationships while the negative cathexes are more involved with economic benefits. For example, poor villagers may show hostility towards rich villagers.

6.4.2 *Ambivalence* in townships’ relationships

Ambivalence exists between the two townships in the Kanas Scenic Area. Economic development is one of the subjects that can cause tensions between communities as each vies for additional development and monies. Hemu and Hanas Township which has two famous tourism villages, far exceeds Tiereketi Township which owns only one tourism village in terms of tourism income and per capita income. According to the governmental statistics, the per capita income of all households in Hemu and Hanas Township was over 2,000 RMB in 2009, while it was below 2,000 RMB in nearly 50% of the households in Tiereketi Township. Due to a lack of tourism resources, the tourism development of Tiereketi Township falls behind that of Hemu and Hanas Township. One consequence is that villagers and governmental staff of Tiereketi Township are jealous about the faster development of Hemu and Hanas Township.

The hostility becomes more readily apparent when the policies, rules and financial subsidies differ. Villagers of Tiereketi Township, especially the Kazakhs, complained about the preferential policies the other township obtained. In

addition, the promotion of township governmental officials is determined by their work performance, which relies on the economic and social development of their township. Effectively this prejudices the promotion and pay prospects of those in areas with less resources, thereby perpetuating situations of low per capita income relativities. Meanwhile, the economic and social development in the underdeveloped regions is largely influenced by the policies and rules of the higher levels of administration and political organisations. The balance of the two townships' development has been a constant challenge for the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee.

6.4.3 *Ambivalence* in villages' relationships

Ambivalence feelings also arise between the seven villages of the Kanas Scenic Area and especially between the tourism villages – Hanas, Baihaba and Hemu Village. Not all the villages in the Kanas Scenic Area are involved in tourism. There are altogether six ticket offices in the Kanas Scenic Area. As can be seen from the establishment year and the location of the ticket offices (see Table 6.5). Hanas Village was the first village to develop as a tourist attraction, followed by Hemu Village and then Baihba Village.

Table 6.5. Ticket offices in the Kanas Scenic Area

Ticket office	Established in	Location	Note
Jiadengyu	1997 [*]	Entrance of the Kanas Scenic Area core area (Hanas Village involved)	Large-scale
Hemu	2004	Entrance of Hemu Village	Middle-scale
Tiereketi	2006	On the way from Tiereketi Village to Baihaba Village	Middle-scale
Bula'an	2005	On the way from Hemu Village to Hanas Village	Booth; targeting hiking tourists
Habahe	2007	On the way from Habahe County to Baihaba Village	Booth; targeting hiking tourists
Dongxilieke	2007	On the way from Baihaba Village to Hanas Village	Booth; targeting hiking tourists

※Note: The locations of ticket offices of the Kanas Scenic Area core area changed in the last decades. In 1997, only two staff from Buerjin Tourism Bureau sold tickets at the entrance of Hanas Village.

Source: Interviews with the staff of the Kanas Administrative Committee Ticket Office

In terms of the Butler's (1980) Tourist Area Life Cycle, the exploration stage of Hemu Village and Baihaba Village was between 1990s and 2005, ten years later than Hanas Village. As more and more tourists visited Hanas Village in 1990s, some independent tourists, for the purposes of adventure or taking photographs, began to explore the two neighbouring villages. The use of local facilities and contact with local residents was high. The locals felt proud of their place because visitors were coming from far way to visit them. The locals warmly welcomed 'guests' and provided food for 'guests' and some locals refused the money tourists gave. As a Hemu Villager commented:

At that time, there were no specific facilities provided for visitors. When tourists asked us how much money they should pay after having food at our houses, we felt it is inappropriate to receive money from tourists.

These two villages have gradually entered into the involvement and development stages since 2005. An increasing number of middle and small enterprises have participated in the operation of accommodation, restaurants, on-site shuttle buses,

and souvenir sales. Also, some local residents have begun to participate in tourism. The construction of the road to Hemu Village was finished in 2006, which greatly promoted an increase in the number of tourists to the village. Some larger, elaborate, and up-to-date tourist facilities are provided by external organisations. A tourist area in Hemu Village that includes hotels, restaurants, bars, shops, and recreational facilities has been established and some hotels have been opened to tourists since 2010. Advertising is specifically designed to attract tourists to the two villages. Natural and cultural attractions are being developed and marketed.

As a consequence the per capita income of Hanas Village, the first village involved in tourism, was greater than that of Hemu Village and Baihaba Village by more than 1,000 RMB in 2009. The different levels of tourism development in the three villages has led to a sense of envy on the part of the less tourism development villages towards the more developed villages.

During the conversation with some Hemu villagers, I could sense their envy of Hanas Village. I often stayed interchangeably between Hanas and Hemu villages. I was often asked the question by the persons of both villages, “Which village do you think is good? Hemu or Hanas? I often answered both were good, and sometimes I told the questioner that his/her village was good to make him/her happy. During a conversation with a Tuva man of Hemu Village, I told him that I spent winter in Hanas Village, and then he said, “Why didn’t you come to Hemu in winter? If you like Hanas then you should stay there and not come to Hemu”. It sounds that he was rather spiteful to me, but it is their way of direct expression. He was very familiar with me and regarded me as his friend. It appeared to him that I preferred Hanas Village than Hemu Village. It can be argued that such statement implies his jealousy and hostility towards Hanas Village.

Table 6.6. A comparison of tourism development in Hanas, Hemu and Baihaba villages

	Hanas Village	Hemu Village	Baihaba Village
Tourist numbers (2010)	397,000 persons	204,000 persons	61,000 persons
The first year tourists came	1980s	Mid 1990s	Mid 1990s
Entrance fee (2010)	240 RMB per person (including entrance ticket 150 RMB and on-site shuttle bus ticket 90 RMB)	160 RMB per person (including entrance ticket 60 RMB and on-site shuttle bus 100 RMB)	210 RMB per person (including entrance ticket 60 RMB and on-site shuttle bus ticket 150 RMB)
Ticket office (2010)	A two-storey building; package and independent tourist ticket booths separately	A newly built wooden house (a derelict public bus in 2009)	Under construction
The distance from the ticket office to the village	Around 30 kilometers	Around 30 kilometers	Around 30 kilometers
Tour product types	Sightseeing, photographing	Sightseeing, photographing, leisure	Sightseeing, photographing
Implementation of tourism development plan	Yes	Yes	Yes
Outsider entrepreneurs	Middle and small enterprises	Middle and small enterprises	Middle and small enterprises
Locals' participation in tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government's compensation for locals not renting houses • Renting horses • Renting houses • Selling souvenirs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renting horses • Renting houses • Selling souvenirs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renting horses • Renting houses • Selling souvenirs

The following conversation was between a Tuva lady in Hemu Village and me on Internet through QQ (a Chinese online chatting tool) after I left the community.

- I: Do you think there is competition and jealousy between Hanas, Baihaba and Hemu villages? For example, are Hemu and Baihaba people jealous of Hanas villagers owning more money?
- The Tuva: Yes. Both Baihaba and Hemu villagers reckon that Hanas villagers are rich. However, I do not think they are rich. Do you think so?
- I: Hanas people think Hanas Village is good. Hemu people think Hemu is good.
- The Tuva: Yes. I also think Hemu is good. It is where I was born and raised.
- I: Are there some Hemu villagers that dislike Hanas villagers?
- The Tuva: Yes. Hanas villagers are stingy...selfish.
- I: Is it because they are richer than Hemu and Baihaba villagers?
- The Tuva: They should not be like this! Money is not the most important. Relationship between people and moral integrity are important! Money is temporary...
- I: Are Kazakh or Tuva of Hanas Village stingy?
- The Tuva: They are the same. They care money rather than people, regardless who you are.
- I: Did not they provide you meals? (joking)
- The Tuva: (laughing). I almost just go to my relatives' homes. They are Ok (not stingy). I do not go to others'.

Case 6.12: The same religious festival – Aobao Festival held at different villages becomes the object of hostility. Aobao Festival is a traditional religious festival of Mongolian people. It is held at each of the three Tuva villages annually. In 2010, I attended four Aobao festivals held in the three villages (two were held in Hemu Village), seeking to compare and contrast the tourism impacts on traditional cultural festivals. Some Tuva also attended the Aobao Festival held at the other villages for multiple purposes: horse racing, official visit, fun, performance, etc. Here are some comments of villagers on Aobao Festival held in other villages.

The comment of two staff of Hanas Villagers' Committee on Hemu Village's Aobao Festival:

The festival (of Hemu Village) is poorly organised. It is totally in a mess. The different venues of religious rituals and dancing performance make attendees confused. Ours (the festival held in Hanas Village) is well organised.

The comment of a respectable Tuva elder of Baibaha Village on Hanas Village's Aobao Festival:

Tuvas of Hanas Village do not understand Tuva culture. Women should not be allowed to walk around the rock pile on the festival. This ritual is only for men. In our festival (Baihaha Village), women are not allowed to walk around the pile. We (Tuvas of Baihaba Village) maintain the traditional Tuva culture.

The comment of a Hemu villager on the Aobao Festival held at Hanas Village:

Hanas Village received much more money (donation) from tourism enterprises for the festival. They (Hanas villagers) are rich.

The comments of these villagers implied love of their own villages, an appreciation of the advantages of the festival held at their own villages and a degree of jealousy of the benefits obtained by other villages. During the festival, the chairperson announced the amount of donation from tourism enterprises, governments, other villages, villagers and other parties. This becomes the subject of competition between the villages. Hanas Village, since it has more tourism enterprises, tends to attract more donations, and therein becomes the subject of envy from the other villages.

Tourism plays an important role in the competition between villagers, villages and townships today. It can be revealed from the conversation between the Tuva lady and myself.

I: Were the Hanas villagers stingy before tourism?

The Tuva: No.

I: Then are there any changes of Baihaba villagers?

The Tuva: No. Baihaba villagers are Ok. Hemu and Baihaba have much less tourists (than Hanas).

Tourism has caused a change in the way that local villagers view wealth. Before tourism development, the number of horses, cows and goats was the measurement of fortune and many households were at the same economic level. Today, the amount of money a household owns has become a new criterion of examining wealth, especially after locals have seen the power of money when they leave their indigenous mountainous areas to go to the nearby counties and big cities within Xinjiang and even outside Xinjiang. There is a possibility that some villagers of Hemu and Baihaba will be similar to those of Hanas after several years when tourism development of the two villages achieves a higher level, though the locals in Hemu Village did not believe it, as in the conversation below:

- I: After several years when tourist numbers of Hemu Village reach a higher level, Hemu villagers may also change like Hanas villagers.
The Tuva: No. We will not change.
I: Why will you not change?
The Tuva: Why will we change? It is not necessary.

Furthermore, it should be noted that, in the Kanas Scenic Area, and also in some other minority tourism places in China, a money allocation system based on tourism income is adopted by the local government. Therefore, local governments' different policies and rules towards different townships and villages within its administration territory may partially be the root of the friction between townships and villages.

As can be seen from Table 6.7, from 2006 to 2010, the policies about benefiting from tourism were different towards the villagers who have houses in Hanas Old and New villages and the other villagers in Hanas Village and other villages. The uneven policies towards different villages led to the hostility expressed towards Hanas by the other villagers and also to the Administrative Committee who issued the policy. Recognising these issues, a new policy has been implemented since 2010, trying to bridge the gap between the three tourism villages. However, due to the different stage of tourism development at each village, each village's economic benefits from tourism

remains uneven. Consequently the envy expressed by Hemu and Baihaba villagers towards Hanas Village and the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee still exists.

The Plan of increasing the income of peasants and farmers of the Kanas Scenic Area (2010) indicates that the allowance distributed to the villagers was 1.6 million RMB in 2008. In 2009, after the amount of the financial subsidies increased to 60 RMB per person per month, 2112 million RMB was distributed to a total of 897 households (2934 persons). On the other hand, from 2006 to 2010, 2.2 million RMB was distributed to over 100 households (around 400 people) annually. That means, the allowance to over 70% of the locals of the Kanas Scenic Area (4330 in total) was less than the compensation obtained by 10% of the locals annually. Understandably, the Hanas villagers who get the larger compensation have become the objects of envy and potential hostility from the other locals of the areas.

Table 6.7. Old and new benefit policies launched by the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee

	From 2006 to 2010 (old policy)	Since 2011(new policy)
Hanas Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For the residents in Hanas Old and New Villages forbidden from renting houses as tourism lodges and restaurants: compensation of 2.2 million RMB in total • For each of the other villager (excludes the ones working in public sectors): 50 RMB per month (increased to 60 RMB since 2009) allowance 	<p>Each villager (excludes the ones in public sectors) will be equally distributed a floating amount of bonus from tourism income of the village. For example, one will get 3450 RMB for a year if the tourist number of Hanas Village achieves 300,000 in that year.</p> <p>Source: 5 RMB from each entrance ticket, shuttle bus ticket and boat ticket separately that tourists purchase</p>
Hemu Village	<p>For each villager (excludes the ones working in public sectors): 50 RMB per month (increased to 60 RMB since 2009) allowance</p>	<p>Each villager (excludes the ones in public sectors) will be equally distributed a floating amount of bonus from tourism income of the village. For example, one will get 2265 RMB for a year if the tourist number of Hemu Village achieves 200,000 that year.</p> <p>Source: 10 RMB from each entrance ticket and shuttle bus ticket separately that tourist purchase</p>
Baihaba Village		<p>Each villager (excludes the ones in public sectors) will be equally distributed a floating amount of bonus from tourism income of the village. For example, one will get 1950 RMB for a year if the tourist number of Hemu Village achieves 100,000 that year.</p> <p>Source: 10 RMB from each entrance ticket and shuttle bus ticket separately that tourists purchase</p>
Other villages of the Kanas Scenic Area		<p>70 RMB per month allowance will be distributed to each villager and the amount may be increased depending on the tourism development of the Kanas Scenic Area.</p>

Note: The new policy failed to be implemented due to the opposition of locals.

Source: *Plan of increasing the income of Kanas Scenic Area peasants and farmers*, the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee document

Certainly government policies greatly determine the wealth distribution between locals. According to Confucius, rulers of states and chiefs of families are troubled with inequality rather than a lack of something (丘也闻有国有家者,不患寡而患不均. 出自《论语》 Pinyin: Qiyewenyougouyoujiazhe, buhuanguaerhuanbujun). Due to the locals' high dependency on governments and their weaker positions when compared with outside entrepreneurs in participating in tourism, the local government is expected to pay attention to the locals' dissatisfaction with the current uneven policies and to establish a benefit distribution system that can be generally accepted by all the stakeholders including the locals. That locals are not satisfied with the new policy which is the *Plan of increasing the income of peasants and farmers of the Kannas Scenic Area (2010)*, is evident from their appeals to the higher governmental officials in 2011 (will be discussed in the following chapters). Ironically, the benefit standard increased after the appeals. The potential dangers of this situation are a stimulation of locals' appeals and the creation of a vicious circle of relationships between the local government and the locals, especially within the wider context of Xinjiang's emphasis on regional stability.

6.5 Summary

Conflict contains something positive. The expression of antagonism through conflict and hostility expression helps relief tensions and the maintenance of relationships. The expression of opposition is often regarded as dangerous by the antagonists since the stakeholders in tourism are often mutually influenced in terms of benefits and thus potential losses may be perceived in a non-zero sum game scenario. The displacement of hostility onto substitute objects and through substitute means can serve as safety-valve institutions to release tension and maintain the social relation (Cosser, 1956).

Realistic and unrealistic conflicts coexist in tourism. Three types of interactions between local minorities and tourists in the Kanas Scenic Area are explored in this chapter to discuss the occurrence of conflict. It is argued that the social phenomenon of aggression and conflict can be attributed to three types of variables, inherent attributes of human beings *qua* human beings, external variables (such as social position, culture norms, social structure) and personal concerns.

The roles of mediator discussed by Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) are critically analysed within Chinese context. Social structure, social position, and cultural norms must be taken into consideration when discussing mediation issues. According to Coser (1956), mediators release the unrealistic elements of conflict and require contenders deal realistically with the divergent claims at issue. However, in eastern settings, mediators may also influence the resolution of realistic causes of the conflicts. Within the Chinese top-down society (social structure), power (social position) and *mianzi* (cultural norms) play important roles not only in eliminating non-realistic elements of aggressiveness but also in resolving the realistic cause of conflicts and disputes. Such resolutions are, however, very dependent upon the state maintaining its legitimacy, and hence any over-reaching of an imposition of a solution brings into being the risks of far greater challenges to the State's authority. The wish to preserve the primacy of the State therefore leads to concessions being made to help sustain the status-quo.

Conflict and hostility arise from the interaction between stakeholders during tourism development. *Ambivalence* between villagers in one village and *ambivalence* between different townships and villages in the Kanas Scenic Area are also explored in the chapter to discuss the presence of antagonism in close social relationships. Tourism has increased the interaction between the social relationships, and also increased the competition, hostility and jealousy.

CHAPTER SEVEN IN-GROUP CONFLICT AND GROUP STRUCTURE

Conflict may occur not only between different groups, but also between different individuals and sub-groups within one group. In this chapter, the extents, approaches, and results of tourism impacts on different populations of one community – the Kanas Scenic Area are discussed. Over time, the relationships between individuals have changed and the structure of the community has been influenced by the area's tourism development. This chapter explores how the changes imposed on and negotiated by individuals contribute to the community's wider social transformation and cultural change. In addition, it discusses *guanxi*, a special relationship in China, and its influence on conflict and the group structure.

As in the previous chapter, this chapter also borrows its structure and analysis from Coser's (1956) book *The Functions of Social Conflict*. The three propositions discussed in his chapter and accordingly explored here within the tourism background are:

Proposition 6: The closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict

Proposition 7: Impact and function of conflict in group structures

Proposition 8: Conflict as an index of stability of relationships

In this chapter, the first section discusses the heterogeneity of the local community and addresses the importance of researching Tuva people. The second section discusses two influential emerging subgroups, as well as the factors influencing the intensity of in-group conflict. This is followed by a discussion of the development of culture and its impacts on the structure of Tuva group by providing a comparison of one religious ceremony held at different villages with different levels of tourism development as well as a discussion of a cultural attraction. The subsequent section further develops Simmel's (1955) arguments about conflict and relationship by discussing *guanxi* – a reciprocal relationship

important in China. A summary is provided at the end of this chapter.

7.1 The group: Kanas Tuva and Kazakh community

The purpose of this research is to discuss tourism impacts on the community; therefore, the intra-group conflicts of the locals, rather than of other stakeholders need to be addressed. Indeed the very heterogeneity of the local community creates the inevitability of in-group conflict and the necessity of discussing such issues with reference to the unique characteristics of Tuva people thereby arises.

7.1.1 The heterogeneity of community

A community is not homogeneous; it consists of different segment groups, each with various characteristics and interests. Blau (1977, p. 276) defines 'heterogeneity' as "the distribution of the population among many groups, defined by the probability that two randomly chosen persons do not belong to the same group". Due to the differences of persons, it can be argued that struggles may occur between different segmented groups over claims to resources, power and status, beliefs, and other preferences and desires. Therefore, the conflict and hostility that exist between sub-groups, as a reflection of different demands in a society, requires research, in order to better understand the impacts of externally generated forces such as tourism.

That heterogeneity should be addressed when researching a group, which can be seen from criticism of Doxey's (1975) Irritation Index model. Doxey's (1975) model suggests that residents will be more antagonistic toward tourism as the intrusion of tourism grows, and residents will be unwelcoming of tourists as the number of tourists increases (Doxey, 1975). This trend will continue unless a new type of visitor comes to the destination or if local residents can psychologically adjust to change. Subsequent studies indicate that the theory assumes "a degree of

homogeneity and uni-directionality in community” (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997, p. 7). Lankford and Howard (1994) suggest that Doxey’s (1975) Irridex Model is too simplistic and it ignores the personal difference of residents’ attitudes towards tourism. Besides, the “standardized measurement of resident attitudes toward tourism development” established by Lankford and Howard (1998, p. 21) has also been criticised as not well-targeted, since the items are derived from the former study, but with little relation to any given particular destination (e.g. Zong & Zhu, 2006). In other words, the standard measurement scale assumes a homogeneity in communities that leads to a simple temporal linear relationship between numbers of tourists and residents’ attitudes towards tourism.

In reality, different segments of the community, even different members of one family, react differently to tourism. During fieldwork, I found that the different members in one family reacted differently towards being photographed by outsiders, as seen in Case 7.1.

Case 7.1: The photo in Figure 7.1 has been published in promotional brochures of the Kanas Scenic Area. The Tuva family in the photo has become known by outsiders because of tourism development of the area. In each summer, journalists from national media (e.g. CCTV-10), photographers, tourists, officials and researchers visit their home for multiple purposes including producing programmes, photographing and experiencing the Tuva culture. The front house in the courtyard has been used for exhibition and reception purposes. Figure 7.2 shows the inner room in the ‘front region’ defined by Goffman (1959). The back house in the courtyard was for private use purpose. Figure 7.3 shows the dining room/kitchen in the ‘back region’ identified by Goffman (1959). I stayed with the family for four days to understand the impacts of tourism on the family, and, asked by the local township government, to provide advice for the operation of this family business. When faced with being photographed by outsiders, the family

members react differently. This family has 5 members: the elder, his youngest son, the daughter-in-law, the grandson and the granddaughter. For the purpose of consistency, I compared and contrasted the different members' reactions towards being photographed by the same person – namely myself.



Figure 7.1. Tuvas making milk-derived alcohol
Source: the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee



Figure 7.2. Visitor reception room – the ‘front region’



Figure 7.3. The private dining room/kitchen – the ‘back region’

Table 7.1. Each family member's reaction towards being photographed by the researcher

	Age	A brief introduction	Reaction to being photographed by me	Cooperation level	Possible reasons
The grandson	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A child under the school age, staying at home, attractive and adorable. He was interested in visitors and was often staying around the visitors when they visited. He knew some Mandarin words due to the interaction with Han visitors. A photographer often took photos of him. 	He took the initiative and asked me to take photos of him and made various professional postures by utilising different items.	5	<p>He was often in the 'front region' when visitors came.</p> <p>The photographer often purchased a lot of snacks for him and taught him to make postures.</p>
The elder	80	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As the oldest Tuva in Hemu Village, he was often promoted by the local government as the representative of Tuva people. He has been interviewed by many journalists and often shown in videos about Kanas. It is said he has a good relation with the leader of the local township government. 	<p>He was happy to be photographed.</p> <p>He smiled or laughed and made postures when I took photographs of him.</p>	4	<p>He was often in the 'front region' when visitors came.</p> <p>The officials and visitors often visited him and brought him gifts including cigarettes and alcohol.</p>
The granddaughter	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A student in the local primary school. In summer vocation, she sometimes provided an introduction to visitors about the exhibition in the reception room, and was the interpreter between her grandfather and mother and visitors. 	<p>She was happy to be photographed.</p> <p>She smiled or laughed and made postures when I took photographs of her.</p>	4	Sometimes she was in the 'front region' when visitors came.
The daughter-in-law	30s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A regular Tuva housewife. She was busy with the housework every day, and sometimes prepared food for the visitors. She told me she provided introduction for visitors; however, she insisted on asking me to provide the introduction when visitors came. 	She indirectly refused by turning back to my camera.	3	<p>She was often in the 'back region' when visitors visited.</p> <p>She was shy and reluctant to communicate with outsiders.</p>
The son	30s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most of the exhibited wooden materials were made by him. In summer, he was often busy with cutting grass in daytime and came back at night. He seldom interacted with visitors directly. 	He directly refused by telling me not to take photos.	2	He was often not at home when visitors visited, sometimes in the 'back region', and seldom in front region.

Note: Cooperation levels can be categorised as: 5, strongly cooperative; 4, cooperative; 3, not very cooperative; 2, not cooperative; 1, strongly not cooperative

It can be concluded from Table 7.1 that factors including the level of contact with tourists, demographic characteristics and benefit received all influence the members' reactions towards being gazed. The elder, the grandson and the granddaughter have been gradually accustomed to the photograph-taking behaviours of visitors, because of the frequent interaction with tourists in the 'front region'. On the other hand, it can be argued that the daughter-in-law's introverted character, rather than the economic interest, largely determined her reaction towards the camera. She told me that the total tourism income of the family was just 6000RMB in 2010; however, as I observed, the low level income did not lead her to ask for a 'higher price' from tourists. In fact, she was still reluctant to ask visitors for money, though the family has been involved in tourism for several years. The introverted character may also explain the refusal of the elder's son to be photographed. When I intended to take a photo while he was boiling milk, he said "no photographing". I asked him for a reason. He simply said, "No reason. What is the purpose?" The answer reveals (a) his dislike of being photographed and (b) his concern about the future usage of the photos.

Based on a broad literature review about residents' attitudes towards tourism, Lankford and Howard (1994) list independent variables that can influence residents' attitudes towards tourism: length of residency, economic dependency on tourism, distance of tourist area from residents' residence, resident involvement in tourism decision making, birthplace, level of understanding about tourism and the local economy, level of contact with tourists, demographic characteristics, perceived impacts on local outdoor recreation opportunities and community growth rate.

These factors may also exert an influence on different locals' behaviours towards tourism and other people. The variables, such as the distance of the tourist originating area from residents' place of residence, contribute to the different positions and demands of different locals. According to an official of the Hemu and Hanas Township Government, Hanas villagers highly depend on the governments' subsidies, and some of them merely drink in summer without earning money; on the other hand Hemu villagers make an effort to earn money in

summer. Differences also exist between different villagers in one village. The levels of business sense of the villagers residing at different areas of Hanas Village can be described in Figure 7.4.

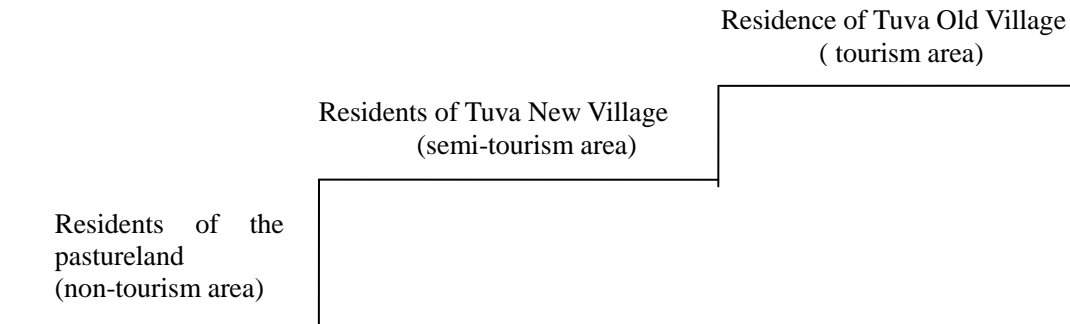


Figure7.4. The business sense of Hanas villagers

The subgroups of a community can be briefly described as in Figure 7.5. The subgroups (the small circles) interact with each other (as seen in the lines between the circles). Conflict may occur between local segments due to their different positions and demands. In Jamison’s (1999) study about Kenyan ethnic communities, the distribution of tourism income influences the inter-ethnic relationships and increases the conflict among multi-ethnic groups. The interaction between the subgroups among other factors has an impact on conflict, as discussed in the following sections.

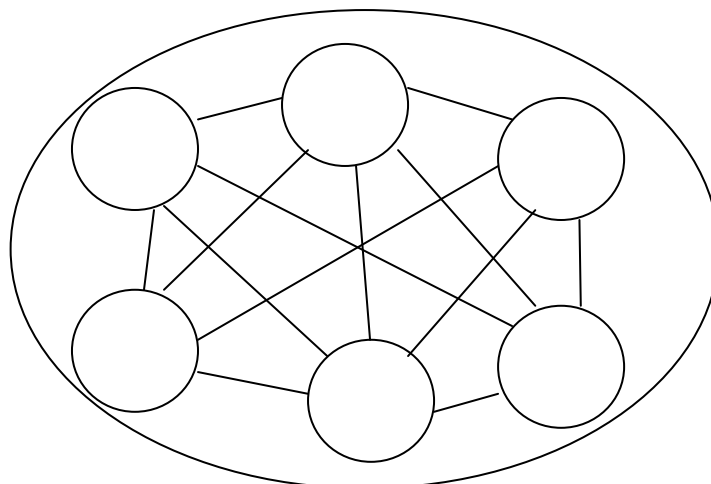


Figure7.5. The sub-groups in one community

Note:

The external circle represents the locals as a whole.

The internal circles represent the subgroups of the locals.

The lines between the small circles represent the interaction between subgroups.

7.1.2 Tuva people: A cross-boundary few-population minority in multi-minority areas

As introduced in Chapter three, Tuva people inhabit three countries: Russia, Mongolia and China. Tuva people in China confront severer development challenges than ‘less-population minority nationality’ (人口较少民族 *pinyin: renkou jiangshao minzu*) groups, although Tuvas are not officially recognised by the Chinese government as belonging into this category. In a wider context, Tuvas in China, as a ‘few-population ethnic group’, are influenced by Han culture, for example, by the celebration of the Spring Festival and the adoption of *guanxi* in daily life. In the regional context, Tuvas share some commonalities with Kazakhs due in part to the daily interaction between the groups based on spatial proximity and a generally common agriculturally based lifestyle. The tourism development of the area promotes such Hanisation of the community due to Tuvas’ interaction with tourists, outsider entrepreneurs and governmental officials. Furthermore, Tuva have been marginalised in the society due to their weakness in terms of numbers, lack of formal education, Mandarin, social interaction and other skills for living in modern society. These internal characteristics and external forces promote the people as a niche minority group, forming a tourist attraction, and for this reason the changes occurring within the group (including any intra-group conflict) again require special attention. Therefore, though this chapter discusses the inter-group conflict between the locals of Tuvas, Kazakhs and other ethnic groups, the conflict between Tuvas themselves is especially addressed.

‘Less-population minority nationality’ (人口较少民族)

The minority nationalities with a population of below 100,000 people are named as ‘the less-population minority nationality’ (人口较少民族 *pinyin: renkou jiangshao minzu*) (The State Ethnic Affairs Commission of People’s Republic of China (PRC), National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Finance, People’s Bank of China, & The State Council Leading Group Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development, 2005). According to the statistics of the Fifth National Census, 20 minority nationalities with a population of below 100,000 people are: the Bulang, Tajik, Achang, Pumi, Ewenki, Nu, Jing, Jino,

De'ang, Bonan, Russian, Yugur, Ozbek, Moinba, Oroqen, Drung, Tatar, Hezhen, Gaoshan, and Lhoba (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010).

Generally, the economic and social development of these minority nationality communities is low, and poverty is still a prominent problem (The State Ethnic Affairs Commission of PRC et al., 2005). Therefore, The State Ethnic Affairs Commission of PRC and the other four national level organisations inaugurated the *2005-2010 Planning of supporting less-population minority nationalities*, in order to accelerate the pace of development of these minorities by implementing special supportive policies (The State Ethnic Affairs Commission of PRC et al., 2005). The governments' support of these less-population minority nationalities promotes research into, and projects for, these minority groups. In some studies in Mandarin, these minorities are named as 'small minority nationalities' (小民族 *pinyin: xiaominzu*) (Guan, 2009; He, 2006; Yan & Ding, 2002).

'Few-population ethnic groups' (小小族群)

The resultant government emphasis on and scholarly interest in the 'less-population minority nationalities' (or 'small minority nationalities') has led to further attention on some smaller minority nationalities. Some Chinese researchers define a minority nationality in China with a population of less than 10,000 people as a 'few-population minority nationality' (小小民族 *pinyin: Xiaoxiao minzu*) (Guan, 2009). The seven such minority nationalities are: Moinba, Oroqen, Drung, Tatar, Hezhen, Gaoshan, and Lhoba. Accordingly, Guan (2009) defines the ethnic groups with a population of less than 10,000 people individually as 'few-population ethnic groups' (小小族群 *pinyin: Xiaoxiao zuqun*) 'Few-population ethnic groups' include not only the seven officially identified minority nationalities, but also the ethnic groups whose ethnicities have not been officially identified or are still under debate, for example, the Xiaerba, Cheng, Kemu, Baiba and Tuvas (Guan, 2009). While the total number of Tuva people around the world is around 300,000, there are fewer than 3000 Tuva people in China who inhabit the border areas of Northwest China. These peoples, especially due to the small number in population, confront even more severe development difficulties than do the 'less-population minority nationalities' (Guan, 2009).

Therefore, Tuva people and other few-population minorities require special attention under Chinese policies. A discussion of the Tuva people is helpful to expand the studies of the ‘few-population ethnic groups’ of China, and thereby has significance theoretically and practically.

Cross-border ethnic groups

An additional factor is that Tuva people form a cross-border ethnic group. Since territory boundaries became the lines between modern states, many ethnic groups migrated into different countries, and cross-border ethnic groups subsequently formed. Globalisation and frequent population movements promote the issues regarding cross-border ethnic groups as becoming crucial for domestic stability and international relationships. For this reason, transnational (cross-border) issues have attracted some attention from governments and scholars. Many of the studies in Mandarin are concerned with the officially identified minority nationalities, but there is a dearth of studies about disputed cross-border ethnic groups (Guan, 2009).

Tuvas inhabit three countries: Russia, Mongolia and China. Tuva in Russia, mostly living in the Tuva Republic, have a clear national identity – Tuva nationality. Tuvas in China are identified as Mongolian. Admittedly, such different nationality identification is closely related with the background of each country and also with people’s own understanding, yet it may lead to some controversy, especially within the emergence of an awareness of globalised linkages.

Evidence shows that cross-border ethnic groups may move to, or have loyalties to their ‘own countries’ (cultural centre), and thereby cause national and regional instability, especially for those small numbered ethnic groups inhabiting peripheral zones (Guan, 2009). Therefore, studies of cross-border ethnic groups have important significance for maintaining the ‘harmonious society’ desired by the Chinese Communist Party.

7.2 Coser's (1956) Proposition 6: The closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict

This section discusses the changes experienced by some locals during tourism development. The terms 'renegade' and 'heretic' are borrowed from Coser's (1956) study in order to illustrate the two segments of locals who are moving away from their traditional values during the globalisation of the area. Changes occur as a result of the interaction between external cultures and their own. The term 'potential renegade' is used in this study to describe those locals who hope to move away from their group to join urban based groups; 'heretics' are hypothesised here as the locals who attain higher positions in the local governments. Their relationships with the previous and new groups are discussed. The evidence shows that those who are hypothesised as 'renegades' and 'heretics' do not fit these terms defined by Coser (1956). Some of Simmel's (1955) arguments about renegades and heretics are developed considering culture, power, the inequality of the renegades' and heretics' previous and new group memberships, and the uniqueness of the indigenous community.

Coser (1956) reformulates the work of Simmel (1955) as:

A conflict is more passionate and more radical when it arises out of close relationships. The coexistence of union and opposition in such relations makes for the peculiar sharpness of the conflict. Enmity calls forth deeper and more violent reactions, the greater the involvement of the parties among whom it originates.

In conflicts within a close group, one side hates the other more intensely the more it is felt to be a threat to the unity and the identity of the group. Greater participation in the group and greater personality involvement of the members provide greater opportunity to engage in intense conflicting behavior and hence more violent reactions against disloyalty. It is in this sense that intense conflict and group loyalty are two facts of the same relation. (p. 71)

Coser (1956) develops this proposition through the discussion of renegade and heretic and the reactions of their previous group members toward them, as summarised in Table 7.2. The renegade represents the person who deserts the vital standards of the group and goes over to a new group (Coser, 1956). The heretic,

though continues to uphold the same goals as the other members of the previous group, proposes different means to achieve the goals and, in fact, has already left the former group whether he or she recognises the case (Coser, 1956). According to Simmel (1955), both renegade and heretic threaten the values, interests, and also the very unity of the former group, and may arise strong reactions from the former group members directed at these ‘deserters’. Coser (1956) goes further by arguing that, compared with renegade who merely hopes to leave the previous group to join ‘the enemy’, the heretic who proselytizes is regarded as the more dangerous to the unity and uniformity of the original group.

Table 7.2. Renegades and heretics

	Renegade	Heretic
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deserts the core values of the group to go over to the enemy; • Threatens to break down the boundary lines of the established group • Contributes to the strength of the out-group and gives firm loyalty to the new group • Continuously attacks the values of his/her previous group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proselytize • A more insidious danger: propose different means to implement the goals of the original group. • Professing to share values and goals with former associates • Keeps competing for the loyalty of the members of his previous group even after he has left it.
Reaction from his/her previous group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The group must fight the renegade. • Renegade is more dangerous in the eyes of his former associates than any other member of the out-group. • Renegade is a symbol of the danger and may bring potential attack. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • His/her actions are perceived to break down the boundaries, though he professes to share values and goals of former associates. • More hostile than the renegade • The group may worsen or may tie together to defense
Examples	Apostate in the religious sphere	Gnostic and Manichaeian heresies and Protestant reformers

Source: Coser (1956)

Coser (1956) tries to support his arguments by examples drawn from religious history but without providing detailed explanation. Coser (1956) tends to move

indiscriminately from past conflicts in the religious sphere to struggles which do not involve strong ideologies in order to generalise his principles. Although it is legitimate to uncover similarities underlying all forms of conflict, yet, an indiscriminate grouping of religious struggles with other forms of conflict may lead to untenable conclusions. Thus, do the religious and non-religious disputes share the same intensities, and if so, are these due to factors other than a secular-religious divide?

In the Kanas Scenic Area, within the globalisation process which is largely due to tourism development, will some members in the community become 'renegades' and 'heretics'? What are the exact meanings of 'renegades' and 'heretics' in such circumstances? What are the reasons for identifying individuals as 'renegades' and 'heretics'? To what extent do they behave differently from other members of the group? To what extent does tourism play a role in the process? Do the associate members react to them as predicted by Coser (1956)? Such issues are discussed in this section to illustrate the tourism impacts on different segments of locals in the Kanas Scenic Area.

Another factor not wholly considered by Coser (1956) is that while adherence to traditional lifestyles and the culture of the original 'in group' provides the comfort zone of familiarity and a strong sense of identity, distinctions may be made between core and peripheral values, and the role of material comfort. Each culture generally seeks to make life easier for succeeding generations, but does the acquisition of the consumer goods of a modern life style such as easy access to hot and cold running water, flush toilets, warmer clothes and the like of necessity undermine core values that provide a sense of identity based on ethnicity and modes of life? Tuva, like other indigenous groups, are challenged by involvement in tourism to select that which is important and that which has less important in defining a sense of identity, and to what extent any traditional sense of identity has pragmatic and symbolic importance in the twenty-first century. Might it not be that new fusions may emerge that possess advantages over traditional modes of life?

7.2.1 Are they ‘renegades’?

The potential renegades

From the perspective of the Tuva or Kazakh members who firmly adhere to the values of the groups they belong to (such as religious leaders and some elders), the individuals who hope to join in the group of urban people may be perceived as ‘renegades’ against their indigenous culture, values and lifestyles. Such persons could be named as ‘potential renegades’ for that they begin to partially desert the values of their own group and hope to become members of the modern society and to enjoy the modern lifestyle. However, can it be said that such young people are ‘renegades’ as defined by Coser (1956)? This is discussed as follows.

Hope to escape from the tradition

For some of these people, ‘tradition’ means being backward; they want to rid themselves of the ‘backward’ lifestyle. Traditionally the Tuvas and Kazakhs raise horses, cows and goats in the relatively isolated mountainous area. Today, according to the hostess of the Tuva family I lived with in Hanas Village, many young people do not like farming. The hostess expected her children to study in the universities in big cities, and to move to the nearby Buerjin County someday. She is a teacher in the only primary school in Hanas Village. Because her house was located near to the school, four children of her relatives who lived far from the village centre lived with her during term time. Running water was still not available in April even as the snows began to melt. In Figure 7.6, one of the children is fetching water from a water source to the house, walking on the rocky and muddy path, which took 20 minutes for me carrying a 2.5L plastic bucket of water. I was often amazed by the children’s hard work and study habits. On the other hand, the hostess said that these students would not have a good future and she admired the modern conditions the urban students enjoyed. She hoped that these children might go to study outside the area and not come back.



Figure 7.6. A Tuva student fetching water on the rocky, muddy path

It is argued that the local members who have more opportunities to access modernised modes of life have more possibilities to become non conformists. These members include those who participate in tourism operations, the locals who have moved to modern places, the young generation who receive tertiary education in urban cities, and the locals who hold positions in the governments. Both tourists and non-tourists factors, like television, videos, newspapers, overseas contacts and other factors have demonstration effect on the locals (Fisher, 2000). Factors including the areas in which they live, educational background, and occupational choice influence access to a modernized lifestyle and so determines forsaking of traditional ways. Tourism provides such access through the interaction with other stakeholder groups including tourists. Through three kinds of imitations: accurate imitation, inaccurate imitation and social learning, local people are correctly or incorrectly imitating tourists' consumption patterns and are observing different behaviour patterns (Fisher, 2000). According to Benedict (1934, p. 37), some changes are easily absorbed into some slightly different cultural patterns, and once becoming traditional, they will be given the same importance and value as the older patterns had in other generations.

Their performances and impacts

When indigenous people and urban people are defined as two groups, the 'potential renegade' might threaten to break down the boundary lines between the two groups. Sometimes the 'potential renegade' looks and behaves like urban people, which is more obvious among the young people. They dress in T-shirts

and jeans, wear sunglasses, and use and text with cell-phones.

Case 7.2: One day when I was in Hemu Village in the 2009 tourism season, I met a Kazakh horseman who was in his 20s. He told me that he started to rent his horse when he was in grade two in high middle school. After a conversation of around half an hour, he asked me to go to a disco at night. I said I would ask my friends to go together. He insisted on going there with me alone. I refused and then he asked for my phone number. Afterwards, he introduced me to another five horsemen, and said he missed me in front of them. Based on my observation and conversations with the locals, there were several horsemen, as this Kazakh young man, who were good at communicating and flirting with ladies from urban cities. To some extent, some of the young males in the Kanas Scenic Area are more skilled in communicating with young modern ladies than the males of urban cities, though in a period of liminality for female tourists. From this perspective, it seems that they blurred the boundaries between the indigenous group and urban group. This is unexpected by the young ladies from cities who believe these horsemen are 'innocent'. Some of these ladies totally believe the words (including declarations of love) of the horsemen and in consequence are cheated by the horsemen.

Some locals have started to behave in ways contrary to traditional rules. Examples were found where the young Kazakh horsemen disobeyed Islamic doctrine by smoking and drinking. According to the rules of the local Kazakhs, males are forbidden to smoke and drink before they get married. In the dancing bars which were opened in summer, it was not uncommon to see some young men getting drunk and fighting for trifling matters. Such behaviours are against the traditional values of their group.

Both Tuvas and Kazakhs address showing respect for elders by not arguing with elders and serving elders first. According to a male Tuva now over 40 years old, before, in his own youth, young people dared not to go into the rooms when elders were there. However, today, some young people show less respect for elders than

before. The customary supreme positions of elders in the community seem to be gradually replaced by governmental officials in higher positions. One day during my stay with the Tuva family in Hanas Village, a younger brother of the host got drunk and came to argue with the host. The younger brother criticised the host for earning money for himself and for not looking after his relatives, namely himself as a younger brother.

In addition, according to the traditional rules, after being married, Tuva women had to wear headscarf which was a symbol of marriage. However, today, some women do not adhere to that tradition after getting married. In many of these ways a younger generation is breaking down old taboos and becoming more like their younger counterparts in the urbanised areas of China, a process that if not due to tourism is certainly not inhibited or constrained.

Are they 'renegades'?

However, can it be said that such young people are 'renegades' as defined by Coser (1956)? Although these members misbehave by the traditional norms of their groups and some hope to leave, most remain within their community. The boundary lines between the local minority people and urban people still exist. This can be attributed to several factors including (1) the short tourism season of the area, (2) the discipline of families, and (3) the limitation of the 'low' education and skills of the members.

(1) Short modern environment – tourism season

Tourism in the Kanas Scenic Area shows strong seasonality. In summer and autumn, the tourism season, the community is surrounded by the modern culture brought by the outsiders including tourists, private vendors, employees of tourism enterprises and governmental officials. However, in winter, that modernity disappears as those outsiders leave. The community goes back to the traditional environment and the locals go back to their traditional lifestyle.



Figure 7.7. Tourism season in Hemu Village (autumn 2009)



Figure 7.8. Non-tourism season in Hanas Village (winter 2009)

(2) The discipline of the family

As observed, family rules are stricter than the community or ethnic group's rules. Although the young generations drink, many of them do not smoke or drink in front of their parents and elders. They drink when they themselves gather together. The elders, on the other hand, provide such opportunities to young people. For example, in the past, during wedding ceremonies, all celebrate the wedding for a whole day. However, today, the elders visit the wedding venue in the daytime and then left. The night was for the young generations who drink and dance and party to late night.

Some young people hide cigarettes and alcohols from their parents and elders. During my visit at a local Kazakh's house which was far from the centre of Hemu Village, I noticed that the young Kazakh man hid his cigarettes at the top of the inner room door. In a convenience shop in Hanas Village, I found that a Kazakh young man who lived in the village centre kept the cigarettes purchased in the store instead of taking the cigarettes back home. He told me he smoked in the convenience store instead of at home, in case his mother found it. Both

participated in tourism and they had more chances to smoke and drink when they ‘work’. In each convenience store in Hanas Village, there were some tables and chairs for the locals and sometimes some young local men drank there.

Seasonality aids the reinforcement of family and community norms, as does the small size of the community whereby anonymity is difficult to achieve. While the summer provides opportunities to set aside the constraints of family and community life, the winter reinforces traditional ways. In a sense, the tourism summer is a period of seasonal liminality in which the conventions of life are set aside, and the spring and autumn are periods of departure and re-entry into traditional modes of life – which traditional modes maintain the core values of the community as they reinforce the family unit as that place where the young are cared for and looked after.

(3) The barriers to join in the new group

There are also inhibiting factors that mitigate against transfer of group membership. ‘Potential renegades’ face limitations in terms of speaking Mandarin, low level educational qualifications, and an ability to acquire residential rights (*hukou*) to live in urban societies that restrict them from becoming urban people.

• Low level of Chinese language

Although the ‘potential renegades’ can speak some Mandarin, few can fully express their ideas in Mandarin, especially written.

• Low education level

Although the education level of locals has been much improved since 1990s, the ones achieving tertiary level degrees are still few in number.

• Adherence to traditional means of subsistence

The economic base of the community is husbandry. Some locals said they only knew how to raise livestock. They lack the abilities to work in urban places. The nearby Buerjin and Hanbahe counties are regarded as modern places by villagers; however, although some have moved there, they come back to the villages in

summer to prepare grass for feeding animals for the whole winter. The following conversations illustrate such issues.

A conversation between me and a Tuva elder of Hanas Village:

I: Do you want to live in Buerjin County?
Respondent: No. because I cannot find job in the county.

The following conversation was between me and a Kazakh man who lives in Hemu Village:

I: Do all the people who have moved to Buerjin County come back to the villages in summer?
Respondent: Yes. All of them come back in summer, to pasture for horses and cows.

Relationship between the potential renegade and their group

According to Coser (1956, p. 69), “the group must fight the renegade with all its might since he threatens symbolically, if not in fact, its existence as an ongoing concern”. However, in the circumstance of Kanas, the minority groups do not ‘fight’ those who hope to leave their traditional communities to join modern society. Furthermore, some admire the lifestyle of the ‘potential renegades’. Such feeling can be attributed to (1) a lack of closeness in the community, (2) the attraction that many feel for an urban lifestyle, and (3) the inequality status in society between the previous group and the new group.

(1) The closeness of the traditional group

According to Simmel (1955, p. 70), “renegadism is perceived by a close group as a threat to its unity”. Conversely, renegadism will not be necessarily perceived as a threat to the unity of the group if the group is (a) not closely knit and so (b) is less unified and thus there may be tolerant degrees of difference. It can be concluded that the extent to which the community has a sense of closeness and its willingness to maintain a traditional lifestyle is an important factor influencing the previous associates’ reaction towards the renegade. In the case of Tuva people in the Kanas Scenic Area, the group is loosely organised. According to a Tuva lady

in Hanas Village, Tuva people, especially the ones in Hanas Village, are not united. One of the reasons is that the 801 Tuva people (217 households) of Hanas Village randomly live in seven natural villages due to the location of their grasslands. Today, some lived in Buerjin County in winter and come back to the village in summer. The self-sufficiency in agricultural production leads to a disparate sense of community. In addition, neither religion nor conventional/traditional laws play a major role in disciplining people's daily behaviours. According to the Tuva elders, there were conventional laws in the past and the Tuva elders were asked to implement the rules and punishments. However, today, these rules have diminished. Another Tuva lady commented that, locals would prefer to seek help from governmental officials when problems occur.

In a sense tourism reinforces but has not caused the slackening of old traditional bonds of community. First, the nomadic life style traditionally reinforced a sense of self-sufficiency, and community solidarity was established through a series of special festivals or events such as weddings. Hence community functions were secondary in daily patterns of life. Second, the influence of centralisation policies by the Beijing government meant a growing local power of party and governmental power. Third, general processes of modern communication technologies from television, cell phones and social media mean that people partake in and are influenced by social patterns from beyond the village community. Fourth, tourism does arguably reinforce trends through demonstration effects as the 'outsider' enters the community during the summer season. Consequently the homogeneity and closeness envisaged by Coser, if present in the past, is no longer so.

(2) The attractiveness of the new group — modern lifestyle

Locals are attracted by the modern lifestyle which is, to some extent, labeled by the modern facilities. Locals begin to purchase motorcycles, cell phones and other modern facilities. In the three villages, most of the young men have motorcycles and cell phones. The strong power of modern facilities even attracts elder people. Based on my observation, two ladies over 70 years old each made calls via cell phones themselves. According to one of the two women, the cell phone was

bought for her by her daughter. Another elderly lady purchased the cell phone herself when the sales team of a cell phone shop came to the village to launch a cell phone promotion, her daughter-in law told me. Both ladies lived in Hanas Village and their children were involved in tourism business, and thus arguably both had witnessed the convenience of cell phone usage by observing their use by family and tourists. The presence of such modern technologies permits local minorities to be immersed in the modern lifestyle.

The following shopping list was what a Tuva family purchased in the nearby Buerjin County in May 2009:

- Healthcare: 410 RMB, including
 - one massager (140RMB)
 - one bottle of lamb placenta (130RMB)
 - one box of Calcium Gluconate Oral Solution (140RMB)
- Clothes: 900RMB, including
 - one pair of shoes for the hostess (150 RMB)
 - one coat, one pair of trousers and one pair of shoes for the host (around 500 RMB)
 - one suit and one pair of shoes for a boy (150 RMB)
 - one suit for a relative (100 RMB)
- Food: around 100 RMB spent on potatoes and Chinese cabbages

This family is relatively affluent in the community and the host and the hostess work in public organisations. While an atypical shopping bill it indicates what may be termed ‘aspirational shopping’. Expenditure on clothing accounted for the biggest proportion among the three types of consumption goods. Noticeably, the expense on healthcare also represented a large percentage. However, in this case it should be noted that healthcare products purchased in pharmacies can be reimbursed by the medical insurance. Yet anecdotal evidence revealed that some locals were attracted to the products by their advertising and the purchase was made to see if the products lived up to their claims.

(3) Traditional group and the new group in lower and higher social strata

The relative social status of indigenous and urban people is unequal in many places around the world. In the case of the Kanas Scenic Area, indigenous culture and values are regarded as ‘primitive’ by some Han tourists and today some locals,

especially the younger generation, share that belief. According to Coser (1956, p. 70), the ‘renegade’ is more dangerous in the eyes of the former associates than any other member of the out-group. However, in Kanas, the potential ‘crosser of boundaries’ is not regarded as ‘dangerous’ by the community, though some of their behaviours are not welcomed. Yet there is a social hierarchy of power and influence, and the indigenous group occupies the lower position. Consequently to be a member of the urban group is attractive to many Tuva and Kazakhs as representing upward social mobility and higher income. Coser (1956) addresses the attraction of higher social strata to lower social strata, as discussed by the evidence of Kanas Scenic Area in Chapter five. However, Coser (1956) fails to consider the influence of the inequality of the two groups in his discussion of ‘renegadism’ – namely perceived inequality is itself a motive for wanting to change group membership. This oversight probably emerges from his dependency on past heresies within the Catholic Church as models for his analysis.

7.2.2 Are they ‘heretics’?

According to Coser (1956), the heretic represents a more insidious danger than the renegade. Although the heretic shares the values and goals of former associates, he or she proposes different means to achieve those goals and will proselytize (Coser, 1956). In the case of the Kanas Scenic Area, the locals who hold higher positions in governments meet some of the characteristics of the ‘heretic’ defined by Coser (1956). They stress the importance of community development and local culture protection, but in fact, their priority is their positions in the governments, rather the interest of the community. Therefore, when conflicts between the community and the government occurred, these officials were inclined with the governments, although they are members of the local groupings. But can they be named as ‘heretic’? It is discussed in this section.

Case 7.3: The religious festival Aobao Festival (Figure 7.9) in 2010 summer attracted many outsiders, such as officials, tourists, outside vendors, journalists, etc. In order to keep these outsiders away from the core area when the religious ceremony was being held, the core area of the venue was marked

off by a long rope or belt, as can be seen in Figure 7.10. A Han official from the Altay Region Administrative Office hoped to enter into the core area to take a photo of the Lama when the Lama was reading the Tripitaka and praying. He asked a Tuva official to ask for permission from the Lama. The Tuva official did as the Han official asked. However, the Lama refused the request and suggested that it was against the religious rules. The Tuva official became angry because the Lama's refusal meant the official lost 'face' (*mianzi*) in front of the Han official. This case was recounted by the Tuva official himself when we took the same vehicle to another village.



Figure 7.9. Aobao Festival in Hanas Village, 2010



Figure 7.10. The colourful barrier at Aobao Festival in Hemu Village, 2010

In this case, while it is expected that the Tuva official should obey the ceremonial conventions and require all attendees to obey the rules, in this case his motive was to cater for the interest of the Han official to establish good *guanxi* with the official who may later have influenced his performance evaluation in the government.

According to Coser (1956), the heretic keeps competing for the loyalty of the

members of his previous group even after he has left it. In the Kanas Scenic Area, such performance is more related to power. Tuva who hold higher positions in the government hope to retain loyalty from the community through a reiterative process of respect for authority and, being in authority, being able to provide or withhold benefits from individuals in the community. In the case above, the Tuva official expected the Lama to listen to him since he was an official and thus deemed to have ‘importance’.

On the other hand, Coser (1956) argues that the actions of the heretic are perceived by some former associates as breaking down boundaries. The locals think that these officials have left their group in many different ways. The following conversation was between me and a Tuva who worked in the local government.

- I: Do you feel that the relationship between you and the villagers becomes worse after you were in the position of(In order to protect the identity of the respondent, the position is left blank here)
- The respondent: Yes. Now they do not tell me words from heart. They are afraid that I will tell the words to the (higher) government officials.
- I: In fact, now they do not regard you as an insider member, though you share the same language with them and live in the same village with them.
- The respondent: Yes. They regard me as an official.

Case 7.4: One day when I was at the home of the official in the conversation above, a local teacher came to ask about the financial subsidies for teachers in rural schools who do not receive the normal remuneration from the government. She made a telephone call to a staff in charge of such issues in Social Affairs Administration Bureau and was told that no subsidies would be provided for these teachers. Surprisingly, she did not directly tell the teacher what the staff said; instead, she said she was not familiar with such issues and suggested the teacher directly contact the Social Affairs Administration Bureau staff. After the teacher left, she told me that she did not want to be the ‘bad person’ telling bad news to the teacher. Admittedly, such a bureaucratic mode of working may not lead her to be a ‘bad person’; however, it keeps her

away from the locals who may think she behaved in the same manner as other officials by avoiding responsibility and causing local people to ask different officials for a same issue.

The heretic—friend or foe?

However, locals who hold higher positions in governments do not meet all the characteristics of heretic defined by Coser (1956). These members do not wholly adhere to party or government lines, sometimes, they also complain to the higher government officials. As members of the Tuva people, they also address the interests of Tuva people, especially (1) when such claims would not have negative influence on their own interest or would have positive influence, and (2) when there are conflicts between Tuvas and Kazakhs. It needs to be noted that the promotion of the development of the local community is one primary objective of the local governments. The welfare of the locals is their responsibility as governmental officials. Therefore, it can be argued that they are brokers between the locals and the government. The key for them to maintain their positions in the government and in the community is by balancing the two roles; however, few perform well, which may be largely attributed to the power of the government and the inequality of the two groups. In short, given that promotion is dependent upon furthering government interest, preference is given to that interest. There will be a congruence of interest between local people and local government officials only if it is in the interest of local government to be seen to creating local progress. Policy made by powers external to the area, whether at provincial or central level, are paramount.

On the other hand, the locals' reactions towards these officials are not wholly coincident with what Coser (1956) argues. Instead of displaying 'hostility' towards the officials, some locals make significant efforts to maintain a good relationship with these 'heretics'. This is largely because (1) the power the officials have, and (2) the interest and convenience the officials may bring to them. A good *guanxi* with officials means more and other resources (e.g. information and financial benefit) and greater potential convenience.

The structure of the previous group is another important factor that should be considered in the discussion of the ‘renegade’ and ‘heretic’. The group of Tuva people in the Kanas Scenic Area represents a small sized but loosely structured group in the situation of continuous outside struggle (as detailed discussed in Chapter eight). Tuva people, expecting a decrease in outside conflict, becomes an elastic group tolerant of divergent tendencies, where ‘dissenters’ would not be pushed into the ranks of ‘heretics’ or ‘renegades’, except when they endanger the core interest of the group.

Implications

This section provides a preliminary discussion about the reasons why some members of one group move away from their previous group to the new group by providing the evidence of the Kanas Scenic Area. In the Kanas Scenic Area, the characteristics of (1) the locals who hope to move away from their group to join urban based groups and (2) the locals who attain higher positions in the local governments as well as the reactions of their former associates towards them are not wholly as theorised by Coser (1956); therefore, they can hardly be named as ‘renegade’ and ‘heretic’. The group structure (the size of the group and the involvement of group members), the intensity of the outside conflict, along with the strength balance between the groups involved with conflict or hostility strongly influence the emergence of ‘dissenters’, as well as the reaction of the previous group to those members who once belonged to it.

In his work *The Functions of Social Conflict*, Coser (1956) is more concerned with the functioning of social conflict as a means for generating and sustaining changes in social systems, but often in the examples used as to how groups function within society, the reasons for heresies and discordant action are not always examined in depth – there being, one suspects, an assumption of familiarity with the examples chosen. Coser (1987, p. 18) himself wrote that “I saw my book as an attempt to redress the balance by focusing attention on the central importance of social conflicts in social structures and human affairs” – an

imbalance he perceived in Talcott Parsons's structural functionalism and its concentration on common values and social harmony. Therefore, in applying his theories to the situation in Kanas, his modes of social analysis are of use in that changes to traditional life styles are occurring with the social disharmonies arising for which his theoretical concepts provide an insight – but those insights arguably remain incomplete as they do not analyse the reasons *per se* for the disequilibrium. This research tries to provide such discussions by providing the evidence from the indigenous community in China to further illustrate why some members of one group move away from their previous group to the new group. The intrusion of an external force (Beijing government) into the traditional nomadic life-styles reinforced by the arrival of modernisation for which tourism is a proxy in rural China (Cui & Ryan, 2011) has created a hierarchical social structure that cuts across that based on previous bases such as respect for elders and religious leaders. Associated with this new social structuring is a new power dynamic of patronage on a scale not previously known, and thus the closeness, or lack of, in the original social structure is also an important factor that should be considered in the discussion of the 'renegade' and 'heretic'.

In fact, "frequent occasions for conflict do not necessarily eventuate in frequent conflicts" (Coser, 1956, p. 73). In the next proposition, Coser (1956, p. 73) suggests that "it is precisely the closeness of the relationship and the strong affective mutual attachment of the participants which may induce them to avoid the conflict". In the Chinese context, power strongly influences the intensity of conflict. Factors, such as the social strata of those involved and power have an influence on the intensity of the conflict. Therefore, Proposition 6 'the closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict' is not necessarily the case; many factors other than the interaction are involved.

In the indigenous community, for example, in the Kanas Scenic Area, the possible 'renegade' and the 'heretic', because of their access to modernisation and social/political power, may become the elites in the community. Therefore, they may not "bring about the mobilization of all group defenses" (Coser, 1956, p. 71). This may be one of the unique characteristics in the indigenous community.

Another factor that reduces open conflict is that the ‘external power’ of Beijing is also premised on the strong adaptation of traditional Confucian principles in support of the Chinese Communist Party that stresses ‘social harmony’ as a means of social progress and continued political power.

7.3 Coser’s (1956) Proposition 7: Impact and function of conflict in group structures

The previous section has discussed potential tensions between different local segments, and the factors influencing the extent of tension in the case area. In reality, different types of conflict exist between individuals and groups. The fact should be acknowledged that culture is different from material interest and resources, and conflict over culture may have specific characteristics, especially when disagreements relate to both culture and material interest. The development of culture on the structure of the community, especially a loosely structured society requires to be researched. In this section, such issues are discussed in the context of the Kanas Scenic Area.

Coser (1956) reformulated Simmel’s (1955) proposition as follows:

Conflict may serve to remove dissociating elements in a relationship and to re-establish unity. Insofar as conflict is the resolution of tension between antagonists it has stabilizing functions and becomes an integrating component of the relationship. However, not all conflicts are positively functional for the relationship, but only those which concern goals, values, or interests that do not contradict the basic assumptions upon which the relation is founded. Loosely structured groups and open societies, by allowing conflicts, institute safeguards against the type of conflict which would endanger basic consensus and thereby minimize the danger of divergences touching core values. The interdependence of antagonistic groups and the crisscrossing within such societies of conflicts, which serve to “sew the social system together” by cancelling each other out, thus prevent disintegration along one primary line of cleavage. (p. 80)

Conflict can be positively or negatively functional for the relationship (Coser, 1956). According to Coser (1956), Simmel (1955) fails to make a distinction between conflicts over basic matters of principle and conflicts over less central issues. Chinese have a saying that *Da shi qin, ma shi ai* (打是亲, 骂是爱) which

can be translated into ‘fight is because of closeness, and scold is because of love’. It is often used to describe the struggles and/or arguments within close relationships yet the disagreements do not contradict the basic assumptions upon which the relation is founded. In such circumstances, conflict can be positively functional for the relationship. “Conflict is designed to resolve divergent dualisms; it is a way of achieving some kind of unity.....Conflict itself resolves the tension between contrasts” (Simmel, 1955, pp. 13-15).

On the other hand, conflicts over goals, values and interest that contradict the basic assumptions upon which the relation may be negatively functional for the relationship (Coser, 1956). However, it should also be noticed that the interdependence of groups and individuals in modern society prohibits the tendencies towards basic cleavages (Coser, 1956, p. 75). Coser (1956) also suggests that the concerns that give rise to tensions and the structure of the group all influence the positive or negative functions of conflicts. Such issues are examined with the evidence from the case area as follows, starting from a discussion of the structure of the community.

7.3.1 The structure of the community

According to Blau (1977, p. 278),

Social structure is a theoretical term defined as the multidimensional space of social positions among which a population is distributed and which reflect and affect people’s role relation and social association.

In the Kanas Scenic Area, tourism has become one of the three major income resources for the locals, the other two being animal husbandry and governmental subsidies. Tourism is the main income source for many families. According to Durkheim (as cited in Schaefer, 2005), in a society with less division of labour, there will be a collective sense addressing the solidarity of the group, which he names ‘mechanical solidarity’. Everyone does similar work; everyone needs to prepare food, hunt, build a house, etc. There are not many social roles in the

society. The social interaction and negotiation are based on the intimacy and the face-to-face contact between people. Generally, the three villages in the Kanas Scenic Area meet some of the characteristics of 'mechanical solidarity'. Locals build houses for their own families and have similar work and lifestyle. However, the social structure has had some changes during tourism development of the community. People start to establish relationships with others according to their social positions. For example, some local horsemen establish relationships with tourism accommodation operators for renting horses to guests; they establish connection with officials for business issues. In the non-tourism season, locals go back to their traditional lifestyle and the state of 'mechanical solidarity'.

According to Durkheim (as cited in Schaefer, 2005), the transition of a society from 'primitive' to advanced may bring about major disorder, crisis, and anomie. However, once society has reached the 'advanced' stage, it becomes much stronger and completes the development evolution. Durkheim regards conflict, chaos, and disorder as pathological phenomena to modern society (as cited in Schaefer, 2005).

7.3.2 The development of culture in a loosely structured group

The evidence from the case area as previously provided in this study indicates that Tuva people are loosely structured. According to Coser (1956, p. 80), loosely structured groups and open societies, by allowing conflicts, institute safeguards against the type of conflict which would endanger basic consensus and thereby minimise the danger of divergences touching core values. To examine this argument, the development of culture and its impacts on the Tuva group are discussed by providing a comparison of one religious ceremony held at different villages with different levels of tourism development as well as a discussion of a cultural attraction. It can be seen that Tuva have been making efforts to maintain the 'boundary' with other ethnic groups, and to address the uniqueness of their own group.

Aobao Festival

It has been shown that in many indigenous communities, tourism impacts cultural festivals and undermines original motives by exposing them to market forces and commercialism. Today, the Tuvas' Aobao Festival in the Kanas Scenic Area is fulfilling multi-functional roles for different stakeholders, as seen in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3. The functions of the local Aobao Festival today

Stakeholders	Main functions
For local Tuvas	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A religious festival• Entertainment for themselves• Showcase of Tuva culture to others
For tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• An attraction
For local governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A forum to show their support on the local culture
For the enterprises	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• An opportunities to be involved in local community• A forum to show their strength
For journalists	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A good material for programme
For photographers	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A good material for photographing
For researchers	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A perspective to understand local culture• An opportunity to collect data relating to culture

The word 'Aobao' comes from the translation of Mongolian language, and means heaps of stones. Aobao worship involves praying for good weather and safety for both humans and livestock. The Aobao is mainly located on top of mountains, and is a pile of stones or clods, with colourful strips or paper hung on top.

In 2010, I attended four Aobao Festivals held in the three villages. Three of them, which were held in the core area of each village, are strongly influenced by tourism. The other one which was held on a remote pastureland of Hemu Village was organised and performed in a traditional way. A comparison of the four Aobao Festivals is provided to illustrate the Tuvas' adherence to the traditional core values and adjustment to their realistic demands.

The difference of the attendees

The Aobao Festival that was held at the pastureland was predominantly attended by the local Tuvas. In terms of non-Tuvas, only four Han and Mongolian officials and myself attended it. One of the reasons why such a small number of attendees

are involved is because of the inconvenience of the access to the venue. It requires around 3 hours horse-riding from the centre of the village, no alternative transport means available. The attendance of the officials is due to an interest on taking photographs. Little governmental activity was involved during the festival. Locals sit together around the Lama who presided over the festival (Figure 7.11).



Figure7.11. The traditional Aobao Festival on Hemu Village pastureland

On the other hand, the festivals held in the three villages' centres were attended not only by the local Tuvas, but also many non-locals including the outside vendors (Figure 7.12), the governmental officials (Figure 7.13), the journalists and researchers (Figure 7.14) and the tourists (Figure 7.10).



Figure 7.12. Outsider vendors at the Aobao Festival in Hemu Village



Figure7.13. An official making a speech at the Aobao Festival in Hanas Village



Figure 7.14. Journalists taking photos at the Aobao Festival in Baihaba Village

Preparation

When the Tuva people arrive, the men walk or ride a horse around the Aobao for three loops clockwise. (Women also did this in Hanas Village, but not in the other two villages.) To walk or ride a horse depends on how they come to the venue. Today, some wealthy Tuvas who drive a car to the venue may drive around the Aobao, though it is not common. The men would put one or two small stones on the Aobao. Each family brings hada, food and drink including mutton, cheese, Nang (local bread), sugar, milk-derived alcohol, etc. Five to ten families were assigned or volunteered to prepare goats for the festival and placed the goat heads on the Aobao as sacrifices (Figure 7.15)



Figure 7.15. Sacrificed goat heads at the Aobao Festival

The activities

The Aobao Festival started at around 11am. The festival celebration can be divided into four sections: (1) the religious ritual on the gathering venue, (2) the horse-race and wrestling, (3) locals' singing and dancing, and (4) the goat sacrifice ritual at home. On the Aobao Festival held on the remote pastureland, the singing and dancing were omitted due to the time limitation since the venue was far from

the residential areas. On the three festivals held in the village centres, all three public sections were provided.

The religious ritual was the same in the festivals held at different locations. The Lama read the Tripitaka and prayed for 1 to 1.5 hours (Figure 7.16). All the people sit together and listened, and sometimes echo the Lama's praying by saying "Hurui, Hurui" along with upholding and turning the cypress branch and cheese in hand clockwise (Figure 7.17). After the praying, all the Tuvas, led by Lama, walked around Aobao for three loops clockwise, and placed the sacrifice on the Aobao and fasten the colourful cloth strips on the birch branch on the Aobao (Figure 7.18). The Tuvas kowtowed to Aobao, praying to bless them and to permit both themselves and their flocks and herds to prosper. It was followed by the head tapping ritual (Figure 7.19). That is, the Lama would tap the head of the locals, representing the wish that safety and happiness will come to the persons.



Figure 7.16. Lama reading the Tripitaka and praying



Figure 7.17. Tuvas listening to and echoing the Lama's prayer



Figure 7.18. Tuvas, led by the Lama, walking around Aobao



Figure 7.19. The ritual of head tapping

On the three Aobao festivals held in the village centres, after the religious rituals, staged singing and dancing performances were provided by the locals and invited performers. Before the start of the performance, the local governmental leaders (some of them are Kazakhs believing in Islam) made speeches as in Figure 7.13. Today, the governments, enterprises, locals and even tourists may donate some money to celebrating the festival, and the organiser/host of the festival will then read aloud the names of donors as well as the amount of money given. Figure 7.20 shows one page of the gift-giving account of Hanas Village Aobao Festival. The names of the organisation and individuals who provided the money were written in Mongolian.

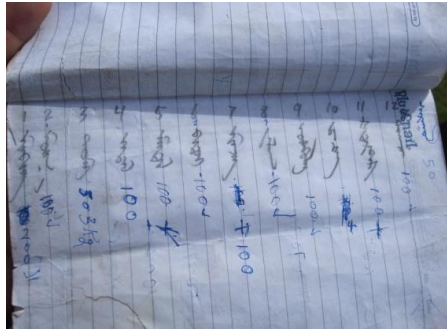


Figure 7.20. One page of the gift-giving (money) account

The singing and dancing performance and the religious ritual were on the same venue at Hanas and Baihaba villages, but different at Hemu Village. There was also a colourful belt to demarcate the performance area and to keep the non-performers away from the stage. However, the journalists, invited by the local governments, entered into the performance area to take photos, which sometimes blocked the view of the local audience and annoyed them. The photographers sometimes put the lens very close to the performers, which also annoyed the performers, according to a performer at Baihaba Village.

The social positions of governmental officials and local elders

Horse racing and wrestling, as the traditional activities at Aobao Festival, were held at each venue. According to the conventional rules, the top three winners in the horse racing would be awarded by the honourable elders in the community. However, today, some of the top three winners were awarded by both non-local governmental officials and honourable local elders, and sometimes only by officials. This also led to locals making a criticism of changed customs.



Figure 7.21. Wrestling at the Aobao Festival in Hanas Village

After all the on-site activities finished, the families who prepared the goat would hold a goat sacrifice ceremony at home on that same day (Figure 7.22). The Lama would preside over the ceremony, family by family. Relatives and close friends are invited to attend the ceremony. I attended the ceremonies held in each village. The procedures are the same and the time may differ according to different Lama. None of the governmental officials, tourists, or journalists attended this ritual. In terms of the reaction of locals to me, some Tuvas unfamiliar to me refused my request to attend the rituals, giving the reason that it was a family ritual; while some welcomed me. All those Tuvas well known to me welcomed me to attend the ritual, and even asked me to participate in the ritual. Generally, this ritual is more sacred than the ritual on the public venue and the religious atmosphere is stronger. It can be argued that this ritual has not been influenced by outside forces.



Figure 7.22. Goat sacrifice ceremony at home on the day of Aobao Festival

Balance between safeguarding traditional value and the realistic demands

Changes occur, such as the attendance of non-Tuva visitors who may be contrary to Tuva belief, the creation of staged singing and dancing performances, the replacement of local honourable elders by governmental officials for awarding prizes to the top three winners in horse-racing, and so on. Such changes, which are different from the traditional practice, sometimes caused criticism, disagreement and even conflict. However, such tensions have little influence on the continuance of the new style of Aobao Festival. It can be argued that the Aobao Festival demonstrates the combination of traditional values and modern demands of commercialism.

The festival's core value for the locals is the religious ritual. As observed, the

religious rituals of the Aobao Festival provided at the four venues and also the goat sacrifice rituals held at locals' homes are the same. The religious ritual is not influenced by the outside forces. Therefore, it can be argued that the core value of the festival is maintained.

It should be emphasised that the local governments and police stations greatly contribute to the maintenance of the religious ritual. The colourful belt was adopted to keep the outsiders away from the core area as seen in Figure 7.10. Police were present at the venue to maintain public order, though even the belt and police may not avoid criticisms being voiced about the changes being introduced to traditional practices.

In addition, the showing of Tuva culture and obtaining financial benefit can also be regarded as a means of continuation of today's new format of the Aobao Festival. In fact, it is not only a religious festival for the Tuvas as before, but also a stage to show their festival to outsiders. Tuva elites greatly contribute to the change of the Aobao Festival. For example, the Villagers' Committee, as the organiser of the festival, would send invitation letters to organisations and enterprises before the festival. The leader of the Hanas Villagers' Committee was proud of the beauty of this invitation letter (Figure 7.23) and told me he bought it from the nearby Buerjin County for sending to the guests. The numbers and levels of the attending organisations and the amount of the money the villages obtained from the festivals have become a point of competition among the three villages.

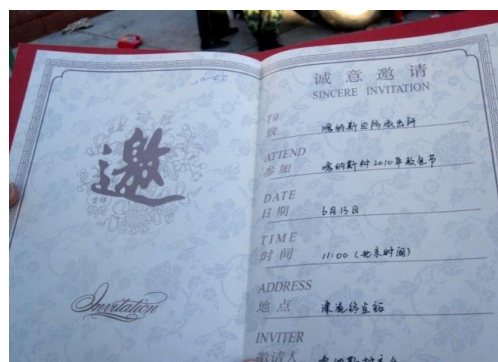


Figure 7.23. Invitation letter to Hanas Aobao Festival

The Aobao Festival provides Tuvas – a marginalised ethnic group – an

opportunity to be ‘actors’, to address their ethnicities and to show their culture. It may become a means for Tuvas to address the wrongful description of Tuva people and Tuva culture by journalists, writers (such as Wang, 2005) and others. In addition, the changes of the Aobao Festival are also related with the locals’ demand for development or benefit. According to some village leaders and regular locals, more tourists meant more money. When I asked some locals to comment on so many outsiders coming to the Aobao Festival, some answered “good, of course it is good”; “tourists come, money comes”. Such safeguards minimise the danger of divergences touching core values.

Admittedly, some compromises were made to balance the traditional values and the demands of modern society. It is more obvious when dealing with the higher strata of the society – namely local government. Therefore, governmental officials have replaced the honourable elders in awarding prizes to the top three winners of the horse-race. However, it has not touched the core value of the ceremony and the local people could accept it, albeit reluctantly.

Home Visit

Home Visit business can be served as another example in relation to the tourism’s impact on culture. In the Kanas Scenic Area, many Tuvas express anger towards non-Tuva outsiders operating Home Visit business, and towards the guides for wrongly introducing ‘Tuva culture’. On the other hand, it is the Tuva who rent their houses to the outsiders for economic gains. The following text is from interview notes made by myself as a result of a conversation with a Tuva female respondent in February 2010 when the tourism season had not yet started.

- I: Will you rent the house this year?
The Tuva: Yes. The outsider businessman will come in April to rent houses. Outsiders operating Home Visit bid higher rents than those operating restaurants.
I: Do you have any preference to the ethnicity of the tenants? Will you rent the house to Kazakh or Han people or other ethnic groups?
The Tuva: Either ethnicity is OK.

This attitude is quite typical and, as outsiders operating Home Visit business offer higher rents than do those outsiders operating restaurants, the Tuva prefer renting houses to those operating Home Visit business, regardless of their ethnicity. Indeed, if they did not rent houses to outsiders, those outsiders would have no venue in which to operate a Home Visit, thereby reducing the cases of ‘imitation Tuva’. However, there is little conflict between the Tuvas who show hostility towards the ‘imitation Tuva’ and the Tuvas who rent the houses to outsiders operating the Home Visit business. The following conversation is between a Tuva and myself:

- I: Have you thought that if the Tuvas do not rent houses to outsiders, those outsiders would have no venue in which to operate a Home Visit?
- The respondent: No. I have not thought about it. They rent the houses for money. If they do not rent the houses, they do not have money.

It can be seen from the conversation that the key to understanding the relationship is the pragmatic concern about generating an income for both tenants and home owners. According to the other locals, it is only because of money that the tenants rent the houses to the outsiders. In other words, the relationship between Tuvas is not influenced by the house renting issue, though the Tuvas do not like being imitated by others. Rent is an important income source for the locals, considering the low economic development level of the community. Besides, within Chinese context, *guanxi* (relationship; as discussed in next section) and *mianzi* (face) all contribute to the avoidance of conflict over core values.

As a ‘few-population minority’, the basic consensus that binds Tuva people as a whole is the ethnic identity – Tuva people, and the culture – Tuva culture. However, Tuva culture itself is complex; it has been influenced by the culture of other ethnic groups. Loose organisation groups, those in which members participate segmentally rather than with their total personality, are less likely to experience intensified conflict leading to disruption (Coser, 1956, p. 76). In addition, culture, its collectiveness in nature is different from economic benefit which can directly influence people’s personal life. This is especially important

for a 'few-population' community with a low level of economic development. The benefits are more important for the people. The small-community's weak socio-economic power means it has a subordinate position in any socio-political process, although its very uniqueness is an asset that permits government to develop tourism. As is often commented, there is a paradoxical power in weakness (Ryan & Hall, 2001).

In this circumstance, the demand for benefit and development becomes the safeguard against any tension that would endanger a basic consensus. The development of the ethnic group is deemed to be closely related with people's realistic demands for benefit, rather than ethnic groups' history (Guan, 2009). In other words, benefit is more important than culture and history under some circumstances. Besides, the interdependence of the individuals also has mitigating influence on open tensions, as discussed below.

7.3.3 Interdependence

The interdependence of groups and individuals in modern society prohibits the tendencies towards basic cleavages (Coser, 1956, p. 75). This interdependence can be found between groups, between individuals and groups and also between individuals.

(1) The interdependence between groups

The relationship between locals and governments can be understood from the perspective of interdependence. Locals greatly depend on the governments in terms of financial subsidies, warfare provision, policies, etc. For example, the TV sets and solar generators of many families are provided by the governments. As observed, some locals borrow money from the local Hemu and Hanas Township Government when they do not have enough money for marriage, education, and other personal issues. According to the officials, some of these borrowers do not repay the money. One official said that some villagers of Hanas Village drank everyday instead of working hard, since they highly depend on the house-rent

compensation from the government.

On the other hand, the performance of the government is largely determined by its administration of the areas; and the performance of individual officials is largely determined by their responsibility. Within the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, the political stability and harmony between different ethnic groups are prominent criteria for the evaluation of governmental officials' performance. The following conversation between me and a leader of local township government reflected his concern about the potential in-group conflict in the village.

The official: I am concerned about the conflict between Tuvas and Kazakhs. In the past, the majority of horsemen were Kazakhs. This year (2011), there have been more Tuvas renting horses.

I: How many Kazakh and Tuva horsemen this year?

The official: There are about 30 Tuvas and 100 Kazakhs horsemen. Kazakhs exercise a monopoly through their networking; while Tuvas are competitively disadvantaged. Therefore, Tuvas were not satisfied about the Kazakhs. I am concerned if such hostility continues, conflict may arise between the two ethnic groups.

If, therefore, sharper differences of interest emerge, the potential of interdependence to stop the emergence of conflict is weakened; yet the greater the interdependence, the sharper is the focus of attention upon questions of relative advantage (Coser, 1956, p. 76). The locals highly depend on the government, especially on the subsidies and tourism income; therefore, conflict sometimes arises over tourism compensation between locals and the local governments, for example, the struggle in 2009 summer in Hemu Village and in 2011 summer in Hanas Village and Hemu Village.

While, interdependence is at the same time a check against the breaking of consensual agreement and a basis for avoiding disruptive consequences (Coser, 1956, p. 76), from time to time tensions did arise. The sources for such tensions between the locals and the government are mainly about financial issues, including compensation for lack of access to pastureland and profit sharing from tourism. However such disputes did not lead to disruptive consequence; on the

contrary, such conflicts ensure the continuance of negotiation between the two sides and therein promotes the stability of the relationship.

(2) Interdependence between individuals

Interdependence and its functions in societies are essentially similar to those between individuals. People are mutually dependent, even in a loosely structured society. The isolated location, the harsh environment, the small number of the population, and the fact that locals' participation in tourism promotes a daily interdependence between locals that would not be present under traditional summer grazing practices – all help to hold the community together.

The criss-crossing of tensions, such as the conflicts between locals and outsider entrepreneurs, locals and the governments, the entrepreneurs and the governments, as well as the conflicts between locals, constitutes an important “balancing mechanism” (Coser, 1956, p. 79). The disagreements between groups and individuals are dealt with through continuous readjustment so that the basic structure remains flexible and able to withstand the internal strains (Coser, 1956, p. 79). Consequently, the community can maintain a general stability in its different relationships.

7.4 Coser's (1956) Proposition 8: Conflict as an index of stability of relationships

Conflict and relationship are often mutually inter-dependent. Within Chinese society, ‘relationship’ often refers to a special relationship at an individual level – *guanxi* which possesses unique characteristics when compared with relationship in western settings. In the Kanas Scenic Area, people avoid conflict partially for the maintenance of *guanxi*.

Simmel's (1955) proposition is reformulated by Coser (1956) as follows:

The absence of conflict cannot be taken as an index of the strength and stability of a relationship. Stable relationships may be characterized by

conflicting behaviour. Closeness gives rise to frequent occasions for conflict, but if the participants feel that their relationships are tenuous, they will avoid conflict, fearing that it might endanger the continuance of the relation. When close relationships are characterized by frequent conflicts rather than by the accumulation of hostile and ambivalent feelings, we may be justified, given that such conflicts are not likely to concern basic consensus, in taking these frequent conflicts as an index of the stability of these relationships.

In secondary relationships, where we are initially justified in expecting relatively less intense conflicts owing to the segmental involvement of the participants, the presence of conflict may be taken as an index of the operation of a balancing mechanism. (p. 85)

Conflict may positively function to hold social relationships; it may serve to remove dissociating elements in a relationship and to re-establish unity. China has a saying that *bu da bu xiang shi* (不打不相识) which can be translated as meaning 'no discord, no concord' and in a western sense can be equivalent to 'out of blows friendship grows'. On the other hand, the absence of conflict within a relationship does not necessarily mean the relationship is stable (Simmel, 1955). According to Simmel (1955), if the participants feel secure and stable in the relationship they may initiate conflict to gain some advancement or benefit; they will avoid expressing hostile feelings if they feel insecure. Undoubtedly, relationship and degrees of security within a relationship is a core factor in the discussion of conflict. Within the Chinese context, relationship requires special attention, due to its special significance.

7.4.1 A special relationship in China – *guanxi*

Guanxi, as an ancient Chinese form of networking, has existed in China's Confucian society for more than two thousand years. Hwang (1987) suggests that *guanxi* as a cultural orientation, reflects Chinese cultural ethics such as hierarchy, interdependence, liabilities and reciprocity. Parnell (2005) views *guanxi* as a complex, multifaceted socio-cultural phenomenon that is difficult to conceptualise scientifically and perhaps impossible to instrumentalise. *Guanxi* is an intricate and pervasive relational network consisting of mutual obligations, assurances and understandings (Park & Luo, 2001), which greatly contributes to its significance.

Guanxi can be regarded as a social resource; it can provide individuals and firms with the opportunity to acquire valuable resources and gain them distinct competitive advantages over others (Braendle et al., 2005). Peng (2003) suggests that the informational, interpersonal relationships of managers with key stakeholders including government officials and alliances partners are a basis for competitive advantage. These resources include soft resources (such as policy preference, important information, etc.) and hard resources (such as material resources, financial load, etc.) (Peng, 2003). For their part Gu, Ryan, Li and Wei (2011) suggest that *guanxi* fulfills an important role in the uncertainties of a developing economy as China copes with the dismantling of state apparatus to develop a market economy where regulatory frameworks associated with private enterprise may still be deficient.

Based on previous studies, Zhang, Y. and Zhang, Z.-G. (2006) propose three *guanxi* typologies at the individual level: the obligatory, reciprocal, and utilitarian types. Each typology owns its unique scope, nature, foundation, duration time, and other factors, as seen in Table 7.4. It can be argued that the *guanxi* between the locals of the Kanas Scenic Area are mainly ‘the obligatory’ and ‘the reciprocal’.

Table 7.4. Three typologies of *guanxi*

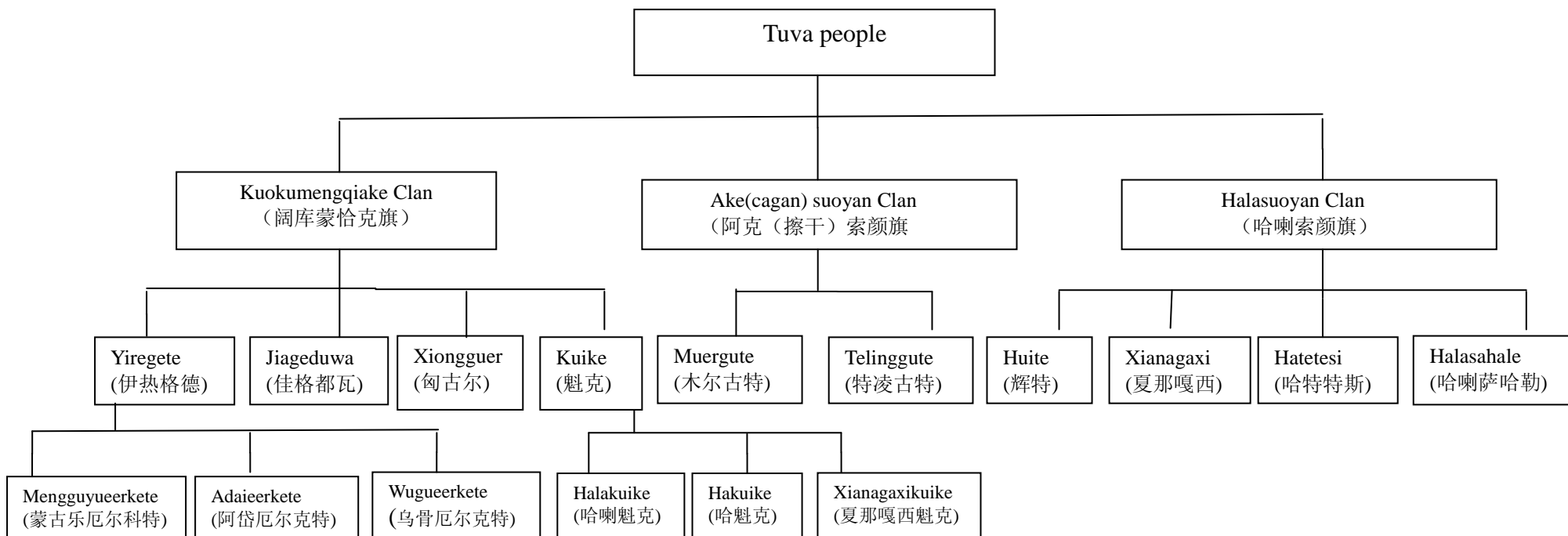
The type of relationship	The obligatory type	The reciprocal type	The utilitarian type
Chinese term	<i>Qinqing</i> Guanxi	<i>Renqing</i> Guanxi	<i>Jiaoyi</i> Guanxi
The scope of the relationship	The family members, the relatives	Fellow countrymen, classmates or alumni, and colleagues	Mere acquaintances
The nature of relationship	Psychological identification	Favorable exchanges	Rent exchanges
The factors motivating the relationship	Responsibility and obligation	Reciprocity	Utilitarianism
The factors maintaining the relationship	Full trust	Trust and reputation trust	Less trust
The duration of the relationship	Longest	Longer	Temporal
How to enter into the relationship (or <i>guanxi</i> base)	Blood and marriage	Common background or experience	Common background, an intermediary

Zhang, Y. and Zhang, Z.-G. (2006, p. 381)

(1) The obligatory type of guanxi

The obligatory type of *guanxi* exists exclusively among family members, close clan members and in-laws (Zhang, Y. & Zhang, Z.-G., 2006). Responsibility, obligation and loyalty are key factors for this type of *guanxi*. An individual with a higher rank is obliged to provide favours to or help his/her *guanxi* members with a lower rank through attending to their needs without an anticipation of reciprocity (Farsh, Tsui, Xin, & Cheng, 1998; Su & Littlefield, 2001). On the other hand, the recipients (family members) of the favours repay the favour in loyalty to the provider(s) and/or organisation; otherwise, they would be seen wanting by their wider social circle (Zhang, Y. & Zhang, Z.-G., 2006). The obligatory type may be the most important relationship within Chinese society (Zhang, Y. & Zhang, Z.-G., 2006), but may not play such functions in Western settings.

The obligatory type of *guanxi* is the common type of *guanxi* between the locals of Kanas Scenic Area. Besides the family members, relatives are another source of obligatory *guanxi*. Tuva people are connected by tribes. Tuva society in the Kanas Scenic Area is consisted of three banners. Each banner has two to four tribes and some tribes have sub-tribes. The banners, the tribes and the sub-tribes of Tuva community are presented in Figure 7.24. The members of a same tribe may live in different villages or live in the same neighbourhood.



Source: Nankuaimodege (2009)

Figure 7.24. Clan structure of the Tuva people in the Kanas Scenic Area

The use of this type of relationship is mostly embodied when a family member works with, or as a governmental official, or even in the villagers' committee, as in the Kanas Scenic Area and also in other areas in China such as Fenghuang County in Hunan Province (Feng, 2008). In the tourism season, the local township governments often accommodate guests from all parts of China. The township governments often arrange the catering and accommodation at the houses of the local officials or their relatives and in-laws. Such receptions are a source of income for these locals and in this way, the locals do not need to compete with the outsiders who are much better at business operations. The family members and relatives of the heads of villagers' committee can always obtain benefits from the heads. In Hanas Village, some family members and close friends of the heads of the villagers' committee paid less administration fees than the ordinary locals for renting horses. Another issue involved is how the members of villagers' committee utilise their power.

(2) The reciprocal type of guanxi

The reciprocal type includes all kinds of relationships with neighbours, fellows, classmates, colleagues and other closer friends who share similar experiences or have a common background (Zhang, Y. & Zhang, Z.-G., 2006). This common identity provides familiarity for the individuals, and thereby provides assurance and trust and creates a barrier for competitors and adversaries (Vanhonacker, 2004). The reciprocal exchange of favours (in Chinese terms, *renqing*) is the key factor for this type of *guanxi*. Reciprocity entails the exchange of favours which are roughly equivalent in value in western networks and also in Chinese reciprocal relationship ((Zhang, Y. & Zhang, Z.-G., 2006). Therefore, the exchange of favours strengthens the relationship among Chinese people and facilitates social interactions, which has a direct effect on their economic interactions ((Zhang, Y. & Zhang, Z.-G., 2006).

Tourism promotes the intense of this type of relationship in the Kanas Scenic Area. One example is the relationships between the horsemen and the tourism accommodation operators, and tour guides and governmental officials. This is also closely involved with corruption in reality.

(3) The utilitarian type of guanxi

The utilitarian type of *guanxi* refers to the relationship with general acquaintances. This type excludes the relationship with anonymous people or with strangers, as proposed by Yang (1994), as well as the relationship between the seller and the buyer.

Guanxi in China has multiple meanings in different contexts. For example, it may mean ‘romance’ in the context of a male and a female; it may mean ‘network’ when discussed in the background of business. Generally, in China, it may be argued that the continuance of relationships represents the continuance of resources and benefits. It may be concluded that both social tension and *guanxi* contribute to the operation of a balancing mechanism in contemporary Chinese society.

7.4.2 A relationship bonding: gift-giving

On the one hand, people enjoy the benefits of *guanxi* networks; on the other hand, they also take on a reciprocal ‘obligation’ that must be ‘repaid’ in the future (Luo, 1997, p. 53). This reciprocity can be strongly represented by gift-giving which involves the principle of reciprocity, the spirit of the gift, and the relationship between gifts and commodities. The flow of gifts represents the reciprocity and social networks in Chinese society (Yan, 1996).

As I observed, the ritual of relationship building between Tuva people is not as

formalised as Han to the process of gift-giving. The gift-giving circumstances are less in number compared with many Han rural communities. The circumstances of gift-giving for Tuva people include:

- Child birth
- Engagement rite
- Weddings
- Cutting hair for babies
- Spring Festival
- Funerals
- Mutual visits among relatives and friends
- Seeing someone in sickness
- Celebration of students' enrollment in colleges (recently)
- Opening a business (recently)

In China, gift-giving has accelerated since the collectives were dismantled, and the role of networks has become increasingly significant (Yan, 1996). Due to the isolation of the Kanas Scenic Area, the changes of gift-giving started accelerating in recent years. Tourism plays an important role in the urbanisation process, and thereby in the gift-giving as the number of social relationships increase, especially when economic benefits may be present. One apparent development is that some situations of gift exchange have been either created or developed on the basis of traditional rituals.

The gift-giving ceremonies for the opening of a business were created in response to the tourism development as well as locals' and outsiders' varied demands in the area, as in the Case 7.5.

Case 7.5: In summer 2009, a Tuva couple opened a bar in Hanas New Village. The hostess was once a contracted teacher in the primary school. The host was a staff member in the Forest Bureau. Some locals visited the bar and gave congratulatory gift (money) to the couple. I visited the bar with all the teachers in the primary school. The head of the school, on behalf of all teachers, gave celebration money to the operators.

Additionally, some teachers who are the relatives and close friends of the operators also gave gift money to them. The couple provided a lot of snacks, beers, and alcohol for entertaining the teachers. Popcorn, branded beer and other new types of food flowed in the community on this occasion.

Though it is not common in the community (since few locals can open a business), it represents an emerging gift-giving circumstance. Such circumstances may become more if more locals participate in tourism operation.

7.4.3 Conflict, *guanxi* and stability

Simmel (1955) suggests that the continuance of the relationship determines whether the persons will initiate conflict or not. This argument is especially true in China, due to the special importance of *guanxi* as discussed above. However, in China, the continuance of relationship may not be the fundamental reason for avoiding the occurrence of conflict; instead, the continuance of resources and benefits is the fundamental reason for avoiding conflict and thereby maintaining the relationship. *Guanxi* is the lifeblood of the Chinese economy and business activities, where it frequently acts as a lubricant (Park & Luo, 2001; Ramasamy, Goh & Yeung, 2006; Xin & Pearce, 1996). Both conflict and *guanxi* contribute to the operation of a balancing mechanism in Chinese society.

The importance of *guanxi* can explain the interaction between the villagers and the the governmental officials in a higher position, as discussed in the previous section. One issue in the relationship with local governments is the question to what degree are politicians engaged in private enterprises? Political *guanxi* is thus an important key to any understanding of the local political scene. In China, power is a prominent factor that should be considered in relating to participation:

more political power brings more economic power. The local people who are actively involved in tourism are normally the relatives of local officials, of even the officials themselves in Fenghuang County in Hunan Province (Feng, 2008) and also in many places of China. Therefore, *guanxi* should also be considered, especially the *guanxi* with local officials. It is hard to participate in tourism without *guanxi* at a local level.

Government jobs can be for life and carry secure salaries, opportunities for additional income and also possess superannuation. The private sector is less secure, although potentially more lucrative for the entrepreneurs. It is therefore often argued that this aversion to risk taking and adherence to bureaucratic modes of operation is one reason why the public sector has high levels of inefficiencies within it – especially in the State operated businesses – while it is the private sector that has driven economic development (Zurlo, 1994). Indeed the inefficiency of government allied by the ambiguous position of government officials and incomplete implementation of policies at local level is one reason why private enterprise has become nimble, flexible and responsive to changing business conditions – all made possible by *guanxi* as entrepreneurs manoeuvre their ways through the complexities of red tape and long administrative procedures. Unfortunately it is also one reason why corrupt practices are not uncommon.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed in-group conflict and relationships, and the group structure of the Kanas Scenic Area during tourism development. The extents, means and results of tourism impacts on different populations in one community are illustrated considering the heterogeneity of the community. Tourism development of the area has contributed to changing relationships between the sub-groups and the structure of the community, but tourism development is itself

due to the role of tourism as a means of rural economic policy implementation by local and central governments, and the presence of government at a local level is also a catalyst for change. Other elements inducing change is the impact of technologies and greater usage of social media that shows a world beyond the grasslands of Kanas.

The terms ‘renegade’ and ‘heretic’ are borrowed from Coser’s (1956) study to discuss the ‘dissenters’ who are moving away from their traditional values during the globalisation process of the area. In the Kanas Scenic Area, the characteristics of (1) the locals who hope to move away from their group to join urban based groups and (2) those locals who attain higher positions in the local governments as well as the reactions of their former associates towards them are not wholly as theorised by Coser (1956); therefore, they can hardly be named as ‘renegade’ and ‘heretic’. The ‘dissenters’, because of their access to modernisation and power, may become the new elites in the community. Therefore, they may not “bring about the mobilization of all group defenses” (Coser, 1956, p, 71). This may be one characteristic of modernising influences on indigenous communities. The group structure including the size and the involvement of group members, the intensity of the outside conflict along with the strength balance between the groups involved with conflict or hostility strongly influence the emergence of ‘dissenters’ as well as the reaction of the previous group to these members who once belonged to it.

“Frequent occasions for conflict do not necessarily eventuate in frequent conflicts” (Coser, 1956, p. 73). Proposition 6 “the closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict” is not necessarily the case. Yet Coser (1956, p. 73) further suggests “it is precisely the closeness of the relationship and the strong affective mutual attachment of the participants which may induce them to avoid the conflict”. In the Chinese context, power strongly influences the occurrence and frequency of

conflict, status and social and political power all influence the likelihood and solution of tensions that might arise.

The Tuva community is loosely structured. Influenced by the multi-ethnic cultures, Tuva culture has been subject to changes over centuries, and some compromises have been made to balance traditional values and modern society. However, the core value of the culture of the last two centuries has not been changed, being based on pastoral farming. Indeed the display of Tuva culture and obtaining consequent benefit can be regarded as a safeguard for continuing today's new form of the Aobao Festival, and a defense against tensions that might endanger basic consensus. Additionally patterns of interdependence between groups and individuals in modern society also prohibits tendencies towards what Coser (1956) terms basic cleavages.

According to Simmel (1955), if the participants feel secure and stable in a relationship, they may initiate conflict to gain an advantage; otherwise they will avoid expressing hostile feelings to avoid loss unless circumstances are such that they feel they have little to lose. Undoubtedly, the nature of the relationship is a critical factor in any discussion of social tensions and conflicts, including those due to the introduction of tourism. Within the Chinese context, such relationships require special attention, due to the significance of *guanxi* in society. However, in China, it may be argued that the continuance of relationships represents the continuance of resources and benefits. It may be concluded that both social tension and *guanxi* contribute to the operation of a balancing mechanism in contemporary Chinese society.

CHAPTER EIGHT INTER-GROUP CONFLICT AND GROUP STRUCTURE

In this chapter, the impact of conflict with another group upon the structure of the indigenous community is discussed. The purposes are: (1) to illustrate the tourism's impacts on the structure of the community and the group – Tuva people in the Kanas Scenic Area, and (2) to examine to what extent and how Coser's (1956) arguments regarding the impact of inter-group conflict on group structure can apply to the discussion of tourism's impacts with specific reference to the indigenous communities of China.

This chapter borrows its structure and analysis from Chapter V and Chapter VI of Coser's (1956) book *The Functions of Social Conflict*. The four propositions discussed in his chapter and accordingly explored here in the context of tourism in Kanas are:

- Proposition 9: Conflict with out-groups increases internal cohesion
- Proposition 10: Conflict with another group defines group structure and consequent reaction to internal conflict
- Proposition 11: The search for enemies
- Proposition 12: Ideology and conflict

Therefore, the first section discusses the impact of inter-group conflict on the cohesion and centralisation of the Kanas community. Secondly, the structure of the group – Tuva people is addressed. Influenced by the tensions with the ethnic groups in the higher social and political strata, the Tuva people, a 'few-population ethnic group', defines and formulates its own structure and consequent reaction to internal conflict, to adjust to the changing social environment. The third section discusses the function of stressing the external challenges on group cohesion by providing the evidence relating to the horsemen in Hemu Village. The fourth section distinguishes between (1) the conflict for impersonal and objective causes, and (2) the conflict for personal and subjective goals within the context of Xinjiang, China. A summary is provided at the end of this chapter.

8.1 Coser's (1956) Proposition 9: Conflict with out-groups increases internal cohesion

This section discusses the cohesive functions of conflict. Conflict and tensions with other groups may increase internal cohesion or cause the disintegration of group depending on the intervening variables and necessary preconditions. Internal cohesion does not necessarily lead to centralisation. Additional to the group's structure and common values prior to conflict (Coser, 1956), benefit plays an important role determining centralisation.

Coser (1956) develops Simmel's (1955) proposition thus:

Conflict with another group leads to the mobilization of the energies of group members and hence to increased cohesion of the group. Whether increase in centralization accompanies this increase in cohesion depends upon both the character of the conflict and the type of group. Centralization will be more likely to occur in the event of warlike conflict and in differentiate structures requiring marked division of labor.

Despotism seems to be related to lack of cohesion; it is required for carrying out hostilities where there is insufficient group solidarity to mobilize energies of group members.

In groups engaged in struggle with an external enemy, the occurrence of both centralization and of despotism depends upon the system of common values and upon the group structure prior to the outbreak of the conflict.

Social systems that lack solidarity are likely to disintegrate in the face of conflict with outside conflict, although some unity may be despotically enforced. (p. 95)

Coser (1956) tries to systematise and criticise Simmel's argument. He does not totally agree with Simmel's (1955) arguments about centralisation and cohesion. Coser (1956) sees conflict as leading to the mobilisation of the energies of the group members, which brings about increased cohesion and sometimes involves centralisation. Coser (1956) suggests that the cohesion resulting from inter-group conflict and tension does not necessarily involve centralised control. He agrees

that centralisation often attends warfare, but again criticises Simmel for moving indiscriminately from violent conflict to nonviolent conflict in his whole essay. Coser (1956) suggests that not all conflicts necessarily lead to centralisation as differences exist between violent conflict and nonviolent tension.

In addition, Coser (1956) recognises that conflict may also lead to anomie. Thus, external conflict does not necessarily in itself increase cohesion. Intervening variables or necessary preconditions are involved. If a group lacks solidarity to begin with, then it may disintegrate when faced with outside conflict. It has been called a “ubiquitous principle” and “Coser’s strongest theme” (LeVine & Campbell, 1972, p. 31). Dahrendorf (as cited in LeVine & Campbell, 1972, p. 31) argues that, “it appears to be a general law that human groups react to external pressure by increased internal coherence”. “None of Coser's qualifications and necessary conditions are mentioned, nor is the counter-hypothesis elucidated” (Stein, 1976).

The evidence from the Kanas Scenic Area relating to the relationship between external conflict and internal cohesion is provided. The reasons, along with the preconditions, are discussed below.

8.1.1 The impact of conflict with out-groups on internal cohesion

Conflict increases internal cohesions under some conditions. According to Coser (1956), whether the conflict with outside groups increases internal cohesion or not depends on the characters of the conflict and the type of group. Stein (1976) addresses the importance of a leadership that can authoritatively enforce cohesion (especially if all the members of the group do not feel the threat). The group must be able to deal with external conflict, and to provide emotional comfort and support to its members. These conditions act as intervening variables (Stein, 1976).

Coser (1956) delineates two intervening variables which were firstly discussed by Williams (1947, p. 58):

- (a) The group must be a “going concern”, i.e. there must be a minimal consensus among the constituent individuals that the aggregate is a group, and that its preservation as an entity is worthwhile.
- (b) There must be recognition of an outside threat which is thought to menace the group as a whole, not just some part of it.

The arguments above about the impact of conflict with out-groups on the internal cohesion are discussed by the following three types of cases:

- The conflict with out-groups increases internal cohesion
- The conflict with out-groups exerts little influence on internal cohesion
- The conflict with out-groups decreases internal cohesion

(1) The conflict with out-groups increases internal cohesion

“Internal cohesion is likely to be increased in the group which engages in outside conflict” (Coser, 1956, p. 92). Conflict has the potential to re-establish unity. According to Cooley (1918, p. 39), “You can resolve the social order into a great number of the co-operative wholes of various sorts, each of which includes conflicting elements within itself, upon which it is imposing some sort of harmony with a view to conflict with other wholes”. Freud (1949, p. 53) suggests that, “Hatred against a particular person or institution might operate in just the same unifying way, and might call up the same kind of emotional ties as positive attachment”. In the case below, all the locals, including both Tuvas and Kazakhs, become united together when faced with the ‘not satisfactory’ policy of the local government.

Case 8.1 Some respondents told me about the conflict between Hanas

villagers and the local government in 2011. On one day in summer 2011 when an official from the central government, accompanied by a number of local officials, officially visited Hanas Village, over 100 Tuva and Kazakh villagers blocked the officials' way. The locals' purpose was to ask the local government to distribute more economic benefits from tourism to them.

In terms of the reasons and preconditions for this case, Williams's (1947) two variables are firstly developed here. The benefit policies are different before and after 2010, as seen in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Hanas Village's old and new benefit policies

Villagers	Old policy (2006 - 2010)	New policy (2011 -)
The residents in Hanas Old Village and New Village who were forbidden from renting their houses as tourism lodges and restaurants.	2.2 million RMB compensation in total.	Each villager (excludes the ones in public sectors) will be equally distributed a floating amount of bonus from tourism
The other villagers (excludes the ones working in public sectors)	50 RMB per month allowance (increased to 60 RMB since 2009)	

From 2006 to 2010, Hanas villagers were divided into three sub-groups by the old policy: (1) the residents in Hanas Old Village and New Village who were forbidden from renting their houses as tourism accommodation and restaurants, (2) the villagers (excluding the ones working in public organisations) who do not own houses in Hanas Old Village and New Village, and (3) those working in public organisations. The differentiating policy splintered the local community. From one perspective it may be analysed as a policy that, by causing internal dissension within the village community, reinforced the role of the administrative class that is predominately Han. Some villagers were not satisfied about the policies and appealed to the higher government; however, not all villagers were involved. It should be noted here that the heads of the villagers' committee and/or the villager elites achieved compensations from 2006 to 2010 – again arguably a means of

creating dissension and creating a satellite group within the village community dependent upon external government. The potential outcome is that it means it became more difficult for each villager to see the threat of the policy as concerning 'us' since the income from tourism also varied family by family. In such cases, such externally imposed differentiation could have caused the disintegration of the group, rather than an increase in cohesion. The significance of the demonstration of summer 2011 indicates that internal village cohesion was such that the 'privileged' group sided with the other village members – indicating cohesive forces of proximity, the need to work well with each and live with them on a daily basis, ethnicity and culture was stronger than material benefits offered to a few by the government.

As shown, since 2011, the benefit policy has changed. *All* Hanas villagers (excludes those in public sectors) now receive an equal share of tourism income gathered by the Kanas administrative bodies and re-allocated to the village. This is a recognition of the unity of the village by the administration organs, and the sensitivity of the administration organs to possible dissension against its policies. Each villager perceives the new policy to concern 'us' rather than 'them', and its cohesion is reinforced.

Issues also arise as to the nature of the leadership of the village community. Given that now the heads and/or elites of the village are in the same category as other villagers under the new policy as recipients of money, what then of their power? The politics of the summer 2011 situation as far as I was able to discern is that the village elites choose to advance the calls of the village members for equality rather than resist them, and in doing so reinforced their own position within the village. At the same time, by quickly establishing a new *modus vivendi* with the regional government that averted more violent conflict, it can be said that they also reinforced their role as effective leaders in the eyes of the local governmental

bodies. The leadership has enforced internal cohesion, and arguably reinforced its own position, but tendencies to centralisation are constrained by a need to be responsive to village concerns. That the situation arose in the first place is simply because tourism was growing to the point where additional incomes were becoming important.

According to Coser (1956, p. 90), “outside conflict mobilizes the group’s defenses among which is the reaffirmation of their value system against the outside enemy.” However, in the case above, it was the *benefit* from tourism, rather than the *value system*, that directly unites the villagers together, although a strong value system in favour of equality of treatment might be said to exist. Through the system of private tourism initiatives, income inequalities based on tourism do exist. However as noted in the previous chapter, such inequalities in part persist due to adherence to traditional life styles, so it can be concluded that while shares of *benefits* was a catalyst for the action, *values* were also influential in shaping outcomes.

(2) The conflict with out-groups exerts little influence on internal cohesion

The conflict with out-group may exert little influence on internal cohesion. The ‘pretend Tuva’ and the misleading information about Tuva people provided by other groups (Table 8.2) have not strongly *promoted* the unity of Tuva people.

Table 8.2. The ‘pretend Tuva’ and the misleading information about Tuva people

Those involved	Practices
<i>The pretend Tuva</i>	
Kazakh performers in the Home Visit	The outsider Kazakhs dress up as Tuvas and perform in the name of Tuvas.
Hemu and Hanas Township government	It provides Aobao welcoming ceremony for honoured guests at the entrance of Hemu Village. The supposedly Tuva girls actually are Kazakh, Mongolian, and even Han.
Outsider entrepreneurs involved in accommodation operation	They sometimes pass themselves off as Tuvas, to satisfy the curiosity demands of tourists.
Kazakhs and Hui horsemen	They sometimes purport to be Tuva to encourage tourists to rent their horses.
<i>The misleading information about Tuvas provided by other parties</i>	
The Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee	The Administrative Committee has produced a series of advertising materials around the theme of ‘beautiful scenery, mysterious Tuva people’. In the promotional materials about Tuvas, some of the ‘Tuvas’ are not Tuva, but Kazakh, Uygur, or Hui people. One example is the promotional video <i>Snow Township</i> which has been broadcast on Xinjiang TV and CCTV. The ‘Tuva man’ is acted by a Kazakh man while the ‘Tuva girl’ is acted by a Uygur lady.
The tour guides	Their introduction about Tuva people and Tuva culture to tourists is not totally correct.
The shuttle bus guides	Their introduction about Tuva people and Tuva culture to tourists is not totally correct.

Observation indicates that some Tuvas display apprehension about such issues and sometimes anger arises between the Tuvas and the ‘frustration source groups’. When I talked about the shuttle bus guides with a Tuva lady, she forcefully made the following comments with some anger in her voice:

The shuttle bus guides know little about Tuvas. They talk nonsense! One day, a Tuva who took the bus heard the guide’s misleading introduction about Tuva and argued with the guide. He (the Tuva) told the guide that he was Tuva and Tuvas were not as the guide introduced. That Tuva is educated and is good at Mandarin. However, many Tuvas’ Mandarin was poor and we

cannot argue with these guides.

Another Tuva lady who sold souvenirs besides Kanas Lake commented:

Last summer, an outsider Hui lady selling souvenirs purported to be Tuva to tourists. I was very angry when I heard that. I questioned her, ‘Why did you lie that you were a Tuva? You are not Tuva!’ The Hui lady kept silent.

The imitation of Tuva and misleading introduction is thought by many Tuvas to negatively affect the image of the Tuva people presented to tourists and thereby arises some anger on the part of Tuvas. However, I found little evidence that these circumstances lead to dissension on the part of the community as a whole, but it remains as a latent factor with a potential to become overt.

In this case, the group (Tuva people) has existed before the occurrence of the external threat (‘pretend Tuva’ and the misleading introduction about Tuva people) and see itself as one group – Tuva people. However, this group is loosely structured, as discussed in the previous chapter. The preservation of ethnic identity often gives way as a principle to the receipt of *guanxi* and benefits (for example they rent their houses to the operators operating counterfeit Tuva performance).

The threat of the counterfeit Tuva performance and the misleading promotion about Tuva people is recognised and seen as a menace to the whole group. When discussing this issue with Tuvas, all respondents expressed their annoyance. However, the extents of the threat perceived by different Tuvas vary. Not all Tuvas regard this threat as very serious, and some certainly regard it less serious than poverty. For example, although the Tuva house owners do not like the counterfeit Tuva performance business, they rent their houses to the non-Tuvas operating Home Visit business. Some Tuvas, especially those living at the pasturelands far away from the village centre, have little opportunity to interact with the tour

guides and the 'pretended Tuvas'. They get the information about such phenomenon from other Tuvas. Thus circumstances that limit overt complaints include: (1) the division of the tourism areas and the residence areas; (2) the language barriers between the Tuvas and outsiders; (3) Tuvas' little access to the promotion materials; (4) the marked seasonality permits group reinforcement during the winter months when the village is free from tourists; (5) it is a situation that currently benefits a number of Tuva.

To summarise, the threat posed by cultural imitation has little influence on the internal cohesion of Tuva people. Although this external threat equally and indiscriminately affects all members of the Tuva group, and the levels of the threat perceived by different Tuva members vary, in practice it exerts little influence on the personal benefit and daily life.

(3) Conflict with out-groups decreases internal cohesion

Conflict with out-groups may even decrease internal cohesion, as evidenced by the following case: Case 8.2.

Case 8.2: In 2009, Hemu villagers appealed to the local administration for (1) compensation for pastureland occupied for tourism building construction, and (2) for more economic profits from tourism (more details in Case 6.1 in Chapter six). Finally, the government compensated the villagers who had a share of that pasture land, but provided nothing to the other petitioners who had no place at the pastureland. The organisers of the appeal advised the locals who had shares at the pastureland not to accept the compensation offer. It emerged that obtaining compensation was only one of the purposes of the appeal and if the locals accepted the money, other aims could not be achieved.

However, those who had shares at the pastureland did accept the compensation on offer. As predicted, the local government subsequently did not resolve the other issues that the petitioners proposed including the larger distribution of monies derived from tourism. The compromise between the locals who had shares at the pastureland and governments led to the end of the appeal and also reduced the sense of local internal cohesion.

In fact, although by definition all permanent villagers are locals and can be regarded as one group, in this circumstance, two sub-groups can be identified: those who have pasture rights on the pastureland and those who do not. The unity created for the appeal was based on obtaining benefits from the local government. The preservation as a village entity is worthwhile since the aggregation into a group greatly increases the strength of individuals and promotes the equal conversations with another group - the local government. It can be argued that the dependable variable for the unity is benefit, which indicates that the group may disintegrate when the conditions relating to benefit change.

The external threat to village unity in this example may have been regarded to disadvantage just some part of it, not the group as a whole. The appeal contained two purposes: (a) obtain compensation for the pastureland which was being occupied to establish tourism buildings, and (b) to obtain more economic benefits from tourism. The compensation for the pastureland loss was related to those who have shares at the pastureland, rather than all the villagers. The threat of no compensation before the appeal just menaced a section of the locals. The second purpose about obtaining more economic benefit from tourism involved every member of the village. In 2009, each villager in Hemu (except those occupied in the public sectors) could only receive 60 RMB allowance. The villagers complained about the low amount of money and hoped to achieve more. In terms

of the second purpose, each member (other than those working in public sectors) was equally and indiscriminately involved. However, the lodging of the appeal became dominated by issues of the loss of pastureland and hence a solution to that issue came to possess primary importance. In itself this is of interest, and it is suggested that pasture rights were more fundamental to the traditions of Tuva people than income from tourism, and in the tensions between a need for compensation for loss of traditional rights and a need to enhance a benefit from a new economic activity, the former came to be more important than the latter. Yet there is however a secondary factor – a need for compensation which arose from a specific catalyst (the building of tourism infrastructure) whereas a potential remained for future claims against tourism generated revenue. In this case therefore there was also a temporal issue.

In the immediate aftermath of the settlement of the appeal, past unity was followed by disintegration. “If the group reacts to outside threat by inner divergences over the conduct of the conflict, it indicates that the issue at stake is important enough for the group members to fight about among themselves” (Coser, 1956, p. 93). In such communities with low level economic development, potential economic benefit is an important factor influencing the locals’ behaviours, and the ability to provide such benefit naturally reinforces the power of the government’s role as patron.

(4) Benefit—a fundamental variable

Coser (1956) argues that the degree of group consensus prior to the outbreak of the conflict is the most important factor affecting cohesion. Inter-group conflict may not increase inner cohesion where internal cohesion prior to conflict is so low that the group members have ceased to regard preservation of the group as worthwhile, or actually see the outside threat to concern ‘them’ rather than ‘us’ (Coser, 1956, p. 93).

However, in the examples discussed above, it appears that the opportunity for economic gain, rather than the degree of group consensus or other factors, serves as the most important factor affecting cohesion in the community. In the first case, the locals united together to appeal for more benefits. In the second case, the conflict over culture with outer-groups did not strongly affect personal benefit and thereby the conflict exerted little impact on internal cohesion. In the third case, the local members unified at the beginning of the conflict but disintegrate afterwards, for the same reason – benefit.

In under-developed and/or developing countries and regions, especially in the indigenous communities with a very low level economic development, poverty is still the major concern of the people. The gain or loss of income largely determines the reactions of locals towards the conflict with outer-groups. Hence an issue exists with reference to relative political and economic power centres in the wider nexus of groups – and while the above examples indicate situations where the government has made concessions, the very concession paradoxically reinforces the role of government as the source of economic benefaction.

8.1.2 Centralisation and internal cohesion

“Centralization and internal cohesion vary independently of each other” (Coser, 1956, p. 92). While intergroup conflict unites the group and heightens morale, whether it will also result in centralisation depends on the structure of the group itself as well as on the nature of the conflict (Coser, 1956, p. 92). A group may represent all villagers (e.g. in the conflict between villagers and the government in Cases 8.1 and 8.2) or an ethnic group (e.g. Tuva faced with the ‘counterfeit Tuva’), depending on the different circumstances. The loose structure of the group (the whole village community or Tuva people) and the nature of the conflict (benefit oriented) indicate that centralisation is unlikely to occur in the community, though

some unity may be enforced.

In the Hemu village appeal (Case 8.2), all the villagers united into one group. However, the community is comprised of both Tuvas and Kazakhs who have different religious beliefs and other differences. Yet the two groups under community leaders of both ethnicities were able to develop popular support in this case seeking to obtain economic benefits. However, when the appeals achieved only a partial success by obtaining the secondary but not the primary benefit sought, there was evidence of an undermining of the solidarity previously achieved though by just a part of the group, the group disintegrated (see Case 8.2). Centralisation is unlikely to occur in the community which can be seen from the words of one of the organisers of the appeal:

- I: Why did the locals follow your instruction at the beginning of the event?
The respondent: I did good deeds for them; however, they did not listen to me afterwards (in the latter stage of the event).
I: Why did they not listen to you then?
The respondent: Because they had already obtained money.

Equally it can be claimed that the traditional patterns of life and the family centred lifestyle of winter living reduce a sense of communal cohesion other than perhaps the adoption of a community acceptance of *guanxi* to maintain the good relationships of a collective neighbourhood rather than a unity of purpose. This is in part illustrated by the issue already noted of attitude toward the ‘pretended Tuva’.

As noted, it appears that some Tuvas made a compromise between the preservation of ethnic identity and economic profits by renting their houses to the operators operating counterfeit Tuva performance. I have discussed this issue with a Tuva female who had rented her house for four years to an outsider Kazakh operator of Home Visit, as seen in the following conversation:

I: The operator is Kazakh, but he operates Tuva Home Visit.
The respondent: The performers do not say it is Tuva Home Visit. It is just Home Visit.
I: But the performers tell tourists they are Tuvas.
The respondent: No. They do not say this.
I: Have you seen the performance they provided for tourists?
The respondent: Never.

Given the knowledge networks of the village it seems almost inconceivable that the informant does not know what is happening. So what might cause this response? The Tuva host is choosing to refuse to admit to me that the tenant (Kazakh operator) operated a counterfeit Tuva performance. I had witnessed the performance provided in this Home Visit when tourists visited. The operator knew my identity and probably because of my being there on this occasion he just told tourists he was a native in the village, implying but not explicitly saying he was Tuva. In fact, he was from a nearby township. According to some local Tuvas, this Kazakh operator often lied that he was the son of a famous Tuva elder. It was once suggested to me by a tourist that I should visit this Home Visit giving the reason that “the Tuva guy told me that he studied in a university and came back to operate the business”, the tourist said. The evidence shows the operator told lies, and on the other hand, the house owners tacitly accepted the counterfeit Tuva performance provided by the non-Tuvas tenant. Hence my informant was either engaged in self-denial to preserve a ‘front’, or alternatively may have been protecting the arrangement from myself as some-one she may have thought was in a quasi-official position.

Due to frequent interaction between the Home Visit operators and the local Tuvas, acquaintanceships and good relationships became established. For example, it was a Tuva official who had a ‘not bad’ *guanxi* with the Kazakh operator above introduced me to the operator and his Home Visit property. The following

conversation was recorded between me and the Tuva official:

- I: Have you been to the Home Visit (the one above which is operated by the Kazakh)?
The respondent: Yes.
I: Is it good?
The respondent: Yes. It is good.
I: Is it good that Kazakh operates Tuva Home Visit?
The respondent: No. not good.

The inconsistency of his answer reveals the paradox he met. As a Tuva, he believes the threat of counterfeit Tuva performance is a menace to the whole group of Tuva people. On the other hand, his personal relationships with the Kazakh operator (which is largely based on their social positions) are ‘not bad’, which makes him reluctant to say ‘bad words’ about the operation. Alternatively he was referring to the technicalities of the production which the local Tuvas could hardly achieve such standard.

From the analysis above, it can be found that the conflict with out-groups may increase internal cohesion, may exert little influence on internal cohesion, or may decrease internal cohesion. The results depend on the issues that are at stake in any given situation and the type of people involved. In under-developed and/or developing countries and regions, especially amongst the indigenous communities with a very low level economic development, poverty is still the major concern for the people. The need for benefit may therefore be the fundamental factor determining the reactions of locals towards the conflict with out-groups.

Thus it appears temporary strong group cohesions occurred when a need exists to obtain higher incomes from tourism revenues gathered by the government. In the communities of the Kanas Scenic Area where the division of labour remains at a rudimentary level, internal solidarity to a large extent fulfills the group-integrating functions that might otherwise occur through inter-dependency based on

occupational differentiation. However, that cohesion does not necessarily carry with it the need for centralised control. Yet solidarity is constrained by traditional lifestyles, seasons and economic patterns within the multi-ethnic social system that fails to achieve solidarity under other circumstances when sub-group interest may arise. The outcome is one of shifting degrees of consensus wherein group differences may be either dominant or sub-ordinate dependent upon issue and inclination.

8.2 Coser's (1956) Proposition 10: Conflict with another group defines group structure and consequent reaction to internal conflict

In this section, the group structure of Tuva people is addressed. Being faced by the presence of stronger groups requires Tuva to (re)define and (re)form to adjust to and survive in the changing social environment. It has been proved that tourism promotes the of ethnicity sense of Tuva people. Coser's (1956) arguments about the relationships between the size of the group, the involvement of the members, and intensity of the conflict are now further developed based on the discussion of this indigenous group.

According to Simmel (1955), the violence of a group's reaction towards inner dissensions depends upon certain aspects of group structure as well as the intensity of the conflict situation. Simmel (1955) suggests that large organisations, such as the Catholic Church or major political parties, may adopt flexible structures so that they can give way to some pressure without breaking under it; while small religious bodies, such as sects and minority political parties, may be made rigid and inelastic so that they resist great pressure.

Coser (1956) criticises Simmel (1955) for equating size of group with degree of involvement of its members. According to Coser (1956, p. 97) two aspects of

structure must be distinguished: (1) the numerical size of the group, and (2) the degree of involvement of group members. Additionally he identifies a situational factor: continuously struggling or occasionally struggling that should also be considered as the third aspect of cohesive structures.

Coser (1956) reformulates the work of Simmel (1955). According to Coser,

Groups engaged in continual struggle with the outside groups tend to be intolerant within. They are unlikely to tolerate more than limited departures from the group unity. Such groups tend to assume a sect-like character: they select membership in terms of special characteristics and so tend to be limited in size, and they lay claim to the total personality involvement of their members. Their social cohesion depends upon total sharing of all aspects of group life and is reinforced by the assertion of group unity against the dissenter. The only way they can solve the problem of dissent is through the dissenter's voluntary or forced withdrawal.

Groups of the church type, not involved in continuous struggle with the outside, tend to make no special claims on the total involvement of the personality of the membership and, because they set up no rigid criteria for membership, are more likely to be large. Such groups are able to resist outside pressures successfully by exhibiting elasticity of structure and allowing an area of "tolerated conflict" within. (pp. 103-104)

If we use the ascribed and achieved status derived from sociology to analyse the arguments above, it can be argued that the groups discussed in Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) studies are 'achieved' groups that are established through conflict with out-groups. The groups can select rigid or non-rigid criteria for membership, and thereby the size of the group may be flexible from 'limited in size' to 'large' depending on the group structure and its reaction to internal conflict. There are reciprocal relationships between the size of the group and the reaction towards out-group conflict (Coser, 1956).

It is assumed that there are eight possible combinations of size, degree of involvement, and intensity of outside conflict (Coser, 1956). In Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) studies, only two opposed types of combinations are discussed.

One combination is the small and closely involved group engaged in continuous struggle; while the other type is the large and loosely involved group engaged in occasional struggle. Tuva people in the Kanas Scenic Area may represent a third type: the small but not closely involved group engaged in continuous struggle. Admittedly, in the promotional materials, Tuva people are often described as ‘people who live a peaceful life’; the description exactly refers to Tuvas’ nomadic life and Kanas’s isolated location far from the modern world. In terms of the social interaction of Tuvas with other ethnic groups, Tuvas has been faced with continuous struggle, especially from a longitudinal perspective. A model of combinations of group structure and outside conflict, which indicates the two types discussed by Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) along with the third combination discussed in this study, is provided in Figure 8.1.

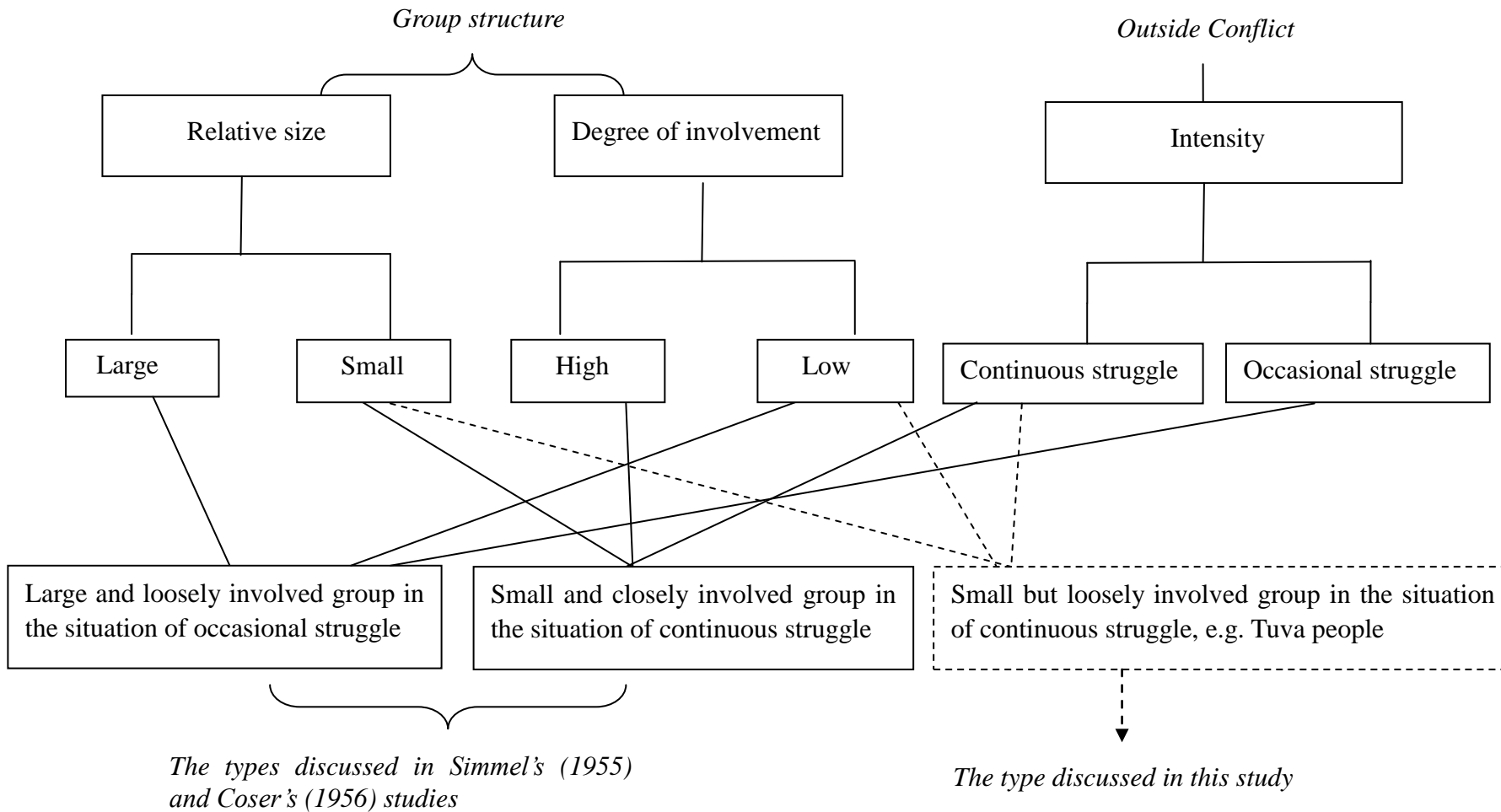


Figure 8.1. Model of combinations of group structure and outside conflict

8.2.1 The impact of out-group conflict on group structure of Tuva people

It is thus here contended that the group of Tuva people in the Kanas Scenic Area represents a small sized but loosely structured group in the situation of continuous outside struggle. Influenced by the interaction with Mongolian, Kazakh and Han people over hundreds of years, Tuva have formed their own characteristics. Generally, Tuvas have some common characteristics with the large and loosely involved group in the situation of occasional struggle as formulated by Coser (1956):

Groups of the church type, not involved in continuous struggle with the outside, tend to make no special claims on the total involvement of the personality of the membership and, because they set up no rigid criteria for membership, are more likely to be large. Such groups are able to resist outside pressures successfully by exhibiting elasticity of structure and allowing an area of “tolerated conflict” within. (pp.103-104)

On the other hand, Tuva own some similarities with the small and closely involved group discussed by Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956). The detailed discussion is provided below.

The ‘Tuva group’ is limited in size due to the ‘rigid’ criteria for membership: ethnicity. However, this criterion is ascribed rather than ‘selected’, unlike (in the main part) the groups in Simmel’s (1955) and Coser’s (1956) studies. The ‘Tuva group’ is loosely structured, as detailed in the previous chapters. The group makes no special claims on the total involvement of the personality of the membership. Members are not deeply involved. Yet this does not lead to the group becoming larger as in the discussion of Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956), due to the ascribed membership.

(1) The impact of out-group conflict on the group structure of Tuva people

The Tuva group has also been flexible and elastic in dealing with ‘struggle’ with other stronger ethnic groups including Mongolian, Kazakh and Han over hundreds of years. This is evidenced by the changes of Tuva’s main festivals that have been highly influenced by other ethnic groups (Table 8.3). Tuva culture has been infiltrated and become combined with other ethnic cultures and thus formulated its festivals with their own characteristics that are now a fusion of the original with these new influences (Guan, 2009).

Table 8.3. The main festivals of the Tuva people

	Time	Type	Influenced by
Spring Festival	1 st – 15 th January of lunar calendar	New Year celebration	Mongolian and Han
Maide’er Festival	15 th January of lunar calendar	Religious and social gathering	Mongolian and Han
Aobao Festival	Mid June	Religious and social gathering	Mongolian and Zang
Zula Festival	25 th October of lunar calendar	Religious and social gathering	Zang

Consequently these festivals have kept changing in terms of dates, styles, content, etc. Guan (2009) has traced the changes of the New Year celebration date. In ancient times, the Nowruz Festival was regarded by the Tuvas as the first day of spring and the beginning of the year (Guan, 2009). Ethnic groups speaking Turkish including Kazakh and Kirgiz ethnic nationalities also celebrated the festival at that time. It was celebrated on the day of the astronomical vernal equinox, which usually occurs on March 21 or the previous/following day depending on where it is observed. When Tuvas came under the administration of Mongolian overlords, the New Year celebration date changed according to the Mongolian calendar, while the Mongolian calendar itself became largely influenced by the Chinese calendar (Huang & Shen, 2005). Therefore, today, Tuvas celebrate the New Year on 1st January of the lunar calendar.

The Zula Festival celebrated in the nearby Buerjin County has become a carnival for young people with the purpose of gathering and making new friends. It was highly influenced by the modern culture of the county. On the other hand, the Spring Festival, Maide'er Festival and Aobao Festival have all been influenced by tourism. The Aobao Festival has changed in terms of styles and contents as discussed in the previous chapters. In this section, the changes of the Spring Festival and Maide'er Festival are briefly discussed to illustrate the Tuva group's inclusive features and their reaction towards the intrusion of other groups and cultures.

Spring Festival

Giving the development of winter tourism in the Kanas Scenic Area in recent years, Tuva's unique way of celebrating Spring Festival in winter has become a new promotional item for the area. The time and content of some activities have been adjusted and changed to meet the demands of journalists and governmental officials for promotional purposes. The horse-racing on Kanas Lake (Figure 8.2), as an attractive activity during the Spring Festival, was traditionally arranged on the 1st January of the lunar calendar. However, during the 2010 Spring Festival, this activity was arranged on the 2nd January of the lunar calendar in Hanas Village. It is because the 3rd Tuva Culture Spring Festival, organised by the local government, was held on that day at Hanas Village. Journalists were invited for publishing the news on national and regional media. Horse-racing was suggested for inclusion into the cultural festival. In addition, some new sports, such as tug of war (Figure 8.3), wood sawing and sledging, were introduced to the Tuva Culture Festival, and therein entered into the celebration of the Spring Festival. These sports and even the Tuva Culture Festival were launched by non-Tuva administrative entities and now have become part of the celebrations of the Tuvas' Spring Festival of the village where the Festival is held at.



Figure 8.2. Horse-racing on Kanas Lake at the 3rd Tuva Culture Festival



Figure 8.3. Preparation for the tug of war at the 3rd Tuva Culture Festival

Maide'er Festival

Maide'er Festival was traditionally a religious festival of Tuva people. Today, it is still celebrated in a traditional way in the three villages. On the other hand, the festival celebration in the nearby counties – Buerjin County and Habahe County has displayed new looks, influenced by modern culture and governmental forces. In addition to the Tuva residents in the two counties, some young Tuvas in the villages specifically visit the counties for the events. A comparison of the celebration of the Maide'er Festival in the villages and in the two nearby counties is provided in Table 8.4.

For the purposes of comparison and contrast, I originally planned to attend the three Maide'er Festival celebration events in Hanas village (on 15th January of

2010 lunar calendar) and in the two nearby counties (on 12th and 13th January of 2010 lunar calendar) separately. However, after I attended the two events in the two counties, the road between Buerjin County and Hanas Village was blocked by heavy snow preventing my return. The information gained about the celebration in the village was obtained from some Tuva respondents. The details of the celebrations in the two counties were derived from participation observation and conversations with attendees.

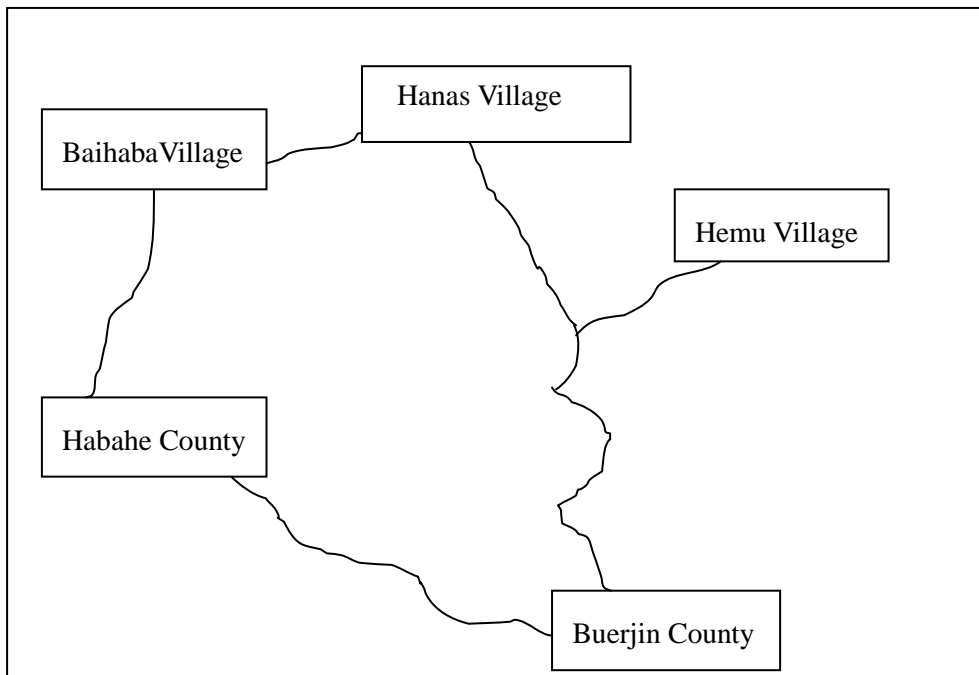


Figure 8.4. Sketch map of the villages' and nearby counties' locations

**Table 8.4. Differences in the styles of celebration
for the 2010 Maide'er Festival, by location**

Items	Villages	Buerjin County	Habahe County
Time	15 th January of lunar calendar	12 th January of lunar calendar	13 th January of lunar calendar
Location	Lama temple and locals' houses	A restaurant	A restaurant
Participants	Tuva villagers and some close friends of other ethnicities	Tuvas, Mongolian, Han, and Kazakhs (The attendance of the Islamic group-Kazakhs arose the hostility from some Tuvas.)	Tuvas, Mongolian and Han
Outsiders	Not involved	Officials, journalists, and researchers	Governmental officials and one researcher (myself)
Organisers	Not involved	A Tuva official with the support of the local government	Some Tuvas living in Habahe County
Actors	Not involved	Mongolian models from other places	The Tuvas performed on the stage.
Food	Milk-derived food, meat, snacks, dumplings, etc	10 to 12 dishes a table	10 to 12 dishes a table
Environment	The host welcomed and served the guests.	The waiters of the restaurant served for each attendee.	The waiters of the restaurants served for each attendee.
Activities	Religious activities, wrestling, visiting others' houses, gathering	T-show performance provided by Mongolian models from other places, eating, drinking, singing, dancing	Staged performance provided by Tuva themselves, eating, drinking, singing and dancing
Money	Not necessary when visiting others' houses	Hand over some money, the amount determined by the giver	Hand over some money, the amount determined by the giver

Tuvas in the villages celebrated the festival in a relatively traditionally way. After the religious ceremony, they gathered together at the house of each Tuva family; each Tuva was the participant and ‘the actor’. The Tuva respondents told me that they visited others’ houses as in the Spring Festival (Figure 8.5). They eat, drink, chat and may sing and dance to celebrate the festival.



Figure 8.5. Tuvas visiting others’ house during 2010 Spring Festival

On the other hand, it can be seen from Table 8.4 that the events of Maide’er Festival held in the nearby counties have changed in terms of time, location, attendees, food, and activities, among other aspects. Many Tuvas participated in the event at Habahe County but only those who sang and danced on the stage became active participants in a staged way (Figure 8.6).



Figure 8.6. Tuvas singing at the 2010 Maide’er Festival in Habahe County

The ceremony held at Buerjin County (Figure 8.7) was largely for the purpose of tourism promotion, and more strongly influenced by modern culture and governmental forces than the others. Journalists were invited to attend the event

for publishing the news. Some journalists even stepped on the stage for taking ‘good photos’ (Figure 8.7) which often blocked the view of the participant villagers sitting at tables. Outsider performers became the actors (Figure 8.7) and governmental officials often occupied the stage. On the other hand, the Tuvas became the attendees at the performance, though it may be another way of passive leisure involvement for some Tuvas.



Figure 8.7. T-show performance during the 2010 Maide'er Festival in Buerjin County

It appears that over time festival celebrations at the nearby counties have embodied both Tuva culture and Han customs. Although some Tuva elders criticised the celebration event at Buerjin County, many young Tuvas liked the manner of celebration, especially the disco programme at the end of the event. The elites, including the Tuva officials and those Tuvas in other public organisations, dominate the celebration of the festival; that is, public recognition is based upon governmental and largely non-Tuva sponsored organisations that are not the traditional patterns of village elders and religious posts. In this new inclusive group where members are not as deeply involved in past cultural patterns, new ideological contents emerge change in response to diverging and conflicting internal tendencies. The Tuva culture thus evolves as it flexibly responds to other cultures.

(2) The consequent reaction to its internal conflicts

“Once the group defines its structure according to its expectation of outside conflict, its response to inner dissent is no longer a matter of choice, but is determined by this very definition” (Coser, 1956, p. 100). Tuva people, expecting a reduction in outside induced tensions and conflicts thus developing an ‘elasticity’ tolerant of divergent tendencies. Those who dissent from traditional pathways are no longer included into the ranks of ‘heretics’ or ‘renegades’, except when they endanger the core interest of the group.

Another social process is Tuva people admit men who, should they remain outside of the group, might turn into rivals and competitors. Although some Tuva dissenters have been immersed into modern life or another group, they still identify themselves as Tuva people. The strength of the group lies in the co-option of dissenting elements, not in their exclusion. It strengthens its inner cohesion by flexibility, allowing various conflicting tendencies to exist within its ranks (Coser, 1956), while in a reverse process these ‘new’ Tuva come to represent the Tuva in the new political and social circles within which they now move and operate. Social tolerance both reduces potential tensions and creates future opportunities through new social, economic and political networks.

Vacillating and conditional members are less dangerous to it because... it is large volume can afford such peripheral phenomena without being affected in its center. But where as in the small group, the periphery is closer to the center, every uncertainty of a member at once threatens the core and hence the cohesion of the whole. (Simmel, 1955, p. 97)

In other words, in either large or small groups, if the dissenters endanger the core of the group benefit, they may be removed in order to reinforce the certainty of the core. In the current stage of the Kanas community, the core of the group benefit is closely related to the economic gains. For example, although the regular villagers maintain a tolerant and even good relationship with the locals in

governments, none of the regular Hemu villagers leaked the information about 2009 Hemu appeal to the villager officials before it occurred, as a Tuvas official confirmed to me. The regular villagers clearly knew that the locals in governments might prohibit the appeal and thereby threatened their vital interest.

(3) The boundary with other groups

According to Coser (1956, p. 97), “Too much flexibility may lead to blur the boundaries and dissolve in the surrounding environment”. Tuva people provide a unique case regarding this argument. Tuvas have been flexible in dealing with stronger groups, and thereby leads to the boundaries with other groups becoming blurred. Adaption and flexibility can be greatly attributed to its small size, the marginality of its nature, the weaker position in society, and the demands for development. Tuva yet again reinforce the arguments that relate to the power of the powerless in other literatures (Havel & Keane, 1990).

The boundary of the Tuva group has been blurred and reformed interchangeably over years (Guan, 2009). There have been different suppositions as to their ethnicity and origin among academics and the Tuva themselves. As remarked in the opening chapters of this thesis, some Tuva elders state their ancestors migrated from Siberia 500 years ago, and that they are the same ethnic group as the Tuva people of the Tuva Republic of Russia, while others believe that they are one tribe of a wider Mongolian nation. These disagreements indicate the Tuva people’s blurring boundary.

Guan (2009) contends that the boundary was largely blurred with Mongolians when Tuvas were under the administration of Mongolian overlords. Tuvas was strongly Mongolianised by absorbing Mongolian language, religion, dressing and some customs (Guan, 2009), and thus today the Chinese State officially

categorises Tuvas as a Mongolian tribe. The portrait of Genghis Khan can be seen in almost every Tuva house (Figure 8.8). According to a Tuva elite informant in Baihaba Village, many years ago, the Tuvas in Hanas and Hemu villages were reluctant to say they were Tuva but emphasised that they were Mongolian.



Figure 8.8. A carpet woven portrait of Genghis Khan on the wall of a Tuva house

Today, increasingly Tuvas emphasise their ethnicity as Tuvas, rather than Mongolian. In terms of the relationship between Tuvas and Genghis Khan, a Tuva elite commented that:

Genghis Khan is the enemy of Tuvas. The troop he led conquered Tuvas and he recruited Tuvas into his troop to fight for them. We hung the portrait of Genghis Khan in our houses in recent years for the purpose of tourism promotion. Another reason is that we are officially recognised as Mongolian.

This informant has submitted a project to the local government regarding the preservation and development of Tuva culture. In the report, he identifies the differences between Tuvas and Mongolian in terms of language, traditional culture, production means, lifestyle, inhabitant environment and the house construction styles.

Although many Tuvas may not clearly distinguish the differences between themselves and Mongolians, they tend to identify themselves as Tuvas, or

Mongolian Tuvas, rather than simply Mongolians. Tourism greatly promotes this sense of ethnic identity of being Tuva and being different from Mongolians. In the tourism development of the area, the small population numbers, the traditional means of production and lifestyle of the indigenous Tuva people have become points for promotion. The local government has produced numerous advertising materials around the theme of 'beautiful scenery, mysterious Tuva people' (though some Tuvas in the materials are not authentic Tuvas). Tour guides introduce Tuva people and Tuva culture to tourists. An increasing number of journalists, photographers, researchers and tourists visit Kanas hoping to see, understand, interview and research Tuva people. All these issues make Tuva feel important and therein promote their ethnic identity. The boundary with Mongolian people has been less blurred as the self-identity of Tuva people becomes of cultural and economic value.

The enhancement of ethnic identity through tourism has been found in Bermuda (Manning, 1979), Cajuns (Esman, 1984), Bali (McKean, 1989) and Yunnan, China (Swain, 1989), among other areas. Such enhancement may derive from outsiders' appreciation of their local culture (Crystal, 1979; 1989). Tourism makes Tuvas proud of being Tuvas. A Tuva elder named Yeerdexi is an example. He became famous for playing the *Suer*, a traditional Tuva music instrument heavily promoted as 'the live fossil of Tuva music'. He had been invited to Beijing and Urumqi to give performances, which had greatly changed his life. He also played the *Suer* for tourists at home where he helped run a Tuva Home Visit with a Han outsider. CCTV-4 series *Around China* (走遍中国 pinyin: zoubianzhonguo) also has two programmes, *Sound of nature*, featuring this elderly Tuva musician. (<http://jishi.cntv.cn/tianlaizhisheng/videopage/index.shtml>). Many high ranking officials and famous scholars have visited his house. The photos taken with these people were hung on the wall of his house (Figure 8.9) as an honour to the whole family. After he died, his youngest son continues to provide the *Suer* performance

for tourists, which has been recorded by local media, as seen in the newspaper on the wall of the house (Figure 8.10). The photos, news and the visitor evaluations make the family proud of being Tuvas.



Figure 8.9. Photos of the elder, Yeerdexi, with visitors and those taken during his visit in Beijing, on the wall of his house



Figure 8.10. A local newspaper article about Yeerdexi's son, on the wall of the visitor reception room of their house

As a small group, Tuva people possess rigid criteria for membership. Similarly, they are engaged in a continued struggle with the outside world. However, the membership criterion of Tuva people is ascribed, rather than achieved. The group does not lay claim to the total personality involvement of the members. As with the large group in Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) studies, Tuva people are flexible when dealing with the outside world; they are both inclusive and exhibit elasticity of structure, allowing an area of 'tolerated conflict' within. Generally, Tuva possess overlaps with the two social groups discussed in Simmel's (1955) and Coer's (1956) studies as shown in Figure 8.11.

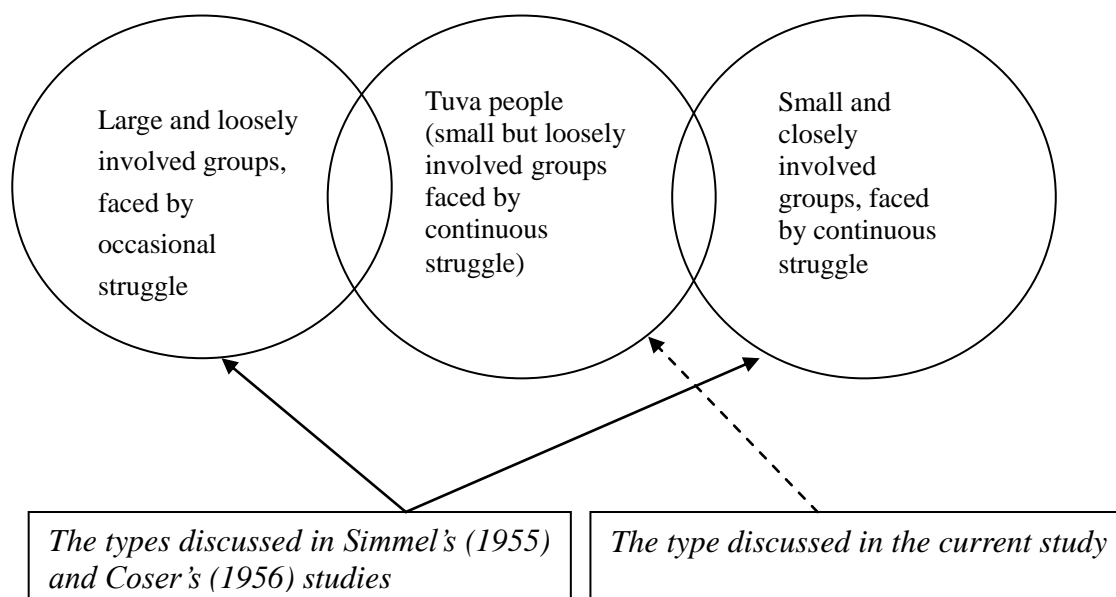


Figure 8.11. The relationships between three types of groups as discussed in Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) and in the current study

(4) Factors determining Tuvas’ reaction towards out-group and internal conflict

Besides their small numbers, low involvement, and continuous intergroup tensions, another three factors largely determine Tuva’s reactions towards the out-group and its own internal tensions. The factors are (1) Tuva people’s marginalised position in society, (2) the ascribed criterion for its membership, and (3) the external intrusibe groups are much stronger than Tuvas. It may be argued that these factors are especially important when discussing conflict regarding indigenous peoples.

Its marginalised position in society

Ethnic peoples are generally placed in the political and economic margins of tourism development. According to Swain (1993), minorities are often perceived as being ‘lower than the low’, with people assigned to the bottom rung of the hierarchy in a stratified society. Harrell (1995) labels ethnic minorities in China as ‘peripheral people’. Ethnic minorities in China “are expected to ultimately evolve into assimilated members of the majority patriarchal socialist society” (Swain, 1993, p. 37). Sofield and Li (2007) describe ethnic tourism of China as ‘internal

colonialism'. Tuva people have been marginalised in the society due to their small size and the weakness in strength, a marginalisation that imposes on them the survival strategy of 'elasticity' in their dealings with outside world.

Ascribed membership

It has been noted that membership criterion of Tuva people is ascribed. The relationship between a minority and majority ethnic grouping can hardly be reciprocal as in Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) studies; it is one-way causation relationship. The relative size strongly influences the group's reaction to any challenge.

The relative strength of the two groups involved in conflict

Consequently, the relative strength between the two groups involved with conflict is highly unequal. As a 'few-population ethnic group' of low social status, it has to adjust to the game rules of the stronger outside groups. This point is helpful when considering Coser's (1956) discussion about group boundaries.

Therefore, three factors: (1) the marginalised position in society of ethnic people, (2) the membership criteria (ascribed or achieved), and (3) the relative strength of the groups involved in conflict (highly unequal or varied) are suggested as additional variables to Coser's (1956) concepts about conflict, group structure and consequent reaction to internal conflict, as seen in Figure 8.12. It is argued that these factors are necessary when discussing the conflict regarding ethnic groups.

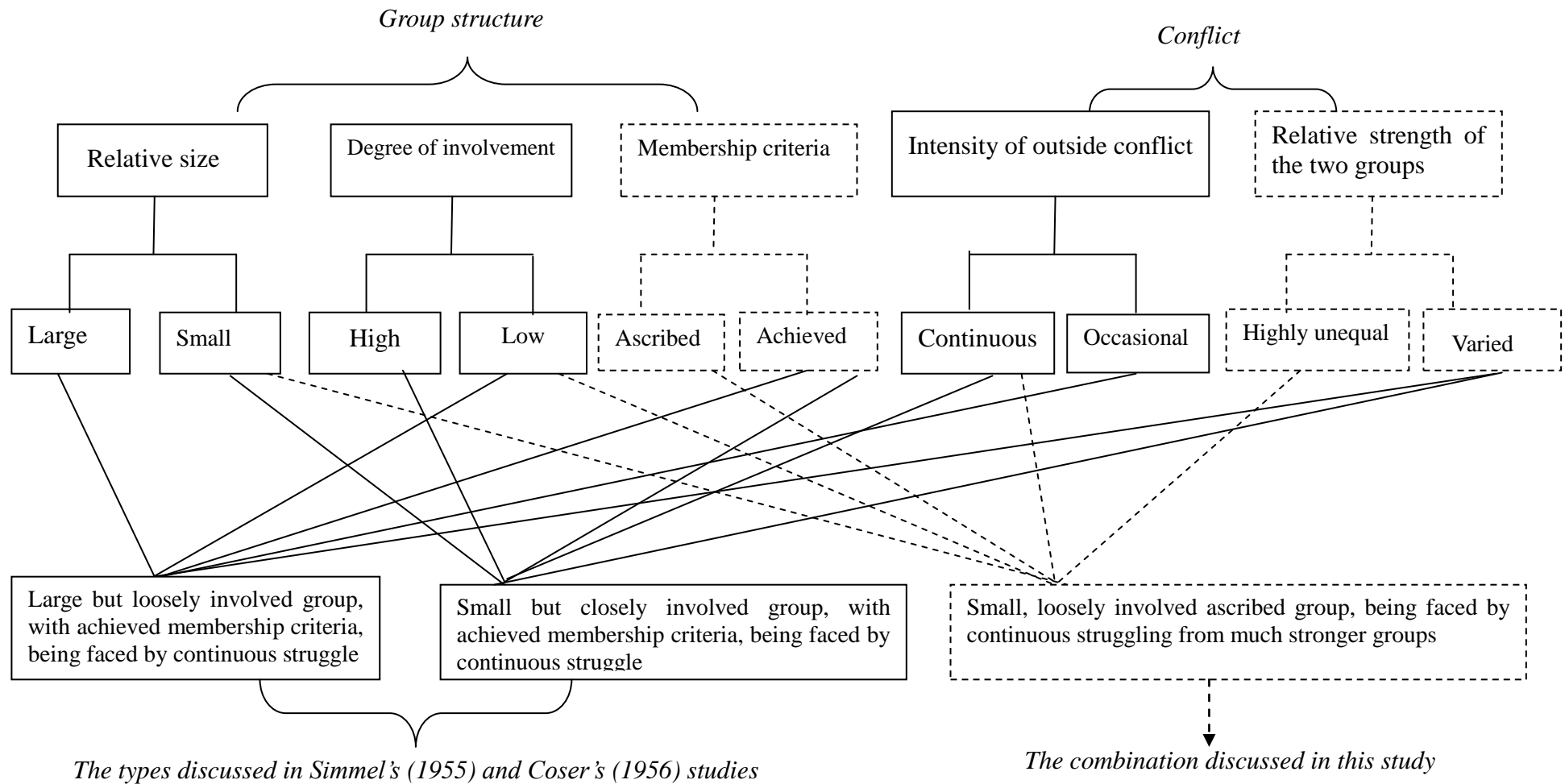


Figure 8.12. Extended model of combinations of group structure and conflict

Figure 8.12 also reveals a difference between sociology and anthropology. The unique characteristics of ethnic people and their relatively marginalized position in society need to be addressed when applying sociological theories in discussing the issues relating to these peoples, yet the nature of those positions become clear only through anthropological/ethnographic immersion into societal patterns.

8.3 Coser's (1956) Proposition 11: The search for enemies

The stresses generated by the need to counter external challenges have the function of maintaining group cohesion (Simmel, 1955). Evidence for such a function is provided by the example of local horsemen in Hemu Village. During tourism development of the area, the local horsemen, a relatively closely involved subgroup, emerged from the small loosely involved community as possessing specific interests and hence a need to cohere as a group. Coser suggests that such cohesion is aided by the identification of an opposing interest group. Thus Coser (1956) reformulates Simmel's (1955) proposition as follows:

Rigidly organized struggle groups may actually search for enemies with the deliberate purposes or the unwitting result of maintaining unity and internal cohesion. Such groups may actually perceive an outside threat although no threat is present. Under conditions yet to be discovered, imaginary threats have the same group-integrating function as real threats.

The evocation of an outer enemy or the invention of such an enemy strengthens social cohesion that is threatened from within. Similarly, search for or invention of a dissenter within may serve to maintain a structure which is threatened from the outside. Such scapegoating mechanisms will occur particularly in those groups whose structure inhibits realistic conflict within.

There are shifting gradations between the exaggeration of a real danger, the attraction of a real enemy, and the complete invention of a threaten agent. (p.110)

Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) suggest that the stress due to threat has a group-integrating function. According to Simmel (1955, p. 98), unity is the vital interest for some groups. "The search for enemies is aimed not at obtaining results for its members, but merely at maintaining its own structure as a going concern"

(Coser, 1956, p. 105). Although the two scholars do not explicitly illustrate the correlation between ‘searching for enemies’ and maintaining the strength and common interest of groups, such correlation is obviously revealed from the cases provided by them. Coser (1956) cites the work of Tannenbaum regarding white US Southerners’ fear of Afro-Americans in the statement “the Negro is a perennial threat to the most intimate possession of the white Southerner” (p. 109). Since unity is vital for maintaining the interest of groups, searching for enemies is important for group cohesion, especially for small and closely involved groups in continuous struggle, namely “rigidly organized struggle groups” (Coser, 1956, p. 110).

Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) point out three strategies for such groups: (1) the exaggeration of a real danger, (2) the reality of the external threat, and (3) the complete invention of a threatening agent. The significance of outside conflict lies not on its presence, but on the necessity for them members to perceive or be made to perceive a threat to “pull themselves together” (Simmel, 1955). Therefore, it can be inferred that unity is particularly important for the indigenous peoples in lower strata. If they are not united, the conflict with out-groups may further weaken their strength and thereby negatively influence their economic and political demands. However, due to (1) the ascribed identity of the group membership, (2) the heterogeneity of a group, and also (3) the structure of mechanical solidarity in some communities, some indigenous groups are not closely involved, such as Tuva people, and even the whole ethnic community in Kanas. Although unity is enforced temporarily, some indigenous groups do not require such strategies.

Nonetheless small and close subgroups may be established during the interaction between the indigenous culture and modern culture. The intrusion of modern culture into indigenous communities brings changes on the traditional means of production and income, and on the structure of the communities, as seen in many cases around the world. Tourism plays an important role as a catalyst for changes in many communities. In Kanas, an example of an emergent subgroup induced by tourism is that of the local horsemen, especially those in Hemu Village who have

reinforced their own identity in competition with ‘outsider horsemen’. As a sub-group directly participating in tourism, it keeps defining and addressing the danger of the competitors and maintaining the ‘purity’ of the subgroup, with the ultimate goal to gain more economic benefit. The detail is provided as follows.

8.3.1 Group cohesion achieved through opposition with ‘enemies’

Renting horses to tourists for recreational riding is one of the main modes of local participation in tourism. Today, each village has a Horsemen Team. Kanas Horse Team was formed the earliest, followed by Hemu Village and then Baihaba Village. Tourist horse-riding in Hemu Village has become more popular than in the other villages in recent years. In August 2010, there were over 100 horsemen in Hemu Village and all were locals, yet in Hanas Village there were only 40 horsemen, of whom only ten were locals.



Figure 8.13. Photo of billboard of the Hemu Horsemen Team

In the early stages of Hemu Village’s tourism development, both locals and outsiders were involved with horse-renting in Hemu Village (Table 8.5). Outsider horsemen, due to their fluency in Mandarin and business skills, attracted more tourists than did the locals, and thereby became the ‘enemies’ of the local horsemen. On the other hand, the local horsemen gradually increased in number and cohered into a group to provide better competition to the outsider horsemen. In 2009, they appealed to the local government not to permit outsiders to rent horses in Hemu Village and since 2010, only local residents are now licensed to rent horses to tourist in the village.

Table 8.5. Horse Team in Hemu Village

Year	Administration organisation	The horsemen
2005-2007	Hemu and Hanas Township Government	Locals + outsiders
2008	Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee	Locals + outsiders
2009	Hemu Villagers' Committee	Locals + outsiders
2010	Hemu and Hanas Township Government	Locals

Source: Interviews with officials of the Hemu and Hanas Township Government

This success served not only to maintain the structure of the group of local horsemen, but also to strengthen its cohesion. “Sharpness of outside conflict revives the alertness of the membership, and either reconciles divergent tendencies or leads to concerted group action against the dissenter” (Coser, 1956, p. 106).

The corollary of the ‘search for the outer enemy’ is the search for the inner enemy (Coser, 1956). In 2010, the local horsemen again appealed to the local government, requesting the government not to permit the outsider men who married the local girls to rent horses. The issue of *hukou*, the household registration record, is an important factor in this claim. In China, a household registration record officially identifies a person as a resident of an area. Although these outsider horsemen have married with the local ladies, for various reasons, some horsemen have not changed their *hukou* identity from their hometowns to Hemu Village. According to the local horsemen, these outsiders married the local ladies not for love, but for the convenience of business operation in tourism. The counter claims are that their marriage benefits the local economy and the assets used in the businesses (primarily the horses) are locally owned and managed.

In fact, there were only 10 ‘external’ horsemen who had married local girls in Hemu Village. These members could hardly create a serious competitive threat to the local horsemen. The danger of these persons was exaggerated by the local horsemen to ensure the ‘purity’ of their group, to strengthen the cohesion of the group, and thereby to gain more economic benefit. “Disappearance of the original enemy leads to a search for new enemies so that the group may continue to engage in conflict, thereby maintaining a structure that it would be in danger of losing were there no longer an enemy” (Fenichel, 1946, p. 29).

Allport (1937) suggests that motives that have arisen originally in pursuit of a specific goal may continue to operate although the original goal no longer exists. In this circumstance of Hemu Village, the original goal – removing the outsider horsemen out - no longer existed; however, the goal still operated and thereby permitted the local horsemen to continue to exclude the ‘married external horsemen’ from the business, thereby securing the goal of minimising any potential leakage of tourism income to other areas.

There are other elements however that imply the appeals to government were being exaggerated. While the outsider horsemen were better than the locals in terms of attracting tourists, the negative impact on the local horsemen may have been over-stated because: (1) the increasing number of tourists, (2) the requirement that one family can rent only a maximum of two horses, (3) the emergence of some local horsemen having good business sense. The local horsemen’s actions can also be attributed to the fear of lacking control over the business and the fear of competition from outsider horsemen. This is closely related to the relatively low economic and social profile of ethnic peoples. The pervasive fear among the local horsemen served an important function in maintaining the cohesion of the group. Hence a combination of concerns and actual behaviour became the cause and means of rallying local horsemen together to emerge as a significant subgroup in Kanas’s tourism development and as a socio-political grouping in village life that had not previously existed. In short, tourism can be seen as inducing significant changes in local village socio-economic-political structures.

8.3.2 Causes for group cohesion in the case

The fact that the horsemen in Hemu Village acted as they did was not simply due to their ascribed ethnicity, but because of their common demand for obtaining economic income through renting horses. The characteristics of the horsemen and the increase of competitive abilities all contributed to the formation of cohesion of the local horsemen when faced with external competition. The ascribed status hence became a basis for claims that could not otherwise be made, and which

local government recognised as legitimate due to its overarching regional development policies.

(1) Horse-renting: the main income source

One consequence is the renting of horses to tourists has become the main income source for many Hemu villagers. The seasonality of the area forces the local horsemen to earn money as much as possible in the short tourism season. It is not uncommon to see Hemu horsemen taking tourists to view sunrise in the very early morning in order to secure other business later in the day. Unlike Hanas villagers, Hemu villagers do not have rental income or house compensation payments. Although the horse-renting business in Hanas Village was earlier and the tourist numbers larger than in Hemu Village, the horse renting business of Hanas Village has been occupied by both locals and outsiders. According to a manager of the Hanas Horsemen Team from 2000 to 2001, although the previous administration organisation forbade the participation of outsiders in horse renting, he insisted on permitting a few outsiders to rent horses. This was to satisfy the demands of some tourists for riding horses to the Fish-viewing Pavilion to photograph the sunrise. On their part, Hanas villagers seldom showed up early in the morning, thereby disappointing tourists.

(2) The demographic characteristics of horsemen

The horsemen in Hemu Village are mainly Kazakhs. Among the 100 or so horsemen in 2010, only about 10 were Tuvas. Many of these Kazakh horsemen are experienced. Comparatively, as previously noted, Kazakhs have higher educational levels, and consequently better business and operational skills than Tuvas.

The horsemen are predominantly young males. Most are 20-40 years old. Among the 54 horsemen who attended the first training programme in 2010, 29 members were aged 20-29; 12 were aged 30-39; 11 were between 40-50 years of age; and 2 members were 16-19 years old. The young people prefer a modern lifestyle over

their traditional and 'primitive' lifestyle and hope to rid themselves of poverty through tourism.

(3)The increase of abilities during participation in tourism

Directly participate in tourism

Different from the indirect participation in tourism such as renting houses and cleaning the road, renting horses to tourists requires the horsemen to directly interact with tourists and compete with others. Such interaction with outsiders has motivated the local horsemen to improve their social communication skills and gather as a group to oppose the business threat from outsider competitors.

The training programme

The training programmes provided by the local government further promote the social communication and operational abilities of the local horsemen. Before each tourism season, a compulsory training programme is provided for the local horsemen; non-attendance means the failure to obtain a permit to rent horses for that year.

The training course normally takes one week. During 2010 training, the first five days were lectures regarding safety, Mandarin and service; while the last two days were spent in workshop session. The trainer was a Kazakh teacher from Altay Professional Technology Colleague. The training programmes, especially the knowledge concerning operation and law enhances the locals' operation ability and business sense.

The courses provided in the training programmes in 2007 include:

- Service-related Mandarin
- Introduction to the township
- Introduction to some attractions
- Introduction to horse riding routes
- Instruction in horse-riding assistance for tourists
- How to deal with an emergency
- Insurance, price, tax, and business
- Horse hygiene
- Rules for the Horsemen Team

- Introduction to Horsemen Team Association

The provision of the course has various social implications. It reinforces a sense of cohesion among the local people. It also reinforces the role of local government as source of aid for the local communities, while of course helps enhance the standards of service quality to the tourists. The business abilities of the local Kazakhs and Tuvas are also enhanced. Such actions further legitimise the status of local people, and also reinforce the role of government as the sources of legitimation.

8.4 Coser's (1956) Proposition 12: Ideology and conflict

This section distinguishes between (1) the conflict for impersonal and objective causes, and (2) the conflict for personal and subjective goals within the context of Xinjiang, China. In addition, the representatives of the indigenous community and their roles with villagers' committee heads are explored. The proposition discussed in chapter VI in Coser's (1956) book *The Functions of Social Conflict* is explored here within the context of tourism, namely Proposition 12: Ideology and conflict.

According to Simmel (1955, p. 38), "the conflict may focus on purely objective decisions and leave all personal elements outside itself and in a stage of peace. Or on the contrary, it may involve precisely the persons in their subjective aspects without, however, thereby leading to any alternation or disharmony of the co-existing objective interests common to the two parties". Simmel (1955) distinguishes between two types of conflict: (a) the conflict in which the object of contention has an impersonal and objective quality, and (b) the conflict in which the goal is personal and subjective. The effect of the involvement of personality and objectification upon (1) the intensity of the conflict and (2) the relation between the antagonists requires to be addressed (Simmel, 1955).

Coser (1956) reformulates the work of Simmel (1955) as:

Conflicts in which the participants feel that they are merely the

representatives of collectivities and groups, fighting not for self but only for the ideals of the group they represent are likely to be more radical and merciless than those that are fought for personal reasons.

Elimination of the personal element tends to make conflict sharper, in the absence of modifying elements which personal factors would normally introduce. The modern Marxian labor movement exemplifies the radicalizing effects of objectification of conflict. Strict ideological alignments are more likely to occur in rigid than in flexible adjective structures.

Objectification of the conflict is likely to be a unifying element for the contending parties when both parties pursue the same purpose: for example, in scientific controversies in which the issue is the establishment of truth. (pp. 118-119)

8.4.1 Impersonal and objective conflict vs. personal and subjective conflict

The arguments above are more related to the first type of conflict defined by Simmel (1955); that is, the conflict in which the object of contention has an impersonal, objective quality. In Xinjiang, the tension between the Uygur people and Han people is often regarded as possessing such a quality. The cause of the tension in this circumstance may be argued as a desire for independent self-governance on the part of ethnic people, though many Uygur involved in the tension are also for seeking personal benefits. The Xinjiang and the Central government are concerned with confining conflicts to immediate issues rather than extending them into political and ideological spheres. Political stability, rather than economic development, is the priority of the Xinjiang government, owing to Xinjiang's multi-ethnic population and the strategic importance of its geographical location, and the sensitivities associated with concerns about fundamentalist Islamism in a post 9/11 world.

The July 2009 Urumqi riots lead the Xinjiang government to increase efforts directed to 'maintaining ethnic unity, building harmonious Xinjiang', once it had restored public order. The riots were a series of violent events between Uygur and Han nationalities over several days that broke out on 5 July 2009 at Urumqi, the capital city of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. The movement exemplifies the radicalising effects of an objectification of conflict. According to the

Chairman of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Nuer Baikeli, anti-secession policies are still the priority of the government in Xinjiang today (Xinhuanet, 2011). Therefore, economic development serves political development as elsewhere in China, but particularly so in this region. Against such background, the government is relatively tolerant of Simmel's (1955) second type of conflict: the conflict in which the goal is personal and subjective, such as that in the Kanas Scenic Area.

In terms of the conflict for personal and subjective goals, it is the hope for personal benefit that promotes the accumulation of individuals into one group. Furthermore, the extent of personal involvement largely depends on the value placed on the anticipated personal benefit to be obtained, an assessment of the probability of success and the cost of any conflict, as can be seen in the cases provided in the previous chapters. The more personal benefit anticipated and the higher the possibility of success perceived by the participants, the higher the degree of involvement. In personal and subjective conflict, personal benefit, rather than the collectivist spirit, is the aim. Such conflict is characterised by Leibnitz's saying that he would even run after a deadly enemy if he could learn something from him (Coser, 1956).

8.4.2 Community/group representatives

Simmel's observation that struggle is intensified through the depersonalising of its purpose throws light on requirements for, and impact of, community/group representatives in social issues. The factors that may affect community representatives' influence need to be explored. A clarification is made between community representatives and villagers' committee chairpersons.

Factors affecting community representatives' influence

Simmel (1955) stresses the effect of the total involvement of personality in the conflict. "Such a conflict which is fought out with the strength of the whole personality while the victory, benefits the cause alone, has a noble character"

(Simmel, 1955, p. 39). According to Coser (1956, p. 114), “the individual who is expected to act as a representative of his group sees himself as the embodiment of its purpose and of its power”. However, according to two community cadres in the case area who wish to ‘represent’ the community’s purposes, they had not successfully obtained support from the villagers and thereby gradually lost confidence in initiating conflict with outside groups through making claims they thought would benefit the villages. Furthermore, since the cadres often act against the government, some villagers keep a distance from them due to a concern about possible negative impacts.

Community representatives have a strong sense of wanting to help the community. According to the two representatives in Kanas, they fight for the goals and ideals of the locals, rather than their personal issues. However, they did not gain ‘respect’ from the locals. The reasons may include the loosely structured groups, a lack of support from other group members, the ‘low’ standing of the elites, and the threat of stronger opponents, among others.

Li (2010) argues that community leaders rarely consider their personal interests when competing with government and/or capital. In fact, this is not necessarily the case. In the conflict for personal and subjective goals, to some extent, a consideration of personal interests may encourage leaders to put more effort into any challenge being made and permit a closer bonding of all the members due to their demands. It should be noticed that community leaders are also members of their communities and their interest is closely related with the community’s development.

“Whether the giving up of personal interest in favor of a collective orientation adds to the ‘respectability’ of a conflict may thus be held to depend on whether individual success orientation is approved in the normative system” (Coser, 1956, p. 113). In other words, the norms of the group and/or the community are influential factors. The Tuva people and also the local community are loosely structured groups as addressed in the previous chapter. From the perspective of many locals, ‘individual success’ represents a stable job in public organisations,

especially in government. Many locals admire those who gain posts in public organisations. On the other hand, all are highly dependent on the government. Therefore, they often seek help from the government or appeal to the (higher) government when faced with tension. Those who have close relationships with the government or who can successfully achieve the goal through appeal gain respect, even if their gains are personal. In the eyes of a local community, even personal gains are signs of standing with those in authority, and thus they may also obtain community support even if, on that occasion, a community has gained little from its support.

Generally, community leaders require two important qualities: the skills to succeed in the conflict with other groups and the ability to achieve support from their community/group members. They should be creative in seeking support, for example in developing partnerships with those who can facilitate success in negotiations. This is especially the case for indigenous people in lower social/economic/political strata. The strength and ability of the ‘representative’ seems more important than the total involvement of personality in any matters of tension regarding personal and community benefits.

Villagers’ Committee

Within Chinese context, a clarification requires to be made between community representatives and villagers’ committee chairpersons. Although villagers’ committee chairpersons are often regarded as community representatives, it is not always the case that villagers’ committee chairpersons are community representatives and vice versa. For a better understanding, an introduction to villagers’ committees is provided based on those of the Kanas Scenic Area.

The roles of an individual as a member of a villagers’ committee, as a villager organisation member and as a mediator between township government and locals need to be listed, and the *de facto* and *de jure* functions need to be defined. The village in China serves as a fundamental organisational unit for its rural population. A village can either be a natural village that spontaneously and naturally exists, or

an administrative village, which is a bureaucratic entity encompassing a larger area of land and more than one settlement. There is one villages' committee in each administrative village of the Kanas Scenic Area. They are Hemu Villagers' Committee, Hanas Villagers' Committee, Baihaba South Villagers' Committee, Baihaba North Villagers' Committee, Tiereketi Villagers' Committee, Axiabulak Villagers' Committee, and Qibaqilik Villagers' Committee. Each committee is composed of five to seven members, including the chairperson, the vice-chairperson (vice-chairpersons) and the other staff members. The members include Tuvas and Kazakhs.

“The villagers' committee is the primary mass organization of self-government, in which the villagers manage their own affairs, educate themselves and serve their own needs and in which election is conducted, decision adopted, administration maintained and supervision exercised by democratic means”, according to the *Organic Law of the Villagers Committees of the People's Republic of China* (China Internet Information Center, n.d. -e).

In terms of the responsibility of the villagers' committee, the *Organic Law of the Villagers Committees of the People's Republic of China* states that “the villager's committee shall manage the public affairs and public welfare undertakings of the village, mediate disputes among the villagers, help maintain public order, and convey the villagers' opinions and demands and make suggestions to the people's government” (China Internet Information Center, n.d. -e).

“The people's government of a township, a nationality township or a town shall guide, support and help the villager's committees in their work, but may not interfere with the affairs that lawfully fall within the scope of the villagers self-government”, according to Article 4 of *Organic Law of the Villagers Committees of the People's Republic of China* (China Internet Information Center, n.d. -e). However, in reality, township governments have a strong influence on the work of villagers' committees.

Villagers' committees are important because, from a wider political perspective, they represent an earlier experimentation with democratic institutions by the Chinese government – but the shadow of 1989 hangs over any consideration of further such experimentation. Such political experimentation has been in the economic sphere and the reality is that, however much the Chinese government argues there is 'socialism with Chinese characteristics', many commentators would conclude that private enterprise (even when operating illegally) has been a major driver of economic progress in spite of lack of access to State banks for funds.

In reality, villagers' committees could hardly be working fully on behalf of the villagers. Although the villagers' committee members are directly elected by the village resident voters; the political supervision of the governments and the economic motivation of the members mean the villagers' committees rarely work against the local government. "The villager's committees, on their part, shall assist the said people's government in its work..... Members of a villager's committee may be provided with appropriate subsidies, where necessary," according to Article 6 of *Organic Law of the Villagers Committees of the People's Republic of China* (China Internet Information Center, n.d. -e). Another issue relating to this is how the members of a villagers' committee utilise their power. The positions permit villagers' committee chairpersons to obtain benefits not open to others.

The chairpersons of villagers' committees may not always totally represent the community. But it does not mean villagers' committee chairpersons never represent the community; it varies in different villages and situations. It is argued that the villagers' committee chairpersons can easily become fully effective community if they would wish to do this because they have the connections with the local government which can facilitate this. They are elected by villagers and may easily obtain support from them. They may lead negotiations with outside groups more effectively with such support. Conversely, it may be an important reason why the government hopes to exert influence on villagers' committees.

8.5 Summary

In this chapter, the role of inter-group conflict has been discussed. Conflict with external groups may increase internal cohesion, or have little influence on internal cohesion, or may decrease internal cohesion. The results depend on the issues at stake and the people involved. In under-developed and/or developing countries and regions, especially in the indigenous communities with a very low level economic development, economic benefit often serves as the fundamental factor determining the reactions of locals towards the intrusion of external conflict.

Being confronted with the ‘threat’ from the governments, strong group cohesion occurred as a consequence in the case area. However, the resultant cohesion did not necessarily carry with it the need for centralised control. A lack of solidarity in the multi-ethnic social system may lead to disintegration of cohesion in the face of outside conflict, although some unity may be enforced temporarily. Tourism has also been shown to promote the establishment of new sub-groups. The local horsemen in Hemu Village are one such significant example.

It is assumed that there are eight possible combinations of the three variables (size, degree of involvement, and intensity of outside conflict) identified by Coser (1956) that can influence a group’s reaction towards the struggle of outside groups. In Simmel’s (1955) and Coser’s (1956) studies, only two opposed types of combinations are discussed. One combination is the small and closely involved group engaged in continuous struggle; while the other type is the large and loosely involved group engaged in occasional struggle. Tuva people in the Kanas Scenic Area represent a third type: the small but not close group engaged in continuous struggle. A model of combinations of group structure and outside conflict, which indicates the two types discussed by Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) along with the third combination discussed in this study, is provided. Besides, an extended model that considering the specific characteristics of ethnic people is also suggested.

A consideration of ‘ascribed’ and ‘achieved’ statuses of groups helps extend the

discussion of Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) about the influence of conflict with another group on group structure. It may be argued that the groups discussed in Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) studies are 'achieved' status groups, since the size of the groups and their reaction to outside challenge are multiculturally influenced. However, it has been noted that membership criterion of Tuva people is ascribed. The relationship between a minority and majority ethnic grouping can hardly be reciprocal as in Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) studies; it is one-way causation relationship. The relative size strongly influences the groups' reaction to any challenge.

Besides of small population size, low involvement and the continuous external interests, another three factors largely determine Tuva's reactions towards the inter-group and intra-group tensions, namely: (1) its marginalised position in society, (2) the ascribed criterion for its membership, and (3) the external groups are more advantaged in social capital than Tuvas. It may be argued that these three factors are especially important when discussing the issues regarding to indigenous peoples. It also reveals a difference between sociology and anthropology. The unique characteristics of ethnic people and their relatively marginalised position in society need to be addressed when applying sociological theories in discussing the issues relating to these peoples, yet the nature of those positions become clear only through anthropological/ethnographic immersion into societal patterns.

Simmel calls for the distinction between (1) the conflict in which the participants engage as 'private individuals', and (2) conflict in which the participants engage as representatives of collectivities and have invested part of their personalities. In terms of the conflict and tension involved in the Kanas Scenic Area, generally the conflict is for personal gain and the participants engage as 'private individuals'. The influences of community representatives are related to (1) the nature of conflict, (2) the institutional arrangements, and (3) the different stages of tourism development presented in a community.

CHAPTER NINE CONFLICT – THE UNIFIER

In this chapter, the role of conflict as a means of unifying antagonists is discussed. Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) arguments regarding this issue are developed within the context of China, especially in the Kanas Scenic Area. Again, it is worth noting that China with its policy direction from Beijing represents a context different from those envisaged by Simmel and Coser, and the implications of this are discussed later in the thesis.

This chapter also borrows its structure and analysis from Coser's (1956) book *The Functions of Social Conflict*. In chapters VII and VIII he suggests four propositions, namely:

Proposition 13: Conflict binds antagonists

Proposition 14: Interest in unity of the enemy

Proposition 15: Conflict establishes and maintains balance of power

Proposition 16: Conflict creates associations and coalitions

These propositions are, as in previous chapters, discussed in the context of tourism's impacts on the villages of Kanas. The first section discusses conflict's functions on binding the opponents, revitalising the existing rules and creating new rules and norms by reference to administrative working of the Kanas Scenic Area. It is followed by an analysis of the Home Visit Association, and therein the competition among the Home Visit properties, the resultant administration issues and the locals' operational weakness in a competitive market. The third section proposes a tension-directed evolution cycle of the Kanas Scenic Area, based on Butler's (1980) tourist area evolution model. The tension in each tourism developmental stage is directed by different socio-political and cultural components of the ethnic community. Following Coser's (1956) ideas it is suggested that conflict fulfills a functional role by establishing and maintaining a balance of power between the stakeholders. In the face of the local administrative organisations' administrative examination, the alliance between the individuals of different groups is discussed in the last section. Paradoxes in relation to Kanas tourism administration are then represented. At last, a summary is provided.

9.1 Coser's (1956) Proposition 13: Conflict binds antagonists

This proposition is illustrated by changes that have taken place in the Kanas Scenic Area administration. Conflict promotes the modification of old rules and the establishment of new regulations and norms (Simmel, 1955). Tourism development in the Kanas Scenic Area has brought tensions between governmental bodies; thereby new institutions were established to minimise the tension. On the other hand, these new institutions may, in turn, bring new tensions. The relative issues are discussed in this section.

Engaging in conflict with another party leads to the establishment of a relationship with that party. However, Simmel (1955) claims more than this. "Its (Antagonism) role can increase to infinity, that is, to the point of suppressing all convergent elements" (Simmel, 1955, p. 25). According to Simmel (1955), the establishment of relationships through conflict may give rise to other types of relations along with new norms.

Coser (1956) reformulates the work of Simmel (1955) as:

Conflict may initiate other types of interaction between antagonists, even previously unrelated antagonists. It also usually takes place within a universe of norms prescribing the forms in which it is to be carried out. Conflict acts as a stimulus for establishing new rules, norms, and institutions, thus serving as an agent of socialization for both contending parties. Furthermore, conflict reaffirms dormant norms and thus intensifies participation in social life.

As a stimulus for the creation and modification of norms, conflict makes the readjustment of relationships to changed conditions possible. (p. 128)

Conflict that suppresses convergence must by definition be divergent. But the act of divergence introduces new parameters and forces into the situation that may (but not necessarily) reduce conflict. Indeed it is convergence that intensifies the point of difference and thereby intensifies the conflict probably to the point of hostilities.

Three assertions are involved in this proposition:

- (1) Conflict is seen as a binding element between parties that may previously have no relation to each other.
- (2) Conflict may lead to the establishment of new regulations and norms governing its conduct and restraining the forms in which it is being fought out if divergence is permitted.
- (3) Conflict revitalises existent norms and thus intensifies participation in social life.

These propositions are now discussed in the administrative arrangements of Kanas.

9.1.1 Conflict: a binding element between parties

To reiterate the introductory chapters, Kanas area contains a 2,200 square kilometers Kanas State-level Nature Reserve. In 1980, the nature reserve was founded by the Xinjiang government and delegated to the Xinjiang Forestry Ministry. The administrative branch was located in the natural reserve. In 1986, the reserve was rated by State Council as a state-level nature reserve, yet still subordinated to Xinjiang Forestry Ministry. The Kanas State-level Nature Reserve Administrative Division was established that year. In 2000, the administration of the Nature Reserve was subordinated to Buerjin County, and in 2003 transferred to the Altay Region Administrative Committee.

The ownership of Chinese reserve (e.g. Kanas State-level Nature Reserve) belongs to its people according to the law; however, in reality, it belongs to the state council which delegates to governmental bodies at a lower level the ability to exercise the property rights of scenic resources in reserve. The government plays a dominant role in executing, protecting and supervising the arrangement of property rights of the natural scenic resources (Su & Xiao, 2009). A number of the state council's ministries and administrations, such as National Forestry Administration, National Tourism Administration and National Environmental Protection Administration, are involved in the management of tourism in nature

reserves and/or protected areas to varying degrees. Such a hierarchy and administrative structure often result in overlaps in a top-down norm of governing and sometimes conflicts among policy sectors and governance fields (Ma, Ryan, & Bao, 2009). However, the actual administrative power over nature reserves belongs to local governments; most nature reserves, regardless of designation, depend on local finance, administration and staff support (Su & Xiao, 2009). Picard and Wood (1997) state that, in Asian and Pacific countries, the state's roles in facilitating tourism and shaping ethnicity can both reinforce and conflict with each other.

Before tourism development commenced in the Kanas Scenic Area, there was no tourism bureaux and thus no relationships between forestry and environmental bureaux and tourism bureaux. It is tourism development that has been the catalyst for the initiation of relationships between the governmental bodies along with the tension involved. Cooperation, along with opposition, interchangeably occurs during their interaction. Some government agencies and private enterprises from nearby counties and cities established and operated resorts in Kanas. The struggle over environmental protection and tourism development between government bodies has always been accompanied by a struggle over the pursuit of economic and status gain.

Simmel (1955) suggests that conflict tends to lead to other forms of interaction except in extreme circumstances. "If, however, there is any consideration, any limit to violence, there already exists a socializing factor, even though only as the qualification of violence (Simmel, 1955, p. 26). "The total destruction of the vanquished becomes unlikely" (Cosser, 1956, p. 124), which is especially the case regarding the inter-personal conflict today, where today's opponent may be tomorrow's ally. In terms of the tension between governmental bodies, the common 'socialising factor' may be the need to implement governmental responsibilities authorised by the higher level governments.

The very outbreak of conflict usually denotes that there exists a common object of contention. If there were no 'common interest' in some object, there could

scarcely be conflict since there would be nothing to fight over (Coser, 1956, p. 123). In terms of the tension between government bodies, the ‘common interest’ may be the supervision and administration of the same area/community, but according to different requirements. For some government bodies especially those involved with subsidiary enterprises, the pursuit of varying benefits of power, status, hierarchical position and revenue generation may be a vital common interest.

Conflict normally takes places within a common universe of norms and rules, which leads to the establishment or extension of such norms and rules (Coser, 1956, p. 123). Within the common norms of governmental-directed society, new norms and institutions are established.

9.1.2 Tension stimulates the establishment of new institutions

Simmel’s second assertion regarding such issues was that conflict acts as a stimulus for establishing new rules, norms, and institutions. “Since the fight is centered in a purpose outside itself, it is qualified by fact that, in principle, every end can be attained by more than one means” (Simmel, 1955, p. 27). According to Coser (1956), (1) conflict may lead to the modification and the creation of law, and (2) the application of new rules leads to the growth of new institutional structure focussed on the enforcement of these new rules and laws (p. 126). It can be argued that this argument was derived from western societies. On the other hand, in government-directed societies (e.g. China), new institutions, rather than laws, may be established to modify and create new rules and regulations to adapt the changed conditions.

In a scenic area of China which is administrated by several government departments at different levels, when conflicts or overlaps of responsibilities occur, local government agencies are usually responsible for establishing and administrating an Administrative Committee in an attempt to avoid or minimise conflicts (Su & Xiao, 2009). With the tourism development of the Kanas Scenic Area, the related administrative organisations have frequently changed in the last few decades. New institutions and committees have been continuously established

to solve tensions between different bureaux, especially those of Forestry and Tourism. Mediation, which is the primary method of conflict resolution in China, is frequently adopted to resolve the conflict between the governmental bodies.

Table 9.1. The creation and modification of Kanas administrative institutions during tourism development

Time	The changes of the administrative institutions
6 May, 1987	Buerjin Tourism Bureau was founded. Kanas' development, construction and administration started to be on track.
7 February, 1994	Buerjin Kanas Scenic Area Development and Construction Leadership Team was established.
15 June, 1995	Kanas Tourist Area Management Leadership Team was created by Buerjin County Government, the Team leader being Buerjin County mayor.
13 May, 1996	Kanas State-level Nature Reserve Tourism Administrative Committee was established by Buerjin County Government. The Committee was responsible for the administration on planning construction, operation, and resources protection in the Kanas Scenic Area. Buerjin County mayor held the position of the Committee director. Buerjin County deputy major and the Kanas State-level Nature Reserve Administrative Division director became the deputy directors of the committee.
13 May, 2000	Xinjiang Forestry Ministry and Altay Region administrative institutions achieved an agreement that the administration of Kanas Nature Reserve would be transferred to Altay Region administration; Kanas Nature Reserve Environment and Tourism Administrative Committee would be established by the Altay Region Committee and would be subordinated to Buerjin County.
12 June, 2000	Kanas Environment and Tourism Administrative Committee was established. The Committee and Kanas State-level Nature Reserve Administrative Division became one institution, with two names. It served as a fully funded public institution. Buerjin Tourism Bureau served as a department of Buerjin County Government.
14 February, 2003	Kanas administrative institution was updated to the subordination of the Altay Region Administrative Committee. It was renamed as Kanas Environment and Tourism Administrative Bureau and Kanas State-level Nature Reserve Administrative Bureau.
3 July, 2006	Kanas Environment and Tourism Administrative Bureau and Kanas State-level Nature Reserve Administrative Bureau closed. Chinese Communist Party Kanas Scenic Area Committee and the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee were established.

Source: The Altay Region Chorography Committee & the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee (2006)

In 2006, the *Great Kanas Scenic Area Master Plan (2006-2020)* identified a series of problems and tensions involved with the administrative bodies, which restrained the tourism development of the area. These are:

- The position of the tourism administrative institutions needs to be improved and to have more authority.
- Industry enterprises and government bodies strictly follow their own policies, and better coordination between the institutions is required.
- The Kanas Environment and Tourism Administrative Bureau currently focuses on the preservation of the reserve and industrial administration. It is suggested to put more effort into resource management, tourism information technology, marketing and promotion, and other aspects.
- Due to a lack of human resources, it is difficult for the local counties' tourism administrative institutions to deal with the various administration issues relating to the tourism and relevant industries.
- Tourism administrations and institutions lack professionals with tourism-related majors and practical industrial experience. In particular, specialists on quality control, marketing and information management are urgently required.
- The complex bonding between administration agencies of the scenic area and tourism enterprises, and between tourism administration institutions and their previous subordinated enterprises negatively affect administration efficiency.
- An open and fair benefit-sharing mechanism between stakeholders has not been fully established. Sustainable tourism development requires an effort to solve the challenges regarding institutional arrangements.

The *Great Kanas Scenic Area Master Plan (2006-2020)* proposed the establishment of a national park of western China of over 10,000 square kilometers. Furthermore, an institution – the Great Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Bureau was proposed with responsibility for the administration of all economic, social and environmental issues in the area. To ensure the implementation of the *Plan*, the Chinese Communist Party Kanas Scenic Area Committee and the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee were established in 2006.

In 2007, *The Notice Regarding the Establishment of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee* (Altay Region Committee, 2007) further clarified some issues regarding the establishment of the new institutions. The three organisations: Chinese Communist Party Kanas Scenic Area Committee, The Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee and Hanas State-level Nature Reserve Administration Bureau were merged into one but retained their respective names.

Furthermore, based on the six divisions of the former institution – the Kanas Environment and Tourism Administrative Committee, ten subordinated bureaus and sectors and seven quasi-governmental public institutions (*事业单位 pinyin: shiye danwei*) were formed. The ten subordinated bureaus and sectors are:

- Discipline and Examination Committee (Supervision Bureau, Audit Bureau) The three organisations merged into one but their respective names remained with 5 officials
- Politics Division (Personnel Bureau) with 6 officials
- Chinese Communist Party and Politics Office with 14 officials
- Development and Reforming Committee (Statistics Bureau) with 5 officials
- Financial Services Bureau with 5 officials
- Environment, Construction and Transportation Bureau with 5 officials
- Agriculture, Farming and Water Resources Bureau with 4 officials
- Forestry Bureau with 4 officials
- Tourism Bureau with 5 officials
- Social Affair Administrative Bureau with 4 officials

The seven subordinated quasi-governmental public institutions (*事业单位 pinyin: shiye danwei*) are

- Reception Division
- Wildlife Centre
- Ticket Office
- Environmental Sanitation Brigade
- Tourist Service Centre
- Ecological Research centre
- Administration and Law Enforcement Bureau

On behalf of the Altay Region Committee and the Altay Region Administrative Office, this new institution is responsible for the administration of the economic and social affairs of the Kanas Scenic Area. The Hemu and Hanas Mongolian Township and Tielieketi Township governments which were previously

respectively subordinated to Buerjin County and Habahe County are now being directed by the new institution.

The Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee argues that it ensures the implementation of the *Plan*. It promotes putting the development; principles of “unified planning, unified protection, unified development, unified operation, and unified administration” into practice (Kang, n.d.)

The tensions between horizontal governmental bodies (the tourism bureau and the forestry and natural protection bureau), and tensions between longitudinal governmental bodies (county level and regional level) coexist in Kanas’s tourism development. New rules have been continuously created accompanied by the modified old rules. By bringing about new situations which are partly or totally undefined by rules and norms, conflict acts as a stimulus for the establishment of new rules and norms (Coser, 1956, p. 124).

9.1.3 Tension creates new norms and revitalises existent norms

Engaging in conflict brings about, except in extreme cases, the common acceptance of rules governing the conduct of hostilities (Simmel, 1955). Such rules further promote the socialisation of the contending parties by imposing restraints on those involved (Coser, 1956). The establishment of new institutions permits coordination between related bureaux, though opposition may still exist between the different divisions of the Administrative Committee as they seek to retain or define powers associated with administrative roles. Thus, as Coser (1956, p. 125) notes, conflict revitalises current norms and stimulates the creation of a new framework of norms within which the antagonists struggle.

The functions of the Chinese Communist Party Kanas Scenic Area Committee, the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee and Hanas State-level Nature Reserve Administrative Bureau are defined in their administrative documents as follows:

- To implement general governmental responsibilities and routine administration.

- To be responsible for the master economic and social development plan and budget; monitor reform, economic construction and social development; and implement the administrative duties regarding education, science, culture, environment, planning, human resources, finance, civil administration, security, religion, foreign affairs and other related spheres.
- To implement policies, laws and regulations regarding tourism development and the nature reserve's construction and administration; conduct the Kanas Scenic Area development plan, construction and administration; develop agricultural economy; preserve and develop natural resources, economic resources and historical and cultural resources; protect endangered species and develop in a sustainable manner.
- To operate and manage the state capital and develop a collective economy, adjust and improve economic structure, develop foreign trade and regional economic corporation, improve economic development, increase job opportunities and stabilise the prices of goods.
- To strengthen market supervision, create a fair market environment, improve industry administration systems, establish a Kanas social credibility system, and establish an open, competitive and operational market system.
- To implement social administrative functions, improve the social administrative regulation system, manage and regulate social organisation and social affairs, establish emergency public event systems, strengthen village community functions and maintain a good social order in Kanas.
- To guarantee the legal rights of minority people, respect the custom of minority people, maintain and develop socialised new minority relations.
- To supervise the construction and expansion of building projects, supervise the demolishing of some constructions, and evaluate the environmental impacts of development plans.
- To supervise and direct the administration of the township governments in the Kanas Scenic Area.
- To implement other administrative actions assigned by the Altay Region Committee and the Altay Region Administrative Committee.

It may be argued that conflict, as an agency, promotes the affirmation of these values and norms by those who receive political, social and economic benefits from the administrative systems put in place.

According to Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956), a third unifying function of conflict is that conflict brings into the conscious awareness of the contenders (and of the community at large) the norms and rules that were dormant before the specific conflict. In terms of the Kanas Scenic Area, the tensions between the

horizontal administrative institutions and the establishment of the new administrative institution lead those involved to clearly realise the responsibilities of different governmental bodies, the importance of coordination between the parties, and also the significance of human resource, as discussed follows.

Regulation-based administration vs. law-based administration

The foundation of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee gave rise to a greater awareness of law-based administration. However, such awareness has been achieved through the criticism of the foundation of the institution.

In 1999, the State Council issued the decision on the promotion of law-based administration in general terms and called for the people's governments at various levels (as well as their departments) to fully implement this decision and perform all their official duties according to the law. In order to completely implement the basic principle of ruling the country by law, in 2003, the Chinese government sought to specifically implement law-based administration as one of the three fundamental guidelines for performing official duties (Dong, n.d.).

The legislation requires governments to act wholly in accordance with the law, thereby seeking to overcome issues associated with *guanxi* and potential corruption. To reinforce this, the legislation requires that governmental bodies act within their legal remit, that violation of law by administrative bodies should be corrected and punished and administration should seek to provide a high level of quality service for its stakeholders (Dong, n.d.).

However, the statutory powers of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee are primarily of the type delegated to within a framework of regulations rather than the Committee possessing a specific legal capacity in its own right. It is positioned as a 'quasi-governmental institution'. The institution's administration conduct lacks a specific legal authorisation, but rather operates through delegated authorities that are not always clear, partly because of the number of regulatory bodies involved. According to a staff member of the

Administrative Committee, the only way through which the institution can impose a penalty on any breaches of operational rules is by the levying of fines, which, does not work well for a variety of reasons. In some cases entrepreneurs criticised the legality of the Administrative Committee, refused to pay the fines, or may seek to escape with light fines through processes of ‘negotiation’ with administrative staff.

The overlap between the divisions of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee and those of governments of Buerjin and Habahe counties is of concern to staff in these institutions, those involved in tourism generally and even local peoples as noted in the previous chapter. According to a tour operator in Buerjin County, the bureaux and departments of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee were similar to the counterpart divisions in Buerjin governments. “It is not necessary to have two of the same organisations in this small county”, he commented. Some staff of the Kanas Administrative Committee were concerned that this institution might not exist in future or merge into relevant bureaux of Buerjin and Habahe counties, thereby causing them concern about their own futures, employment and longer term roles. Such uncertainties are not conducive to decision making that takes a long term view, or indeed to constancy between decisions.

A ‘formal job’ (正式工作 pinyin: zhengshi gongzuo)

The ‘quasi-government’ position of the Administrative Committee therefore makes some staff worry about the stability of their occupation. Some, especially the young staff, often compare the salaries and bonus between the committee and the countries’ governments when deciding whether to leave or stay.

In 2009, although the institutions had over 100 staff and also recruit additional staff for the tourism season, only 57 staff were formally administrative staff assigned by higher administrations (行政编制 pinyin: xingzhengbianzhi). On the other hand, many staff are ‘contract staff’. In China, especially in less-developed cities and places, people are eager to have ‘formal job’/‘stable job’, especially the positions in government. Therefore, some staff of the Committee, especially

recent graduates with higher educational attainments seek to leave if they have opportunities, since their current ‘contract’ positions are not ‘formal’. One of the ways is to attend the annual public service exams that provide an opportunity to become a formal governmental official. My conclusion is that the present system of administration is deficit in the guidance, planning and implementation of policies due to a still unclear legality of the Committee due in part to the multiplicity of governmental ministries involved, and the consequent issues of job security. This is not an uncommon situation in China as described by Ma, Si and Zhang (2009) in their description of the evolution of tourism policies in Qufu, the birthplace of Confucius.

Specialised administration

Another concern raised is that the Committee’s administrative staff members lack specific skill sets, a deficiency explained in part by the relatively low educational qualifications, a lack of qualifications pertaining to tourism and planning, and a lack of previous tourism-related working experience.

Generally, the educational qualifications of these staff members are not high, which represents a common issue in the local administration of many minority areas in China. Those staff members who graduated from junior college accounted for 42.7% of all staff. The second largest group is the staff members with educational attainments of high middle school and below. Only nearly 20% of the staff members hold a graduate degree. Moreover, 70% of the staff members holding graduate and junior college degrees obtained their qualification through the part-time adult education system. In China, the quality of adult education is far behind that of full-time tertiary education.

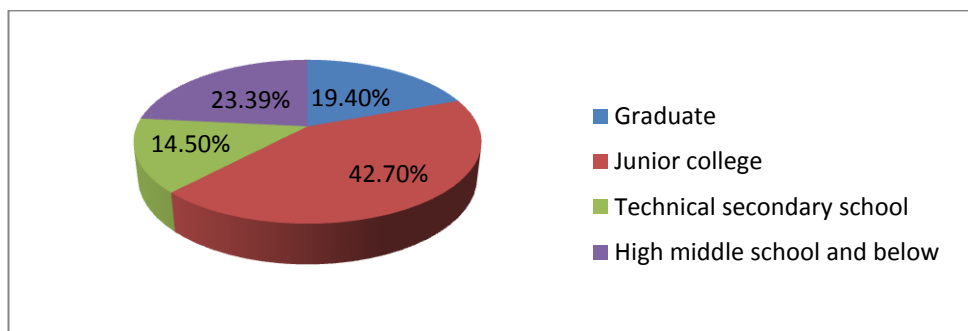


Figure 9.1. Educational attainments of the Kanas Administrative Committee staff

In addition, the staff's degree majors cannot fully meet the requirements of 'a scientific administration'. Kanas's current development requires specialists on project development, engineering, tourism development and management, environmental protection, ecology, social sustainable development; however, officials with such majors are few in number. On the other hand, the members with the majors in subjects such as administrative management, economic management, law and finance account for 60% of the total staff. Due to a lack of technical skills, it is hard to achieve the desired professional outcomes (Wei, n.d.). One implication is that a real need exists for in-house staff development by the administrative bodies.

The decision-making positions in the institution are mostly occupied by non-specialists. Very recently the Administrative Committee has started to recruit new staff with specialist tertiary degrees in the required subjects. However, a large proportion of these new staff are not local and therefore not familiar with the area. Equally for many it is their first post, and so they need time to familiarise themselves about work and the local community and generally are not in senior management positions. Furthermore the bureaucratic traditions of rural and generally traditional Chinese government make it hard to achieve positions where decisions can be made, even if they work hard. One consequence is a high turnover rate of these new staff.

In summary, according to Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956), (1) conflict may lead to the modification and the creation of new laws, and (2) the application of new rules leads to the growth of new institutional structure focusing on the enforcement of these new rules and laws. In contrast with western societies, new institutions, rather than laws, are established in government-directed societies (e.g. China), to create new rules and norms in response to changed conditions. This too represents a difference from the Euro-centric work of Coser (1956), and the implications are discussed later in the thesis.

9.2 Coser's (1956) Proposition 14: Interest in unity of the enemy

In this section, the association of tourism enterprises, especially the association of Home Visit businesses is discussed. At the suggestion of the Tourism Bureau, the Home Visit Association was founded and all the operators joined the association in order to “inhibit virulent price competition”, “maintain a fair and sound competitive environment” and “guarantee the service quality of the business”, as noted in the Tourism Bureau's document. Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) arguments regarding “interest in unity of the enemy” is borrowed and further discussed in this context.

Coser (1956) reformulates Simmel's (1955) work as

In view of the advantages of unified organization for purposes of winning the conflict, it might be supposed that each party would strongly desire the absence of unity in the opposing party. Yet this is not always true. If a relative balance of forces exists between the two parties, a unified party prefers a unified opponent.

Labor unions have often preferred to deal with employers' associations rather than with individual employers. Although strikes might spread further and last longer in such cases, both parties prefer that the form of the conflict be in line with their own structural requirements. Only by dealing with representative organizations of employers can workers feel sure that the result will not be jeopardized by independent operators; and, correlatively, employers will tend to prefer to deal with unified labor organizations, which are able to control “unruly” or autonomous members. In opposing a diffuse crowd of enemies, one may more often gain isolated victories, but then one very rarely arrives at decisive results which fix a more enduring relationship. This explains the apparent paradox that each opponent may see the advantage of his enemy as his own advantage. (pp. 132-133)

In a pluralistic tourism industry, many associations of hospitality and travel agency associations are established for the purposes of increasing their representation and influence with other parties, strategic alliances, and others. On the other hand, in China, the formation of many associations is often suggested by the relative administration bodies for the convenience of administration. Sometimes, the administrative bodies find it difficult to negotiate with the dispersed firms of small entrepreneurs, and therefore much prefer to deal with a

body representing these numerous smaller companies, such as the Home Visit Association and Hotel Association in the Kanas Scenic Area. The situation is thus an administrative convenience whereby administrators can claim the required consultation has taken place, but the implementation of any agreed policy is left to the trade association, with often mixed results.

9.2.1 The competition among the Kanas Home Visit properties

The numbers of Home Visit businesses have gradually increased in the last ten years, as seen in Figure 9.2. Price competition is the main promotional means adopted by the operators. The product quality, therefore, decreases in the face of fierce price competition as operators struggle to achieve satisfactory profitability. Consequently the Home Visit Association was established, at the suggestion of the local Tourism Bureau to better administer the situation.

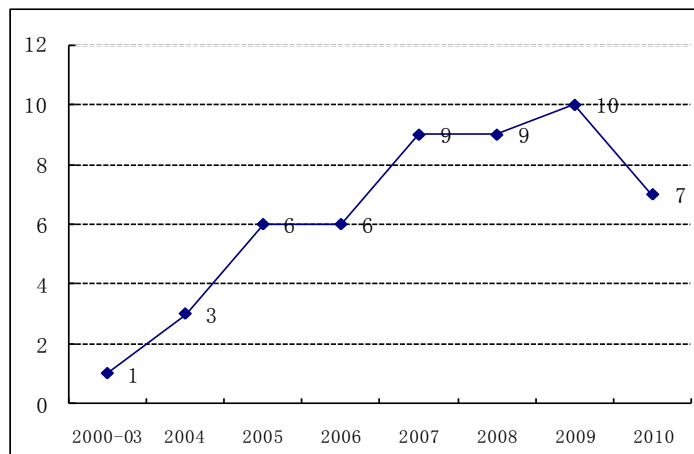


Figure 9.2. The numbers of Home Visit properties in Hanas Village

Until 2008, the ticket price for Home Visit was 30 RMB per person. The common marketing practice for each Home Visit property is to give commission to tour guides, who would suggest specific Home Visit property to tourists as an optional tour activity in Kanas.

A brief introduction to Chinese tour guiding is perhaps necessary here. Tour guides obtain little or no salary from tour operators/agencies. They have to recommend tourists shopping and optional tour activities to obtain income from

the commissions paid by the retail and attraction owners. A Home Visit is one such optional tour activity. Most tour guides' primary criterion for recommending a specific Home Visit property is the amount of commission received from the operator, rather than whether the performers are authentic Tuvas or not.

All the Home Visit businesses provide similar tour activities, and the price competition among them is fierce. From 2005 to 2008, the commissions to tour guides rose from 5 RMB per tourist to 28 RMB per tourist. That means the guide could obtain 28 RMB from each tourist purchasing the optional tour activity of a Home Visit. Some operators used other incentive policies to attract tour guides. For example, if the number of tourists reached ten, the ticket for one or two tourists was reimbursed to the tour guides. The increased commissions were started by one outside operator who used a Mongolian tent as his venue, and who therefore had lower costs by not having to pay rent for a house. His promotional initiative was then simply followed by other operators.

The price-reduction policies of Home Visit operators can be analysed by the game theory of *Prisoner's Dilemma* (Poundstone, 1992). In the multi-player situation, the effectiveness of operator A's price-reduction is partially determined by the price strategy conducted by other operators. The optimal amount of reduction by one operator depends on how much reduction the others undertake, and thus the effectiveness of any operator's policy is largely determined by the reactions of other operators, depending of course, on whether supply capacity exceeds demand significantly. If demand exceeds capacity, the motive for any form of price reduction is much reduced and the problem becomes one of by how much can a surcharge be imposed.

However, from a macro-perspective, the fierce price reduction can negatively influence the image of the Kanas Scenic Area due to a decrease of the quality of the product and the creation of a low cost destination. The low price policy can be evidenced in a shorter duration of performances and fewer snacks being presented by the Home Visit properties as they seek to sustain profits by reducing the number of performers and food costs. In 2010, the long table of each Home Visit

was full of dishes of snacks, as seen in Figure 9.3. However, I was told by the operators that in 2008 when the price competition was at its most severe, only four or five dishes of snacks were provided. Consequently, the poor service quality induced complaints from tourists, which negatively influenced the tourism brand image of the Kanas Scenic Area, while of course affecting the tour guides who found a demand for Home Visit that was less than it might otherwise have been.



Figure 9.3. A table of snack dishes at one Home Visit property, June, 2010

9.2.2 The foundation of the Home Visit Association

Conflict calls for a common organisational structure to facilitate the acceptance of common rules. Simmel (1955) suggests that since every party wishes its antagonist to act according to the same norms both parties may come to desire the unification or perhaps centralisation of both itself and its opponent. Coser (1956) additionally argues that the precondition for this proposition should be “insofar as there exists already a level of struggle in which the contending parties have reached a rough equality of strength” (p. 129). He also provides some exceptional circumstances especially in modern society:

If there exists a rough balance of power, as in pluralistic, multi-group societies, the more strongly organized adversary may actually prefer that the weaker not fight with “unconventional weapons” (corresponding to a different organizational structure), but use weapons similar to his own, making it possible to fight according to comparable rules. (Coser, 1956, p. 130)

The strategy above in regarding conflict resolution may be borrowed to illustrate the attempts to develop an effective administration in the case area. Faced with complaints from tourists and the operators who were reluctant to reduce their prices further, the Tourism Bureau took a series of measures to solve the problems. At the suggestion and with the help of the Tourism Bureau, the Home Visit Association (the Association) was founded. Each Home Visit operator is required to join in the Association. Agreement exists between the Tourism Bureau and the Home Visit operators to guarantee the quality of the performance and the healthy competition environment by the establishment of minimal requirements that have to be adhered to. "Simmel's proposition suggests that the common universe of rules within which modern unions and modern management operate leads to the concern of each that the other live up to the rules even in conflict situations. This living up to the rules, however, requires unified and disciplined organization." (Coser, 1956, p. 130).

According to Coser (1956, p. 131), each side will be concerned with restraining 'unruly' members on the other side in any situation where differences exist. In the circumstance of administration, when the relationship between the two sides is that of supervisor and being supervised, such as the Tourism Bureau and the Home Visit Association, each side will be concerned with restraining 'unruly' members of only one side: the Association, rather than two sides.

The rationale for the formation of any organisation may promote a greater tendency towards agreement between the parties (Coser, 1956). The ticket price for a Home Visit was agreed to increase to 40 RMB per person in 2009, and the commission to tour guides fell to 20 RMB per person. In essence, the main role of the association is price alliance, since the main purpose of establishing the association was to inhibit those who gave irrationally high commission to tour guides. The Home Visit operators, who disobey the agreements, are subject to a penalty of 5000 RMB.

The operators may either assist or betray the others. In the game, the primary concern of the operator seems to be increasing his/her own reward. The interesting

symmetry of this problem is that the logical decision leads both to betray the other operators and hide the fact from the Tourism Bureau, even though their individual 'prize' may be greater if they cooperated. Collaboration is subject to betrayal, and as a result, the only possible outcome in the game is for all operators to betray the others if individual gain remains the primary concern. Regardless of what the other operators choose, one will always gain a greater payoff by betraying the others, unless the others and the Tourism Bureau discover the betrayal.

In 2010, two operators were subject to the 5000 RMB penalty since they disobeyed the agreements. According to a more experienced operator, others also sometimes increased the commission to the tour guides, but evidence of this was lacking. One informant told me that the matter had been raised at one association members' meeting organised by the Tourism Bureau, and no operator denied that the practice was occurring, while all denied they engaged in it. Nonetheless, in general, the commission to tour guides was not too far removed from the agreed 20 RMB.

The Tourism Bureau is of the view that a mutual policing of the issue between operators can be carried on more efficiently than under its own supervision. The Tourism Bureau has launched a series of measures, standards and programmes to guarantee the service quality, such as *Kanas Scenic Area Home Visit Service Quality Examination Criteria*, *Kanas Scenic Area Home Visit and Shopping Spots Administrative Act*, and *Evaluation of Star Home Visit Properties*. However, these measures do not operate very well, and to some extent, some of the comprehensive documents are merely for the purpose of an examination by higher governmental authorities, as one staff member commented to me.

Discussion

The situations described above raise a number of issues. First, the administrative institutions of the Kanas Scenic Area do not explicitly object to the counterfeit Tuva culture performance operations. In the *Kanas Scenic Area Home Visit and Shopping Spots Administrative Act (the Act)*, a Folk Home Visit is defined as, "the

minority-home style attraction for visiting and shopping, in order to make visitors understand the local folk culture”. The Act has identified the Home Visit operation requirements in terms of venue, application procedures, the possession of necessary certificates for operation, service quality, staff requirements, infrastructure and safety. However, ‘authentic Tuva’ staff is not identified as a requirement for a Home Visit providing Tuva performance.

Therefore, authentic Tuva performance provision is not a criterion for recognition of and admission to the status of Home Visit operation. In the campaign of Home Visit star evaluation, two properties were awarded as three-star Home Visit (the highest star) properties. However, one of the properties was operated by an outsider Han person and the *Suer* performer was a Kazakh. It can therefore be argued that such administration permits the existence of counterfeit ‘Tuva people’ and Tuva performance.

Second, price reduction is the operators’ main promotional tool. This indicates that the Home Visit properties lack an ability, or are reluctant, to increase competitiveness on other aspects including product variety and service quality. One reason is that most operators are non-Tuvas. They have a superficial understanding of Tuva culture and can hardly develop related tourist activities; therefore, they only copy other properties. The high product duplication permits little space for competition on other aspects. Such phenomenon also exists in other places. In Hainan Province, China, an indigenous people’s experience on the culture of the Chiyou Tribe is created for attracting tourists’ interests.

Another reason is that some operators are reluctant to improve or develop the Home Visit properties due to a concern about uncertain administrative policies. The administrative divisions in charge of the Home Visit properties (as is also the case of the Horsemen Team) have been continually changing in the last ten years. Consequently, the policies on the Home Visit operation have been changing. During the interviews with the outside operators, all expressed uncertainty as to whether to open or not next year. It is largely determined by which administrative body will be in charge of Home Visit administration and whether the

administration bodies will permit outsiders to operate the business. Therefore, operators are reluctant to expand the scale of operation scale or improve the product and service provision. One operator told me that he would still maintain the current status if he operated next year, in case the investment became a waste if outsiders were forbidden to operate the year after next. Another operator commented that she would not operate next year, since she could not endure the frequent changes in administration. In essence, the changes of administration can be largely attributed to the power struggle between the different administrative sectors. This also indicates that (a) the administration holds back product development but also (b) there is uncertainty as to the requirement of authentic Tuva representation when many factors indicate a Tuva unwillingness or lack of readiness to develop the product further.

Third, the state of price competition also indicates that an authentic property operated by local Tuvas represents little competitive advantage in the Home Visit market. Only a few tour guides take tourists to this property for its authentic qualities. One tour guide told me that she seldom took tourists to the properties operated by outsiders since she did not want to cheat the tourists. However, such tour guides are few in number. In 2010 the sole Tuva operator cooperated with a Han outsider to attract clientele since “few tourists came to the property”, and “I do not know many tour guides”, as the Tuva operator told me. However problems arose during their cooperation, which indicates that: (1) The Tuva operator lacked business skills in maintaining schedules, (2) his main purpose for operating the business was a pursuit of economic profit rather than promoting Tuva culture, thereby partially undermining the quality of the product, and, (3) the need for local government to provide more support for those local Tuva who wish to participate in tourism.

9.3 Coser’s (1956) Proposition 15: Conflict establishes and maintains balance of power

A tension-directed ethnic communities’ evolution cycle is provided based on the evidence of the Kanas Scenic Area. It is suggested that the tension inherent in different developmental stages is determined by different aspects in an ethnic

community. The frequency and intensity of changes in tension between stakeholders in different developmental stages may be an indicator of the changes in the balances of power between stakeholders, which changes also propel the area into the next stage of development. Conflict and tensions are functional in establishing and maintaining power relationships between the stakeholders.

According to Simmel (1955), “the most effective prerequisite for preventing struggle, the exact knowledge of the comparative strength of the two parties, is very often attainable only by the actual fighting out the conflict”. In other words, conflict is integrative insofar as it allows parties to assess their relative power and thus serves as a balancing mechanism to help consolidate societies. The ‘merit’ in conflict largely depends on the assertion of strength.

Coser (1956) reformulates Simmel’s (1955) work as

Conflict consists in a test of power between antagonistic parties. Accommodation between them is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties. However, paradoxical as it may seem, such knowledge can most frequently be attained only through conflict, since other mechanisms for testing the respective strength of antagonists seem to be unavailable.

Consequently, struggle may be an important way to avoid conditions of disequilibrium by modifying the basis for power relations.

Conclusions we reached earlier in these pages we now reach again by an alternative route: conflict, rather than being disruptive and dissociating, may indeed be a means of balancing and hence maintaining a society as a going concern. (p. 137)

Coser (1956) adds an important point on understanding Simmel’s (1955) proposition and argues that it is necessary to distinguish between conflict and antagonistic interests that arise from the different positions of persons or groups within the social structure. This argument echoes Chapter five of this study that identifies the stakeholders in the Kanas community. Given the respective roles of governments, locals, tourists and entrepreneurs, sometimes it may be said their interests conflict. The groups and subgroups, having opposed interests, engage in

‘conflict’ only at certain periods and for certain objectives. Yet, tensions between them, as in bargaining or negotiations, may only partially characterize their relations. Even then tensions may still function as maintaining boundaries, and establishing, maintaining and re-establishing balances of power as evidenced below.

9.3.1 The opposition and tension evolution of the Kanas Scenic Area

Until 2010, tourism development of the Kanas Scenic Area has generally followed Butler’s (1980) *Tourism Area Life Cycle*, as already discussed in Chapter three. Findings indicate that the scenic area has experienced three stages (i.e., exploration, involvement and development) that confirm Butler’s (1980) model. Today it can be claimed that overall Kanas is in the development stage, though the three individual villages are at different stages. Coser (1968, p. 232) defines conflict as “a struggle over claims to resources, power and status, beliefs, and other preferences and desires”. The objectives of the struggle have different significance in each of the Butlerian stages as they have unfolded in Kanas. Generally, the exploration, involvement and development stages are centered upon belief, resource and power respectively as shown in Figure 9.4, although a degree of co-existence of each conflict sources are present in each of the destination stages.

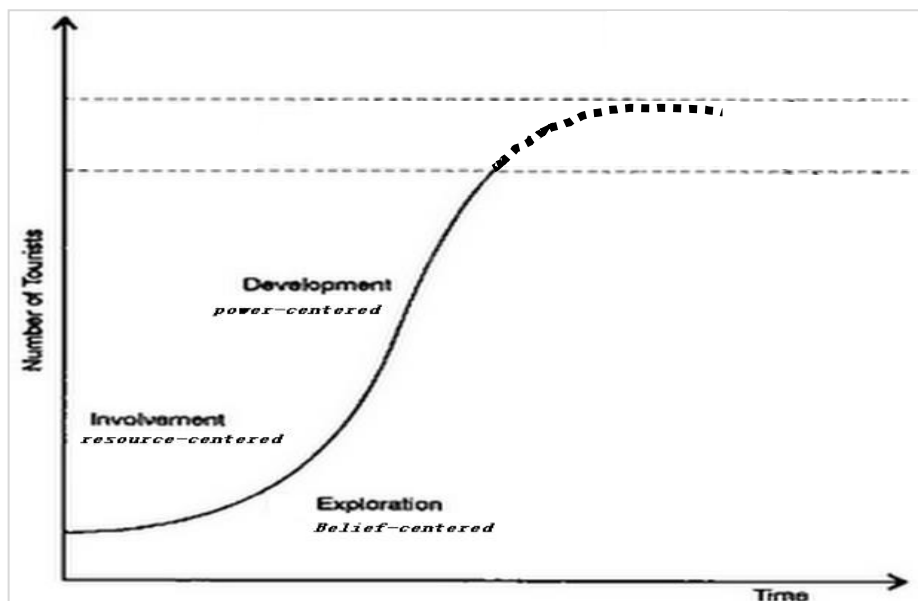


Figure 9.4. The tension-directed mechanism of the Kanas Scenic Area

Exploration stage: belief-centered

As in many ethnic communities around the world, the intrusion of tourists and outsider entrepreneurs brings cultural shock to this formerly isolated community. The opposition in the exploration stage of the Kanas Scenic Area can be characterized by belief and value systems. According to an outsider who married a local lady and lived in Hanas Village for over 20 years, “At the beginning of the tourism development, locals did not know how to adjust to the new environment, since so many outsiders suddenly came (to this isolated area)”. Locals could not understand the outsiders’ behaviours and lifestyles which were too far removed from their own. Strictly speaking, this stage is characterised by cultural difference and curiosity, few tensions and struggles involved.

With reference to direct interaction between visitors and locals, visitors were impressed by the simplicity, kindness and primitive lifestyle of locals. According to some who visited Kanas in this period, the locals even tried to ‘feed’ grass to the vehicles, because in their mind, the vehicles would be very hungry after a whole day running on the road. On the other hand, tourists’ dress, behaviour, lifestyle, the ‘advanced’ photographic assets, etc, were a surprise to the locals.

The private outsider entrepreneurs were another source of culture shock. In this stage, locals had little sense of direct participation in tourism. Some Kazakhs even regarded operating a business as a source of shame. According to a local Kazakh,

In the early stage of the tourism development, the restaurant operators asked tourists 1000 RMB for a rooster which was worth at most 50 RMB. The boss told the tourists that the wild rooster was caught from forest and was very good for health. They talked nonsense.

The business tricks used by outsiders surprised the local ethnic people. On the other hand, locals also witnessed that these operators obtained great profit from tourism. This represented another shock, but one which gradually promoted locals to participate in tourism in the following stages.

It may be argued that the differences of values and beliefs also existed between tourists and the local government. The local governmental staff did not anticipate the rapid increase of the tourist numbers, and many failed to understand why so many tourists would come to this 'small place'. It was the leaders and high ranking officials from the Central government and Xinjiang government who provided details of the significance of tourism when the officials officially visited this area, and it was this visit that prompted the formation of the local tourism administrative institutions and measures. In 1987, the Buerjin Tourism Bureau was founded, representing the initial development and subsequent construction of facilities and the administration of Kanas duly commenced.

Involvement stage: resource-centered

In this stage, many groups including national and regional bureaux, public sectors, enterprises, private entrepreneurs from nearby counties and cities established facilities and operated tourism businesses in Kanas. The process was probably at its peak between 1996 and 2000 when the local government called for 'the whole of society to develop tourism'. Consequently, resources became the object of tensions between different parties.

Inter-group and intra-group tension coexisted during this period. Tension existed between outside entrepreneurs and locals, between administrative institutions, and even between tourists. The entrepreneurs (medium and small) 'grabbed' places to establish tourist facilities. The shortage of tourism facilities forced the tour guides to 'grab' accommodation and food for their own group members. One of the consequences of resource-centered tension was a degradation of tourism products as described above, while at the same time there was some unconstrained building of tourist assets.

Development stage: power-centered

As the area entered into the development stage, the profit motive as a determinant of policies became more apparent. Tension, therefore, is characterised by who

holds the power of influencing decision making in the area. This power represents both economic power and administrative power, which are closely related in the Chinese context. The administration of the area experienced frequent changes in this stage, as discussed in 9.1.2. The administration of the horsemen team in each village and the Home Visit properties also experienced changes that represent changes in the balance of power between different level administrative initiatives and also the villagers' committees.

Conflicts' functions of establishing and maintaining power are mainly presented in the involvement and development stages. Individuals and groups may assert their claims when they feel discrepancies between the amount of power, status and wealth that they command and the amount that they feel to be due to them (Coser, 1956, p. 134). Failure to assert such claims may mean they fail to advance, and others may fail to consider claims on their behalf (Coser, 1956).

9.3.2 Conflict helps establish and maintain balance of power

Conflict always involves power and that it is difficult to appraise the relative power of each of the contenders before a conflict has settled the issue (Coser, 1956, p. 134). In this context, Coser adopts the definition of 'power' provided by Max Weber: "the chance to influence the behavior of other in accord with one's own wishes" (p. 134). Noticeably, the relationships between the groups and between subgroups change during the tensions, struggles and opposition within the broader context of the Chinese political revolutions and the government's current stress on ethnic harmony, especially in Xinjiang.

"Societies contain mechanisms for the adjudication and adjustment of rival claims and the allocation of resources according to some scale of "merit" (Coser, 1956, p. 134). In many societies, therefore, ethical and legal precepts limit the unequal distribution of rights among groups and individuals. According to Coser (1956, p. 134), "one of the major functions of government is the final arbitration of antagonistic interest". This helps explain the changes of governmental roles and administrative procedures as those respond to changes, especially in the Chinese

context of the last two to three decades. However, sometimes, the local government of some communities in China (including the case area) plays the role of game player, rather than game arbitrator, which makes for a more complex environment, and itself represents a questioning of perceived legitimacy of the local government. Recent corruption cases in other parts of China play an ambiguous role in determining legitimacy – the existence of corruption undermining legitimacy while the attempts to correct past wrong practices reinforce legitimacy.

The ‘merit’ in conflict largely depends on the ability to assert a perspective. Conflict can be regarded as the comparative strength between parties. If conflict is to be avoided, some other means for measuring relative power must be available as a counterpoise to the grounds of the original claim (Cosser, 1956). Posner (1979, 1983, 2000) suggests that the Kaldor-Hicks model of efficiency (Hicks 1939; Kaldor, 1939) whereby participants seek to maximise monetary returns has a proven ability to quantify power relationships between stakeholders. The ‘optimal outcome’ is reached when the administration, entrepreneurs, and tourists arrange sufficient compensation to those that are made worse off so that all end up no worse off than before the introduction of change. The Kaldor-Hicks efficiency has been commonly used in assessing equity in market economies, such as the relationships between the operators of Home Visit and the local house owners. It may be argued that it will be difficult to be applied when governmental forces are involved. However, the increased tourism bonus to locals amongst other evidence indicates that Kaldor-Hicks efficiency may also be used to deal with the relationships between government and other stakeholders. This is closely related to the political reforms and directions, including the theories of People Foremost and the Scientific Outlook on Development.

9.4 Cosser’s (1956) Proposition 16: Conflict creates associations and coalitions

This section discusses the alliance between the individuals of different groups in the face of the perceived deficient administration of the local governmental bodies. According to Simmel (1955) and Cosser (1956), conflict can help to create alliance

between groups and individuals when faced with a common threat. “This combination has well been called antagonistic cooperation. It consists in the combination of two persons or groups to satisfy a great common interest while minor antagonisms of interest which exist between them are suppressed” (Toqueville, as cited in Coser, 1956, p. 140).

Chinese have a saying that “where is the policy/measure, where is the countermeasure” (上有政策，下有对策 *pinyin: shangyouzhengce, xiayouduice*). Faced with the administrative measures, some locals and external entrepreneurs may become allies; as might tourists and tourism entrepreneurs. Such associations are temporary seeking their respective demands, but shared experiences become social capital for future use. The purposes of this section are: (1) to highlight the complex interaction between the stakeholders, and (2) to analyse the extent of rationality of the governmental policies and measures. These issues, therefore, reveal some paradoxes of Kanas tourism development today.

According to Simmel (1955), conflict may lead to the formation of associations and coalitions between previously unrelated parties. Coser (1956) reformulates Simmel (1955)’s relating arguments as:

Struggle may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations, rather than more permanent and cohesive groups, will result from conflicts where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are involved. Such alignments are more likely to occur in flexible structures than in rigid ones, because, in rigid societies, suppressed conflicts, if they break out, tend to assume a more intense and hence more “ideological” character. Coalitions and associations give structure to an individualistic society and prevent it from disintegrating through atomization.

The unifying character of conflict is seen more dramatically when coalitions and instrumental associations produce agreement out of relationships of competition or hostility. Unification is at a minimum level when coalitions are formed for the purpose of defense. Alliance, then, for each particular group reflects the most minimal expression of the desire for self-preservation.

The more the unified elements differ in culture and structure, the smaller the number of interests in which they coincide. Just to the extent that unification

is not grounded in prior attraction based on common characteristics will the meaning of unification correspondingly confine itself to coalition and the purpose at hand.

Most coalitions between already existing groups, especially between numerous groups or between those that differ widely from each other, are formed for defensive purposes only, at least in the view of those who enter the alliance. Alliance, even when not formed for the purpose of conflict, may seem to other groups a threatening and unfriendly act. This very perception, however, leads to the creation of new association coalitions, thus further stimulating social participation. (pp. 148-149)

In the flexible market economy generated by tourism, groups such as locals, tourists, entrepreneurs and governments may therefore mutually create temporary alliance when faced with a perceived threat to common interests. According to Sumner (1906), ‘competition for life’ dominates the strivings of all persons in all societies and leads to cooperation, since each one knows that he/she can more effectively achieve his/her ends by combining with others. The alliance between the local house owners and outside operators and that between the tourists and the entrepreneurs when faced with the ‘undesirable’ administrative measures are discussed as below. Such alliances may be described as ‘instrumental’ in purpose – at least in the immediate term. In a *guanxi* society, but one marked by high degrees of both pragmatism and *mianzi*, such short term alliances is a tenable possibility to take.

9.4.1 Alliance between the locals and the outsider entrepreneurs

Examples found of temporary alliances between stakeholders include:

(1) *The alliance between the local house owners and the Home Visit operators in Hanas Village*

As discussed in previous chapters, some locals in Hanas Village rent their houses to outsiders operating Home Visit business, thereby forming a partnership due to governmental regulations and the nature of tourism seasonality in Kanas. However, administrative regulations state the Home Visit can only be operated by locals, then external entrepreneurs could not operate and some local Tuva would

be faced with a choice of earning tourism incomes and abandoning a traditional summer lifestyle, or adhering to tradition but losing income. Therefore, all the outsider-operated Home Visit businesses are officially registered as being operated by the house owners. When the administrative staff officially examine Home Visit properties, the local house owners would say that the Home Visit was operated by themselves and they hired some staff to manage the business and to provide performance. Equally, the 'authentic' operators would also tell the administrative staff and visitors that they 'work' for the local house owners. It has become a well-known secret in the community. The local house-owners and the Home Visit operators create an alliance in the face of the 'threat' from administration. With such alliance, the local house owners can successfully rent the house and achieve the rent; while the operators can successfully operate the business and earn economic profits. Considering many factors involved, the administration has also tacitly accepted this co-operation model. Acceptance of the legal fiction thereby means that local governmental officials can claim adherence to regulations when reporting to higher government based outside Kanas.

(2) The alliance between the local house owners and the tourism facility operators in Hemu Village

According to outsider private entrepreneurs in Hemu Village, when the local township government or the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee launched policies and measures thought inimical to local and business interests (e.g. tourism facilities are forbidden to operate in the village), the outsiders who would ask the local landlords to express opposition to the government or appeal to the higher level government. In such circumstance, the outsider private entrepreneurs and the locals become a temporary group, so as to protect their respective benefit. Appeals against such regulations could be made on the grounds that the purpose of the regulations to protect local interests actually defeated the protection of those interests, and thus were inappropriate and should be withdrawn.

Yet the above alliances still fail to address a wider issue based on the

heterogeneity of the local community, namely that many locals may continue to express dissatisfaction about how outsider entrepreneurs provide unauthentic Tuva performance for tourists and that “outsiders earned all the money”. The alliances are formed when threats to the status quo are perceived indicates among other things, a general distrust of government as an agency of impartial administration, a common problem in rural China (Gu & Ryan, 2008).

9.4.2 Alliance between the tourists and the entrepreneurs

When faced with the administrative rules, sometimes the tourists and the outsider private entrepreneurs may also come together. The examples are:

(1) The alliance between the tourists and the tourism facility operators in Hanas Village

For the purposes of protecting the environment of Hanas Village among others, *the Great Kanas Scenic Area Master Plan (2006-2020)* proposes to close all the hostels and restaurants in the village. Accordingly, the local government prohibits such business operations. Package tourists are normally required to stay in the star accredited hotels in the Jiadengyu Tourism Area that is 30 miles from the Hanas Village. On the other hand, a number of independent tourists, especially the backpackers, hope to stay in the guesthouses in the village, due partly to the much lower prices, convenient transport and chances to interact with minority people. Some private entrepreneurs, especially outsiders, provide such facilities in the village. In the tourism season each year, the administrative staff examine local homes to check whether they are being used as tourist guesthouses and whether tourists are staying there. According to the local administration, “some tourists who seek cheaper prices and convenience stay at the local accommodation in the Hanas village and are not willing to stay at the formally operated tourism accommodation in the Jiadengyu Tourism Area” (the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee, 2010) .

Giving the reason that “the local accommodations in Hanas Village are not officially recognised tourism facilities and so the food safety, tourists’ personal

and property security cannot be guaranteed”, the administrative staff persuade tourists not to stay overnight in the village guesthouses. The operators normally ask the tourists to say they are relatives and/or friends when the administrative staff come to examine. The tourists, in order to stay at the accommodations would normally follow the operators’ instructions. A temporary alliance therefore is created. Such administrative actions annoy both tourists and guesthouse operators. Tourists believe that they have the right to choose to stay at the guesthouses if the owners agree, and that administrative staff have no legal right to interfere with visitors’ choices. Some operators believe that the administrative staff have no legal right to enter into their houses without the permission of the house owners, unless some people in the houses break the law (other than that relating to offering accommodation to tourists). Such ideas strengthen the alliance of the business operators and the tourists.

(2)The alliance between the tourists and the private entrepreneurs taking tourists to secretly enter into the scenic area

Considering the ‘high’ ticket prices of the scenic areas and the on-site shuttle buses, some tourists choose to take the private entrepreneurs’ vehicles to secretly enter into the scenic areas at a lower price. Consequently vehicle operators and tourists agree to state that in event of an administrative inquiry that they are friends and the ‘tourists’ have come to simply visit the operators. In fact, because of the apparent different physical appearance of the Han tourists and the minority entrepreneurs, it is easy for the administrative staff to identify the tourists. Therefore, such alliance is also combined with a good *guanxi* between the private entrepreneurs and the ticket office staff, that is, relationship is normally maintained by the gifts. In the Kanas Scenic Area, the protective film of some privately operated vehicles’ windows is in a dark colour. One of the functions is to avoid the regulatory examination when the drivers take tourists into the scenic areas. The passengers in the vehicle can see outside, while those outside cannot see inside the vehicles.

These alliances are not uncommon in other similar tourism attractions in China. In

the face of the relatively high ticket prices of the scenic areas, an alliance is created between some tourists and the private entrepreneurs to cheat the ticket office staff, in order to enter into the scenic areas at a lower price. The ticket prices for some AAAA and AAAAA scenic areas have increased continuously in recent years and have reached over 200 RMB in some famous scenic areas, such as Hengdian Movie and Television City, Zhejiang Province and Zhangjiajie Wulingyuan Scenic Area in Hunan Province.

In a number of large-scale scenic areas in China, the residential and tourism areas are not clearly separated. Generally residents are required to enter into the community through the scenic area's main gate which normally involves several gates for people in different categories. The residents need to show their identification card to the ticket office staff when passing through a small gate; while tourists would go through the specific gates where staff strictly examine their tickets (as in Figure 9.5). The electronic tickets and access system are also adopted in some scenic areas. However, there is no such distinction between the gates for locals and for tourists in some scenic areas. The blurring of gate functions also contributes to the alliance between the locals and tourists. In addition, some locals may take tourists on a cross country detour in order to escape from the administration of the ticket office staff.



Figure 9.5. Entrance gate for tourists, the Kanas Scenic Area

9.4.3 The influence of alliance on social structure

(1) The alliance may promote the cohesiveness

According to Coser (1956, p. 140), even the creation of merely temporary associations may lead to increasing cohesiveness and structuring of a social system. The alliance between the local house owners and outsider entrepreneurs may exert such functions. Many outsider entrepreneurs have established a stable leasehold relationship with local landlords. In the tourism season each year, the outsiders rent the houses of the same locals. The operators of some Home Visit properties normally leave their tourism resources such as the reception tables and minority costumes in the landlords' houses in non-tourism seasons and then reuse them in the subsequent tourism seasons. The frequent interaction between the outsider entrepreneurs and the local landlords and also the temporary associations in the face of the threat of administration help bind the two groups together and furthermore promotes a new relationship structure. Instrumental associations in modern society bring structure out of struggle, bring form into what would otherwise be chaos, and socialize individuals by teaching them, through conflict, the rules of social order (Coser, 1956, p. 141).

However, the alliance between the tourists and the entrepreneurs has little such consequence. This can be largely attributed to the short time interaction between the two parties. The alliance between the tourists and the entrepreneurs is created only when the tourists are using the entrepreneurs' accommodation or vehicles and when avoiding administrative regulations. Only a few tourists revisit the area. Therefore, the alliance between the tourists and the entrepreneurs is confined to their short interaction, which is normally a couple of hours or overnight. It can hardly be said that cohesiveness can be increased between the two parties in such a short period of interaction as *individuals* but group identities are being formed. What is increased is the confidence of the entrepreneurs to meet the needs of the niche market of the tourists who would like to choose activities outside the more formal group tour arrangements. The accumulation of such confidence promotes more private entrepreneurs to join this team to provide such products and services

to tourists, which gradually structures the special social system.

(2) The alliance may not lead to permanent binding

Coalition, as distinct from more enduring types of group formation and unification, permits the coming together of elements that would resist other forms of unification (Coser, 1956, p. 143). Coser (1956) further points out that mutual antagonism is an important reason for this process. In terms of the alliance between the locals and entrepreneurs, and the alliance between tourists and the entrepreneurs in the Kanas Scenic Areas, other factors should also be considered. These factors are:

The demand differences of those involved in a coalition

The parties (tourists, entrepreneurs and the locals) have different demands, as discussed in Chapter five. Their different positions contribute to the boundaries between different groups. Permanent bonds would require the participants to give up some freedom of action for group interests (Coser, 1956). However, considering the differing demands of the parties, it is not possible for groups to surrender core interests. On the other hand, the coalition does not restrict such actions, and parties are not required to depart from their core requirements. The participants in coalition are therefore free to pursue their separate aims in all areas except those that would require a ‘coalition identity’ with a common binding interest (Coser, 1956).

The cultural differences of those involved in a coalition

The greater the cultural diversity of those who unite in a coalition is, the less their interests coincide (Coser, 1956). The tourists, entrepreneurs and the locals are of different ethnicities and hold different religious beliefs, and live in different societies. They have a small number of coincidental interests. Any unification correspondingly confines itself to temporary coalitions and alliances, and an immediate purpose.

The minimum unifying elements

Only a minimum number of unifying elements are involved in the parties to countermeasure the administration. The only one interest they share in common is a concern for their own (pecuniary) interest at hand.

The seasonality of tourism

The seasonality of tourism further lessens the interaction of the groups/individuals and enlarges the cultural and structural differences of the parties. During the non-tourism seasons, the entrepreneurs, tourists and locals live a very different lifestyle in different places of China. The influence of their 'usual environment' further strengthens their different demands in tourism seasons.

The changing policies

The policies and the measures have been frequently changed to meet the demands of different stakeholders and to minimise the tensions between the parties. The alliances as provided above are created by the parties to counter the 'undesired' policies of an administration. Such alliance may not exist if the policies change.

The alliances are the simplest form of unification issuing from tensions and conflict. Alliances existing for the sole purpose of solving a specific conflict may be inherently unstable: either they will dissolve after the accomplishment of the purpose for which they were created, or they will grow into more enduring relations through the gradual adjustment of compromise and the emergence of group purpose, group loyalties and group norms (Coser, 1956, p. 147).

In the Kanas Scenic Area, the alliances between the tourists and the entrepreneurs have dissolved immediately after the accomplishment of their respective specific purposes and after tourists leave the scenic area. Neither the alliance between the locals and entrepreneurs, nor that between the tourists and entrepreneurs, become enduring relations; the group purpose and group loyalties are not developed. The reasons include the cultural and structural differences of the parties, the differences of the parties' demands, the minimum unifying elements, the seasonality of tourism, and the changing of policies to new situations on the part

of government among others. However, the relationships between the locals and the entrepreneurs are strengthened in the struggle with the administration, providing as they do mutual benefits such as those from the house-leasing arrangements. Relationships between people are complex. As Winston Churchill allegedly states, “[t]here are no everlasting friends nor everlasting enemies in the world. There are only friends with the same interest”.

9.5 Summary

In this chapter, conflict’s unifying functions are discussed in the context of tourism’s impacts on the Kanas Scenic Area. In contrast with western societies, the predisposition appears to be that new institutions, rather than regulations and laws, are established in government-directed societies (e.g. China), and it is these new administrative bodies that create new rules and norms in response to changed conditions. This apparently represents a difference from the Euro-centric work of Coser (1956). However, one must be careful not to push these differences too much. The evidence within this thesis arises from a study of tourism in a minority area, and it is important to note that in countries such as Canada, the United States and New Zealand, issues relating to minority peoples have created new institutions – indeed in North America high levels of self-administration have been conceded to native and first peoples.

Industry associations are not uncommon in tourism industry. The Home Visit Association was established at the suggestion of the local administrative bureau to maintain a fair competitive environment. The price-reduction policies of Home Visit operators is analysed by the game theory of *Prisoner’s Dilemma*. The associations generally exert the functions of disciplining the members, due to a fear of the punishment by the local administration, though the rent-seeking deals strongly induce each operator to break the deal.

A tension-directed evolution cycle of the Kanas Scenic Area, based on Butler’s (1980) tourist area evolution model is also presented. The tension in each developmental stage is directed by different socio-political and cultural

components of the ethnic community. This evolution cycle is suggested to be applied into the discussion of other scenic areas, especially the ethnic communities.

For the purposes of this thesis, a distinction is made between alliance and coalition. Alliance is considered to be more 'temporary' when compared to a coalition. The alliances are the simplest form of unification issuing from tensions and conflict. Alliances exist for the sole purpose of solving a specific conflict and may be inherently unstable: either they will dissolve after the accomplishment of the purpose for which they were created, or they will grow into more enduring relations through the gradual adjustment of compromise and the emergence of group purpose, group loyalties and group norms (Coser, 1956, p. 147). In the Kanas Scenic Area, the alliance of the tourists, entrepreneurs and locals as the 'countermeasures' against the administration rules may just take hours or even minutes. Alliances between the tourists and the entrepreneurs have been known to dissolve immediately after the accomplishment of their respective specific purposes and after tourists leave the scenic area. Alliances between individuals/groups are usually established when faced with a common threat. A pursuit for mutual benefit binds the individuals/groups together, although only temporarily. Such alliance may promote the cohesiveness of the relationships of the parties, but may not lead to a creation of the permanent group. The 'countermeasures' of the tourists, entrepreneurs and locals against the administration rules indicate the paradoxes and tensions of Kanas tourism development. The suggestions for an improvement in the administrative processes are provided in the final chapter.

CHAPTER TEN CONCLUSIONS

Based on the discussion in the previous chapters, a concept of a tension-directed tourism developmental system is proposed. Its theoretical and practical implications are discussed with specific reference to China. Some recommendations relevant to the research objectives are now identified and contributions and limitations of the research are discussed. Finally, directions for future research are suggested.

10.1 A summary of the thesis

Tourism impacts have been well researched and a rich body of literature has been developed. Social conflicts involved with both economic and social-cultural changes have also been discussed from the start. However, there are still some literature gaps relating to social conflict in tourism and its conceptual development. First, there is a lack of empirical evidence as to the functions of social conflict and the relationship between tourism impacts and conflict. When such concerns are expressed they are directed primarily toward the reduction of conflict. But conflict is a necessary and positive part of all social relationships, and a necessity for social change. Second, conflict is often accompanied by cooperation, expressions of unity and alliances. However, in tourism studies, the relationships between conflict and these outcomes have hardly been discussed. Third, a theoretical base of the social conflict is needed to support the many empirical studies about different tourism impacts. Fourth, it is still an under-researched area in the arena of social conflict within multi-ethnic communities affected by tourism.

Based on a one year ethnographic research study in Kanas, Xinjiang, China, this thesis adopts Coser's (1956) conflict theory to discuss tourism impacts. It investigates to what extent and how Coser's (1956) 16 suppositions can apply to tourism, using evidence from the Kanas Scenic Area.

In Chapter five, governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and local ethnic people are defined as the main stakeholders in the development of tourism in the

Kanas Scenic Area. The unique elements and general positions of each group that serve to establish the identity lines of societal groups; the conflict with other groups contributes to the reaffirmation of the identity of the group and the maintaining of its boundaries against the surrounding social world. The attraction of the lower strata by the higher strata, as well as mutual hostility between the strata occurs, which is arguably most evident between locals and local governments. Hostile feelings of the lower strata frequently take the form of resentment in which hostility is mingled with attraction.

Chapter six discusses the nature and functions of opposition and tensions in social relationships between stakeholders in tourism development, and Coser's (1956) four propositions regarding these issues are examined. The expression of antagonism through conflict and hostility helps relieve tensions and maintain relationships. The expression of opposition is often regarded as dangerous by the antagonists since the stakeholders in tourism are often mutually influenced in terms of benefits; thus, potential losses may be perceived in a non-zero sum game scenario. *Ambivalence* between villagers in one village and *ambivalence* between townships and villages in the Kanas Scenic Area are separately explored to discuss the presence of antagonism in close social relationships. Tourism has increased interaction between the social groups and subsequent relationships, and has also increased competition, hostility and jealousy.

Realistic and unrealistic conflicts coexist in tourism. In the tourism context, there are three types of interaction between tourists and locals that are suggested and explained based on both parties' participation level in the interaction: asymmetrical, symmetrical and invented interactions. Locals' resentment towards tourists and outsider entrepreneurs arise during the three types of interaction; however, the resentment does not necessarily lead to conflicts. The social phenomenon of aggression and conflict can be attributed to three types of variables: inherent attributes of human beings (e.g. impulse of hostility, personality), external variables (e.g. interaction, social position, culture norms, social structure) and personal concerns (e.g. economic benefits).

In Chapter seven, the extents, means, and results of tourism impacts on different populations of one community, the Kanas Scenic Area, are discussed, and Coser's (1956) three relevant propositions are discussed. Proposition 6 – the closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict – is found to be not necessarily the case. In the Chinese context, power strongly influences the occurrence and frequency of conflict; status and social and political power all influence the likelihood and solution of tensions that might arise. The Tuva community is loosely structured. Influenced by the multi-ethnic cultures. Tuva culture has been subject to changes over centuries, and some compromises have been made to balance traditional values and modern society. However, the core values of the culture in the last two centuries have not been changed, being based on pastoral farming.

In line with Coser's (1956) further four propositions, Chapter eight discusses the impact of conflict with another group upon the structure of the indigenous community. Being faced by the presence of stronger groups requires Tuva to (re)define and (re)form, to adjust to and survive in the changing social environment. Conflict and tensions with other groups may increase internal cohesion or cause the disintegration of Tuva groups, depending on the intervening variables and necessary preconditions. Internal cohesion does not necessarily lead to centralisation. Additional to the group's structure and common values prior to conflict (Coser, 1956), benefit plays an important role in determining centralisation.

According to Coser (1956, p. 90), “outside conflict mobilizes the group's defenses among which is the reaffirmation of their value system against the outside enemy.” However, in the cases happened in the case area, it is the *benefit* from tourism, rather than the *value system*, that directly unites the villagers, although a strong value system in favour of equality of treatment might be said to exist. It can be concluded that while sharing of *benefits* was a catalyst for the action, *values* were also influential in shaping outcomes.

It is assumed that there are eight possible combinations of the three variables (size, degree of involvement, and intensity of outside conflict) identified by Coser (1956)

that can influence a group's reaction towards the struggle of outside groups. In Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) studies, only two opposed types of combinations are discussed. One combination is the small and closely involved group engaged in continuous struggle, while the other type is the large and loosely involved group engaged in occasional struggle. Tuva people in the Kanas Scenic Area represent a third type: the small but not close group engaged in continuous struggle. A model of combinations of group structure and outside conflict, which indicates the two types discussed by Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) along with the third combination discussed in this study, is provided. Besides, an extended model that considering the specific characteristics of ethnic people is also suggested.

In the communities of the Kanas Scenic Area where the division of labour remains at a rudimentary level, internal solidarity to a large extent fulfills the group-integrating functions that might otherwise occur through inter-dependency based on occupational differentiation. However, that cohesion does not necessarily carry with it the need for centralised control. Yet solidarity is constrained by traditional life-styles, seasons and economic patterns within the multi-ethnic social system that fails to achieve solidarity under other circumstances when contrary sub-group interests may arise. The outcome is one of shifting degrees of consensus wherein group differences may be either dominant or subordinate dependent upon issue and inclination.

In Chapter nine, the role of conflict as a means of unifying antagonists is discussed, and Coser's (1956) final four propositions regarding this issue are developed within the context of China. In contrast with western societies, the predisposition appears to be that new institutions, rather than regulations and laws, are established in government-directed societies (e.g. China), and it is these new administrative bodies (e.g. the Chinese Communist Party Kanas Scenic Area Committee and the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee) that create new rules and norms in response to changed conditions. The Home Visit Association was established at the suggestion of the local administration bureau to maintain a fair competitive environment. The price-reduction policies of Home Visit

operators are analysed by the game theory of *Prisoner's Dilemma*. A tension-directed evolution cycle of the Kanas Scenic Area, based on Butler's (1980) tourist area evolution model, is also presented.

Furthermore, in this chapter, a tension-directed tourism development system to analyse the mechanism of tourism impacts is suggested as follows. It provides a useful tool to compare and contrast tourism impacts and their determinants in tourism destinations. It adopts a holistic view and systematic approach to research tourism impacts. Not only the consequences of tourism for locals but also the determinants and the mechanisms of tourism impacts are considered.

10.2 A tension-directed tourism development system

10.2.1 A tension-directed tourism development system

This system consists of four parts.

- Part 4-1: The tension-directed evolution of some ethnic tourism areas (Figure 10.1)

The evolution model generally demonstrates the development of some ethnic tourism areas directed by different types of tensions at different stages. This model has already been discussed in Chapter nine: 9.3.

- Part 4-2: Four forces (groups) in tourism development (Figure 10.2)

Governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and locals are identified as the four main stakeholders in tourism destinations, each with their different demands and positions in society. They are the core features of the tension-directed tourism development system and determine the nature, extents, and forms of tension in tourism development.

- Part 4-3: The tension-directed mechanism of tourism's impacts (community development perspective) (Figure 10.3)

The intra- and inter-group conflicts and co-operations contribute to the changes of societal structure which, reiteratively, permit the changes of group positions in impacted society. These promote a subsequent community

development stage. Meanwhile, stakeholders' positions in society and demands resulting from them and on them may also change in the subsequent development stage.

- Part 4-4: The tension-directed mechanism of tourism's impacts (interpersonal perspective) (Figure 10.4)

Amongst the communal changes, the inter-personal relationships of the stakeholders may also change. Under the conditions of behavioural, demographic and structural differences, tension/conflict occurs between individuals and leads to behavioural and attitudinal changes. The tension/conflict aftermath will further influence the antecedent conditions and create new interpersonal relationships in the subsequent development stage of the community.

The four models are provided as follows.

Part 4-1: The tension-directed evolution of some ethnic tourism areas

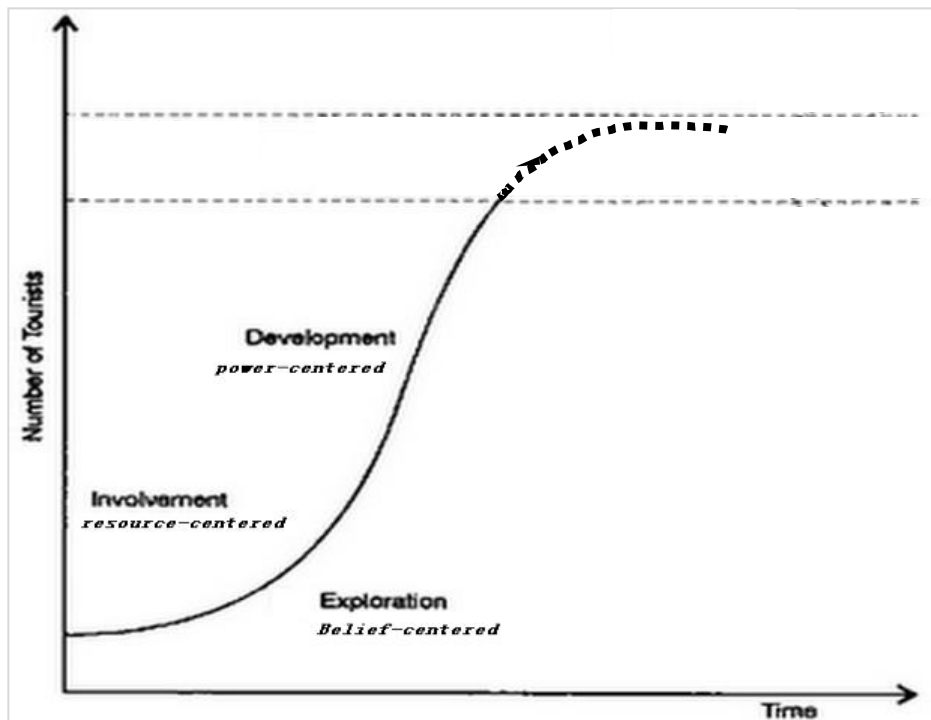


Figure 10.1. The tension-directed evolution of some ethnic tourism areas

Part 4-2: Four forces (groups) in tourism development

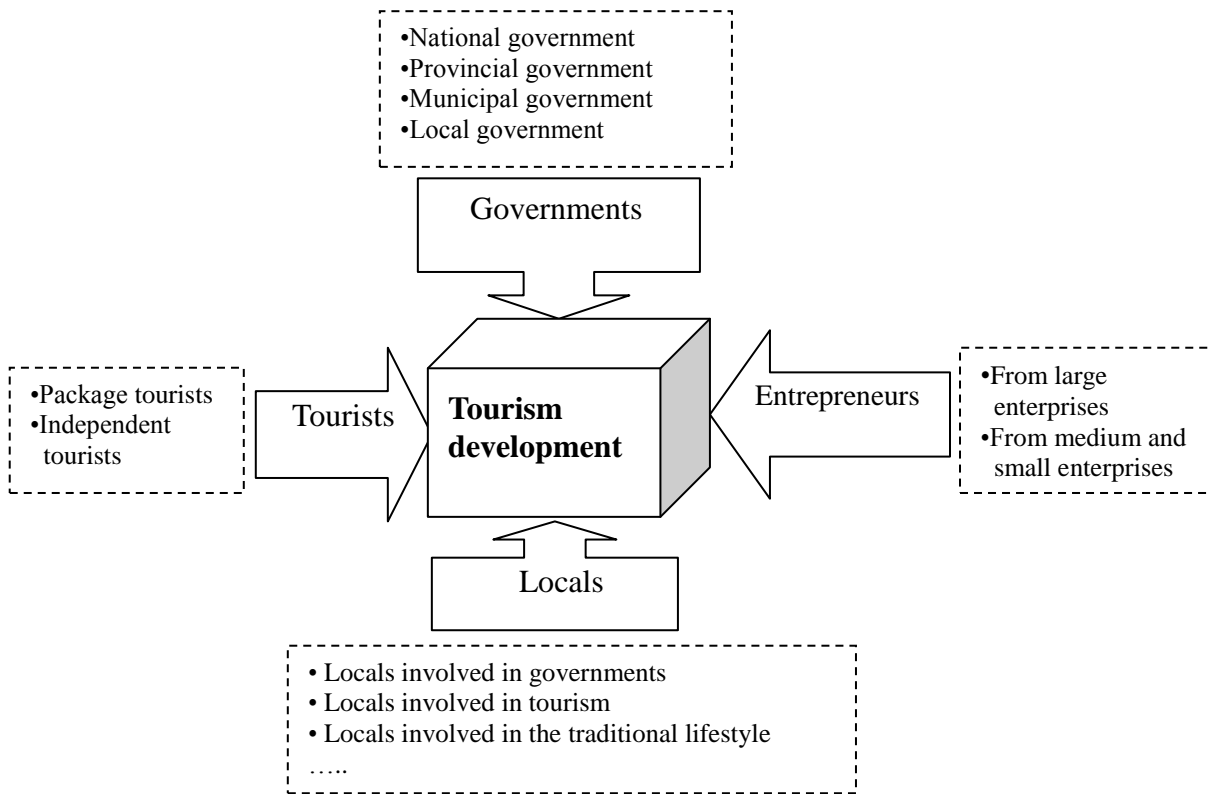


Figure 10.2. Four forces (groups) in tourism development

Part 4-3: The tension-directed mechanism of tourism's impacts (community development perspective)

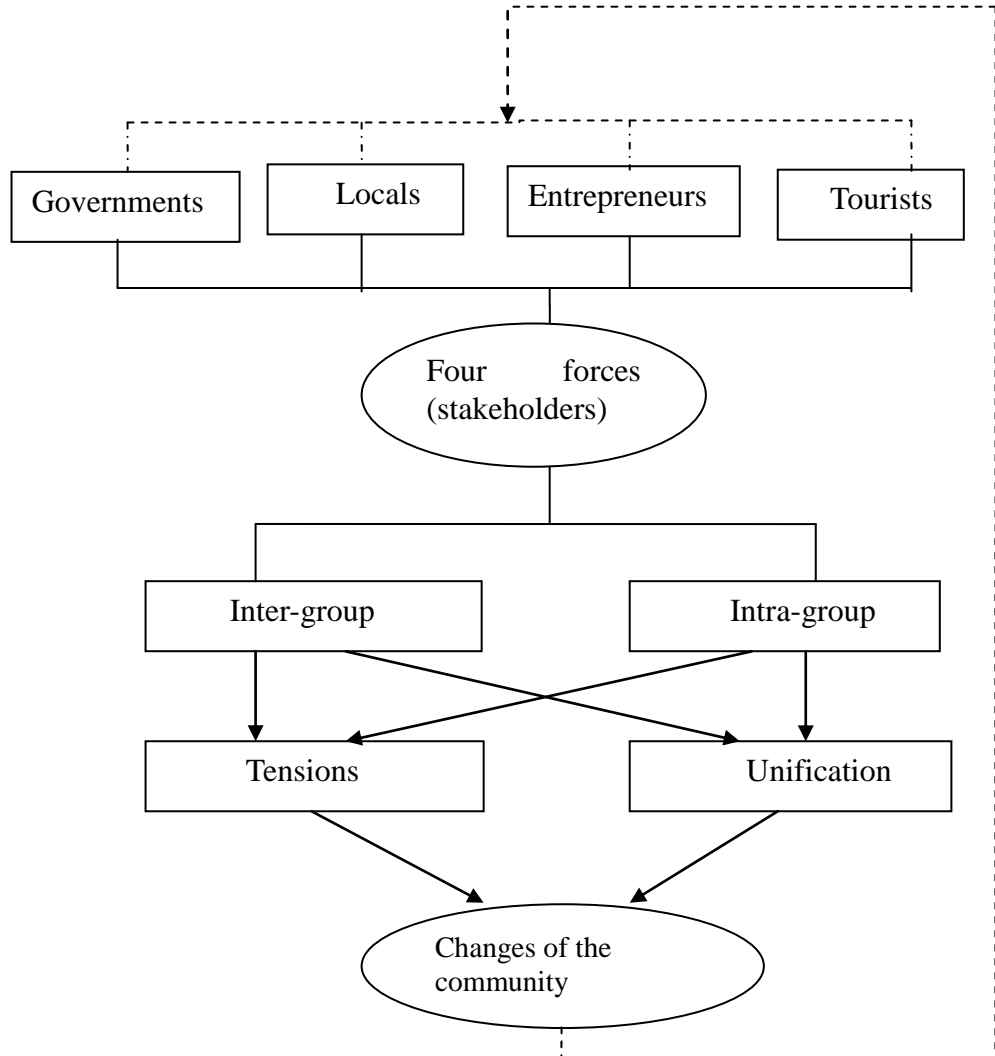


Figure 10.3. The tension-directed mechanism of tourism's impacts (community development perspective)

Part 4-4: The tension-directed mechanism of tourism's impacts (interpersonal perspective)

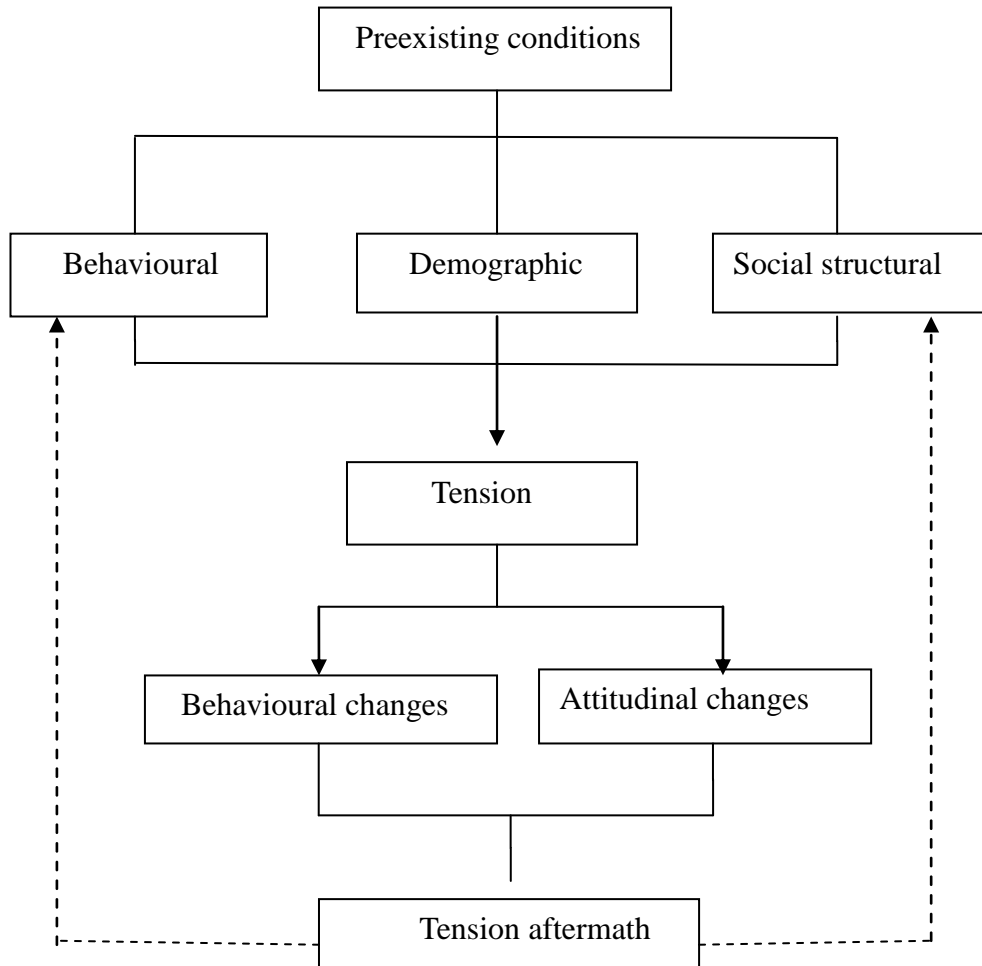


Figure 10.4. The tension-directed mechanism of tourism's impacts (interpersonal perspective)

10.2.2 Theoretical implications of the system

This system highlights the following points:

(1) The functions of conflict/tension in relation to the social change of the community

Conflict is important in terms of interactive processes and is “a form of socialization” (Coser, 1956, p. 31). It is a necessary and positive part of all social relationships, and a necessity for social change. Group formation is a result of both association and dissociation, so that both conflict and cooperation serve a social function and contribute to changes of a society.

(2) Four stakeholders in tourism development

A society consists of groups with different demands. While tensions serve to establish the identity and boundary lines of the four groups (governments, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and locals), more generally it is the unique elements and general positions of such each group that serve to establish the identity lines of societal groups. These four groups (locals, governments, tourists and entrepreneurs) together contribute to the social system of the community and the reciprocal tensions create a balance between the various groups thereby maintaining the total social system (Simmel, 1955).

(3) The heterogeneity of a community/group

The extents, approaches, and results of tourism impacts on different populations of any one community are different within a heterogeneous social structure. It is argued that over time the inter-personal relationships would change and the structure of the community would be influenced by the area’s tourism development. Tourism development of an area may contribute to the changing relationships between sub-groups and the structure of the community.

(4) The distinction between behaviour (conflict) and attitude (hostility)

Behavioural changes may differ from attitudinal changes in that the former may, at least initially, be latent while the latter may become overt. There is thus a

temporal component to the changes. Hostile feelings may arise in the interplay of ‘impulses of hostility’ and opposing groups, and interaction greatly contributes to the potential occurrence of conflict (Simmel, 1955). Tourism has increased the levels of interaction between groups, and has also increased competition, hostility and jealousy, which can be confined within acceptable levels by shifting alliances designed to achieve group benefits.

(5) Pre-existing conditions for conflict/tension

Pre-existing conditions, such as social positions, cultural norms, demographics, and social structure, should be considered in the analysis of conflict (Coser, 1956). These factors influence the occurrence, modes, extents and also the resolution of conflict. Social structure is a key factor in determining whether the conflict will threaten the legitimacy of the social system (Coser, 1956).

(6) The correlation between conflict and unification

Conflict is often accompanied by cooperation/unity/alliance. Conflict may create alliance between individuals/groups when they are faced with a common threat. The conflict with out-groups may increase the cohesion of the in-groups; it may even permit alliance between individuals of different groups if they are faced with a common threat. It is suggested that conflict fulfills a functional role by establishing and maintaining a balance of power between the stakeholders.

10.2.3 Practical implications of the system

In line with the theoretical implications of the system above, the following points require addressing:

(1) An objective attitude towards conflict

It is suggested that the social conflict inherent in tourism development needs to be viewed objectively, especially by governments. The governments need to have an objective understanding about the nature of potential conflicts and to distinguish realistic from unrealistic conflict in order to resolve tensions. Although the distinctions between realistic and unrealistic conflict theoretically show that the

social phenomena of conflict entirely should be explained in terms of tension release, it often happens in the real world. With the possibility of realistic conflict ruled out, the local administration looks for “therapeutic measures” (Coser, 1956, p. 52) instead of investigating the causes of conflict. They see all conflict as a ‘social disease’ and the lack of conflict as “social health” (Coser, 1956, p. 53). The functions of conflict in contributing to the social development should be considered and emphasised.

(2) A balance of stakeholders’ interest

The ‘merit’ in conflict largely depends on the ability to assert a perspective considered by others to be legitimate. Conflict can be regarded as a balance of the comparative strengths of two or more parties. If conflict is to be avoided, some other means for measuring relative power must be available as a counterpoint to the basis of the original claim (Coser, 1956). Posner (1979, 1983, 2000) suggests that the Kaldor-Hicks model of efficiency (Kaldor, 1939; Hicks 1939) whereby participants seek to maximise monetary returns has a proven ability to quantify power relationships between stakeholders. The ‘optimal outcome’ is reached when the administration, entrepreneurs, and tourists arrange sufficient compensation to those who are made worse off so that all end up no worse off than before the introduction of change. Such an approach may be said to be consistent with the ‘social harmony’ desired by the Chinese State.

(3) An attention to sub-groups’ interests

In practice, groups, such as governments, are often regarded as homogeneous. Locals may view tourists as ‘good’ or ‘bad’, rather than considering what kinds of tourists are ‘good’ and what kinds of tourists are ‘bad’. The government may consider the community as a whole, and thereby ignores the different interests and demands of different segments. Many residents of Kanas do not hope to be involved in regional tourism decision-making and management (Wang, Yang, Chen, Yang & Li, 2010). On the other hand, there is a minority willing to participate in tourism decision making. Furthermore, the locals who are engaged in local government aspire to gain more decision-making power; one reason is that such power is closely related with personal benefit. This issue is especially

important for planning. Due to the limits of time, expense, and expertise, tourism plans in China often lack comprehensive research prior to the planning process, and different subgroups and their needs and desires may be either ignored or overly advantaged.

(4) When poverty is the major concern of the people

In under-developed and/or developing countries and regions, especially in the indigenous communities with a very low level economic development, poverty is still the major concern of the people. The gain or loss of income largely determines the reactions of locals towards the conflict with outer-groups. Within China, an issue exists with reference to relative political and economic power centres in the wider nexus of groups, and in some situations where the government makes concessions in relating to economic profits, the very concession may paradoxically reinforce the role of government as the source of economic benefaction.

(5) Ethnic people's psychological problems during social change

The social transformational process of ethnic communities, such as from nomadic to an agricultural life-style and from subsistence farming to business operations and management may bring psychological problems to some ethnic peoples. Such issues require to be addressed by governments, researchers, and related non-governmental organisations. These issues may influence long-term national and regional stability and have significance for social development.

(6) Antecedent conditions for tension need to be considered

Factors such as social positions, cultural norms, demographics, and social structure require consideration when dealing with conflict. The consideration of such factors permits thorough analysis of conflict and 'right' conflict resolution measures.

(7) Conflict and cooperation/unity/alliance

Cooperation/unity/alliance between individuals/groups is important for conflict resolution. In addition, when launching policies and measures thought undesirable

by other stakeholders, government may be required to consider the potential cooperation/unity/alliance of those stakeholders who seek to oppose these policies and measures. Such opposition may cause the policies and measures not to be implemented and thereby undermine governmental credibility.

10.2.4 Some specific implications for China

China differs from western societies in terms of political systems, economic development, social structures and minority cultures. For example, Gu and Ryan, (2009), Sofield and Li (2007), and Fan et al. (2008) specifically refer to the roles of government and call for further study about China's specific political environment and the powerful influence of government. In addition, there is a huge gap between China's eastern developed regions and the western developing and even under-developed minority areas. Within a Chinese background, this system has some specific features as noted below.

(1) Standardised bureaucratic response patterns

In China, a significant criterion for evaluating a local government's performance is that of social stability in its administrative area, especially in Xinjiang's context. Thus people's petitions become a major concern to the local administration. When such issues exist, the local government's first reaction is to immediately suppress the appeal activities. A rush to resolve conflict and a lack of thorough analysis of the conflict, such as whether it is realistic or unrealistic and whether it is against the core values of the society, may cause the underlying reasons of the conflict to remain undiscovered, even though an apparent conflict resolution is conceived at rapid speed. However, from a long-term developmental perspective, a thorough analysis of conflict is necessary and both the positive and negative functions of conflict should be taken into account.

(2) Power imbalance

An imbalance of power exists between the stakeholders, especially in the ethnic communities in China. Tension/conflict, is mainly derived from that imbalance of power and the resultant the unequal distribution of interests. As discussed in

Chapter five, power is closely related with interest in China, and governments and large and middle scale enterprises control the main structures of status and political and economic power.

Although the allocation of resources and power is expected to be governed by norms and role allocation systems, it is also an object of competition. In China, resources, power and benefits are closely bonded, and more resources and power means more benefits possibly obtained. This is one of the reasons why tourism development in tourism destinations, especially in the minority regions, are dominated by large and middle sized enterprises rather than by small, locally based businesses. In rural areas, ownership of land may still be in the hands of local authorities, village communes or other bodies, and not in the hands of individuals. A second feature is the ownership of the banking system. In the absence of private ownership of land or access to lending, small businesses are almost wholly dependent upon their ability to raise money from within their own family circles, and for those who are impoverished, such a resource is limited. The power, therefore, lies in the hands of the well connected, and often in rural China this is in the organisations of the local authority, the Chinese Communist Party or the army; businesses emanate from these sources rather than from private individuals. Hence the power status quo is reinforced.

The Kaldor-Hicks concept of efficiency has been commonly used in assessing equity in market economies such as those evidenced in the relationships between the operators of Home Visit and the local house owners in the Kanas Scenic Area. It may be argued that the concept will be difficult to apply when governmental forces are involved. However, the increased tourism bonus being paid to locals indicates that Kaldor-Hicks' Efficiency paradigm may be used to solve problems that arise between government and other stakeholders. This is closely related to China's past and current political reforms and directions, including the theories of Social Harmony, People Foremost and the Scientific Outlook on Development. These, at least theoretically, confirm the requirements of social harmony and positive relationships between governed and governors.

(3) Community (subordinate) participation

The practice of community participation in China differs from that of western countries. Community participation requires a fair and equitable environment; however, the inequality of status of varying stakeholders in China limits equitable community participation. Unfortunately, some researchers ‘ignore’ this fundamental issue and propose a notion that “community residents are the masters of the tourism development of the community and are the ultimate beneficiary” (Sun, 2008, p.7). In fact, local peoples are not the masters of their communities; locals occupy a lower position compared to governments who control the community. Community participation is predominantly determined by government policies and strategies. It is a secondary, subordinate participation. Therefore, when community participation is not consistent with the government’s stated policies and measures, conflict/tension may arise. Some limits described by Tosun (2000) to community participation in developing countries as can be found in China and “Residents and other stakeholders participation in decision-making has not been recognized as important in planning documents, nor has it been addressed in practice” (Timothy, 1999, p. 383), a statement that has some truth in developing countries.

(4) A lack of a sense of active citizenship in China

Citizenship is the state of being a citizen of a particular social, political, national, or human resource community. ‘Active citizenship’ is “the full involvement of people in a variety of forms of politics, including voting, joining a party or pressure group, campaigning or standing for election” (“Active citizenship”, 2004). Compared with countries such as France, America and Canada, the Chinese lack a sense of active citizenship (Zhang, 2011). Many factors may explain this, including the high speed of development for China, the poverty from which many still seek to escape (about 100 million according to Zeng & Ryan, 2012) and a striving for personal advancement over community progress among many Chinese people as evidenced by a number of food safety legal cases, including producing and selling illegal cooking oil in many provinces and cities.

Noticeably, in some recent major public events in China such as the Wenzhou

Train Collision, the evidence shows that a sense of positive citizenship is provoked and citizen 'power' becomes evident. On 23 July 2011, two high-speed trains travelling on the Yongtaiwen railway line collided on a viaduct in the suburbs of Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province, China. The two trains were derailed, and four cars fell off the viaduct. Forty people were killed, and at least 192 were injured, 12 of whom suffering severe injuries, according to the official report. Despite reported directives from the Propaganda Department, various Chinese media, both independent and state-owned, directly criticised the Ministry of Railways and questioned the government. Chinese people were provoked by the Chinese authorities who were accused of inadequate investigation, poor organisation and relief in the aftermath of the disaster, and of subsequently attempting to silence reports into the cause of the crash. Widely reported commentaries ran along the line of "...China, please slow down. If you're too fast, you may leave the souls of your people behind", which idea has been widely spread on people's microblog posts and frequently referred by many national and international websites, including BBC news. One implication is that it indicates that an open, transparent, equal, and justice environment is desired by many in China, a desire that is more easily articulated through the advent of computer based social media.

(5) A lack of effective third-party justification

A lack of transparent information means different stakeholders may acquire different information from different sources. One issue is that governmental policy and documentation may not be used as the guidelines for implementation, but rather for catering for the need imposed by the need to present (favourable) reports to higher administrative institutions which, who, in turn, require such reports for their own administrative purposes. The lack of openness and effective supervision results in lower levels of mutual trust. In particular there is a growing cynicism on the part of ordinary people regarding governmental processes. This endangers the harmony and sustainable development of a society.

(6) The role of researchers and planners

Researchers' and planners' ethics in projects and planning need to be addressed. In

some minority areas of China, the lack of pollution and relative freedom are attractive to tourists; for this reason, tourism becomes a comparatively strong economic industry. Tourism planning serves various State purposes for infrastructure and planning projects and institutional arrangements, leading to negotiations among different stakeholders. For various reasons, researchers and planners are often invited by local governments as part of a consultative process in regional development. Theoretically, researchers and planners consider all stakeholders' interests and may adopt concepts such as equal community participation, but in practice it is the government who invites the researchers and planners, and it is always the government with selected outside specialists (to provide an aura of legitimacy) who assess the projects. Therefore, governments' interests are often more fully considered in the planning. On the other hand, locals' demands are often not fully considered. If researchers and planners, as a third-party (seemingly), cannot fully consider the interest of community, who among government, tourism enterprises and tourists will shoulder this responsibility? Procedural justice and stakeholder equality need to be addressed in tourism planning and consulting.

The insights from this thesis provide us with a view of western theory in the context of minority peoples in China, and a new perspective toward research in China. In this study, the Chinese social and cultural elements, such as *mianzi*, *guanxi*, gift-giving, harmony, government-directed development, mediation, the relation between economic power and political power, are all considered in the discussion. On the basis of differences in culture between western societies and China, it is suggested that some theories, and research methods, might need modification for the Chinese context. Allison (1989) has argued that these differences are not those of an either/or nature, but are complementary in achieving a better understanding of human nature that transcends yet complements east-west cultural divides. It is recommended that researchers and scholars researching China should have a detailed understanding about China and appropriately apply western theories and research methodology within China's context.

10.3 Suggestions for the Kanas Scenic Area

During my fieldwork in Kanas, I often provided detailed suggestions to the local administrative staff about tourism development through casual conversations and a series of project reports. The projects included the Tuva Museum Project Proposal, Tuva Culture Research Committee Articles (draft), Insights into Kanas Tourism Development, Introduction to New Zealand Farming, and so on. I also provided the administrative staff of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee with three days' training about quality management, ski tourism, and sustainable tourism development. This program, as the start of the institution's '100 days Skills Improvement' Program in winter 2009 was broadcast on local TV news. In this study, some suggestions from a macro level and recommendations based on the discussion in previous chapters regarding to tension are provided.

Tourism brings new stakeholders to this community and a re-distribution of interests between the stakeholders with resultant tensions. Within the broader context of a call for political reforms and a harmonious society, the Kaldor-Hicks Efficiency model is recommended, based on the success in generating mutual financial advantages for both the operators of the Home Visit and the local house owners in the Kanas Scenic Area.

A balance is also required between governments, tourism entrepreneurs and tourists that better suits the needs of all parties. Many tourists complain about the high price of the entrance and the shuttle bus tickets. Admittedly, there are other scenic areas with high ticket prices. In fact, it is the shuttle bus ticket that makes the total entrance price so high, since in Kanas and also in other scenic areas, it is compulsory to take the 'environmental' shuttle bus in the area. The shuttle bus business is often operated by large and middle scale enterprises which have a close relationship with the local government. To some extent, the high entrance fee reduces tourists' expenditure on other tourist activities in the scenic area, and there is therefore an imbalance of tourism expenditures in which the entrance fee occupies the largest proportion and local people receive a smaller part.

The local administration is required to take more consideration of the locals' interest, to establish a sound government image and to foster a long-term sustainable development. A lack of such consideration directly led to the locals' demonstrations and appeals in 2011. The resultant profit distribution policies required approvals not only from the higher levels of government (after they sought 'expert' opinion) but also from that of the locals – which involvement was politically significant. The fact that local people may show their opposition also permits the local levels of government to change policies and measures in order to resolve the conflict and “maintain a harmonious society”. Different interpretations may then be advanced. First it may imply that this process reduces the public image of government and it is not beneficial for an effective administration; second, it is a means by which local government and local people collude to win concessions from provincial and central government; third, it is a means of local empowerment.

Considering the comparatively weaker positions of locals involved in tourism operations when faced with competition from outsider entrepreneurs, the government is required to help local businesses improve their business acumen to retain incomes from tourism within the local community. The local administration has provided a series of training programs about Mandarin language, law, marketing, service, management, and so forth, and even sent some local business people to major cities and tourist attractions to learn and experience the 'outside world'. These procedures have greatly improved locals' competitiveness in the 'market economy' during the tourism season. The entry of outsiders is an irresistible general trend; to teach and educate the locals how to react to the new environment is the responsibility of a local government, and helps to establish a fairer and more equal competitive environment.

The development of a scenic area is largely determined by the local government, but such development and administrative strategies must be congruent with national policies. Nonetheless, officialdom and its procedures still remains a barrier to community development.

Although this research focuses on the Kanas Scenic Area, many of the problems would almost certainly be similar in other minority tourism areas and even in other developing countries that are undergoing economic transition and social changes due to tourism. Therefore many findings of this research would also be applicable in these areas.

10.4 Contributions of this study

This study adopts Coser's (1956) conflict theory for a discussion of tourism impacts. Therefore, the contribution of this study is assessed from two perspectives: tourism studies and social conflict theory.

10.4.1 Perspectives of tourism studies

The contribution of this study from the perspectives of tourism can be considered from three levels: the theoretical, methodological and contextual.

Theoretical level

- (1) Coser's particular construct of conflict has not been applied to tourism impacts on an ethnic minority and this thesis thus breaks new ground in that context. Coser's (1956) 16 propositions are fully borrowed for the discussion of tourism impacts on different segments of the community. There is a general lack of empirical evidence in the tourism literature as to the functions of social conflict and the relationship between tourism impacts and conflict. When such concern does exist, it is directed primarily toward the reduction of conflict. However conflict is a necessary and positive part of all social relationships, and a necessity for social change. In this study, both the positive and negative functions of social conflict in tourism are discussed.
- (2) A tension-directed tourism development system is established. This system involves both macro and micro perspectives of tourism impacts. It embodies the evolutionary mechanism of tourism destinations, an emphasis on the four stakeholders, and the changes of inner-personal relationships during tourism

development.

- (3) This study provides a holistic view and systematic approach to the research of tourism impacts. It demonstrates the nature, forms, and means of conflict between the groups and subgroups, contributing to researching the extents, approaches and reasons relating to tourism impacts. Not only tourists, but also the governments, tourism entrepreneurs, and local community tourism development of the destinations, are taken into account in the discussion of tourism impacts. Not only are the consequences of tourism on the locals are assessed, but also the determinants and the mechanism of tourism impacts are involved.
- (4) It provides a useful tool to compare and contrast tourism impacts and their determinants in tourism destinations. Many tourism impact studies are empirical studies which emphasises the specific characteristics of the case areas, and lack a comparison with other case areas and related studies. The framework of analysis and the tension-directed tourism development system provide a tool for comparing and contrasting tourism impacts on different areas. It permits a discussion of the determinants of different tourism impacts on different destinations. It therefore permits cross case study analysis from which generalisation becomes possible.

Methodological level

- (5) Ethnographic research of one year's duration in the case area is adopted. There is a great difference between China and western societies in terms of political systems, economic development, social structures and minority cultures. In addition, there is a huge gap between China's eastern developed regions and the western developing and even under-developed minority areas. The uniqueness of indigenous people requires researchers to fully understand them. However, few studies about tourism's impact on ethnic communities have adopted such an approach. Ethnographic study can enable a researcher to better understand the values of indigenous people and analyse them within the

context of the indigenous culture.

Contextual level

- (6) The tourism impacts on multi-minority communities are discussed. Studies of tourism's impacts on indigenous people commonly concentrate on areas inhabited by one indigenous group; however, globally, tourism destinations that are inhabited by more than one minority are not unknown. Consequently interactions among multiple minority groups in tourist destinations require attention from researchers if a better understanding of the social and cultural impacts of tourism is to be developed. This study makes some contribution to this domain.
- (7) There is a lack of research on domestic tourists who are the main component of the ethnic tourism destinations in many developing countries. This study provides a systematic research and survey on studying domestic tourists.
- (8) There is a lack of systematic research on tourism impacts on ethnic communities in northwest China in literature in English, and this study fills such a gap.

10.4.2 Perspectives of social conflict theory

There has been a lack of empirical testing of Coser's (1956) social conflict theory within tourism. Urry (1990, 1992, 2002) implies an analogy between the gaze of tourists and Foucault's (1975) clinical gaze. Similarly, this study applies a theory of other disciplines to a tourism study. Urry has been criticised as lacking a background in tourism studies and research, and for that reason some of his supporting arguments have been criticised as not being convincing (e.g. Perkins & Thorns, 1998). Also, "The tourist gaze's adaption of the [Foucaultian] model could be seen as a weak analogy" (Leiper, 1992, p. 606), and it is insufficiently developed from the associated notion of the medical gaze (Hollingshead, 2000; Leiper, 1992). This study, on the other hand, supports the arguments by the

researcher's observations derived from one year's fieldwork, which is more convincing. Furthermore, instead of merely examining a theory or a framework of other disciplines in tourism, this study broadens and deepens the original theory within the changed background against that of Coser's (1956) discussion.

Western vs. Eastern (a government-directed society)

Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956)'s arguments are derived from western capitalist society. This study is conducted in a different society, and indicates that some of Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956) arguments require to be adjusted and extended within a different context.

Proposition 13 in Coser's (1956) study - Conflict binds antagonists – indicates that conflict often leads to the modification and creation of laws as well as the growth of new institutional structures to enforce these laws. However, in government-directed societies, conflict may directly lead to the creation of institutions, rather than the modification or creation of laws. This apparently represents a difference from the Euro-centric work of Coser (1956). The foundation of the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee can serve as an example. Many issues have occurred under a different political system. Laws and regulations are the requisites for administration in western societies; however, China has a top-down political system, and government holds strong power especially in those underdeveloped regions. In some places, the administrative power of the government supersedes legal regulations and therein there are often conflicts and disputes, for example, over the compensation fee of properties between property owners, local governments and development corporations. According to Coser (1956, p. 134), "one of the major functions of government is the final arbitration of antagonistic interest". However, sometimes, the local government of some communities in China (including the case area) plays the role of game player, rather than game arbitrator, which makes for a more complex interaction among stakeholders.

Proposition 8 in Coser's (1956) study – Conflict as an index of stability of

relationships – puts an emphasis on the correlation between conflict and inter-personal relationships. In China, *guanxi* is an integral part of Chinese culture, and within the Chinese context, such relationships require special attention. *Guanxi* in China has multiple meanings in different contexts. For example, it may mean ‘romance’ in the context of a male and a female; it may mean network when discussed in the background of business. Generally, in China, it may be argued that the continuance of relationships represents the continuance of resources and benefits. It may be concluded that both social tension and *guanxi* contribute to the operation of a balancing mechanism in contemporary Chinese society.

In terms of the discussion of mediator in Proposition 4 in Coser’s (1956) study – Conflict and hostile impulses – both Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) explain the role of the mediator by distinguishing between realistic causes and emotional factors of conflict in Western settings. According to Coser (1956), mediators release the unrealistic elements of conflict and require contenders deal realistically with the divergent claims at issue. However, China’s context is different from Western mediation circumstances (Wall, 1990). Although Coser (1956) addresses the importance of social structure, social position, and cultural norms in discussing conflict, he fails to consider such variables in discussing the roles of mediators. Within the Chinese top-down society (social structure), power (social position) and *mianzi* (culture norms) play important roles not only in eliminating non-realistic elements of aggressiveness but also in resolving the realistic cause of conflicts and disputes. The relationship between mediators with the opponents in China is not as neutral as in Western settings, and sometimes the mediators are not a third-party. In China, the Chinese philosophy *Harmony is the most precious* (以和为贵 *pinyin: yiheweigui*), is a strategy often adopted in mediation to release the emotional factors of conflict.

Sociology vs. Anthropology (ethnic community)

In contrast with Coser’s (1956) study, which is derived from a social systems analysis, this study takes account of the characteristics of an ethnic community. Factors such as indigenous culture, belief, and the unequal positions of different

stakeholders in ethnic societies are considered in this study.

In the discussion of Coser's (1956) Proposition 10 – Conflict with another group defines group structure and consequent reaction to internal conflict – three factors are suggested as additional variables to Coser's (1956) concepts about conflict, group structure and consequent reaction to internal conflict, as seen in Figure 8.13. They are (1) ethnic people's marginalised position in society, (2) the membership criteria (ascribed or achieved), and (3) the relative strength of the groups involved in conflict (highly unequal or varied). It is argued that these factors must be taken into account when discussing the conflict regarding ethnic groups. The unique characteristics of ethnic people and their relatively marginalised position in society need to be addressed when applying sociological theories in the discussion of the issues relating to these peoples, yet the nature of those positions become clear only through anthropological/ethnographic immersion into societal patterns.

Theory vs. Reality (the Kanas Scenic Area/tourism)

In his work, *The Functions of Social Conflict*, Coser (1956) is more concerned with the function of social conflict as a means of generating and sustaining changes in social systems, but the examples used as to how groups function within society, and the reasons for heresies and discordant action are not always examined in depth, there being, one suspects, an assumption of familiarity with the examples chosen. Coser (1987, p. 18) himself wrote that "I saw my book as an attempt to redress the balance by focusing attention on the central importance of social conflicts in social structures and human affairs" – an imbalance he perceived in Talcott Parsons's structural functionalism and its concentration on common values and social harmony. Therefore, in applying his theories to the situation in Kanas, his modes of social analysis are useful in that changes to traditional life styles are occurring with subsequent social disharmonies arising into which his theoretical concepts provide an insight; however those insights arguably remain incomplete as they do not analyse the reasons *per se* for the disequilibrium. Furthermore, the stakeholders in tourism are highly correlated, which limits the frequency of conflict.

Proposition 4 in Coser's (1956) study – Conflict and hostile impulses – addresses the fact that occurrence of conflict can be largely attributed to the interaction (Simmel, 1955), and also to social position, cultural norms, and social structure (Coser, 1956). In the tourism context, three types of interaction between tourists and locals – unsymmetrical interaction, symmetrical interaction and invented interaction – are suggested and explained, based on both parties' participation level in the interaction. Locals' resentment towards tourists and outsider entrepreneurs arise during the three types of interaction; however, the resentment did not necessarily lead to conflicts. Therefore, the social phenomenon of aggression and conflict can be attributed to three types of variables: inherent attributes of human beings (e.g. impulse of hostility and personality), external variables (e.g. interaction, social position, culture norms, social structure) and personal concerns (e.g. economic benefits).

Conflict and hostility arise from the interaction between stakeholders during tourism development. *Ambivalence* between villagers in one village and *ambivalence* between different townships and villages in the Kanas Scenic Area are also explored to discuss the presence of antagonism in close social relationships. Tourism has increased the interaction between the social relationships, and has also increased the competition, hostility and jealousy.

Past vs. present (21 century /globalisation)

Coser's (1956) discussions about the functions of social conflict relate to the period of the early part of the 20th century and even earlier. This study is conducted in the 21st century against the background of globalisation. Modern Western culture is spreading to each corner of the world, with the ethnic communities no exception, and thereby the tension between western modern and indigenous cultures arises. On the other hand, due to a close connection between groups and individuals in the globalisation context, conflict and tensions exist in new forms, in contrast to the counterparts of the cold war era.

10.5 Limitations of this study

The limitations of this study mainly involve four barriers:

Specialty barrier

I am not a specialist in sociology and psychology; this inhibits a thorough understanding of social conflict theory and thereby may exert an influence on my discussion of Coser's (1956) social conflict theory and tourism. Although I have read some introductory works in sociology and social psychology and even attended some undergraduate classes in relation to the disciplines for this research, such approaches can hardly permit a deep understanding of these complex disciplines. Furthermore, my understanding about the functions of social conflict is mainly derived from Simmel's (1955) and Coser's (1956)'s work, with a lack of understanding about the work of other sociologists and scholars in other disciplines.

Research barrier

This research focuses on four key stakeholder groups, and relatively little is known about the roles and perceptions of other stakeholders such as the planning specialists of the Kanas Scenic Area, non-government organisations (NGOs), and international organisations in ethnic tourism. Research along these lines would add valuable knowledge about the development strategy of the area, how to involve NGOs and international organisations in the development of ethnic communities and the potential for collaboration among diverse stakeholders.

Language barrier

There may be problems of literacy and language, working across Tuva, Kazakh, Mandarin and English and even German. From the perspective of theories, Coser's (1956) work is derived from the English translation version of Simmel's work which is originally in German. From the perspective of the researched people, they are mainly Tuva and Kazakh people and undoubtedly their mother languages are Tuva and Kazakh languages respectively. Although they can speak some Mandarin and I also learnt their languages during the ethnographic research,

the language barrier still existed at times, especially when discussing some complex issues such as culture and religion. From the perspective of myself, I am a Han Chinese female and my mother language is therefore Mandarin. This thesis is my first attempt of writing a significant work in English. Due to the expression and cultural differences of Chinese and English-speaking people, sometimes I find it difficult to fully express my ideas in English or I think I have already expressed my ideas but actually have not done so. This has led my supervisor, Professor Chris Ryan, to 'guess' what I want to say when he read the first draft, and he has made some revisions and supplements to the text, based on his experience of reading Chinese researchers' work in English. Generally, as far as I can tell, he got it right!

Cultural barrier

The protection of *face*, the *mianzi* syndrome by which people project perceptions of wealth and power, is well recognised within Chinese society (Ryan, Gu & Zhang, 2009). *Jia chou bu ke wai yang* (家丑不可外扬), which can be translated into 'family disgrace should not be revealed to an outsider', in a western sense can be equivalent to 'not washing your dirty laundry in public'. This applies not only to organisations and the network of personal relationships to which an individual belongs, but also to Chinese researchers in the research area if the researchers develop close bonds with the actors in a research area, as was the case for the author. From this perspective, it can be said that I am not a wholly objective researcher, but was working within both my culture and my research environment.

10.6 Future research directions

Social conflict in tourism

As an initial analysis of the functions of conflict in tourism development, this study discusses the nature, forms and means of social conflict in tourism, the hostility and tensions in conflict relationships, and also intra- and inter-group conflict. However, there remains a lack of a more comprehensive analysis of conflict management and conflict resolution in tourism, simply because the evidence is restricted to the Kanas Scenic area. This is both a limitation of this

study, and also my future research direction. I hope to establish a systematic theory about social conflict in tourism which consists of such elements as the nature of conflict, conflict management, conflict resolution, etc. Hopefully this research will attract interest from researchers and scholars on conflict in tourism and contribute to this domain.

Tourism development in multi-ethnic communities

Tourism development in multi-ethnic communities remains an under-researched area, especially with reference to the role of conflict in such communities affected by tourism. During a visit to Fiji, with its population of native Fijian and Indo-Fijian natives, I found parallels between Fiji and Kanas. Two examples are briefly provided here: (1) In Fiji, all the handicraft shops in Nadi are operated by Indo-Fijians who are noted for their entrepreneurial business capabilities. Indo-Fijians employ native Fijians and take advantage of the attractiveness of native Fijian people to tourists. Sometimes the Indo-Fijians even provide a Kava performance for tourists although it arguably 'belongs' to native Fijians. To some extent, the Indo-Fijians play the role of cultural brokers between tourists and native Fijians, as do the Kazakh people in the Kanas Scenic Area. (2) Some male Fijians involved in tourism have romantic relations with female tourists. The physical appearance of the male Fijians appeals to some female tourists. Similar issues also exist in Kanas, as discussed in the earlier chapters. In contrast to the minority peoples in the Kanas Scenic Area having little power in politics, the native Fijians have political power and to some extent take advantage of the Indians by denying them a full range of political rights (Ryan, personal communication, September 15, 2011) even while wishing to retain their entrepreneurial business capabilities. To research tourism development in multi-ethnic destinations and to compare and contrast such issues in eastern and western countries is another direction for future study.

The writing of a doctoral thesis is a journey through patterns of learning about the subject of the research, about research methods and about one's own capability to learn not only about the research process but also one's own perseverance, adaptability and commitment to achieve. Yet the completion of the thesis is not

the end of the journey but simply the marking of a phase in a longer, different journey that prepares one for subsequent stages. I believe this experience will help me, and hopefully others, through such stages.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH VERSION)



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Tourist Motivation & Satisfaction

The purpose of this questionnaire is to ask visitors why they come to Kanas and your assessment of your visit. This survey is being undertaken by Jingjing Yang (jingyang551@hotmail.com) as part of her Ph. D thesis. The purpose of this project is to discuss the impacts of tourism on Kanas, Xinjiang Autonomous Region, China
It will take you around 15 minutes to complete this questionnaire. **Your name and address are not required.** You have the right to refuse to participate in the project, refuse to answer any particular question, and ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Section1: Visit information

1. What is your **PRIMARY** reason for visiting Kanas?. Please tick the box that best represents your reason.

Experiencing a minority culture Sightseeing in general Business
Leisure/holiday/relaxing Visiting friends and/or relatives
Religion others (please specify)_____

2. If you come here primarily for travel, are you on a package holiday Yes No

3. How many days have you stayed in Kanas? _____

4. How many times in total have you visited Kanas (including this time)? _____

5. Which village (s) did you stay during this visit? Kanas Hemuhe Baibaha

6. Have you had interactions with local minority people? If yes, in what circumstance did the interactions happen (multiple choice)?

Renting horses for recreational riding selling foods family hosting of visitors.
Homestays others (please specify) _____

7.. Can you please provide 3 words or phrases that summarise your **EXPECTATION** of Kanas?

8.. Can you please provide 3 words or phrases that summarise your **EXPERIENCE** of Kanas?

Section 2: What is IMPORTANT to you

Below are a list of reasons as to why people come to Kanas. Please **circle the number** that best indicates the **LEVELS OF IMPORTANCE** you attach to these items.

The Importance Scale

Of no importance	1
Of little importance	2
Of some importance	3
Important	4
Very important	5
Very highly important	6
Extremely Important	7

	Importance
I am interested in the minority culture.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
For fun/leisure	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To see the natural scenery	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To see the festivals and events	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
For the standard of hotels	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To try 'local food'	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
For shopping	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I come here mainly for photography	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
This place was recommended to me by travel agency.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Because the holiday is 'cheap'	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To share things with friends and family	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I come here just for the performances.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
This is one of the "must see" places in China	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To learn about different cultures	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
This place was recommended to me by friends.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To visit friends and family	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To have a 'special' experience	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To observe the costumes of local people.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To be hosted by local people in their homes	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
To go horse riding with local guides	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I am interested in the minority culture.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
It is simply a nice place to relax.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Section 3: How SATISFIED are you with your visit experience.

Can you please **circle the number** that best indicates the **LEVELS OF SATISFACTION** you gained from these experiences. Use the scale where:

The Satisfaction Scale

Dissatisfied	1
Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	2
Satisfied to a small extent	3
Generally satisfied	4
Very satisfied	5
Very highly satisfied	6
Extremely Satisfying	7
Not applicable	0

	Satisfaction							
Learning about the minority culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Having fun/leisure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Seeing the natural scenery	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Seeing the festivals and events	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The standard of hotels	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The 'local food'	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The shopping	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The opportunities for photography	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
This place lived up to the recommendation of the travel agency.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The price of the holiday	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Being with friends and family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The performances.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Kanas as a "must see" places in China	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Learning about different cultures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
This place lived up to the recommendation of my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Visiting friends and family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Having 'special' experiences	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Being able to observe the costumes of local people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Being hosted by local people in their homes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Going horse riding with local guides	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
My interest in the minority culture was met.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Being able to relax	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Overall, I would rate my satisfaction as:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

**Section 4: This section is about aspects of the local Kanas people’s culture.
Please use a scale where**

I was not impressed at all 1

I was very impressed 7

And 0 is where you do not feel able to comment.

The traditional dress of local people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The traditional food of local people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The traditional local architectural styles.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The traditional local drinking custom.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The traditional local music.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The traditional local handicrafts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The hospitality of locals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The traditional throat singing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The traditional local milk wine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Being able to take horse rides in the local manner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

Section 5:

Personal information – This section is used for classifying respondents for general statistical analysis only.

1. Are you Male Female

2. How old are you?

below 20 years 21-30 years 31~40 years

41~50 years 51~60 years above 61 years of age

3. Where do you normally live? _____ 4. What is your ethnic group? _____

5. What is your highest completed educational qualification?

Junior middle school or below

High middle school or technical school

Professional Graduate degree

Postgraduate degree or above

6. How would you classify your **TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME** per annum? (Chinese Yuan).

Significantly below average Below average Average

Above average Significantly above average

6. What is your occupation? _____

Section 4: Other information

If you have any comments about tourism and the local minority peoples, can you please write a comment.

Thank you for your cooperation again!

Jingjing Yang, Ph. D Candidate

Email: Jingyang551@hotmail.com

Supervisor’s Name and contact information: Professor Chris Ryan: caryan@waikato.ac.nz

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE (CHINESE VERSION)



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

旅游者动机 & 体验调查

此次调查的目的是为了了解旅游者来喀纳斯旅游的动机和对此次旅游的满意程度。此次调查为杨晶晶的博士论文的一部分内容。该项研究旨在分析旅游业对喀纳斯的影响。

您将需要15分钟左右的时间完成该问卷。您不需要提供您的姓名和地址信息。您有权拒绝填写问卷, 拒绝回答任何一个问题。在填写问卷过程中如果您有任何疑问请随时提出。

谢谢您的配合。

第一部分 旅行信息

1. 您此次来喀纳斯**最主要**的原因是? (请在选项前方的方框处打√, 下同)
 体验少数民族文化 观光 商务 休闲/度假/放松
 探亲访友 宗教 其他(请注明) _____
2. 如果您此行的主要目的是旅游, 那么您的出游方式为: 参加旅游团 散客
3. 您此行在喀纳斯的停留时间为: _____晚
4. 您一共来过喀纳斯几次(包括这次)? _____
5. 您此行的旅游地点为(可复选): 喀纳斯 禾木村 白哈巴
6. 您此行中和当地的少数民族交流过吗? 如果交流过的话, 是在什么情景下交流的。
 他们向游客出租马匹时 他们售卖食物时 到当地人家里家访时
 在当地人家里居住期间 其他(请注明) _____
7. 您能否用三个词语或短语来描述您来喀纳斯之前对这次旅游的**期望**?
8. 您能否用三个词语或短语来描述您这次喀纳斯之行的**感受**?

第二部分 什么对您是最重要的

下面列举了人们为什么来喀纳斯旅游的一些原因。请根据每个原因对于您此次旅行的重要程度，参照以下的数字刻度标准圈选您认为适当的数字。

重要程度

极度不重要	1
非常不重要	2
不重要	3
尚可	4
重要	5
非常重要	6
极度重要	7

	重要程度
我对当地的少数民族文化感兴趣	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
来此休闲娱乐	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
来欣赏自然风光	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
来体验节庆活动	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
因为当地的住宿设施	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
品尝风味餐	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
购物	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
我主要是来摄影	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
旅行社推荐给我这个地方	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
因为旅行价格相对便宜	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
和亲朋好友共度时光	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
我只是为了看表演	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
这是中国‘必看’的地方之一	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
感受不同的文化	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
我的朋友推荐给我这个地方	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
到此探亲访友	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
希望有个‘特殊’的体验	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
来观察当地人的服饰	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
到当地人家里做客	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
骑马	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
我对少数民族文化感兴趣	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
这只是一个很好的休闲场所	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

第三部分：您对此次旅行的满意程度

请根据您对此次旅行中对下表中每项内容的满意程度，参照以下的数字刻度标准圈选您认为适当的数字。

满意度

极度不满意	1
非常不满意	2
不满意	3
尚可	4
满意	5
非常满意	6
极度满意	7
没意见	0

	满意度							
了解少数民族文化	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
休闲/娱乐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
观赏自然景观	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
体验节庆活动	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
饭店标准	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
当地风味餐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
购物	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
摄影	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
这个地方确实符合旅行社的推荐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
此次旅行的花费	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
和亲朋好友共度时光	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
表演	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
这是中国‘必看’的地方之一	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
了解少数民族文化	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
这个地方确实符合我朋友的推荐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
探亲访友	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
特殊体验	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
来观察当地人的服饰	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
到当地人家里做客	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
骑马	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
实现了我对少数民族文化了解的愿望	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
可以轻松休闲	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
总的来说，我对此次旅行的满意度为：	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

第四部分：

您对当地少数民族及其文化印象最深的是什么？参照以下的数字刻度标准圈选您认为适当的数字。

我对此一点印象都没有 1

我对此印象特别深刻 7

0 表示您对此没意见 或不愿意发表评论

当地人的传统服装	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
当地的传统食物	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
当地的传统建筑	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
当地传统的喝酒习俗	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
当地的传统音乐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
当地传统的手工艺品	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
当地人的好客	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
当地人的唱歌	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
当地传统的奶酒	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
以当地人的方式骑马	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

第五部分： 个人信息

这部分信息仅用于统计分析

1. 您的性别：男 女
2. 您的年龄：20 岁以下 21-30 31~40 41~50
51~60 61 岁以上
3. 您来自哪里？ _____
4. 您所属的民族为： _____
4. 您的教育背景：初中及以下 高中或技术学校 专业技术人员
本科 硕士研究生及以上
5. 您认为您总的家庭年收入属于的类别为：
很大程度低于平均水平 低于平均水平 平均水平 高
与平均水平 很大程度高于平均水平
6. 您的职业： _____

第六部分： 其他信息

对于当地的旅游和当地少数民族，您有哪些看法？

再次感谢您的配合！

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APPENDIX 3: THE QUESTIONS ABOUT CULTURAL BROKERING IN THE HOME VISIT CONTEXT

After a stay of three months, I had a general understanding about the cultural brokering in the Home Visit context, and I designed a number of questions for further research.

The questions in relation to Tuva people:

- (1) Do Tuvas know tourists want to see Tuva people and experience Tuva culture?
- (2) Why do they not operate Home Visit? Dislike? Poor communication skills? Language barrier? Others?
- (3) The attitudes of different Tuva people, especially young people, towards other minorities pretending Tuva people and having earned lots of money. Anger? Jealous? None of my business? Or others? What are their actions towards the pretending phenomenon?
- (4) The attitudes of Tuva people towards other minorities participating different tourist activity.
- (5) The attitudes of Tuva people in different village towards other minorities pretending Tuva people
- (6) Why do the Tuva people who have moved to Buerjin County contact the travel agencies and operate Home Visit in Kanas?
- (7) For the Home Visit run by Tuvas themselves, what performance do they provide for tourists? What marketing skills do they use to attract tourists? How do they establish contact with tour guides and travel agencies? What are their attitudes towards other minorities operating Home Visit?
- (8) If the township government ask Tuva to be receptionist to sing and dance for guests, and the salary is 1300 yuan per month, would they take this job? If the answer is “NO”, why do not they take this job? The money is too little? Poor Han Chinese? Or others?
- (9) What are their attitudes towards government hiring other minorities to show Tuva culture?
- (10) In their opinions, why the government does not hire them?
- (11) What are the impacts of this “phony Tuva culture” on authentic Tuva culture?

- (12) What are the subcultures in Tuva culture? What is the authority system in Tuva community? What are the tourism impacts on the subcultures?

The questions in relation to the Han, Kazakh and Mongolian operators and performers:

- (1) Who are the first operating Home Visit?
- (2) What is their understanding of Tuva culture?
- (3) What is their understanding of Tuva culture in tourists' eyes?
- (4) Do all the people participating in tourism lie to tourists that they are Tuva? If not, who do not lie to tourists? Who lie to tourists?
- (5) Do the people participating in tourism lie to all tourists that they are Tuva? If not, what types of tourist do they lie to? What types of tourist do not they lie to?
- (6) In their opinions, why Tuva people do not operate Home Visit?

The questions in relation to the local administrative institutions:

Township government:

Why does not the government hire local Tuva girls to be receptionists to welcome guests?

Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee:

- (1) What are the admission requirements for opening Home Visit business?
- (2) What are the attitudes of Kazakh officials towards the Home Visit properties operated by Kazakh people?
- (3) What are the influences of the Kazakh officials in the Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee on the Tuva home visiting operated by Kazakh people?

The questions in relation to travel agency and tour guides:

- (1) What factors do they consider when they choose a particular Home Visit home visit?
- (2) How much commission do they get from tourist consumption in the Home

Visit?

- (3) Do they know many Home Visit properties are operated by non-Tuvas?
- (4) Are there any tourists that complain about the phony Tuva performance?

The questions in relation to tourists:

- (1) What their motivations for visiting Kanas?
- (2) How do they evaluate their experiences in Kanas?
- (3) Do they know Tuva people and Tuva culture before visiting Kanas?
- (4) Can they distinguish Tuva people from other minorities here?
- (5) Do they care and want to see the authentic Tuva people and experience Tuva culture?
- (6) Do the tourists visiting Home Visit know that they are operated by other minorities?

**APPENDIX 4: THE OFFICIAL VISITS AND POSSIBLE
RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE POLITICAL LEADERS AND
HIGH RANKING OFFICIALS FROM CHINA CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT**

Time	The officials and their former positions	Visits and suggestions
July, 1985	HU Yaobang, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China	He visited Altay Region, suggesting that Altay should be developed as bases of animal husbandry, mining and tourism. Tourism base referred to Kanas.
October 5-7, 1985	WANG Zhen, Deputy Dean of Central Advisory Commission	He visited Altay Region, suggesting that Kanas Lake was beautiful and Kanas area should be developed as a tourism destination.
July, 1986	WANG Enmao, Vice Chairman of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	He visited Buerjin County, suggesting that Kanas tourism development should balance conservation, development and administration.
September 1993	Song Jian, Member of the State Council of the People's Republic of China	He visited Altay Region, suggesting that Kanas Lake should be well preserved, developed and utilized. Kanas should be open to the world, in order to promote the economic development of Xinjiang and Altay Region.
August, 1995	QIAN Weichang, Vice Chairman of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	He visited Kanas, suggesting that Kanas is the only area in Asia that owned abundant Switzerland style tourism resources. Kanas should be developed as a tourism destination with the theme of Switzerland scenery.
August, 1999	LI Tieying, Member of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee	He visited Kanas.
August, 1999	ZHAO Nan, Vice Chairman of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	He visited Kanas Nature Reserve, suggesting that development and utilization should be consistent with conservation.
August, 2001	ZHOU Guangzhao, Vice Chairman of Standing Committee of the National People's Congress	He visited Altay Region, suggesting that conservation was a precondition for Kanas development which should be at a modest rate. He emphasized

		that Kanas' primitive natural scenery should be well preserved.
August, 2001	WANG Zaoguo, Vice Chairman of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	He visited Altay Region, suggesting that conversation should be fully considered in Kanas tourism development, and planning should be conducted ahead development.
2002	WANG Lequan, Member of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and secretary of the CPC (Communist Party of China) Xinjiang regional committee	He visited Kanas, suggesting that Kanas had exquisite tourism resource which was one of the best in Xinjiang, a spectacular in China and the world. Wang proposed that Kanas had the potential to be developed as a world-class tourism resort, and should be the priority scenic areas in Xinjiang to be developed, and be highly promoted as a world-class tourism brand.
August 15-16, 2002	WEI Jianxing, Member of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Secretary of CPC Central Committee for Discipline Inspection	He visited Kanas.
August 30-31, 2002	WU Bangguo, member of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and Vice Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China	He visited Altay Region, suggesting that Kanas tourism resources should be fully conserved and Kanas should be well developed and utilized. He wrote a few words of appreciation, "Beautiful and mysterious Kanas".
September 5-6, 2002	WU Yi, Alternate Member of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and Vice Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China	She visited Altay Region, and stated that Kanas was a spectacular tourism destination, the tourism resources of which owned the feature of five European countries. She proposed that Kanas should be developed at a high standard and high level and in a sustainable way with fully consideration of ecological environment.
September, 2002	QIAO Shi, Member of Standing Committee of	He visited Kanas.

	Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress	
September,2003	JIA Qinglin, Member of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	He visited Kanas Nature Reserve.
August, 2004	LUO Gan, Member of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Secretary of the Committee of Political Science and Law under the CPC Central Committee	He visited Kanas.
September 2004	CHEN Zhili, Member of the State Council of the People's Republic of China	She inspected the construction of "Approaching to Every Village" Project at Hanas Village
July 2005	HHUANG Ju, Member of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and Vice Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China	He visited Altay Region, suggesting that Kanas development should be practical and step by step. He also proposed to preserve the environment and conduct planning.
August, 2005	ZENG Qinghong, Member of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Vice Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China	He visited Kanas, suggesting that Kanas was a spectacular place in China that has world wonders.
2005	LI Ruihuan, Member of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Chairman of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	He visited Kanas, suggesting that Kanas resource, a first-class resource in China, was rare in China and the world.

Source: Altay Region Chorography Committee & Kanas Scenic Area Administrative Committee (2006)