

**Cultural sustainability with arts management, minority cultural education and
tourism:**

A study of Miao intangible cultural heritage in Xijiang, China

by

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Statement of Originality

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Abstract

Culture is a key element in the sustainable development of a region. Ensuring cultural sustainability is essential to achieve sustainable, generation-to-generation benefits from development, which is fundamental to maintaining cultural diversity, inheriting history, and providing cultural resources as cultural capital from an economic perspective. Since many governments exploit cultural tourism for social and economic development, problems with cultural sustainability in ethnic minority areas have increasingly emerged.

The Miao group in Xijiang, China, is the target of this research. As in other ethnic villages, Xijiang adopted cultural tourism as an influential strategy to fuel economic development. This approach has been accompanied by growing concerns regarding how to protect and promote Miao culture or balance the use of Miao ethnicity as both a tourist attraction and a source of ethnic pride to achieve sustainable tourism development. However, the approach emphasizes the development of tourism and

cultural commodities and is less considerate of the cultural sustainability, arts management, and ethnic cultural education of the Miao.

A mixed methods case study approach was employed to answer the research question. The study follows a convergent parallel design that combines a quantitative survey with qualitative methods (i.e. observation, interview, focus group, documentary analysis, and documentary photography) to ensure triangulation and complementarity.

The findings of the study from 2011 to 2016 demonstrate tensions between the constructs of Hanization versus ethnic identity, cultural preservation versus tourism development, and authenticity versus profit generation, all of which directly affect the cultural sustainability of regions. In Xijiang, Hanization challenges the cultural sustainability of Miao. Han capitalism has the dominant market share in Xijiang. Moreover, Hanization is reflected in school and community education. The residents of Xijiang exhibited a weak sense of cultural sustainability. From the perspective of policy makers, cultural sustainability refers to the preservation of cultural heritage,

and the government has recognized the effective protection of Miao intangible cultural heritage as the premise of economic development. In fact, efforts for cultural preservation have been flawed. The development of Xijiang is profit oriented, and Miao cultural products have been questioned as inauthentic. Furthermore, attracting tourists and generating profits, as opposed to pursuing cultural sustainability, have become the determining factors in cultural programming, planning, and management practices.

This thesis develops a conceptual framework for achieving a balance between the preservation of cultural heritage and the development of cultural tourism, which implicates the equilibrium between the authenticity of cultural products and the pursuit of economic benefits. The report identifies four stakeholders in the cultural ecosystem: government officials and managers; local communities, including Miao indigenous people, immigrant entrepreneurs, and immigrant artists; tourists; and scholars. The thesis provides recommendations for featuring cultural sustainability in policymaking for arts and education. It also advises the formulation of a cultural

tourism strategy for policy makers and arts managers to ultimately achieve sustainable development in Xijiang's cultural ecosystem.

Keywords: Cultural sustainability, arts management, ethnic cultural education, cultural tourism, Miao intangible cultural heritage

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List of Abbreviations

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SD	Sustainable Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

The concepts of sustainability and sustainable development first appeared in a report by the Brundtland Commission and subsequently attracted widespread attention. Acknowledgement of the similarities between natural ecology and cultural capital has expanded applications of sustainable development in the cultural sector (Throsby, 2005). According to the World Commission on Culture and Development (1995), sustainable cultural development meets the needs of present and future generations with regard to access to cultural resources. Incorporating culture into sustainability discourse requires a broad, cross-sectoral, and interdisciplinary understanding of the three pillars: economic, environmental, and social (Dessein et al., 2015). Further interest of scholars lies in applying the concept of cultural sustainability to cultural

heritage (Strange, 1999; Rana & Singh, 2000) and cultural capital (Throsby, 1997, 1999; Shockley, 2004).

Cultural sustainability directly affects the cultural ecosystem. The American anthropologist Julian Steward (1955; 2006) was the first scholar to integrate the concepts of culture and ecology:

Cultural ecology differs from human and social ecology in seeking to explain the origin of particular cultural features and patterns which characterize different areas rather than to drive general principals applicable to any cultural-environmental situation... use a supplementary conception of culture... cultural core — the constellation of features which are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangement (p. 5).

The link between cultural sustainability and the economy is especially relevant in acknowledging the importance of creative activities and the special value of cultural heritage. According to Throsby (2003), when introducing the term intergenerational equity (a key concept of sustainable development that refers to the fairness in the

distribution of welfare or other forms of resources between generations) to the discussion of cultural areas, it is applicable to the management of cultural capital because “the stock of cultural capital, both tangible and intangible, embodies the cultural we have inherited from our forebears and which we hand on to future generations” (Throsby, 2003, p. 184). The 8th and 12th Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations in its 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development refer to the production and marketing of cultural products in relation to sustainable development. Furthermore, the fourth goal acknowledges the contribution of culture to sustainable development of education.

Therefore, rather than focusing only the consumption and protection of cultural heritage and ethnic arts, an investigation of the cultural sustainability of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) in minority-dominant areas should include a discussion of natural, economic, and social activities that are suitable for a given cultural-ecological system.

This study addresses the cultural sustainability of the ICH of the Miao residents of the Xijiang Miao Village in the Guizhou province. Xijiang is the largest Miao village

in the world but maintained a relatively isolated status until cultural tourism became the core industry in China's minority regions. Cultural tourism in China has been utilized since the 1980s to alleviate poverty and integrate ethnic minorities into the dominant society (Oakes, 1998; Shih, 2002). The industry has become a main pillar of economic growth in minority areas, including Xijiang, where local authorities have experienced mounting pressure to lift people fully out of poverty by 2020. Many successful cases confirm the potential of tourism to promote economic and cultural development as well as ethnic harmony building in minority areas, especially the provinces of Guizhou and Yunnan (Su & Teo, 2009).

Such development has gradually integrated minority groups into the commerce of ethnic culture. Consequently, performance-oriented ethnic villages have become a popular type of theme park to educate the public about the history and culture of ethnic minorities throughout China (Dong & Li, 2006). Culturally related organizations or agencies have deviated from their original intention of preserving cultural heritage to instead prioritize cultural tourism activities (Barthel-Bouchier, 2016). According to Lapierre (2001), when an arts organization becomes a for-profit

company, it encounters the inevitable challenge of art versus commerce. Arts organizations should adhere to their mission rather than drifting with the market-oriented flow alongside other business enterprises. Intensifying debate over the authenticity of cultural commodification in Xijiang and the profit-oriented management of the local cultural company contradicts Lapierre's belief. Furthermore, like other famous ancient towns in China (e.g. Lijiang), Xijiang has followed the trend of transforming Miao ICH into a superficial "assembly line" performance. Hence, critics have argued that the sanctity of the Miao's religion has been violated in addition to the ethnic identity of local communities, which has raised questions about the cultural sustainability of the Miao. Therefore, there is an urgent need to explore the equilibrium between elements in the cultural ecosystem of Xijiang.

Like other minorities, the Miao are associated with unique cultural characteristics, including labor productivity profile, social interaction, and recreational activities, that reflect the nation's history and moral values. With the passage of time, the Miao have produced rich and diverse tangible and ICH. This cultural heritage is inlaid not only in the artifacts of the past but also in the processes of social change that has contributed

to creating a sustainable society. Miao culture, history, and knowledge have been preserved, practiced, and shared mainly in verbal form and remembered mentally in life. Thus, this thesis emphasizes the ICH of the Miao, including music, dance, song, handicrafts, festivals, worship ceremonies, and so forth. Cultural sustainability is widely linked with education in schools and among communities and especially with the element of tourism (De Raadt, 2002; Brebbia & Pineda, 2010; Hiwaki, 2016). In view of ethnic minority areas, some scholars have considered the establishment of educational institutions to be a right of the citizen (Walford, 2008), while others have focused on the power of the government to address educational affairs (Chen, 2008). Therefore, this topic is also a focus of discussion in this thesis.

This thesis has several aims: to locate Miao arts within sustainability policies, planning, programming, and assessments of arts performances and other cultural activities; to strengthen awareness of cultural construction and ethnic cultural education within flourishing cultural tourism; to establish a conceptual framework for culturally sustainable development in the context of Xijiang; and to suggest the

harnessing of culture to pursue sustainable development goals from novel perspectives.

1.2 Object of research

The target of this research, namely the Miao ethnic group, has a large population in Xijiang, Guizhou province. This group was selected for geographical and practical reasons. Regarding the former, it is extremely difficult to research all minority groups, as Chinese minorities possess diverse histories and are geographically dispersed. Indeed, each group has its own unique culture, and its population is spread throughout the country. Therefore, to complete a successful in-depth study of Chinese minority tourism, I chose to focus on the Miao people who live in Xijiang because it is in a familiar region near my hometown and therefore convenient for primary data collection. Furthermore, the topography of the Guizhou province is extremely mountainous, with ancient Karst landforms; consequently, certain regions are difficult to access (Qin, 2004). Because of this inaccessibility, local minority cultures have

more successfully resisted external influences compared to local minority cultures in other provinces, which is another reason for concentrating on the Miao population in this province. Moreover, as there is almost no heavy industry in Miao regions, tourism is regarded as an important means to improve the economy in this area. The development of the local tourism industry has led the Miao culture to become a major tourist attraction; therefore, the government has issued many policies to protect and develop Miao traditions, which highlights the government's focus on the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities.

The Miao have a 5,000-year history (Wu, 1990). According to Pan (1990), the ancient Chinese texts that document the primitive ancestors of the Miao community date back to the Chi tribe, which was active in the Central Plains region. To escape from warfare, the Miao relocated from the central region of China to the southwest region during the Qin dynasty (B.C. 221 - B.C. 207), thereby populating a number of provinces, including Guizhou, Yunnan, Guangxi, Hunan, and Sichuan (Wu 1990). After the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), this population became collectively known as the Miao or Hmong. Statistics from the National Bureau of

Statistics of the PRC indicate that the Miao are a relatively large minority, with a total of 9.43 million people in the 2010 census. Although the Miao people are distributed throughout the southwestern provinces, the Guizhou province contains the most Miao residents: 3.97 million (NBS, 2012).

Over many years, the Miao generated their own language. However, the original text was destroyed in wars. After the late 1950s, the Miao created Latin alphabetic writing. Nowadays, most Miao people use Chinese. The music and dance of the Miao nationality are special and heavily appreciated, and their embroidery, batik, silverware, and other handicrafts enjoy a strong global reputation. Furthermore, the nation's rich and mysterious culture is apparent in many aspects of its customs and lifestyle such as festivals, worship ceremonies, and medicinal herbs (Pan, 1990).

Rich ethnic culture has been identified as a selling point of western China. The China National Tourist Administration has designated many important historical sites, including Miao villages in Guizhou (*People's Daily*, 2 February 2001), as requiring development to achieve economic change (Donaldson, 2007; Lv 2004; Oakes 1998;

Su & Teo, 2009). In line with the “great western development” (*xibu da kaifa*) strategy, which aims to improve economic development and enhance social-political stability in the long term (Goodman, 2004; Tian, 2004), several conferences and events were held in Xijiang. Immense changes began after 2008, when the village successfully hosted the Third Conference on Tourism Development in Guizhou. Since then, mass cultural tourism started in the village, and Miao ICH has been subject to a commercialization process that derives strong financial and political support from the government.

Meanwhile, the PRC government has strived to maintain the cultures of ethnic minority groups. To this end, it has implemented policies to protect the inheritance of their cultural heritage and heightened the emphasis on intangible cultural heritage protection. However, policy execution in minority areas has been less effective than expected and exposed the adverse impacts of tourism development on the Miao culture, way of life, and sense of ethnic identity. The commercialization and marketing of minority culture causes issues regarding the reconstruction of identities, the preservation of traditions, and changes in beliefs, which have increasingly

direction attention to how to balance the use of ethnicity as a tourist attraction with the preservation of cultural heritage and promotion of ethnic pride (Henderson, 2003; Ryan & Aicken, 2005; Swain, 1989; Xie 2001; Yang & Wall, 2009)

This thesis advances contemporary scholarly debates regarding the management of Miao arts, the curriculum in local schools, the implementation of initiatives for “developing ethnic cultures on campus,” and the Miao community’s awareness of cultural protection and learning interest in Miao culture. It also investigates an extension of Hanization (see definition in Section 1.4) and the developmental tendencies of Xijiang’s tourism industry. It aims to provide information that can benefit other minority groups by illustrating ways to develop their planning systems, conducting future efforts to manage traditional arts, and establishing benign development of factors in Xijiang’s cultural ecosystem to maintain local cultural sustainability.

1.3 Thesis overview

Chapter 1 has identified the broader context of Miao ICH, which involves growing concern over cultural sustainability, the emerging hegemonic force of Han culture in ethnic minority areas, a rapid process of commercialization of ICH under the development of tourism, the “great western development” strategy, which urges Xijiang to eradicate poverty before 2020, and the use of cultural tourism as a vehicle to achieve this goal.

The literature review in Chapter 2 details practical models of cultural sustainability that are present in other countries, the development of cultural tourism in China, and cultural changes in Miao nationality. It highlights several thematic points that are relevant to contemporary discussions of cultural sustainability in ethnic villages, development tendencies, and educational theory and practice in China’s minority areas. The chapter specifies research problems and questions that guide the research and constructs a framework that is based on previous studies to analyze the sustainability of Miao ICH.

Subsequently, Chapter 3 explains the variety of research methods that this study applies. This research involved data collection concerning the views of residents of Xijiang regarding tourism development, the authenticity of arts programs, awareness of cultural preservation, and the learning interest in Miao cultural courses. This information was gathered through the distribution of questionnaires. In addition, face-to-face interviews were conducted to gain insight into the positions of various stakeholders in the cultural ecosystem of Xijiang.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 summarize the main findings, and Chapter 7 provides a targeted discussion. First, similar to many ethnic villages in China, Xijiang's local authority established an alliance with a private enterprise to package Miao folk arts performances with Xijiang's heritage landscapes. As a result, the power of capital undoubtedly shaped the planning, programming, and promotion of Xijiang's cultural and artistic programs. For instance, the formerly free evening folk arts performances began to charge admission in 2011. Furthermore, to cater to public taste, extensive changes occurred on the basis of "original ecology" (definition see Section 1.4 & 7.1.1) Miao arts, and most administrative and artistic staff were non-Miao people who

had an incomplete understanding of Miao culture. Thus, their authenticity was questioned by the local Miao community as well as some tourists.

The second major finding is that the ethnic identity of local residents diminished under the influence of Hanization, and the ethnic cultural education in Xijiang confronted challenges. As Chapter 5 indicates, some tourists complained about the severity of Hanization and modernity, whereas indigenous Miao people demonstrated inconspicuous antipathy toward the cultural hegemony of Han. Meanwhile, scholars expressed less concern and the belief that ethnic identity can be maintained as long as religious beliefs are unchanged. Furthermore, ethnic cultural education in Xijiang is an important means of inheriting Miao culture and history and determining identity, but it was hindered by inadequate public facilities, a lack of professional school teachers, and the oversight of school leaders and parents since examination results of ethnic cultural courses do not affect the enrollment rate of students. Despite substantial interest, the communities rarely engaged in cultural-educational outreach, as they had few opportunities to join.

Third, tourism development benefits the welfare of Xijiang by offering economic and social advantages. It can also stimulate the dissemination and transformation of Miao culture. However, the expansion of tourism may adversely impact Miao culture, way of life, and sense of identity, as the village is no longer a living space for them and has come to resemble a theme park. Although the government has clarified that their primary consideration is the protection of Miao ICH and the ecological environment to maintain sustainable development of the village, support for cultural preservation has been passive and inadequate. The promotion and commodification of Miao ICH has trivialized the town's cultural significance, which has resulted in the "museumization" of heritage (Su & Teo, 2009). Moreover, there is significant doubt about the actual beneficiary of the promotion and consumption of Miao ICH. Nevertheless, the parties in Xijiang generally support tourism development, and the government is determined to minimize damage to culture by building a new tourism complex nearby the village.

Finally, Chapter 8 summarizes the empirical findings and key arguments of this study and interprets the theoretical implications. To this end, it develops an

operational framework for a comprehensive understanding of the interrelationships among elements in the cultural ecosystem of Xijiang. This framework then informs a model for a sustainable development of Miao ICH in Xijiang. The chapter also provides recommendations for management planners as well as suggestions for further research.

1.4 Key concepts in thesis

This section captured the key notions with highest frequency and the most important key concepts in this thesis, which assist to clearly understand the important ideas of the study. The definitions of each keyword are commonly accepted in literature.

Cultural sustainability: meeting the needs of present and future generations in regard to access to cultural resources (World Commission on Culture and Development, 1995) (see Chapter 1 & Section 2.1)

Intangible cultural heritage: oral traditions and expressions, such as epics, tales, and stories; performing arts, including music, song, dance, puppetry, and theatre; social practices; rituals and festival events; knowledge and practices, such as folk medicine and folk astronomy; traditional craftsmanship; and the sites and spaces in which culturally significant activities and events occur (Kurin, 2004, pp. 66-77) (see Section 2.2.1)

Globalization: “time-space compression” (Harvey, 1990, p. 98) or “time-space shrinkage” (Urry 2000, p. 33) that destructively influence cultural and social life and intensify the sense of world unity (Robertson, 1992); also regarded as “a socio-spatial process” and “a dialectical process of homogenization and differentiation” (Yeung 1998, p. 292) that is shaped by technological change (Pieterse, 2015) (see Section 2.1.3)

Localization: the process of modifying products or services to account for differences in distinct markets, which makes the production “look and feel like nationally-manufactured” with native characteristics (Localization Industry Standards

Association, 2003, p. 13) (see Section 2.1.3)

Hanization: the phenomenon of the Han majority representing minorities in the field of culture as a form of “orientalism” (Said, 1995) (see Section 7.2.1)

Orientalism: it came to mean not only the work of the orientalist, and a character, style or quality associated with the Eastern nations, but also a corporate institution, designed for dealing with the Orient, a partial view of Islam, an instrument of Western imperialism, a style of thought, based on an ontological and epistemological distinction between Orient and Occident, and even an ideology, justifying and accounting for the subjugation of blacks, Palestinian Arabs, women and many other supposedly deprived groups and peoples (Macfile, 2014, pp.4).

Original ecology culture: Original ecology culture initially referred to unprocessed folk art forms, including aboriginal culture, that have survived intact in commercial civilization (Zhu, 2006) (see Section 7.1.1)

Cultural tourism: in the narrow sense, cultural tourism includes movement of

persons for essentially cultural motivations, such as study tours, performing arts, travel to festivals, visits to sites and monuments, folklore, and pilgrimages; in the broader sense, it encompasses all movement of persons, as they satisfy the human need for diversity, tend to raise the cultural level of the individual, and give rise to new knowledge, experiences, and encounters (Prohaska, 1995, p. 35) (see Section 2.3.1).

Arts management: facilitation of the production of performing or visual arts and the presentation of artists' work to audiences; facilitates performing and visual arts through the five basic functions of planning, organizing, staffing, supervising, and controlling (cited in Chong, 2009, p.5) (see Section 2.4).

Authenticity: “person, intimate clusters of persons, communities, or societies whose lived experience is harmonious with or true to their inherent or intrinsic cultural structure or historically emergent form” (Sapir, 1924, p. 108) (see Section 2.4.1)

Stakeholder: “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisations objectives” (Freeman, 1984, p.46) (see Section

2.4.2).

Multiculturalism education: an idea, educational reform movement, and process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language, and cultural groups have an equal chance of academic achievement in school; necessary to conceptualize the school as a social system in order to successfully implement multicultural education (Banks & Banks, 2010, p. 1) (see Section 2.5.1).

Community education: a process that influences all aspects of a community's life (Shuttleworth, 2010); heritage language educational programs and other community-based cultural activities have an positive role in locals' identity formation processes (see Section 2.5.2).

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter presents general concepts and definitions regarding five sections: cultural sustainability, safeguarding cultural heritage in China and contextualizing Miao intangible cultural heritage and Xijiang Miao Village, the development of cultural tourism in Xijiang, Managing Miao arts in Xijiang, cultural education in Xijiang. Different models of cultural sustainability are introduced and the research rational is dicussed.

2.1 Cultural sustainability

2.1.1 Linking sustainable development with cultural heritage

Multiple crises have occurred in past years that have prompted people to consider the quality of human life and their responsibility as a communitarian. The threats of climate change, financial crisis, terrorist attacks, nuclear programs, unacceptably massive gaps between the rich and the poor, and other problems have forced humans

to reexamine the world and their civilization as well as explore a sustainable living environment to save our “world risk society” (Beck, 1992; Barthel-Bouchier, 2016; Clammer, 2016 et al.).

The concept of sustainable development originated in the 1970s in a report by the Club of Rome, which debated negative ecological-environmental outcomes of rapid economic expansion (Throsby, 2008). Subsequently, the notion was refined and attracted wide attention once it was introduced by *Our Common Future*. This report by the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development is also known as the “Brundtland Report” and specifies that sustainable development “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED 1987, p. 16). This definition has become the most frequently cited. The core value of sustainable development is clearly “intergenerational equity,” or “intertemporal distributive justice,” which aims to achieve equity benefits from living generations to future generations to ensure a higher quality of life rather than just focusing on the immediate benefits (Throsby, 2003; Towse, 2011).

Sustainable development previously focused more on the conventional concepts of economic, ecological, and social challenges and has neglected the link between culture and sustainability (Banse, Nelson & Parodi; 2011, Keitumetse, 2014; Clammer, 2016). For instance, the execution strategies of Agenda 21 principles related to cultural resources are fewer than those regarding natural resources at the resource management level. Although sustainable development is a “holistic and creative process” that “questions consumption-based lifestyles, and decision-making processes that are based solely upon economic efficiency,” its moral sense and rationale exceeds economic and environmental obligations (Duxbury, Gillette & Pepper, 2007, p. 3). Because of motivational works by UNESCO and the World Commission on Culture and Development on “the Decade of Culture,” an increasing number of policy makers and scholars have recognized the contributions of culture to sustainable development, and cultural issues have been more frequently discussed at the global and national levels (Throsby, 1997; Dessein, Battaglini & Horlings, 2015). Research has emerged to explore sustainable models since the current model in

developed countries and rapidly expanding developing countries is not sustainable (Clammer, 2016).

The shift in the focus of sustainable development toward the realm of culture began in 1995 when the World Commission on Culture and Development (“the Perez de Cuellar Commission”) published the report *Our Creative Diversity*, which illustrated the importance of cultural dimensions of the “human-centred development paradigm” and generally placed culture as a central concern (Throsby, 2008). The report indicates the relationship between culture and development, which has also derived diverse contentions. Some have focused on the interactions between culture and the environment (Nassauer, 1997; Otero & Mira, 2003), while others have approached the topic from an economic perspective that defines cultural resources as cultural capital (Throsby, 1997, 1999; Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002; Shockley, 2004). Still others have emphasized the management of urban cultural heritage (Strange, 1999; Rana, 2000). In the same year, UNESCO published the book *The Cultural Dimension of Development. Towards a Practical Approach*, which recognizes the “separate, distinct, and integral role” of culture in sustainable development. Moreover,

it admits cultural sustainability is development that meets the needs of present and future generations regarding access to cultural resources (UNESCO, 1995, p. 22). The *World Culture Report* (1998; 2000) has elucidated further interpretations of a broader range of content within the processes. To date, a key concern remains the fundamental role of cultural heritage in maintaining cultural diversity and its social and economic valuations. According to the United Nations, cultural diversity is “essential for achieving sustainable development and ensuring that sustainable development benefits all” (United Nations 2002, p. 9). From the cultural capital point of view, cultural heritage presents both monetary and non-monetary value for economics and creates job opportunities (Habitat, 2015).

2.1.2 Patterns of sustainable development incorporating culture

According to Throsby (2008), the concept of sustainability is now widely accepted; however, it is unclear how to incorporate culture into the development process, as there is no agreed-upon model for human development in the cultural field to act as a guide. Some countries and regions have recently introduced the concept of sustainability into the development planning of cities or communities and have

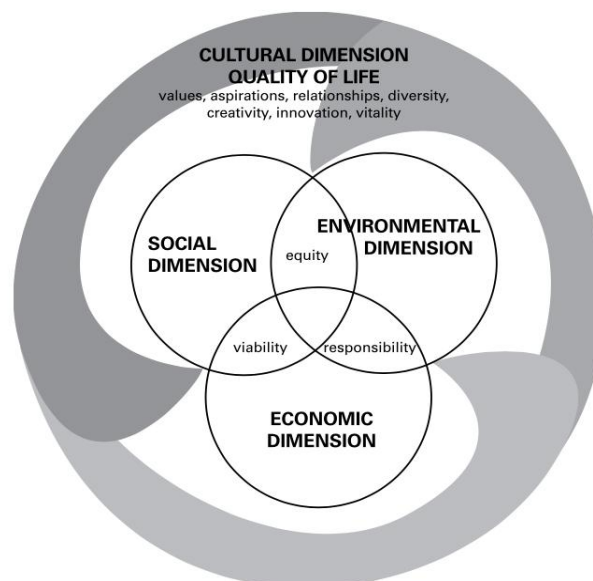
regarded culture as an important factor to consider. They have attempted to explore possible models or tested the feasibility of some established patterns on a relatively small scale. The most highly recognized and well-developed patterns are evident in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

2.1.2.1 The four-pillar model of sustainability

Hawkes (2001) has identified four interlinked dimensions in *Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture's Essential Role in Public Planning*. The book elaborates on the interrelationships among the four dimensions of environmental responsibility, economic health, social equity, and cultural vitality in sustainable development (Figure 2.1). It asserts that “cultural vitality” is as essential as the other three dimensions and treats it as the headstone of establishing a health and sustainable society as well as the basic requirement in developing a new governance paradigm. Specifically, “a sustainable society depends upon a sustainable culture. If a society’s culture disintegrates, so will everything else. Cultural action is required in order to lay the groundwork for a sustainable future” (p. 12), the occurrence of cultural action can lay a foundation for the sustainable developed future. Hawkes has also noted some

common problems that have arisen in real societies for example, in the process of policy-making, the government focuses excessively on artistic matters while obscuring the wider value of culture, and school curricula overlook the significance of culture because of the modern thinking of “post -GDP” evaluation. Furthermore, Hawkes has indicated that the role of cultural heritage is “parallel to the respect for environment, social inclusiveness, and economic equity” (2001, p. vii), it (cultural heritage) can provide pathway for developing sustainable society in through different forms such as tourism, traditional knowledge, folk arts, festivals and so forth (United Nations, 2005).

Figure 2.1. Four-pillar Model of Sustainability



Source: Runnalls, C. 2006, MA thesis for Royal Rhodes University, adapted from Hawkes (2001) and others.

2.1.2.2 Four well-beings of community sustainability

The New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage created the four well-beings model (see Figure 2.2) in 2002. The model was a response to the Local Government Act 2002, which aimed to formulate long-term sustainable strategies to support the development of a sustainable nation. Moreover, it sought to improve the measures of non-economic factors of societal, cultural, and environmental progress to supplement the widely recognized measures of economic performance (Thornleyi, 2007).

The central concept of this model is well-being, which refers to the index of satisfaction of human preferences (Neumayer 2004). The model extends to four dimensions: cultural, environmental, social, and economic. According to Vaneveld (2003, cited in New Zealand Cultural Well-Being and Local Government Report 1), the resulting combination of culture and well-being is dynamic and influenced by both arts and cultural activities as well as various factors, such as economic development, the maintenance of heritage, urban planning, provision of and access to recreation and sports amenities, community health policy, and community development strategies. The four well-beings model emphasizes the importance of

culture in the development of a sustainable community and defines cultural well-being (Vaneveld 2003, cited in New Zealand Cultural Well-Being and Local Government Report 1) in theory and practice. According to the government report by the New Zealand government, culture is the cornerstone of identity, and cultural well-being is critical to a healthy society and community. Culture well-being is “the vitality that communities and individuals enjoy through: participation in recreation, creative and cultural activities; and the freedom to retain, interpret and express their arts, history, heritage and traditions” (p. 1) and interacts with three other types of well-being (i.e., social, environmental, and economic). Specifically, a few components of social well-being, such as leisure and recreation, overlap with cultural well-being. Furthermore, cultural activities contribute to economic growth in the areas of tourism, design, fashion, and other creative industries by increasing employment rates and foreign exchange earnings. Cultural well-being is also linked to environmental well-being in that cultural importance subtly influences heritage and natural resource protection.

The model also dictates the distinct roles of central and local governments in

engaging with the four types of well-being in sustainable development. These roles correspond to specific responsibilities. The councils possess significant decision-making power regarding priorities, funding, and resource demands. Some parts of cultural well-being may not need the direct involvement of local government and can be carried out by the central government. The model also states the importance of partnerships between different branches of governmental departments (for example, the cooperation between central and local governments, parallel departments) and within the private sector to build a sustained, healthy society.

Figure 2.2. Four Well-beings of Community



Source: New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2006, p. 5)

2.1.2.3 The medicine wheel approach to sustainability

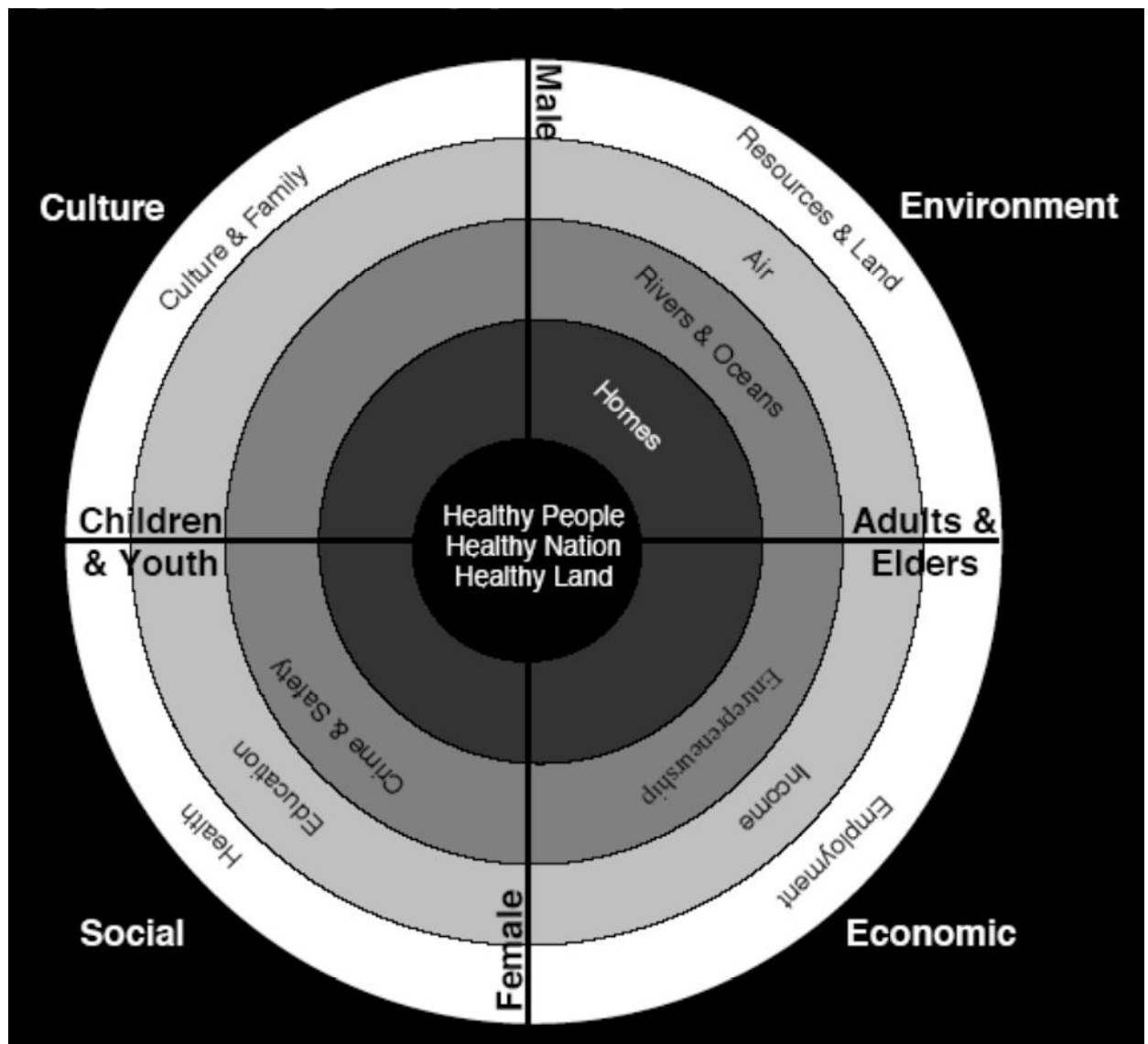
The Canadian government's External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities proposed the medicine wheel approach in 2005. The model is based on the four-pillar model of sustainability, which it applies as a framework to explore and document indicators of the quality of life of Aboriginal inhabitants of the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD).

As Figure 2.3 illustrates, the model involves four directions of personal and community life: East – cultural, encompassing two categories of culture and family; South – social, involving health, education, crime, and safety; West – economic, including employment, income, entrepreneurship, and youth; and North – environment, covering resources and land, air, rivers and oceans, and homes. According to Cardinal and Adin (2005), the basis and ultimate aim of a healthy, respectful, and sustainable community is imbedding in the center of the closed loop and surrounded by the four elements, which mutually impact and interplay with each other within a cyclical planning process. Subsequently, representative categories and the proposed indicators can be modified as time progresses.

The culturally relevant indicators in the eastern quadrants of the wheel are as follows:

- Percentage of Aboriginal people in the GVRD who speak traditional languages
- Percentage of Aboriginal people in the GVRD who participate in traditional activities
- Percentage of Aboriginal children who are in care in the GVRD
- Percentage of Aboriginal single parents in the GVRD
- Childcare access for Aboriginal families in the GVRD (Cardinal & Adin, 2005, p. 6)

Figure 2.3. Medicine Wheel Approach to Sustainability



Source: Cardinal & Adin (2005, p. 22)

2.1.3 Globalization versus localization: the Chinese perspective

The concept of “globalization” originated in 1970s (De Benoist, 1996) and has been increasingly addressed in academic circles since the mid-1980s (Robertson,

1992). the September 11 terrorist attacks highlighted enormous new implications of globalization (Lieber & Weisberg, 2002). Globalization represents “time-space compression” (Harvey, 1990, p. 98) or “time-space shrinkage” (Urry, 2000, p. 33), which destructively influences cultural and social life and intensifies the sense of unity in the world (Robertson, 1992). It is also “a socio-spatial process” and “a dialectical process of homogenization and differentiation” (Yeung, 1998, p. 292) that is shaped by technological change (Pieterse, 2015). “Dis-embedding” and “re-embedding” (Eriksen, 2007, pp. 8-9), “deterritorialisation” and “territorialisation” (Blommaert, 2010; Scholte, 2000, pp. 45-46; Scholte, 2000, pp. 15-17), and “supraterritoriality” and “transnationalism” (Garrett, 2010, p. 449) are notable features of globalization. In recent years, globalization has become a trending topic and has generated considerable attention and debate in many areas of human endeavor, such as social sciences, humanities, and economic policy circles (see Appadurai 1996; Bauman 1998; Castles & Davidson, 2000; Hutton & Giddens, 2000; Bhagwati, 2002; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004; Pieterse, 2015). Cultural globalization, as opposed to other forms of globalization, refers to “the transmission or diffusion across

national borders of various forms of media and the arts” (Crane et al., 2016, p. 1).

The clear impacts of globalization on culture have incited conflict, and the viewpoints of scholars are deeply divided. While some have asserted that globalization lessens cultural boundaries and eliminates the negative effects of culture (Barber, 1995; Rothkopf, 1997), others have perceived globalization as synonymous to “Westernization” and “Americanization” in particular (Babran, 2008). For example, the famous cultural imperialism theory supports the opinion of the Frankfurt School in Germany: globalization urges the homogenization of mass culture, which the public passively and uncritically accept (Crane, 2016). Crane (2016) has summarized the models of cultural globalization and their results (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Models of Cultural Globalization

Model	Process of cultural transmission	Principal actors, Sites	Possible consequences
Cultural imperialism Media imperialism	Center-periphery	Global media conglomerates	Homogenization of culture
Cultural flows/ networks	Two-way flows	Regional and national conglomerates and corporations	Hybridization of culture
Reception theory	Center-periphery;	Audiences, publics,	Negotiation,

	Multidirectional	cultural entrepreneurs	resistance
Cultural policy strategies, e.g. conservation, resistance, reframing, globalization	Framing of national cultures	Global cities, museums, heritage sites, cultural memory, media, ministries of culture, and trade	Competition, negotiation

Source: Crane, D., Kawashima, N., & Kawasaki, K. I. (Eds.). (2016). *Global culture: Media, arts, policy, and globalization*.

While many scholars have focused on China's immense economic progress under the macro-environment of globalization (Wei, Wen & Zhou, 2002; Nolan, 2004; Fung, et al., 2006; Wu, 2006; Sharma, 2009; Westra, 2009; Wei, 2013; etc.), others have introduced the topic into the cultural field. The concept of globalization emerged in China after the reformation and opening up of the country in 1979 (Liu, 2004), which was regarded positively as providing "opportunities for geographical and social upward mobility" to most Chinese (Xu, 2013). Culturally, as De Benoist (1996) has generalized that intangible commodities, such as sounds, images, connections, and imaginations, gained more access to the capital market compared to traditional goods (e.g., houses). Consequently, certain changes to the Chinese cultural industry occurred and generated concerns regarding cultural hegemony (Xie, 2002; Ye, 2006).

Subsequent debates on “cultural homogenization” (Ritzer, 1993) and “cultural imperialism” (Tomlinson, 1991) increasingly directed attention to “localization.” According to the definition by the Localization Industry Standards Association (LISA, 2003, p. 13), localization is “the process of modifying products or services to account for differences in distinct markets”, which makes the production “look and feel like [it is] nationally-manufactured” with native characteristics (2003, p. 3). Matthew Chew has further explained cultural localization as “modifications of the contents and meanings of globally imported cultural products by local audiences and producers” (2009, p. 167). In this regard, the focuses of ethnic minority groups are exotic cultural goods and procedures of adapting to the local market. Many Chinese domestic scholars have been more attentive to locally manufactured cultural products that represent ethnical cultural characteristics and thereby demonstrate cultural identity. Hence, an emphasis on indigenous culture – for instance, the development of “soft power” (Nye, 1990; Nye, 1990, pp. 153-171) – is abounding in localization literature about Chinese society. A majority of domestic scholars has agreed that local and global forces are inevitable intertwined and proposed the need to maintain a

harmonious coexistence of “diversity” and “uniqueness” to enhance cultural identity. Moreover, they have argued that the improvement of soft power is an effective strategy to eliminate the identity crisis while advancing China’s global competitiveness (Fu & Yan, 2016; He, 2010; Huang, 2011; Liu, 2010; Liu, 2017; Jiang, 2004; Qiu, 2010; Wei, 2008; Xu, 2008; Xu, 2016; Zhang, 2011). Ethnic culture, as a key ingredient of Chinese traditional culture and the most representative type of culture in the localization literature, is generally the primary objective of enhancing soft power (Guo, 2013; Song, 2013; Sun, 2004). In 1990, Friedman asserted that ethnicity in the particular context of the tourism industry involves “powerful symbols of cultural identity [that are] available to an international market” (p. 328).

2.2 Safeguarding cultural heritage in China and contextualizing Miao intangible cultural heritage

2.2.1 Safeguarding heritage: focal shift from tangible to intangible

Since 1964, various countries and international organizations, including UNESCO and ICOMOS, have internationally adopted the Venice Charter, a set of guidelines for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites. The charter defines the key concept of a historic monument as including not only architectural structures but also urban and rural settings that evidence the significant development or historical events of a particular civilization (Charter, V., 1964, p. 1). Moreover, “cultural property” includes immovable cultural relics (UNESCO, 1968). The definitional differences between UNESCO and ICOMOS were propitiated at the World Heritage Convention, and the definitions of “cultural heritage” and “natural heritage” were formally established in Paris on November 23, 1972. Later, as the scope of heritage expanded to encompass more fields, it was subject to various reinterpretations by different countries (i.e., European nations, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and China) (Ahmad, 2006).

The protection of cultural heritage in China previously focused predominantly on ancient tangible cultural relics. The mainstream cognition of cultural heritage followed the definition of the Convention Concerning the Protection of World

Cultural and Natural Heritage, which defines it as including “monuments,” “groups of buildings,” and “sites” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 2). However, a paradigm shift in the mid-1980s led to constant extension of the conceptualization to broaden the focus from “tangible” or “static” heritage, such as historical architecture or cultural sites, to include “intangible” to “living” heritage, including folk culture, local context, and historical figures (Zhang & Lin, 2017).

Since the implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, which was passed by the 32nd UNESCO General Conference in October 2003 and officially acceded in August 2004, many governments have attached immense importance to the protection of ICH. The convention categorizes ICH according to several classes:

Oral traditions and expressions – such as epics, tales, and stories, performing arts – including music, song, dance, puppetry and theatre, social practices, rituals and festival events, knowledge and practices – folk medicine and folk astronomy, and traditional craftsmanship, as well as the sites and spaces in which culturally significant activities and events occur. (Kurin, 2004, pp. 67)

In addition to raising the issue at the international level, the convention intended to encourage government recognition of and respect for traditional cultures. The convention by UNESCO attracted considerable attention from researchers (Smith & Akagawa, 2008) and prompted action by governments included that of the PRC.

Six months after the convention, China's State Council released the Notice of the State Council on Strengthening Protection of Cultural Heritages (State Council of the PRC, 2005). The notice details the most authoritative ICH policy in China and identifies preservation as a key job objective. In regard to assuring the conservation of Chinese ICH, 2006 was an important year. A total of 518 ICH items were listed in May in what was intended as the first batch of actions to protect national ICH. As part of these actions, June 10th was designated as Cultural Heritage Day of China with the chosen theme of "Preserving Cultural Heritage, Surveillance of Our Spiritual Home" (State Council of the PRC, 2005). Interim Measures on Protection and Management of National Intangible Cultural Heritage passed smoothly through ministerial meetings held by the Ministry of Culture on October 25, 2005 and came into effect on December 1, 2006 (Liang & Ma, 2008). In 2011, seven years after its creation, the

Intangible Cultural Heritage Law of the PRC was announced and implemented (Kang, 2012), thereby finally incorporating cultural heritage into China's legal system. This action led to the launch of a series of policies of which Miao cultural heritage was a direct beneficiary.

Based on Ree's (2012) theory, China is a "relative newcomer to the idea of intangible cultural heritage preservation" (p. 23). In addition, significant historical events have directly impacted its cultural policy on ICH. Such events include an extremist political movement, the Cultural Revolution (*wenhua dageming*), from 1966 to 1976, which caused the historical and cultural heritage destroyed, and even the "tentative revival of traditional artistic, ritual and festival activities" (p. 24) that occurred after the liberalization of the "reform and open" era (*gaige kaifang*) could not restore the traditional culture. Rees (2012) has argued that China still emphasizes the "improvement" of traditional culture and regards minority folk arts as "backward" (*luohou*), "unscientific" (*bukexue*), or "aesthetically inferior" (p. 24). However, since China began its engagement with UNESCO, which received praise both domestically and abroad, the nation has been highly effective in promoting a wide range of

culturally protective activities within a short period of time to improve national awareness of cultural preservation.

2.2.2 Minority cultural politics in Modern China

The traditional ideology of multiethnicity in China has been maintained since its formation in ancient times (Postiglione, 2014). Opinions have consistently differed regarding the politicization of ethnic issues, with some advocating for national integration and assimilation and others promoting the display of ethnic characteristics by, for example, identifying the nationality of citizens on their national identity cards (Zhu 2012 ; Ma 2009). The admired Chinese anthropologist Fei Xiaotong has proposed an integral pluralist pattern in the Chinese nation (“ethnic plurality within the organic unity of the Chinese nation,” *zhonghua minzu duoyuan yiti geju*; Fei, 1989) that reveals the multiethnic reality of Chinese political ideology and has become the guiding philosophy of Chinese ethnicity.

Most ethnic minorities in China live in peri-urban or remote areas throughout the country that exhibit relative economic backwardness. A majority of those in western

rural areas have been regarded as less developed for multiple reasons. Social inequality in ethnic minority areas is apparent not only in economic aspects but also in cultural and educational fields that emphasize the message of “to be Han is to be modern” (Postiglione, 2014, p. 29). As a result, internal ethnic conflicts have intensified since 2008 alongside rising inequality in domestic regional economies, especially in the Tibetan and Uyghur regions of western China. Therefore, the enforcement of national unity and consolidation of ethnic integration have become issues of national urgency (Postiglione, 2013).

During the establishment of New China, national equality (*minzu pingdeng*) formed the basis of the *Common Programme* (*gongtong gangling*, CPPCC, 1949, I. § 9.) and was already deemed the national policy of the Communist Party of China, which continues to this day (Jin & Chen, 2009). The central government of multiethnic China perceives national integration as a main basis for social harmony, which mitigates social inequalities and ethnic conflicts that can be compounded by intercultural misunderstandings (Postiglione, 2014). Hence, China’s central government assigns significant importance to the management of minorities to

solidify national strength and powerfully safeguard laws and regulations. The preface of the Chinese Constitution clearly states that the country is committed to the establishment and improvement of socialist ethnic relations that feature equality, unity, mutual assistance, and harmony:

[T]he People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national State created jointly by the people of all its nationalities. Socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance have been established among the nationalities and will continue to be strengthened. In the struggle to safeguard the unity of the nationalities, it is necessary to combat big-nation chauvinism, mainly Han chauvinism, and to combat local national chauvinism. The State will do its utmost to promote the common prosperity of all the nationalities. (*The Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, 1983, p. 1)

In regard to culture, the *Common Programme* stipulates that ethnic minorities have the freedom to develop their own languages and preserve or reform their customs and religious beliefs. Furthermore, the central government should assist the people of ethnic minorities in their political, economic, cultural, and educational development. Within this general framework, Jin and Chen (2009) have summarized the updates of Chinese minority cultural policies at various times. Several minority cultural and artistic institutes have been successively established since the 1950s, and

minority cultural policies during the initial period of New China focused on language and literature. Later, the policies of ethnic minorities were gradually restored after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1975). The Ministry of Culture and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission encouraged ethnic areas to actively cultivate amateur arts groups and artistic talents to meet the cultural needs of ethnic minorities and suggested improvement in the artistic quality of creations as well as more attention to minority folklore collections. As a result, many minority art works were saved and well preserved, and most of the existing laws and regulations regarding ethnic minorities and cultural heritage protection were enacted during this time. At the turn of the century, the construction of national culture entered the general development strategy. The cultural development of minorities not only satisfied the development demands of ethnic regions but also qualified as a vital safeguard of reunification and social stability (Comments on further strengthening the cultural work of ethnic minorities, 2000). Moreover, the goals of hastening the reform of the cultural system (*wenhua tizhi gaige*) and promoting cultural development in minorities areas are tightly bound to domestic economic prosperity and western development.

Chinese authorities regard minority culture as an important component of Chinese traditional culture, which synthesizes all ethnic cultures. At the state level, the Central Propaganda Department published the *Popular Book on National Unity Education* (*minzu tuan jie tongsuduben*)¹ in 2009, which stresses ethnic culture as a significant component of Chinese culture and designates the unification of cultural diversity as the nature of Chinese culture. The book demonstrates the cohesiveness of Chinese culture and indicates that safeguarding national unity is essential to maintaining cultural diversity. As in many other developing countries, traditional culture in China, including minority culture, is still under the threat of modernization, globalization, and the cultural hegemony of Western culture,² while the inner society confronts the assimilation to Han culture. Therefore, conserving minority culture is crucial to prevent invasions of native culture and ensure a more harmonious society.

Various cultural policies have been introduced to promote effective controls that guarantee the preservation and management of minority cultural heritage. A number of provisions, including the “Constitution” (1983), the “Regional Ethnic Autonomy

¹ The Party committees at all levels were force to study the Popular Book on National Unity Education; the State Ethnic Affairs Commission also required studying the document (2010).

² The review of literature on globalization, cultural hegemony and localization are put in section 2.1.

Law of the People's Republic of China" (1984), and the "Cultural Relics Protection Law of the People's Republic of China" (1982), explicitly detail the rules of heritage conservation.

In regard to minority culture, the Chinese Constitution dictates the following: the special protection of minorities' rights should also include the provision of various incentives to protect their cultural rights; the country should support more rapid economic and cultural development in ethnic minority regions that is based on their characteristics and needs; all minorities are free to use and develop their own languages and maintain the right to preserve and reform their own folkways and customs as well as the right to freedom of religious beliefs. Two policies, namely the *Law on Regional Ethnic Autonomy and The Several Regulations*, present relevant regulations (Zhang, 2016). Other examples are as follows: the *Some Advice of the State Council on Further Prospering and Developing the Culture Cause of Ethnic Minorities* (2009) highlights the western parts of China as the main regions warranting government assistance; and the act *Strengthening the Notice of the State Council on Strengthening Protection of Cultural Heritages* introduced by the State

Council of China in December 2005 was explicitly designed to strengthen protections for minority cultural heritage and cultural biomes with a focus on supporting ICH (Tian & Zhang, 2008).

Culture is more than a means to achieve economic growth: its “role is not exhausted as a servant of ends—though in a narrower sense of this concept this is one of its roles—but is the social basis of the ends themselves” (UNESCO, 1995, p. 15).

China’s central state generally intends the protection of minority culture to benefit social harmony and cultural diversity rather than to utilize the unique cultural heritage to attract tourism for economic development. Therefore, from a political perspective, the central government provides significant support and strict regulation for cultural development. The latest Government Work Report (2017) clearly states that improving the system of regional autonomy for national minorities, earnestly implementing the party’s ethnic and religious policies, increasing state support for ethnic minority areas, and protecting and promoting excellent traditional cultures of ethnic minorities necessitate the coordinated development of culture, economy, and

politics in ethnic minority areas, which is imperative to safeguard national unity and harmonious development in the country.

2.2.3 Contextualizing the Miao and the intangible cultural heritage of Miao

Miao is an international ethnicity that originated in China. The Miao population is distributed mainly in Guizhou, Hunan, and Yunnan in addition to other provinces and cities in China. According to scholars (Pan, 1990; the writing group of *A Brief History of Miao*, 1985; Zhang, 1981; Zhang, 2005), the Miao were previously called the Jiuli tribe and were led by Chiyu. To escape the war after the Battle of Zhuolu, the Miao underwent multiple migrations from the Yellow River to western China. The Miao recolonized in the south in Xia (2070 BC – 1600 BC) under the crusades of the Xia rulers; thus, three branches of Miao emerged, and the language and cultures of each branch gradually acquired unique differences. According to the archives in the Xijiang Miao Village, the *Western Miao Ancient Songs* exhaustively recount the fierce combat stories and constant migrations of Miao ancestors from the Xia dynasty. Throughout millennia of development and migration processes, Miao wisdom

has emerged that each person of Miao ethnicity is expected to know for survival purposes. Their history and culture were preserved in national folk artworks, such as folk songs, dances, costumes, and other ICH of the Miao, which have been passed down verbally for generations.

According to government statistics in the 2010 population census of China, the total population of the Miao ethnicity in China was 9,426,007. Moreover, it ranked fourth among all minority nationalities. The largest group of Miao, which consists of 3.97 million people, is settled in the Guizhou province (Population Census Office of the State Council, 2012).

The literature has occasionally translated the name “Miao” as “Hmong.” However, some scholars have asserted that Miao is the more accurate name for this minor ethnicity of China (Tapp, 1998). According to the records of *Western Miao Ancient Songs*, the ancient Miao claimed to be *Hmanud*, and the *Hmong*, as the modern Miao call themselves, is a variant of *Hmanud* (Zhang, 2005, p. 12). Michaud et al. (2004) and Schein (1993) have noted that Chinese Hmong have migrated from ancient China

to Indonesia, Laos, Thailand, and other Southeast Asian countries and even to the North and South America over the last three centuries but are still called *Hmong*. The group in China has been referred to variously as “Miao,” “San Miao,” “Youmiao,” and “Miaomin” (p. 24). Scholars of Miao (e.g. Pan, 1989; Yan, 2015; Zhang, 1981,) have commonly accepted that San Miao ancestors were the main force against the integration of Han and ascribed a legendary status to the current Miao. “Miao” is the collective term for a minority nationality of China and has broadened since the Ming dynasty (1368 - 1644) to presently encompass four main ethnic groups (Schein, 1993): one is the Chinese Hmong, while the other three are not Hmong (Michaud et al., 2004). In this thesis, I use the official state category of “Miao” to denote this minority group.

2.2.3.1 The rich intangible cultural heritage of the Miao

Historically, the Miao in China have created their own brilliant culture. Since the ancient Miao nationality did not have characters to record their history, they have passed down their traditional culture through imitation or oral teaching. Miao

ancestors incorporated their memories of further ancestors, ethnic origin, and major past events into the cultural media of ancient songs, the Lusheng dance, costumes, festivals, customs, and other forms of intangible culture. The Lusheng dance, which is practiced in northwestern Guizhou and northeastern Yunnan, is a form of performance art that reproduces the migration process of the Miao. Miao costumes in various regions display a profound historical imprint. Most traditional festivals of the Miao nationality, such as April 8 and the Huashan Festival, were also created to commemorate important figures or major events in history.

The List of National Intangible Cultural Heritage, which the PRC government published in 2006, 2008, 2011, and 2014, rates 29 items of Miao culture that represent the national ICH. Of these 29 items, 25 of them derive from forms of Miao culture in the Guizhou province (see Table 2.2). The list specifically sorts ICH into 10 categories: folk literature; traditional and folk music; traditional and folk dance; traditional and folk drama; Chinese folk art forms; sports, entertainment, and acrobatics; folk art; traditional skills; traditional medicine; and traditional customs.

Miao ICH was nominated in seven of these categories.

Table 2.2. The Miao's National Intangible Cultural Heritage^a

Item	No.	Cultural Form	Applicant
Category			
Folk Literature			
	I -1	Miao Ancient Songs	Huayuan County, Hunan Province; Huangping County and Taijiang County, Guizhou Province
	I -61	Yang Asha	Southeast Guizhou Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture
	I -76	Miao Jiali ^a	Ziyun Miao and Buyi Autonomous County, Guizhou Province
	I -118	King Yalu	Southeast Guizhou Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture
Folk Music			
	II -30	Miao Polyphonic Folk Song	Taijiang County and Jianhe County, Guizhou Province
	II -109	Miao Folk Song (Xiangxi Miao Folk Song, Miao Flying Song ^b)	Jishou City, Hunan Province; Leishan County, Guizhou Province
	II -129	Lusheng Music (Miao Mans Cylinder Lusheng)	Danzhai County, Guizhou Province
Folk Dance			
	III-4	Step into a Crane Dragon	Chengbu Miao Autonomous County, Hunan Province
	III-23	Miao Lusheng Dance (Golden Chicken Dance, Drum Dragon and Drum Tiger)	Danzhai County, Guiding County, Nayong County, Puan County, Leishan County, Guanlin Buyi and Miao Autonomous County, Rongjiang County, and Shuicheng County, Guizhou

Province		
III-25	Miao Wooden Drum Dance	Taijiang County, Guizhou Province
III-30	Xiangxi Miao Drum Dance	Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, Hunan Province
Folk Art		
VII-16	Miao Paper Cutting	Jianhe County, Guizhou Province
VII-22	Miao Embroidery	Leishan County, Guiyang City, Jianhe County, and Taijiang County, Guizhou Province
VII-47	Miao Clay Whistle	Huangping County, Guizhou Province
Traditional Craftsmanship		
VIII-25	Miao Batik	Danzhai County and Anshun City, Guizhou Province
VIII-31	Construction Skill of Xijiang Diaojiao Building	Leishan County, Guizhou Province
VIII-40	Miao Silver Forging Technology	Leishan County, Guizhou Province
VIII-105	Miao Brocade Art	Majiang County, Leishan County, Taijiang County, and Kaili City, Guizhou Province
Traditional Medicine		
IX-15	Miao Medicine	Southeast Guizhou Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture
Folk Custom		
X—19	Miao Guzang Festival	Leishan County and Rongjiang County, Guizhou Province
X—22	Miao Sisters Festival	Taijiang County, Guizhou Province

X—47	Miao Serial Slope Festivals	Rongshui Miao Autonomous County, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region
X—65	Miao Costumes	Baoshan City, Yunnan Province; Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, Hunan Province; Tongzi County, Xixiu District, Anshun City, Guanlin Buyi and Miao Autonomous County, Nayong County, Jianhe County, Taijiang County, Rongjiang County, Liuzhi Special District, Liupanshui City, and Danzhai County, Guizhou Province
X-75	Miao Dragon Boat Festival	Taijiang County, Guizhou Province
X-76	Miao Tiaohua Festival	Anshun City, Guizhou Province
X-77	Miao April 8	Suining County, Hunan Province
X-83	Miao's New Year ^c	Danzhai County and Leishan County, Guizhou Province
X-142	Miao's Custom of Burying Stone	Rongjiang County, Guizhou Province
X-146	Miao's Mountain Flower Festival	Pingbian Miao Autonomous County, Yunnan Province

Source: The List of National Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2006, 2008, 2011, and 2014

^a Jaxlil in Miao language

^b HXak Yeet in Miao language

^c Nongx Niangx in Miao language

Based on Professor Weng's (1990) theory, the Miao ethnicity presents five main cultural characteristics:

- 1) The Miao people have a long-standing history that includes specific developmental traits. The culture of ancient China originated 5,000 years ago, and various books have recorded origin and activities of the Miao. These accounts prove the extensive history of the Miao and their clear, unique historical progress (Weng, 1990).
- 2) The Miao are socially mobile and widely dispersed. The long-term and wide-ranging migration of Miao ancestors was a rare phenomenon in Chinese history. The Miao originated in central China in lands north of the Yellow River. Then they moved to southwest China, where they settled in Hunan, Guizhou, Sichuan, Guangxi, and Yunnan provinces during the Qing dynasty (Weng, 1990).
- 3) The Miao have the ability to adapt to unfamiliar and challenging environments. Descriptions in ancient books characterize the Miao people as kind, honest, and loyal. Despite changes to their living environment and the negative effects of many wars and disasters in their history, the Miao

are committed to cultivating a modern society, which made a notable achievement of the Miao (Weng, 1990).

- 4) The Miao have a variety of lineages and dialects. Since the Miao are dispersed in several provinces, their lineages have gradually formed unique customs and dialects. To protect their culture from external invasion, Miao individuals are usually not allowed to marry people of other lineages (Weng, 1990; Zhang, 2005). In terms of language, there are three main dialects of Miao in China, which belong to the three largest concentrations of Miao in Yunnan, Guizhou, and Hunan provinces, respectively (Shi, 2000). Mostly, Miao people of separate lineages cannot communicate, as their dialects differ drastically (Shi, 2000).
- 5) The Miao have varied and colorful customs and habits as well as a well-developed craft tradition. Because of its long history and extensive distribution, the Miao nationality has gradually produced diverse ICH with distinct characteristics and profound connotations (Weng, 1990).

According to Pan (1990), the development of Miao culture has proceeded through three stages: primitive culture, ancient culture, and modern culture. Primitive culture refers to tribal clan culture in the legendary period of *Jiuli* and *Sanmiao*. The rapid development of Miao culture in this stage was mainly reflected in the following accomplishments: advanced manufacturing of labor tools; improvement to metallurgical, textile, and other manufacturing processes; the establishment of a “Drum Society”³ social system that clarified social roles and responsibilities; and the creation of primitive art that combines poetry, song, and dance.

Meanwhile, the ancient culture of the Miao was a small-scale peasant culture during the time of civilization. During this period, most Miao people had settled down, and the three dialect regions emerged. Under the oppression and exploitation of the feudal ruling class, the material forces of the Miao’s production were significantly inferior to those of the Central Plains; however, there was still considerable progress in agricultural development. Moreover, a “Yilang Society”⁴ was established on the

³ It is a patriarchal clan system. For the Miao people, the wooden drum represents the ancestors and a community that clan members have the same bloodline.

⁴ Yilang means gathering and discussion. A Yilang Society usually involves one to a few Drum Societies.

basis of the Drum Society. Religions, arts, education, and techniques were also developed in this period.

Modern culture refers to the new culture, which became rooted in modern science and industry after the founding of new China. Miao technology, education, and arts have enjoyed unprecedented prosperity alongside the sharp increase in productivity. In short, Miao culture is an ethics-based culture that emerged from an “agricultural-patriarchal” society (He, 1999, pp. 2-4), which possessed the following characteristics.

- 1) A focus on overall coordination: the thought of collective supremacy of the Miao nationality heavily promoted the survival and development of the nation but restricted individuality.
- 2) An emphasis on the spirit of persistence: the Miao people exhibited perseverance after experiencing years of war and oppression by rulers.
- 3) Advocacy for pragmatism and the idea of seeking truth: Rationalism is

central to Miao culture.

4) Respect for the past and attention to the elderly: the elderly are highly important to the Miao people.

5) An appreciation for morality and opposition to interest: the Miao people are affectionate. They also support justice and abhor evil.

Furthermore, according to Dong (2007), the three main features of Miao ICH are that it is historic, integrative, and endangered. Miao ICH certainly reflects a profound historical accumulation of music, dance, costumes, and other cultural forms, which are significant conveyors of the nation's history. Moreover, these elements reveal the social structure, cultural life, philosophy of religion, and other aspects of the Miao people (Dong, 2007). Their various art forms have thus merged into an ICH. For example, the Miao ancient songs are not only a work of typical folk literature but also one of folk music. A current concern is that much of the precious ICH of Miao is dying out. Most folk artists are very old, and young people largely disregard their folk culture or even despise it. In addition, some art forms involve skills that are highly

difficult to acquire – and, accordingly, to inherit – and there is an increasing trend of fewer Miao using their own language to communicate in daily life.

In terms of types of Miao ICH, traditional Miao myths reveal a harmonious worldview that “everything is homogeneous and all species coexist with no conflict” (Wang, 2016, p. 32). The primitive religions (e.g. nature worship, totem worship, and ancestor worship) reflect a perfect relationship between human and nature (Luo, 2000; Wang, 2016). The unique burial culture embodies special Miao life philosophy in explaining the origins of people as well as the afterlife. Most Miao live in mountains and forests, and they believe that trees – especially old and large ones – have souls. For them, trees are the origin of life and their ultimate destinations and the special burial culture sends the souls of family members back to the trees to regenerate the dead (Luo, 2000). Music and dance are also key parts of Miao culture and fully demonstrate their history, social patterns, and ethical standards. For instance, Miao ancestors believed that an instrument called the voice of Lusheng was sacred and capable of expelling devils and delivering prayers for good harvests; thus, nearly all Miao people can play this unique traditional instrument (Long, 1998). Miao costumes

are an integration of the nation's traditional craft. The patterns on the costume are ascribed different meanings that signify changes in the nation's culture and history (Wang, 2016; Zhu, 2018). The manual skills of the Miao, such as silver forging, batik, and embroidery, have both ornamental and practical value that contributes to the development of the local tourism industry. Even though Miao of different lineages vary in their customs and habits, certain basic principles of Miao are consistent and represented within buildings, instruments, and handicrafts (Long, 1998).

Traditional Miao medicine is another important feature of Miao culture of which growing awareness in China can improve the visibility of the nation. According to Wen (2004), the regions in which the Miao live present challenging a environment, as they contain a wide variety of wild beasts, vipers, and parasites. These factors are serious threats to the health of local people; fortunately, such special environment provides exceptional conditions for obtaining many rare herbal medicinal materials. Based on statistics from the Chinese health department, the Miao have produced 1,074 medicines. These contributions have strongly benefited the Chinese medical industry. Notably, most Miao doctors assume another identity of a “wizard.” In

addition to treating illness, local doctors often perform unique witchcraft rituals to pray for their patients. Such practices have evolved into various festivals and ritual of the present day. This derived mysterious culture is also attractive to tourists, especially those who are foreign.

In short, the Miao suffered wars and great migrations and formed their unique and gorgeous culture throughout their long history. Miao ICH, including the Miao ancient songs, music, dance, costumes, handicrafts, and so forth, is an important carrier of the history of Miao. It possesses rich historical and cultural connotations that present the Miao understanding of the world and life. Moreover, it has helped the Miao establish a strong sense of ethnic identity. However, Miao ICH is experiencing a concerning decline due to reasons that include the death of folk artists and the development of a market economy.

2.3 Xijiang Miao Village and the development of cultural tourism in Xijiang

Xijiang Miao Village, the largest Miao village in the world, is located in the

southeastern Guizhou province. The village is 36 kilometers from Leishan County, which is governed by the Qiandongnan (Southeastern Guizhou) Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture. Since the mid-1950s, the PRC nationality policy granted ethnic groups specific “autonomous” reserves, one of which was the southeast part of the Guizhou province, which was established in 1956 and contains 30,337 square kilometers of land (Suo 2011). Xijiang contains a mix of clans and reports 1,291 households of 5,120 people, 99.5% of whom are Miao (Chen et al., 2011; Chen et al., 2017; Feng, 2017). Xijiang Miao Village is composed of four natural villages (*ziran cunluo*, an administrative unit): Pingzhai, Dongyin, Nangui, and Yangpai. Since it was the main staging area for the Miao’s third Great Migration, Xijiang is known as the “Capital of Miao.” The Miao have lived on the mountains for a long time, which necessitated a vertical structural system. Their stilted homes are stacked on top of each another in a style that is representative of Chinese Miao Ganlan-style architecture (Chen et al., 2011).

Many books and articles have published pictures and descriptions of Xijiang that capture its beauty and features. For example, Wang (2016) has described the

landscape of Xijiang as follows:

Xijiang Miao ethnic villages sit in a river valley conforming to the mountain slope to be harmonious with their geographical site. To adapt to the local environment, the Miao people have taken advantage of the mountainous terrain and have adopted a variety of innovative architectural and agricultural techniques. The architectural form of the *diaojiaolou* reflects the Miao necessity of building efficiently against the mountain slope, as well as the skillful incorporation of techniques such as davit, overhanging, and corner cutting. Upon walking out of a house onto the Xijiang alleys, one can see the winding roads leading to the tops of the mountains. The sky seems close at hand from these airy heights. (Wang, 2016, p. 36)

The most distinctive feature of the landscape of Xijiang is the stilted *diaojiaolou*, which was built along the mountain slope to attract visitors. Since the 1980s, Xijiang has become one of the most popular destinations in Guizhou and a “natural museum of ethnic customs” (Liu, 1989) and has thereby satisfied the desire for exoticism or authenticity among city people, including artists, journalists, and photographers (Schein, 2000). In the early 1990s, villagers in Xijiang spontaneously engaged in tourism-related business. They relied on the superiority of their natural and cultural resources, but they did not achieve considerable economic benefits because of financial and infrastructural limitations (Chen et al., 2011).

In 2007, the situation changed dramatically during the preparation for the Third Conference on Tourism Development in Guizhou, which identified Xijiang as a key development target and allotted a massive investment in market promotion and personnel training. The “Xijiang Model: development report of Xijiang’s scenic spot from 2008 to 2018” (Li et al., 2018) clearly reveals the economic growth and social change that resulted from tourism in the past decades. Between 2008 and 2017, the number of visitors increased from 780,000 people to 6.06 million people, and the comprehensive income from tourism rose from 100 million Yuan to 4.991 billion Yuan in 2017. These changes represent a seven-time and 49-time increase, respectively, over one decade. Before 2008, there were over 1,500 villagers going out of the village to make a living every year, and the per-capita income of villagers in 2007 was only 1,700 Yuan. Villagers who worked outside the village returned in succession after the development of tourism, and tourism has been the main source of income for villagers since 2008. In 2017, the per-capita income of the Xijiang villagers reached 22,100 Yuan – 13 times the per-capita income in 2007 (Chen et al., 2018).

2.3.1 Concepts of cultural tourism and ethnic tourism

Cultural tourism broadly serves the motivations of a class of people who travel to attain an in-depth understanding of cultural attractions at their chosen destination (Cros & McKercher, 2014). Its modern form originated in the late 1970s. In 1985, the World Tourism Organization published the following definition:

Cultural tourism may be defined in broad and narrow terms. In a narrow sense it includes movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts, travel to festivals, visits to sites and monuments, folklore, pilgrimages – in the broader sense, all movements of persons might be included in the definition because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters. (WTO, 1985, cited in Prohaska, 1995, p. 35)

Cultural tourism includes movements of persons for essentially cultural events, visit to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art or pilgrimages. (World Tourism Organization, 1985, p. 131)

Some organisations and researchers have offered alternative definitions of cultural tourism. The European Association of Tourism and Leisure and Education (1996) has provided one of the most well-known explanations, which conceptualizes it as “the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence,

with the intentions to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs” (cited in Richards, 1996, p. 24). He also established a technical definition of cultural tourism as “all movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal place of residence” (p. 24). Meanwhile, Tighe (1991) has noted three components of cultural tourism: travel that targets historical sites, visual or performing arts, and museums; tourists who visit historical monuments, museums, galleries, and cultural activities, such as concerts, and are interested in experiencing the culture of their destinations; and the sites of historical significance and heritage that comprise such destinations. McKeracher and du Cros (2002) have added that cultural tourism relies on four elements, namely tourism, the use of cultural heritage assets, the consumption of experiences and products, and the tourists themselves. According to Christou (2006), heritage and cultural tourism refers to the “segment of the tourism industry that places special emphasis on heritage and cultural attractions” (p. 5). Attractions have varied between developed and undeveloped areas. In developed areas, cultural attractions include “art museums, plays and orchestral and other musical

performances” (p. 5), while “religious practices, handicrafts and cultural performances” (p. 5) characterize those in less-developed areas.

Cultural tourism is a mainstream and commonplace aspect of mass tourism, and cultural tourists can provide important financial support for local creative and traditional activities (Richards, 2007). As the education level rises, more people acquire access to other cultures, which has led cultural tourism to become a widespread global phenomenon (Richards, 2007). However, problems have arisen because integrating cultural tourism as a common feature of tourism causes it to lose its distinct category (Richards, 2001), and tourism can trigger lifestyle changes in economic and environmental aspects. In addition, Fridgen (1991) has indicated that the display of culture through stage presentations aims for monetary profit, and tourists witness only “a faint reflection of the true culture” (p. 221), as they generally spend a short period of time at the destination. Turner and Ash (1975) have argued that the collision of culture with tourism may destroy the hosts’ culture. Therefore, some researchers and policy makers have emphasized concepts such as “sustainable tourism development” and “responsible consumption of tourism” to create a form of

cultural tourism that protects cultures that attract visitors (Theobald, 2005).

According to Winthrop (1991, p. 94), ethnicity generally represents “the existence of culturally distinctive groups within a society, each asserting a unique identity on the basis of a shared tradition and distinguishing social markers such as a common language, religion, or economic specialization.” Furthermore, Jenkins (2008) has summarized the basic social anthropological model of ethnicity as follows:

...ethnicity is a matter of cultural differentiation; ethnicity is centrally a matter of shared meanings – what we conventionally call ‘culture’; ethnicity as an identification, is collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and the categorization of others, and internalized in personal self-identification. (p. 14)

Smith (1977) originated the term “ethnic tourism” to refer to tourism that is “marketed to the public in terms of the ‘quaint’ customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples” (p. 2). It is a component of cultural tourism with a combined focus on cultural and natural resources. Tourists are motivated by exotic cultural experiences, including the consumption of performances, artifacts, and other cultural products and services (Yang et al., 2008). The main difference between cultural and ethnic tourism

is that cultural tourism usually offers indirect exposure to culture, while ethnic tourism provides first-hand encounters with another culture (Wood, 1984).

Scholars have generally agreed that ethnicity has become modified, re-created, and marketed to tourists (e.g., Smith, 2001). The impacts of tourism on ethnicity are varied. In terms of advantages, tourism reinforces ethnic identity via performances, arts, and festivals (van den Berghe, 1992; Graburn, 1989; Jamison, 1999). Moreover, it raises awareness among ethnic groups of the internal and external forces that influence their decisions, the promotion and preservation of cultural heritage, and ethnic attributes (Henderson, 2003; MacCannell, 1984). It also delivers considerable economic benefits (Britton, 1982; Mowforth & Munt, 1998) and contributes to the conservation of natural and cultural resources (Li, 2004; Henderson, 2003; Xie, 2001). On the other hand, ethnic tourism practices may cause cultural and environmental destruction (Cohen, 1987; Greenwood, 1989; Oakes, 1998) and can negatively impact the host culture or “freeze” such culture at the specific moment that visitors expect. Thus, the demands and interests of visitors determine the revival of culture (Yang & Wall, 2009).

Overall, modern tourists are becoming more interested in cultural attractions out of a desire for exposure to cultural otherness. Hence, cultural and ethnic tourism have captured an “increasingly significant market segment” (Wood, 1997, p. 1; Yang, 2011). Ethnic tourism is a particular form of cultural tourism (Xie, 2003) that provides a direct way for visitors to interact with indigenous people and experience cultural exoticism (Van den Berghe & Keyes, 1984). Ethnicity has become a popular tourist symbol that is broadly integrated into tourism to generate economic income and foreign exchange (Yang, 2009).

2.3.2 Cultural tourism business in Xijiang and tourism empowerment

China’s central government clearly values the economic profits of tourism, as the country’s reform and opening-up policy activated tourism development. Modern tourism in China emerged after the Third Plenary Session of the Communist Party of China in 1978 and has since generated considerable momentum (Ma & Sun, 2009). In the 1980s, the Chinese government designated tourism as a vital component of the tertiary (service) industry that served the socialist market economy in the 1980s. In

the 1990s, the advancing status of tourism was highlighted as an important economy point of national economy (Zhang & Lew, 2003). Its economic targets are specified in the 10th Five-Year Plan and Long-Term Goal Outline up to 2016 and 2020 for Tourism Development in China and indicate that the revenue of inbound and domestic tourism is projected to reach RMB 3,600 billion Yuan by 2020 (China National Tourism Administration, 2001). In fact, the economic benefits of the tourism industry exceeded expectations, as China's domestic tourism industry earned 4.57 trillion Yuan (720 billion U.S. dollars) with involved 5 billion domestic trips in 2017 (China National Tourism Administration, 2018).

Despite phenomenal growth in China's economy over the past 30 years, the country's development has been unbalanced, with eastern areas reaping more benefits than western regions. After recognizing the intensifying economic gap between the east and west, the government introduced the influential western development policy in 2000, which emphasizes the potential of developing tourism to fuel economic development in western China (Wang, 2003). Moreover, since the western region is home to most of the country's ethnic minorities, approaches to making optimal use of

their cultural resources has become a key area of interest. Ethnic and cultural tourism has become the dominant income-generating industry for western provincial governments, such as that in the Guizhou Province. In 1956, the Chinese government chose to convert the southeast part of Guizhou into the Miao Autonomous Region, which covers 30,337 square kilometers of land (Suo, 2011). Following a long period of development, the local tourism industry has advanced rapidly and demonstrates an exuberant vitality. According to statistics from the People's government of Qiandongnan Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture (2010) witnessed a growth in tourist numbers from 35,000 in 2005 to 2,387,000 in 2012, and tourism revenues in 2015 generated RMB 70.59 billion Yuan (Zhang, 2016). In 2012, the State Council announced the No. 2 Document entitled *Several opinions on accelerating the economic and social development in Guizhou*, which strategically positions Guizhou as an innovative region for cultural tourism.

Tourism in Xijiang started in the late 1980s and early 1990s and progressed rapidly during 2000s after the introduction of western development policy and the Third Conference on Tourism Development in Guizhou. After Xijiang was

categorized as a Class B rural tourism open area in 1982, its tourism industry was dominated by the government. In 2002, the *Space Development Strategy of Guizhou Province* explicitly identified it as an A-level development focus in tourism planning. Government officials and scholars believe that the tourism structure of Xijiang is dominated by cultural heritage, especially the architectural form of the Miao traditional village and the song and dance performance of the Miao. In 2004, the People's Government of the Southeast Guizhou Miao, the Dong Autonomous Prefecture, and the Tourism Administration of the Southeast Guizhou Miao formulated the Master Plan for Tourism Development in Southeastern Guizhou (revision) to fully utilize the potential of their rich and unique tourism resources. The plan established the vigorous development of tourism and the cultivation of a national culture and eco-tourism as target to gradually position tourism as a leading industry and pillar of economic development. The plan also listed Xijiang as a national-level ethnic village with a focus on construction. In 2004, Xijiang was listed as one of the five key ethnic villages and towns in the first phase of the village protection and construction projects of the province. In 2004, the government and Tourism

Administration of the Southeast Guizhou Miao and the Dong Autonomous Prefecture proposed the Master Plan for Tourism Development in Southeastern Guizhou (revision), which set the goal of fostering national cultural ecotourism to fully utilize the potential of Xijiang's rich and unique tourism resources and gradually situate tourism as a leading industry for economic development. The government believed that cultural heritage is the main part of Xijiang's tourism structure, especially in the architectural forms of Miao traditional villages and the folk song and dance performances. In the same year, Xijiang was listed as one of the five key ethnic villages in the first phase of Guizhou's village protection and construction projects. In 2008, the Third Guizhou Tourism Industry Development Conference was held in Xijiang, for which the Leishan County government and Leishan County Tourism Bureau specially formulated the Tourism Development Plan of Xijiang, Leishan County, which details the spatial layout of Xijiang Miao Village (Sun & Li, 2012). Following this conference, more than 1,000 wooden houses in the village were assessed as cultural relics and allotted subsidies of varying levels, while concrete houses that were incompatible with the "original ethnic customs" were carefully

reconstructed under the auspices of the local government. In addition, a series of cultural tourism facilities have been built, including performance venues, museums, handicrafts, and sales shops. Meanwhile, the Xijiang government financed the establishment and operation of the Xijiang Miao Village Cultural Tourism Development Co. Ltd. and assembled village representatives to join the Scenic Management Committee (Cao, 2014). A bestselling guide book for China entitled *Lonely Planet China* (Harper et al., 2017) has recently introduced Xijiang as follows:

From the ticket office (which is outside the village gate), buses (¥ 5) fun to the village itself. The tourist infrastructure runs to a performance square, English signposts, souvenir shops, an ATM taking foreign cards (sometimes) and even a few cafes with wi-fi. Head to the western side of the village for a more authentic experience. Come evening, when the day trippers have disappeared, the village reverts to a more traditional peace of life. (Harper et al., 2017, p. 1252)

Substantial changes have taken place in Xijiang in the last decade. The tourism infrastructure and transport conditions in Xijiang have improved significantly, and the adequate facilities are convenient for visitors. Chen et al. (2011) have defined the various areas of Xijiang to illustrate the changes in regional function of the village after the development of tourism (See Table 2.3). Such changes reflect that the areas

that function as tourist sites are not limited only to the scenic spot but extend to the surrounding villages as well. Chen et al. (2011) have noted that the sense of empowerment varies by area; specifically, the sense of empowerment decreased progressively in areas of core transition and peripheral areas.

Table. 2.3. Various Regions of Xijiang Miao Village and Associated Characteristics

Area	Features	Jurisdiction area of Xijiang Miao Village
Core Area	Numerous restaurants and shopping points; tourists outnumber residents in peak season	Main street and Lusheng performance field within Xijiang scenic spot
Transition Area	Main living areas have dual characteristics of a tourist site and a living space	The down Dongyin, down Yangpai, and most areas of Nangui and Pingzhai
Peripheral Area	Characteristics of tourist areas gradually blur; residents outnumber tourists, and non-tourist-oriented facilities are more numerous than tourist facilities	The up Dongyin, up Yangpai, and small areas of Nangui and Pingzhai

Sources: Compiled from Tropical Geography; Chen et al., 2011, p.221.

Tourism empowerment has become a common research topic across multiple disciplines, including education, psychology, and development planning (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010). Akama (1996) first proposed the

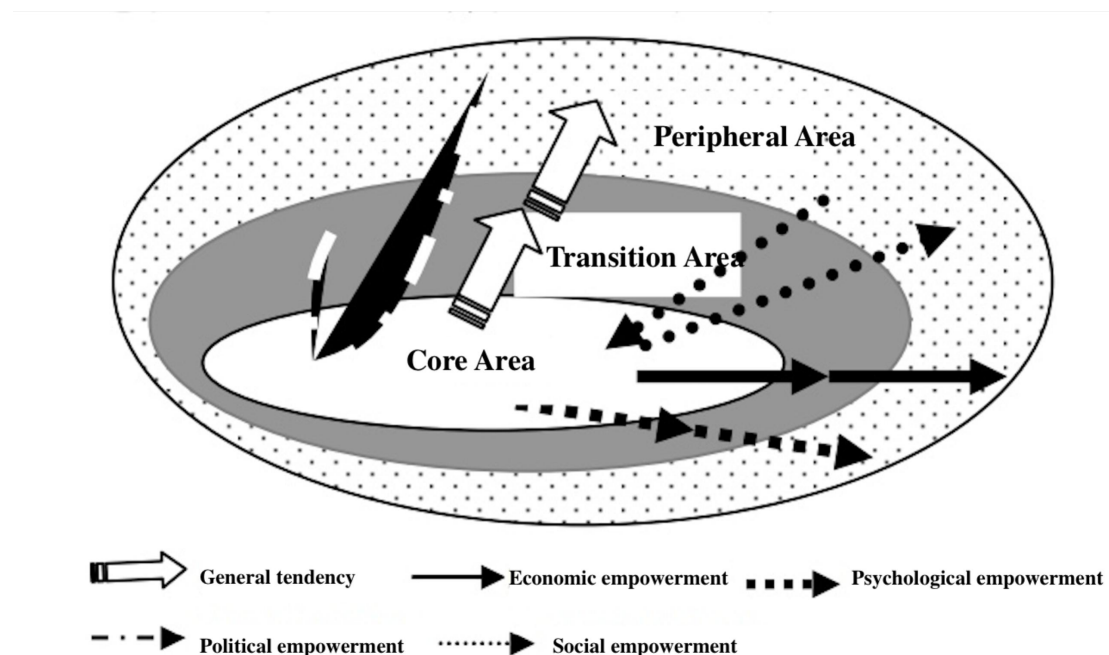
necessity of empowering community tourism in the following suggestion:

the local community need to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism facilities and wildlife conservation programmes they want to be developed in their respective communities, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared among different stakeholders. (Akama, 1996, p. 573)

Furthermore, Scheyvens (1999) has constructed a framework for community tourism empowerment that contains political, economic, psychological, and social dimensions. Bao (2008), Zuo (2008), Sun (2008), and others have introduced the theory of tourism empowerment to China. Scholars have also stressed that empowerment is crucial for successful tourism development and that the sustainability of tourism cannot be ensured if the government fails to empower residents (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Cole, 2006; Choi and Murray, 2010, p.589; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003). In the case of Xijiang, the perceived intensity of community residents' empowerment in tourism reflects a differentiation in characteristics between core areas, transition areas, and peripheral area, which is consistent with the law of regional attenuation (see Figure 2.4). Because of differences among objective factors, such as spatial location, tourism flow,

government policies, and tourism impacts, spatial differences inform the participation of community residents in tourism management and access to economic benefits. Differences in participation in tourism decision-making and community activities have also led to perceptions of political empowerment and social empowerment among the regions.

Figure 2.4. Perceptions of Tourism Empowerment among Xijiang Residents



Source: Compiled from Tropical Geography (Chen et al., 2011, p. 221).

Based on previous studies, Xijiang presents a strong state presence in the form of over 300 government officials as well as government office buildings, schools, and

government regulatory agencies, such as a court, a bank, and a post office. Feng (2017) has asserted that Xijiang clearly exhibits a government-directed model. She has further argued that the involvement of villagers in tourism is uneven, and tourism benefits are unequally distributed. These problems have been commonly observed in other parts of China as well, including both minority villages and Han touristic villages (Bao & Sun, 2006; Chen et al., 2003; Feng, 2017; Li, 2004). Bao and Sun (2006) have described community involvement in China as “superficial” in view of the poor policy and the land tenure system, wherein the house owner has a right to contractual use only instead of to ownership. However, compared to Fenghuang, another famous Miao village in the Hunan province that exemplifies the capital-oriented model, Xijiang and Langde (a Miao village approximately 12 miles from Xijiang) display stronger empowerment in tourism among residents. Xijiang has applied a high-handed management model (i.e., government-directed model), while Langde has adopted the more compact community-based model. Feng (2017) has proposed that the community-based model, which employs the principle of the “gongfen” system – “shared resources, equal opportunity, effort-based distribution,

and catering for the vulnerable” (p. 149) – is a successful means to locally retain benefits and avoid profiting by outsiders. Such model relies on a self-governing consciousness and an ability to exclude external investment; however, it may lead to the “tragedy of the commons” (p. 149).

Xijiang also projects the principle of “gongfen” in that every villager who has contributed to the construction and protection of old buildings and cultures has right to share tourism benefits. However, the government enacts tourism development of Xijiang, and the village is representative of commercialization. Commercial symbols appear frequently in the village, where many commercial tenants reside in the 0.7-square-kilometer core area. The area contains 106 hotels and inns, 92 souvenir shops, 18 bars and karaoke lounges, 75 catering services, and 318 outdoor billboards (Sun & Lin, 2017). Sun and Lin (2017) have argued that tourists are increasingly noticing commercialization in Xijiang. The in-depth interviews in their study indicate that tourists perceive Xijiang tourism to be seriously commercialized, which they considered a result of unreasonable allocation of property rights and a lack of effective management mechanisms. Meanwhile, Sun et al. (2017) have illustrated that

the satisfaction of tourists and the quality of their experience were positively correlated with the degree of commercialization of the destination; therefore, commercialization is a necessary supplement to tourism products, and tourism commercialization should be developed under certain control.

2.4 Managing Miao arts in Xijiang

Arts management facilitates performance and visual arts through five basic functions, namely planning, organizing, staffing, supervising, and controlling (Martin, 1998). It is a creative process that involves consumer behavior and marketing (Evard & Colbert, 2000). Arts management is a relatively new academic discipline that received little interest before the late-20th century (Brindle & DeVereaux, 2015). According to Chong (2009), arts management emerged in the 1960s and originally intended to support and promote publicly subsidized non-profit arts organizations. The scope of arts management has gradually increased, and it now engages with commercial organizations in the creative industry. In addition to clarifying the functions of arts management, Martin (1998) has qualified arts management as “the

facilitation of the production of the performing or visual arts and the presentation of the artists' work to audiences" (p. 128). Chong (2009) has quoted Matthews' (2006) fuller articulation that arts management is "an exciting field that allows people to combine business, artistic and organizational skills with activities that make a difference in the lives of individuals and communities" (p. 5); therefore, it is the "facilitation and organization of arts and cultural activity" (p. 6).

Arts management used to be a business administration and management field, but it has broadened to become a sociological topic. At the European Sociological conference in 2009, Kirchberg and Zembylas directed the focus of arts management to not only visual and performing arts but also cultural services and goods. They believed that the research stream promoted arts management as a topic for theoretical and empirical sociological inquiry within the realms of arts sociology, sociology of culture, organizational sociology, sociology of economy and professions, and other sub-disciplines. Moreover, scholars (Evard & Colbert, 2000) have positioned arts management and tourism as neighboring fields that share both academic and managerial links. Art in cultural tourism, including museums, exhibitions, and

festivals, are a strong magnet for tourism (Urry & Rojek, 1997), and the relationship between tourism and the arts can be globally regarded as one of complementarity, and we can expect it to grow in the future. Some tourist activities may even be considered to be cultural in nature, at least from an anthropological point of view, for instance, the discovery of ancient civilizations or other ways of life (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Evard & Colbert, 2000, p. 7).

Hagoort (2003) has further extended the research objectives of arts management to serve cultural heritage. He pragmatically included instituted related to cultural heritage in cultural organizations:

Culture is a collective noun for all the artistic and cultural – “historical” expressions and services that are produced, shown and/ or distributed. In this definition, we consider theatre, visual art and design, architecture, music, opera, musical, film, multimedia, cyberart and cultural heritage as examples of cultural expressions and services. (Hagoort, 2003, p. 9)

In China, arts management services for tourism and minority cultures began in the 1980s, when folk musician Xuan Ke pioneered the management of Naxi ancient music and achieved major success in promoting minority music, thereby triggering a wave of interest in the performance of traditional art forms (e.g., singing, dancing,

instrumental performances) throughout China's ethnic regions (He, 2004; Ma, 2009; Yin, 2013). Xie (2016) has argued that the industrialized operation of cultural resources in minority areas is within the category of arts management, which exhibits an increasingly vital status regarding the development of the tourism industry. Many domestic researchers have further evidenced the interactions between the management of ethnic culture and the tourism development. For example, Deng (2005) and Cheng (2015) have proposed that the rich cultural resources of ethnic minorities transform into the advantages of the cultural and tourism industry in minority areas. Zheng, Li, and Yang (2004) have also noted that cultural tourism is the fastest-growing sector of tourism, which has a key role in promoting ethnic minority culture. Liang (2005) has proposed that visitors could be inspired to appreciate ethnic customs by the careful selection and processing of ethnic arts through the three basic modes of collections, original ecological presentations, and theme parks. Zhang and Wang (2011) have suggested that the construction of a cultural brand has become a powerful marketing tool of cultural tourism. Meanwhile, other scholars have studied this research topic from an economic development perspective. Xiong (2014) has asserted that the

cultural industrialization in western minority areas has been relatively slow because it is constrained by factors such as backward economic development and insufficient investment. Wen (2000) highlighted that cultural development in minority areas has problematically focused mostly on the contradiction between original ecological protection and a poor financial ecological environment. Hence, they have indicated that it is necessary for the government, cultural entrepreneurs, and intermediaries in minority areas to jointly build a good financial environment and to demonstrate guidance by establishing government funds (He, 2014; Yuan, 2014; Zhao, 2017).

In Guizhou, the management of minority arts and culture also started in the late 1980s with the emergence of ethnic tourism projects. The rapid development of the cultural and tourism industry in minority areas including Xijiang village is evident in the regional economic statistics of Guizhou (see Tables 2.4 & 2.5 and Figures 2.5 & 2.6), which convey that tourism revenue accounts for an increasing share of regional gross daily profit (GDP). In Guizhou, ethnic minority arts and cultural production have long occupied an auxiliary position, and the purpose of minority arts management is to serve the development of tourism (Zhao, 2017). *Several Opinions*

on Further Promoting the Sound and Rapid Development of Guizhou's Economy and Society (2012, NO. 2) issued by the State Council clarifies the diverse minority culture and proposes that arts are a feature of the integration of Guizhou's culture and tourism. It also emphasizes the necessity to build Guizhou into a zone of cultural tourism development and innovation, and it further encourages Miao regions to organize various large-scale cultural events, such as the Guzang festival and Miao Nongx Niangx (New Year of Miao). To stimulate development and fundraising for cultural entrepreneurs in minority areas, Guizhou Provincial Office of Cultural Reform and Development and the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, Guizhou Branch, jointly tailored "cultural enterprise loans" for small and medium-sized cultural enterprises, which granted loans of 2.16, 3.71, 6.41, and 11.02 billion Yuan from 2012 to 2015 at an average annual growth rate of 38.6% (Xinhuanet, July 28, 2015).

Table 2.4. Indices of Gross Domestic Product of Guizhou from 2006 to 2016

Year	GDP of Guizhou	Added Value		
		Primary Industry	Secondary Industry	Tertiary Industry ^a
2010	1970.5	438.0	3104.8	4150.8
2011	2274.0	443.3	3688.5	4844.0

2012	2583.2	481.4	4304.5	5430.1
2013	2906.1	509.3	4911.4	6114.3
2014	3220.0	542.9	5515.5	6750.2
2015	3564.5	578.2	6144.3	7499.5
2016	3938.8	612.9	6838.6	8354.4

Source: Guizhou Statistical Yearbook of 2017.

a: Tertiary industry includes cultural, educational, and tourism services.

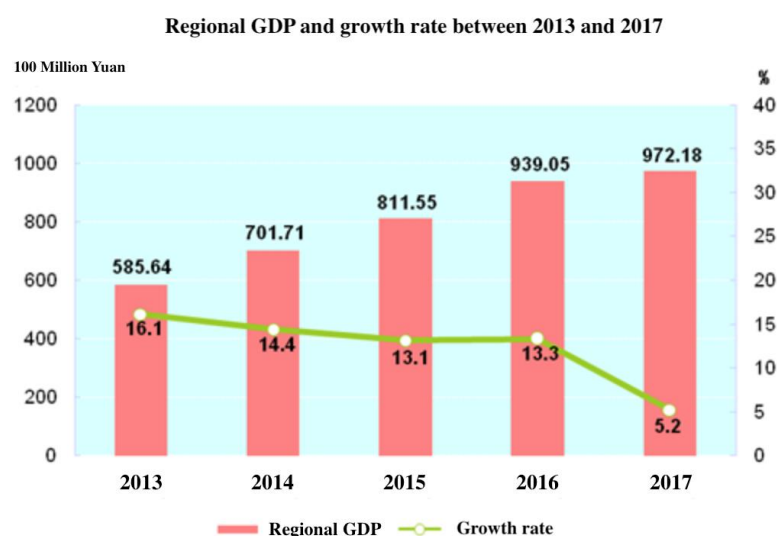
Table 2.5. Gross Domestic Product and Tourism Earnings of Guizhou

(10 million yuan)

Item	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Gross Domestic Product	6878.78	8115.47	9299.45	10539.62	11776.73
Tourism Earnings	1860.16	2370.65	2895.98	3512.82	5027.54

Source: Guizhou Statistical Yearbook of 2017

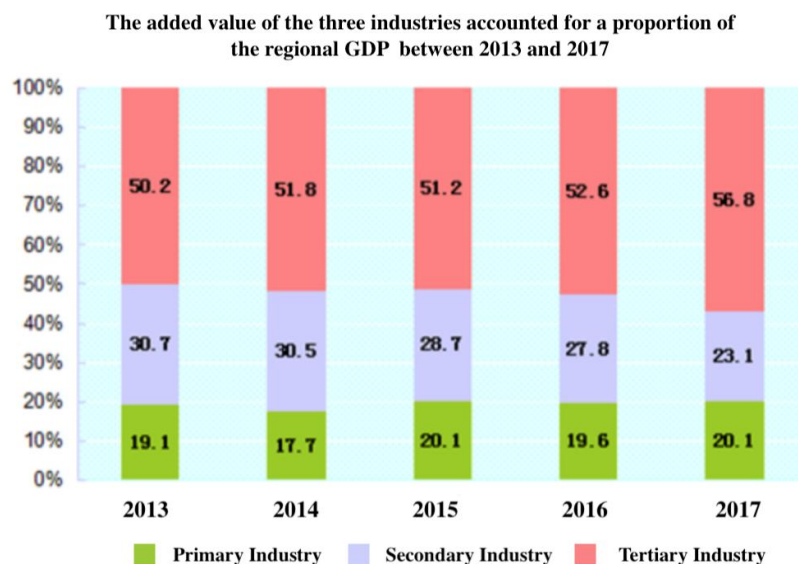
Figure 2.5 Gross Domestic Product and Economic Growth Rate of Southeast Guizhou from 2013 to 2017



Source: Statistical bulletin of national economic and society development of Southeast Guizhou in 2017 at

http://www.qdn.gov.cn/xxgk/zdgg/tjxx/tjnb/201803/t20180326_2149051.html

Figure 2.6. Share of Industrial Added Value of the GDP of Southeast Guizhou between 2013 and 2017



Source: Statistical bulletin of national economic and society development of Southeast Guizhou in 2017 at http://www.qdn.gov.cn/xxgk/zdgg/tjxx/tjnb/201803/t20180326_2149051.html

In rural Guizhou, Xijiang developed most rapidly from 39 villages . To make Xijiang a successful attraction, local authorities released a number of targeted development plans (Feng & Cui, 2013), including *Leishan County Tourism Development Master Plan (2016 - 2025)*, *Constructive Detailed Planning of Xijiang Tourism Comprehensive Service Area in Leishan, Guizhou (2017)*, *Constructive Detailed Planning of Xijiang's Comprehensive Tourism Complex Cultural Experience Park (2017)*, and *All-for-one Tourism Development Planning of Leishan County (2018)*, which emphasized developing Xijiang as a global Miao cultural tourism

destination. Since unique cultural heritage resources became the main tourist attractions (Zhang, 2007; Wang, 2011), the local government established the Xijiang Cultural Tourism Development Company Limited, which reported a registered capital of 3.35 million Yuan as well as over 400 employers and 700 temporary workers. It is a wholly state-owned company that was founded in 2009 with the objective of more efficiently managing local cultural heritage resources. Its nine subsidiary corporations are individually responsible for scenic area management, arts performance management, tourism products development, real estate, and other integral management of the village. Its cultural performance company specializes in the business of cultural performances and arts management. In addition to admission fees, two other main sources of the village's revenue are related to the arts. The first is the night performance, and the second is traditional arts and craft. The company launched the "Beautiful Xijiang" live action performances and later set up a Gage Ancient Road Asset Management Company for the management of cultural assets. It also introduced cultural exhibition activities, including Miao folk songs, jumping Lusheng, and art batik. The company also cooperated with numerous radio stations, magazines, and

newspapers and actively participated in tourism promotion conferences in other cities for cultural propaganda. The Xijiang museum of the Chinese national museum was built in September 2009, while 42 other “family museums” opened to outsiders. Furthermore, the number of self-employed households that engage in the sale of cultural commodities, such as silver ornaments and embroidery, increased to 163. The government also set up a Miao Cultural Protection Fund, which withdraws 15% of ticket revenues for rewarding and encouraging local residents who contribute to protecting their cultural heritage.

However, like in most Chinese ethnic villages, the cultural industry in Xijiang is based on the development of ethnic tourism and exhibits serious homogeneity. Feng and Cui (2013) have suggested that such homogeneity is a consequence of the low participation rate of local communities. They proposed that the communities are rarely engaged in the process of decision-making, while managers usually invite the professional travel planning companies to design the development plan, which is “a process of clarifying, standardizing and simplified packing Miao ICH as a cultural commodity with heterogeneous cultural characteristics, as well as a process that is

likely to homogenize Xijiang (with other minority villages)” (p. 73). More objections were raised once the village started to charge an admission fee and sell tickets for the arts show *Beautiful Xijiang*. For example, Tao and Chenyi (2013) has proposed that the protection and development of Xijiang Miao Village is a dialectical issue, so it is necessary to consider the coordination of interests of all parties. Neglect of the unbalanced tripartite relationship between operators, tourists, and local residents may cause tourism pollution and destroy their cultural ecology because of the Great Leap Forward development model, which seeks to maximize profits.

In sum, the rapid development of Xijiang’s tourism and cultural industry has attracted the attention of many scholars, who have increasingly raised concerns about the “over-ambitious pursuit of profits” and “excessive use of cultural resources.” As an alternative approach, they have proposed sustainable development (e.g., Chen et al., 2011; Liu, 2013; Cao, 2014; He, 2014).

2.4.1 Authenticity experiences of Miao arts in Xijiang

Arts performance is a vital component of cultural products in Xijiang. Scholars differ in their opinions regarding artistic content, with some insisting on the importance of retaining originality (Qian, 2012; Feng, 2014), while others have suggested “appropriate” reforms to adapt to the modern aesthetic (Tian, 2012; Liu, 2012; Zhang, 2012), which has prompted discussions of authenticity.

The American anthropologist Edward Sapir (1924) has made a statement of epistemology on the “invention of traditions” that identifies all genuine traditions as spurious. He has defined authenticity as a “person, intimate clusters of persons, communities, or societies, whose lived experience is harmonious with, or true to, their inherent or intrinsic cultural structure or historically emergent form” (p. 108). Moreover, he has noted that genuine culture generally subsists at a lower level of civilization. Goffman (1959) has proposed the concept of partition, which dictates that people assume different roles in the “frontstage” and “backstage” regions and are driven by an urge for impression management. He has suggested that the authenticity that a person presents is associated with his or her social identity and situation, such as his or her position within the “group, office, category, relationship or association.”

According to his analysis, whether the performance is deemed authentic is often determined by whether people are authorized to deliver the performance as opposed to an evaluation of the performers' characters or ability. Goffman has argued that, in some cases, performers consciously perform content in which they do not believe for a variety reasons, including personal interests, and the performers therefore do not determine the identity-related implications of a performance. MacCannell (1973, 1976) has translated Goffman's concept to the tourism setting and suggested that "for the study of tourist settings front and back be treated as ideal poles of a continuum, poles that are linked by a series of front regions decorated to appear as back regions, and back regions set up to accommodate outsiders" (p. 602). He has proposed that some tourists certainly desire to "share in the real life of the places visited, or at least to see that life as it is really lived" (1973, p. 594). However, they can only find the "staged authenticity" of the performances, such as dance shows and craft demonstrations, which are the most typical forms of commercial production that local hosts organize to satisfy tourists. Handler and Saxton (1988) have categorized the performing arts under the class of experiential authenticity.

Hence, authenticity is not only a question of identity or positioning but also the result of a concern that tourist attractions – especially performing arts events – convey the antecedents of behavior (Hernández-Mogollón et al., 2013). In the context of the performing arts, authenticity refers broadly to a form of truth within the events (Grayson & Martinec, 2004; Leigh et al., 2006). There are two main components of authenticity: the first is “authenticity of what is being offered,” while the second is “the audience's emotional perception” (Radbourne et al., 2009, p. 20). Wang (1999) has identified three approaches to authenticity that focus on audience experiences: objectivism, which refers to the “epistemological experience” of original authenticity; constructivism, which aligns with “authenticity projected onto toured objects”; and existential authenticity, which represents “a potential existential state of Being that is to be activated by tourist activities” (p. 352). Castéran and Roederer (2013) have stated that events that align more with their origins offer more motivation for visitors to return. However, as Wang (1999) and Radbourne et al. (2009) have claimed, audiences judge a performance from an emic perspective and assess the performance as “authentic” even if it is contrary to its original content.

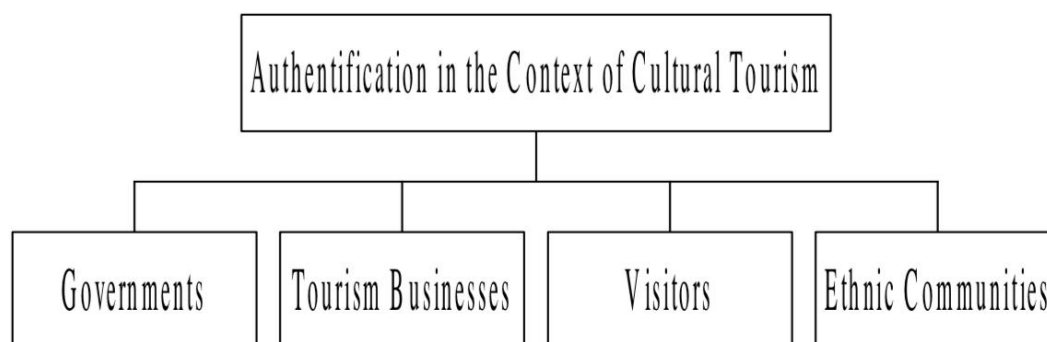
In recent years, from the many proposals to develop China's minority areas, arts performances and handicraft art shows were selected as vital components of cultural tourism. To achieve economic development, the China National Tourist Administration has methodically developed rich ethnic cultures and historical sites, such as Miao villages in Guizhou (Donaldson, 2007; Lv, 2004; Oakes, 1998). Many Chinese scholars have started to focus on the problem of excessive use of cultural heritage (Gao & Zhu, 2008; Liu, 2008; Sun et al., 2009; Cui, 2015; Ma, 2016), and most of them have referred to the over-adaption of arts performances to cater to the tastes of audiences in ethnic minority areas in China that involve Miao regions, which may conversely lead to a negative experience of authenticity for spectators (Cui, 2015; He, 2013; Liu & Tang, 2015; Ou & Xu, 2012).

2.4.2 Stakeholder theory

Stakeholder theory gained prominence following the publication of Freeman's (1984) book on the stakeholder approach. He has defined a stakeholder as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's

objectives” (p.46). According to the management literature, the stakeholder approach has served as a theoretical framework for sustainable tourism development since the 1990s (Byrd et al., 2009; Gunn, 1994; Sautter & Leisen, 1999;). Since then, it has been increasingly employed in measuring organizational effectiveness or marketing the performances of arts organizations (Boorsma & Chiaravalloti, 2010; Hsieh et al., 2008; Hsieh, 2010; Quero & Ventura, 2009; Tschirhart, 1996). In the field of cultural tourism, Hitchcock et al. (1993) have questioned who should be the beneficiaries of cultural tourism and who should decide the direction and pace of development. In addition, Byrd (2007) has divided stakeholders in the context of tourism into four categories – namely present visitors, future visitors, present host community, and future host community (residents, business owners, and government officials) – which are responsible for tourism resource management (WTO, 1998). Based on the previous arguments, Xie (2001, 2010) has identified a more specific division of stakeholders concerning the issue of authentication (see Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7. Stakeholder of Analysis for the Issue of Authentication



Source: Xie, (2001, p. 26). Authenticating cultural tourism: Folk villages in Hainan, China.

The stakeholder theory is further embodied by arts organizations, particularly not-for-profit arts organizations. Turbide and Laurin (2009) have conducted a survey of over 300 managers of non-profit performing arts organizations in Quebec, Canada. Figure 2.8 presents the result, which reveals that respondents recognized three groups of stakeholders from the governance perspective. The dominant group includes funding agencies and board of directors, while the secondary group encompasses the second layer of founders, such as artist communities, promoters, and the general public (or customers). The third group contains general communities, volunteers, and critics. This thesis does not focus only on the promotion and consumption of the ethnic arts performances in Xijiang or the management of the cultural organization that operates the arts shows in Xijiang; it also explores the sustainability of Miao

culture in this minority village and the Miao ICH that was generated in this particular environment within diverse cultural ecological systems. Hence, Chapter 7 argues for classifying the stakeholders of ethnic arts performances according to the theory in the field of cultural tourism (e.g., Byrd, 2007; Xie, 2003; Yang, 2009 etc.).

Figure 2.8. Stakeholder Groups of Non-profit Organizations in Quebec, Canada

Board composition	President	Vice President	Treasurer	Other directors				
				1	2	3	4	5
External (%)	55.79	55.79	58.95	54.74	48.42	32.63	23.16	17.89

Board size	Average	SD	Minimum	Maximum
	8.0842	5.4199	0	32
Accountability to ¹ :				
Funding agencies	1.3978	0.7681	1	5
Board of directors	1.5465	0.9537	1	7
Artists	2.4267	1.2753	1	5
Promoters	2.5333	1.0651	1	5
General public/customers	2.6087	1.4473	1	6
Donors	2.7959	1.1543	1	5
Artistic community	3.0667	1.3490	1	6
Community (in general)	3.5455	1.4378	1	8
Volunteers	3.5952	1.2506	1	6
Critics	3.8333	1.1776	1	5

1. Respondents were asked to rank, in descending order of importance, the 10 different groups to which they were likely to be accountable; the same ranking could be used more than once.

Source: Turbide and Laurin (2009, p. 63). Performance measurement in the arts sector: The case of the performing arts. *International journal of arts management*, 56-70.

Based on Byrd's theory, Xie (2001, 2010) and Yang (2009), who have studied the Li minority and Dai minority in Hainan and Xishuangbanna, respectively, have suggested that stakeholders in the negotiation of cultural authenticity hold various

positions with respect to cultural or ethnic tourism. They have specified four critical stakeholders – namely government, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists, and ethnic communities – in these minority areas, which are similar to Xijiang. They have also examined the stance of different stakeholders toward the issue of authenticity based on the “five pairs of yardsticks” theory of Swain (1989), which dictates the following:

- a. Significant differences in the position of stakeholders are associated with different priorities and directions;
- b. The culture-tourism relationship is associated with cultural tensions and the misuse of cultural resources (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996);
- c. Minority communities have less control of cultural and tourism resources, and they prioritize economic benefits and improvements in their lifestyle, which result in the loss of authenticity;
- d. Tourists are attracted to the exotic cultures of minorities. They have little knowledge about ethnic minorities, so their perception of authenticity is

strong. However, they only witness a staged show, and few of them can obtain authentic experiences;

- e. Ethnic arts performance has clearly been constructed and modified to present as more exotic and joyful, which caters to the desires of visitors and suits commercial needs (Li, 2004).

2.5 Cultural education in Xijiang

Education is crucial to minority cultural sustainability and ethnic cultural hegemony.⁵ The control of the dominant ethnic group can infiltrate the realm of education, especially through the curriculum (Wang, 2008). Like other culturally diverse countries, China is committed to balancing the “political and economic imperative of national integration with the pluralistic realities of its diverse ethnocultural communities” (Leibold & Chen, 2014, p. 1). The education of

⁵ The review of cultural hegemony is put in section 2.1. The concept of “ethnic hegemony” is introduced by Jiobu (1988, p. 353), which refers to “the situation in which an ethnic group achieves economic control over an important economic arena that interfaces with the majority”.

minorities in China has been deeply influenced by Confucian culturalism since the Xia dynasty (2070 BC – 1600 BC) and seems to provide “great support for state’s provisions to protect minorities” (He, 1998, p. 31) with the core concept of “Great Unity” (*datong*). China exhibits a sense of urgency to uphold internal stability and national unity despite successive dynasties in Chinese history. The famous Chinese ethnologist Fei Xiaotong (1989) has proposed a distinct historical pattern of “multiple origins, one body” (*duoyuan yiti*), which translates into English as “pluralistic unity” (Leibold & Chen, 2014, p. 9). It is applied in the field of education and prompted debate over the relationships between minority education in China and the multiethnic education that is proposed in Western countries. In line with Fei’s theory, Teng (1998) has developed the multicultural integration education theory (*duoyuan wenhua zhenghe jiaoyu lilun*), which emphasizes cultural conformity. Leibold and Chen (2014) have argued that cultural diversity can only be tolerated on the basis of state unity, and ethnic education in China is viewed as “something for select, remedial few, with the values and promotion of cultural pluralism and ethnic tolerance largely neglected in the regular state schooling system” (p. 8). The minority

cultural education in China is, in some way, an “integration-centered multicultural education” (Wang et al., 2007, p. 146).

Apart from the “standardized education” (the mainstream education designed for Han students), minority groups, including the Miao in Xijiang, have enjoyed special ethnic education that provides protection and benefits for minorities (Borchigud, 2011; Leibold & Chen, 2014; Postiglione, 2013).

- 1) The government provided a substantial budget and a series of laws for the development of minority cultural education.
- 2) There is diverse range of minority schools in both minority areas and cities that spans primary through tertiary education. These schools allows the minorities to study in their own language.
- 3) Minority applicants enjoy preferential treatment for higher education; for example, they are favored by the score policy for college entrance examinations.

Although Chinese policies for minority cultural education guarantee the freedom and rights of minorities and provide chances for them to learn about their own culture, the bureaucratic provisions are “distorted in the implementation process and results in ethnic hegemony, most evident in the curricular matter” because of various contradictions in the broader and more complex social environment (Wang, 2008, p. 98). However, the requirement of minority cultural education is urgent in the context of globalization and Hanization, as it can allow minority cultures to sustain and appreciate themselves.

2.5.1 Multicultural education in schools

The concept of multicultural education originally arose alongside the Civil Rights and “ethnic revitalization” movements in North America in the 1960s and 1970s (Leibold & Chen, 2014, p. 2). According to Banks and Banks (2010), multicultural education is

an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language, and cultural groups will have an equal

chance to achieve academically in school. It is necessary to conceptualize the school as a social system in order to implement multicultural education successfully. (p. 1)

Based on Bank's theory, Leibold and Chen (2014) have concluded that educational reform aims to make a "deep structural changes to pedagogy, curriculum, assessment, teaching styles and school culture" (p. 3), which provides not only equal opportunities for students from various cultural groups but also crucial equal learning outcomes. In China, as Leibold and Chen stated, the state education system is a "key battleground" for cultivating "a sense of shared national belong" (p. 1) to realize the goal of ethnic hegemony through the separate targeted curriculum designs for minority groups and the Han majority.

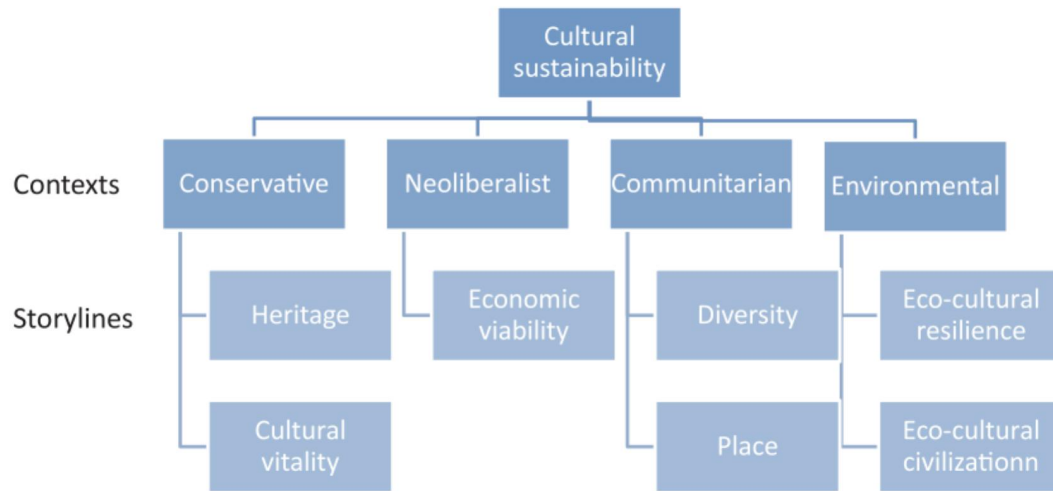
In accordance with Soini and Birkeland's (2014) theory of storylines of cultural sustainability (see Figure 2.9), Laine has summarized the characteristics of culturally sustainable education as follows (2016, p. 64):

- Is made possible and developed through micro-, median-, and macro-level contacts

- Takes into account culture at the local, national, and global levels
- Includes creativity, cultural customs, cultural heritage, and an awareness of history, cultural landscapes, interactions between generations, internationality, locality, and multiculturalism and diversity in education
- Supports the identity process of the pupil
- Protects and enables the realization of cultural rights
- Utilizes the instrumental value of culture and recognizes the value of culture in cultural change toward sustainability

Laine (2016) has further proposed that the diversification of society and the individual cultural identities of students should be taken into account in the discourse of culturally sustainable education, and the commercial aspects of culture could be used in courses of entrepreneurship and practical subjects.

Figure 2.9. Summary of Story Lines and Political Context of Cultural Sustainability



Source: Exploring the scientific discourse on cultural sustainability. Soini & Birkeland (2014, p. 220).

The minority ethnic group in China initiated their culture, history, beliefs, and customs through family stories, rituals, and court schools before the “Eastward spread of Western scholarship” (*dong xue xi jian*) at the end of 19th century. Now, because of the impacts of globalization and nationalism, they have access to modern concepts and practices of education (Bateer, 2016). According to Postiglione (2013), multiethnic cultural education in China remains “carefully proscribed” (p. 4). Schools in China selectively conserve the particular brand of national culture (*zhonghua minzu wenhua*) and are supervised by a state that is wary of external cultural influences,

especially from Western culture. Schools are also “charged with the responsibility to conserve ethnic cultures within a national context that places a premium on Han Chinese cultural capital” (p. 4). Meanwhile, the education of minorities is highly centralized and thus affected by the market economy, administrative decentralization, and even changes in government leadership. Postiglione (2013) has noted issues regarding the effects of state schooling on ethnic minority culture, as representations of ethnic minority culture are unbalanced, and the languages of minorities are threatened by the positioning of Mandarin as the main language in education.

Although the multiethnic cultural education in China is considered “alien to the Chinese tradition” (Leibold & Chen, 2014, p. 2), the discourse of cultural education in minority areas has still attracted increasing attention from domestic scholars in recent years. For example, Wei and Zhang (2010) have stressed that minority schools should assume the responsibility of passing down minority culture within a multicultural context. They have also mentioned that the curriculum design of minority schools in Guizhou is usually composed of the national unified courses accompanied by bilingual teaching. Wu and Zhang (2011) have proposed the concept of multicultural

coexistence and the design of education programs. Lin (2008) has further examined the relationships between cultural sustainability, education, and globalization and identified the necessity to prevent the effect of Han-centric or Eurocentric biases. Lin has also advised that “education for minority cultural sustainability must be accompanied by efforts to de-center majority culture in order to create room for minority culture to survive and prosper” (p. 81).

2.5.2 Development of Miao community education

Community education is a process that influences all aspects of community life (Shuttleworth, 2010). As Du (2010) has illustrated, when considering community-based ethnic education, heritage language educational programs and other community-based cultural activities are significant for the identity formation processes of locals.

In conjunction with economic development and enhancement of social opportunities in the Guizhou Miao area, the provision of community education has become an important issue. According to Xia (2007) and Suo (2011), the Miao, as the

largest minority group in China, have received considerable attention from the government to promote the development of education regarding minority undertakings. For example, in addition to funding a minority education subsidy, the central government established a National Ethnic Minorities' Educational Research Association in 1983. In 2003, the Cultural Protection Ordinance of Guizhou's Minorities Act was introduced and aligned with prescribed protection policies. The act establishes that the local government has a compulsory responsibility to help local communities protect minority cultures and heritage. Moreover, it can apply funding from the Chinese central government to build museums for minorities in large minority villages, and it dictates that any person or organization who damages a minority's heritage should be fined and pay an appropriate compensation to the local community.

For the Miao people, the communication of their cultural heritage is both dynamic and active, and it often relies on individuals to deliver oral instructions based on knowledge that they acquired through rote memory (Long, 2004). In order to maximize the effectiveness of this traditional pattern of education, which remains the

main education model for the local community, the government stipulated that any person who meets one of the three requirements (as stated in Section 2.1) could be a cultural ambassador. In addition, all ambassadors and local governments should strive to prevent the loss of cultural heritage by implementing lawful protections to support the development of ethnic education.

Scholars have also shared their views on the educational development of the Miao. Meng (2007) has indicated that launching courses that address ethnic communities may benefit community improvement and social harmony. Meanwhile, Zhang (2010) and Qin (2012) have discussed the community education of the Miao in Xiangxi and Weining, respectively, which provides a useful reference for the present research.

2.6 Research rationale

This section identified the research gaps through and the conceptual framework was summative developed from the literature and previous studies.

2.6.1 Research gaps

Recently, cultural sustainability has been increasingly discussed alongside the management of cultural heritage and cultural tourism. The sustainable development models of some Western countries integrate culture as one of the core components of achieving social sustainability. Discourse on cultural sustainability in minority areas of China has concentrated mainly on the tourism context and has rarely considered the state of the entire ecology. Furthermore, the English literature has largely neglected the sustainable development of Chinese minority culture.

Reports and studies on the artistic management of cultural heritage or cultural tourism are relatively novel, although debate over the appropriate management of cultural heritage has recently intensified. Thus, there is a need to investigate the possible role of arts management in minority areas while considering the characteristics of the regional, religious, and historical contexts. Unfortunately, many arts management frameworks do not adequately address environmental factors or the need to preserve minority cultures when devising sustainable models.

Since most arts management theories were developed in the Western world, they are not fully compatible with the Eastern context, and few of them adequately address the management of Chinese minority arts in minority areas. Therefore, it is advisable to investigate operational frameworks in view of China's distinct political and cultural backdrop to achieve sustainable management of ethnic minority arts in destinations such as Xijiang.

2.6.2 Conceptual framework

Figure 2.10 depicts the conceptual framework for this study, the core aim of which is to achieve sustainability of Miao culture in Xijiang by balancing cultural heritage preservation with cultural tourism development. Cultural heritage communicates meaningful messages from the past that inform traditional practices in the present day (Charter, 1964). All parties can clearly benefit from the link between minority arts and regional cultural tourism. Cultural tourism is an ideal vehicle that has contributed to economic, social, and cultural exchange; in return, the increasing scale of exchange has stimulated tourism (Richards, 2007). In the case of Xijiang,

Miao artistic products serve as both luxurious tourist attractions and rich educational resources. The rapid growth in income that was generated by the development of local tourism has enabled the provision of improved facilities and other physical resources and ensures that tourism becomes an effective means of cultural transmission while also protecting diverse heritage and cultural treasures. Nevertheless, as previous sections have noted, there is some controversy regarding the advantages and disadvantages of tourism for local cultures, especially within the context of globalization (Richards, 2007). Such disadvantages may disrupt the cultural-ecological equilibrium of Xijiang. Given that globalization stimulates cultural exchange, various scholars have highlighted the significance of possible cultural assimilation. In the context of Xijiang, economic benefits have become a central concern. Despite the rapid development of regional tourism, the preservation of cultural heritage has been neglected. In fact, there are concerns that the ongoing expansion of the tourism industry could damage the village's cultural heritage (He, 2010; Yu, 2014; Zhang et al., 2015). These statements have stimulated debates on the

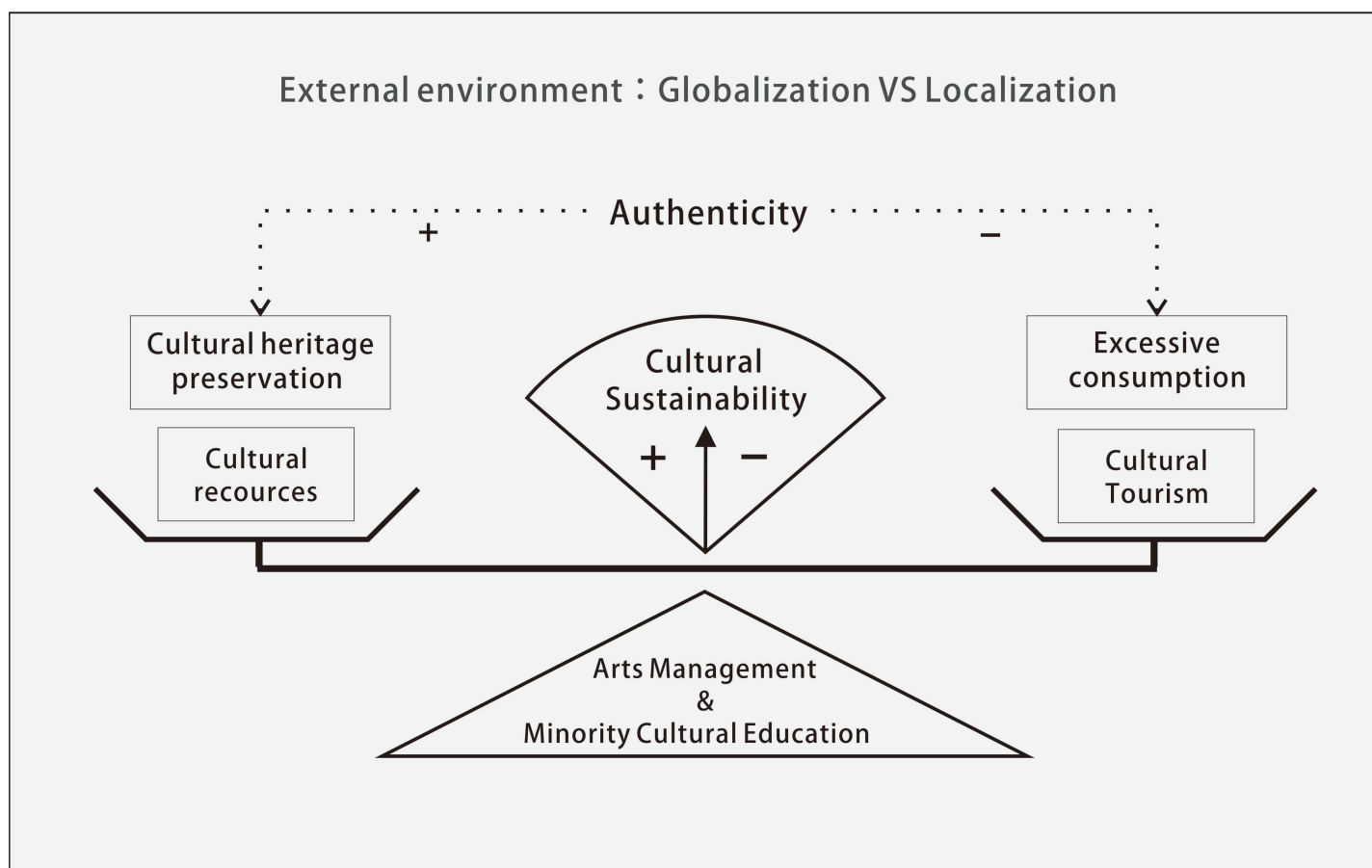
impact of cultural globalization and localization and prompted recognition of the need to ensure a balance between economic growth and minority cultural inheritance.

In Xijiang, arts performances and handicrafts (e.g., painting, embroidery, batik, and silver ornaments) are regarded as the main tourist attractions alongside the ancient traditional architecture. Arts management is a relatively new concept in Xijiang, although the literature has referred to the phrase in both Chinese and English, and practice has surpassed theory since the late 1980s, when village tourism emerged in Guizhou. Arts management has assumed an increasingly prominent role as the cultural market has expanded in this area. However, the development orientation, which has been characterized as one of “over-pursuit of economic profits” under the framework of arts management, is thought to trigger changes to traditional arts to cater to the tastes of tourists. This framework suggests that the desire to generate profits from tourism affects the authenticity of the arts performances and artworks. Therefore, understanding and utilizing the leverage that arts management and cultural education provide could be an effective way to fuse the two aims of cultural preservation and tourism development and subsequently achieve sustainable cultural

development. The first consideration of any management process should arguably be *sustainability*. Furthermore, arts management and cultural education can counterbalance the influence of Xijiang's cultural tourism on Miao cultural heritage by designing appropriate strategies for programming, promoting, and marketing Miao ICH, establishing reasonable course design, and boosting engagement of local communities. This study examines these measures.

The conceptual framework is based on the literature review and was converted into an operational framework for practical use based on the actual data that were collected through fieldwork in Xijiang Miao Village (see Chapter 8).

Figure 2.10. Conceptual Framework for the Present Research



CHAPTER 3

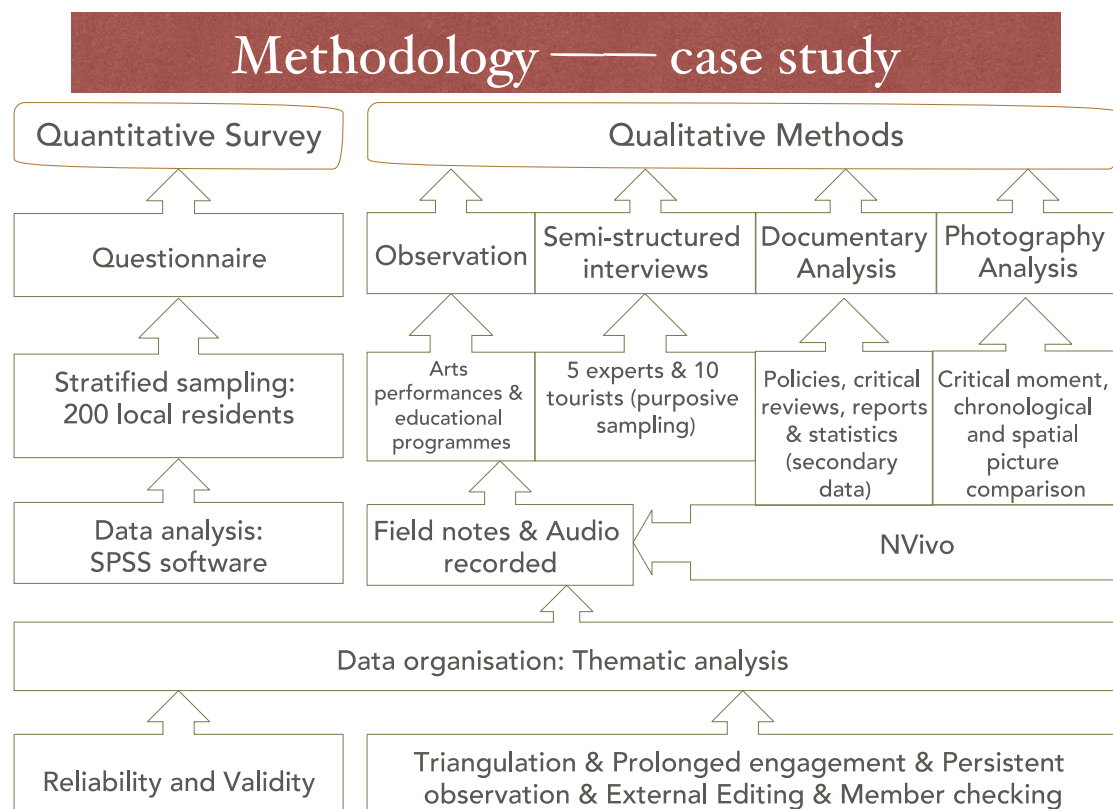
METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a detailed description of the approaches that were applied while conducting the fieldwork in Xijiang to acquire necessary information to answer the research questions. The research employed a case study strategy to accomplish the following aims: to identify the various stakeholders in Xijiang's cultural ecosystem; to gain an understanding of such stakeholders' positions and expectations for arts programs, ethnic cultural education, and tourism development tendencies; and to evaluate their awareness and practices of cultural preservation.

The field research was undertaken from June 2016 to February 2017 in Xijiang, Guizhou province. I visited the village about once a month and stayed there for approximately one to three weeks each time. Language training was unnecessary, as I can speak both Mandarin and English, and most of the villagers can use Mandarin to communicate. A local friend of mine who was employed by the Xijiang government assisted me in gathering data during the field visit.

A visual graph (Figure 3.1) below is built to summatively present the research methods applied in the research. This study utilizes a mixed-methods approach to obtain both primary and secondary data. Multiple approaches were employed to ensure reliability and validity of the research.

Figure 3.1. A summative synthesis of the research methods applied for this research



3.1 Research problem

Culture is the fourth parallel dimension of ecological, economic, and socially sustainable development, which celebrates local and regional histories to pass down the cultural values to future generation. Soini and Birkeland (2014) have noted that “cultural sustainability moves beyond social sustainability and that there can be important issues of sustainable development that are missed without a further examination of the role of culture” (p.215). As they have suggested, there is a need to create a framework to fully understand and address cultural sustainability.

Since cultural tourism has become a principal industry in minority areas of China, concerns have emerged regarding the negative influence of Han culture and modernity as well as the transformation of minority destinations into “theme parks” (Yang, 2011). Moreover, problems due to acculturation, change of identity, and the sustainability of minority culture have also appeared in Miao villages, including Xijiang.

According to the literature review, the key challenge in maintaining cultural sustainability for minorities is to need to balance economic benefits with preservation of the legacy of cultural heritage. Such challenge applies to Xijiang Miao Village as well. Miao culture has been commercialized to generate economic benefits, while the preservation and management of Miao arts in addition to the inheritance and education of Miao ICH have encountered severe hindrances. Therefore, the research problem focuses on balancing economic change and cultural sustainability in the specific context of Xijiang Miao Village. The study connects this problem to the topics of cultural tourism, arts management, and minority cultural education.

3.2 Research questions

- 1) To what extent has cultural sustainability influenced the development of Xijiang's cultural tourism since the Third Conference on Tourism Development in Guizhou in 2008?

- 2) To what extent has cultural sustainability been a determining factor in the policy-making, planning (including programming), and management practices that have informed the cultural development of Xijiang Miao Village?
- 3) To what extent has the goal of cultural sustainability affected education in Xijiang in terms of curriculum design, teaching processes, community engagement, and policy-making?

3.3 Research objectives

The research objectives were formulated as follows on the basis of the research gaps and research questions:

- 1) The first objective is to construct a conceptual framework that is based on the existing literature on the issue of cultural sustainability in minority areas. To this end, the study identifies the interrelationship of tourism, arts

management, and minority cultural education and provides an overview of the dynamic ecology of Xijiang Miao Village.

- 2) Although anthropologists and ethnomusicologists have explored the intersections of cultural sustainability, tourism, and community and tourist education, arts management research has rarely addressed such topics. Therefore, the second research objective is to investigate the management of minority arts by identifying the various stakeholders and eliciting their evaluation of the authenticity of folk arts programs in the context of Xijiang.
- 3) The third objective is to evaluate actions by the local government, educational institutes, and society that were intended to protect and pass down Miao ICH. Such evaluation can highlight problems from the educational perspective by analyzing the sense of identity of local residents as well as the educational programs and curricula that have been designed and organized for Miao or for tourists.

- 4) The fourth objective is to trace the historical development of tourism in Xijiang by exploring the attitudes of residents toward the development tendencies of tourism in addition to their awareness of ICH preservation. Their views offer insight into the influence of cultural tourism on their lives in terms of whether economic benefits are the main priority for locals and if their quality of life has improved or worsened. At the same time, their expectations could indicate their degree of satisfaction with the developments of tourism and reveal more effective ways to protect and promote Miao ICH.
- 5) The fifth objective is to create an operational conceptual framework that aligns with local conditions and clarifies the interrelationship of various constituent elements in the cultural ecology of Xijiang. Such framework is used to construct an intuitive diagram to explain how to mitigate conflict between economic development and cultural protection to achieve cultural sustainability in Xijiang.

3.4 Research design

The study design entails **mixed methods research**. It applies a **case study** format based on the modern case study methodologists Merriam (1998), Stake (1995), Yin (2017), and Creswell and Clark (2011). This format offers multiple advantages in the context of the study's aims and research questions.

In general, the case study methodology is a strategy of inquiry to perform a thorough exploration of a process, program, event, or one or more participants (Stake, 1995). Case studies are in-depth and focus on specific exemplary cases that are rich in the phenomenon of concern. They are conducted over time within real-life contexts to address descriptive or explanatory questions. Case studies are also commonly employed by evaluative studies (Yin, 2011). According to Yin's (2011) definition, a case study can explain a current circumstance to clarify a social phenomenon. The research questions often start with "how" ("to what extent"), "why," and it is an appropriate approach for aligning multiple questions to achieve consistency.

This research assesses the developmental tendencies of Miao tourism as well as the awareness of local residents of cultural heritage conservation in Xijiang. It analyzes the role of cultural sustainability in policy-making and arts management practices in the village from 2011 to 2016. In this case, controversy over the benefits and disadvantages of tourism for culture has attracted wide attention from a variety of societies, while mounting doubt about the authenticity of ethnic folk performances pervades many minority groups. There is no simple solution to ensure cultural sustainability, and it is a complex procedure to understand the success factors and the obstacles that cause failure (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008). To explore the perceptions and views of stakeholders, I posed many “how,” “why,” or “what” sub-questions, such as “what motivated you to join cultural activities?” and “how can you obtain education information?” Hence, case study research is suitable for this study, as it can investigate the real-life stories of people who live and work in Xijiang between 2011 and 2016. The following section further discusses consistency.

The purpose of this research is to create an operational model for balancing the relationship between cultural inheritance and economic development by leveraging

the power of arts management, ethnic-cultural education, and tourism. A case study approach can fit this need, as it delivers a multidimensional perspective of an issue. It is also a strong tool for theory-building and developing holistic models that can readily explain and clarify complex dynamics (Barrat et al., 2011).

Case study research is particularly appropriate for mixed methods research since “myriad approaches to research design, analysis, and interpretation are possible” (Kitchenham, 2010, p. 561). However, case study research usually addresses descriptive questions and can neglect questions that are typical of quantitative research. To act as a supplement, a mixed methods technique is powerful for producing rich quantitative or qualitative data, identifying meaningful questions to pose, measure, analyze, and examine, and yielding more robust results. Greene et al. (1989) have further enumerated the following five purposes for combining mixed methods in a single study: triangulation – to seek convergence of the results; complimentary – to differentiate layers of the phenomenon, as aspects may overlap; developmental – to use sequentially to inform the second method; initiation – to reveal new perspectives of questions; and expansion – to extend the scope and breadth

of inquiry. Mixed methods research clearly addresses the “gap” between qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. Considering the inherent limitations of a single approach as well as the elements of convenience and feasibility, the research employed a mixed methods approach that combines both quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry. Such strategy provided concrete answers to the research questions and achieved the research objectives.

This case study investigates not only a group of people or an organization but also the entire infrastructure of cultural arts within an ethnic village that involves a variety of stakeholders. As the proposed conceptual framework tests the theoretical relational path through the literature and deduction, a quantitative survey was used to obtain general knowledge and causal relationships between different concepts. Additionally, qualitative data from observations, semi-structured interviews, and other secondary data sources were collected to obtain insight into the phenomenon and further conceptual validation. The research design specifically incorporates the theories of Creswell (1995, 2011, 2017) and Clark (2011). Rejected methods included a two-phase design, wherein the researcher proposes separate qualitative and

quantitative phases of the study, and a dominant-less design, whereby the researcher presents the study within a single and dominant qualitative or quantitative study that is complemented by a small component of another alternative paradigm. Instead, this research employed a mixed methods design that combines “aspects of the qualitative and quantitative paradigm at all or many methodological steps in the design” (Creswell, 1995, p. 178). This approach increased the complexity to the study but maximized the advantages of the qualitative and quantitative paradigms. It also compared the fluctuations in the research process between inductive and deductive models of thinking. The chosen design prototype is a convergent parallel design that adopted both qualitative and quantitative strands within the same research phase, maintained the strands as equal and independent during the analysis, and mixed the results during the overall interpretation to develop a comprehensive understanding of the sustainability of Xijiang’s cultural ecosystem (Creswell & Clark, 2011). I quantitatively analyzed the data from the questionnaire survey and qualitatively evaluated other data to assess the attitudes of stakeholders in Xijiang’s cultural ecosystem regarding arts management, ethic cultural education, and tourism in the

village.

Rather than sorting the findings into the two broad categories of quantitative and qualitative data, Chapters 4, 5, and 6 categorize the results under three themes (arts management; education of Miao ICH and community engagement; and development of cultural tourism and Miao ICH preservation. These themes contain numerous sub-themes that address the research questions.

3.5 Survey

A quantitative survey entails “the use of questionnaires or interviews to collect data about the characteristics, experiences, knowledge, or opinions of a sample or a population” (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007, p. 654). According to Babbie (1989), a survey is an effectively tool to test attitudes and orientations within a sizable group of people. This method was appropriate for asking residents about their attitude and degree of support for cultural tourism development as well as their motivations for Miao ICH protection in Xijiang.

3.5.1 Questionnaire design

The first phase of the study involved analysis of the selected demographic characteristics and the responses of residents who have lived in Xijiang for over five years. A questionnaire survey was conducted to address the first and third research questions and fulfill the following aims: to explore public support for regional tourism development, to assess their consciousness of cultural heritage protection, and to investigate the development of community arts education.

The questionnaire comprised four sections. Section 1, “The Developmental Tendency of Cultural Tourism in Xijiang,” explored the perceptions and evaluations of local residents regarding Xijiang’s cultural tourism. Subsequently, Section 2, “The Consciousness of Conservation of Miao Cultural Heritage,” measured local residents’ awareness of Miao cultural heritage conservation. Section 3, “The Changes in Community Education,” captured the community’s learning interests in addition to their attitudes toward basic educational facilities and educational programs that have been offered by local institutes and the government. Finally, Section 4, “Personal

Information,” elicited the following seven demographic characteristics of respondents: gender, age group, nationality, educational attainment, occupation, vocational attributes, and annual income.

The questionnaire design followed Veal’s (2006) recommendation that all questions should be linked to the research questions of the broader study. Additionally, the questions were partially based on the questionnaires of Starr (2013) and Nunkoo and So (2016) as well as the UNESCO questionnaire that was designed to raise awareness of cultural tourism and ICH.

Furthermore, as a questionnaire should be “very simple and easily filled out by all respondents” (Jonhnson & Turner, 2003, p. 304), it was important to ask certain contingency questions based on the results obtained from the survey for further understanding the residents’ real thoughts on Miao ICH protection and tourism development. Therefore, to further confirm and supplement their responses to the questionnaire, I also interviewed some residents who had participated in the

quantitative survey (see Section 2.6.3). The English and Chinese versions of Questionnaire are attached as Appendix 1 & 2.

3.5.2 Research population and sampling

According to Anderson and Gerbing (1988), the minimum sample size should be at least 200. To determine an appropriate sample size for this survey and thus ensure that the findings are representative of the general population, the number of residents and the social positions of villagers were considered. The survey respondents were local residents of Miao heritage or other ethnicities who had lived in Xijiang Miao Village for over five years. Statistics report a small village population of 5,326 inhabitants (Sixth National Population Census, 2005) that includes migrant laborers, the elderly, and children. Since most young and middle-aged villagers have left town for jobs, their left-behind children and the elderly account for a large proportion of villagers who reside permanently in the village. In view of these characteristics, the survey's sample size was set at 200 people. The questionnaire was designed in English and translated into Chinese; the appendices provide both versions.

It was assumed that respondents might vary in their perceptions of certain research questions based on their social identity; therefore, the study employed stratified random sampling to obtain representative data. Such sampling divides the data into sub-groups (strata) based on common characteristics and randomly derives samples from each strata (Acharya et al., 2013). This research sorted the entire population of Xijiang villagers into five clusters according to social status. Identifying these categories of respondents was key to the success of the survey and yielded the following clusters:

1. Businessmen, self-employed entrepreneurs, and their employees (e.g. store owners and salespersons, restaurant owners, waiters);
2. Government officials;
3. Teachers and students;
4. Artists and performers;
5. Other occupations (e.g. farmers)

3.5.3 Data collection procedure and pilot study

Since the number of visitors varies immensely throughout the year – and especially during holidays and festivals – recreational activities and arts programs change accordingly. The survey was therefore conducted in Xijiang Miao Village between June 2016 and February 2017, as this period spanned both the peak and off-peak travel seasons of Xijiang, which reduced bias. I printed 220 physical copies of the questionnaire in simplified Chinese and distributed them directly to participants. In total, 205 questionnaires were returned, 189 of which were valid (see Table 3.1). Since stratified sampling was adopted to acquire representative data (see Section 3.5.2), a nearly equivalent number of samples was selected from each group (i.e. 40 businessmen, 40 government officials, 40 performers and handicraft workers, 40 teachers and 40 others).

Table 3.1 Occupational Group and Response Rate

Occupation	Total Sample	Valid Response	Valid Response Rate	Overall Response Rate
Self-employed people	50	43	86%	90%

Government officials	40	30	75%
Teachers or students	30	15	50%
Artists (performers and handicraft workers)	40	38	95%
Other occupations (e.g. farmers)	50	46	92%

To encourage a high response rate, the questionnaires were sent to each consenting participant, and I later collected them at the Xijiang Miao Village Scenic Area, Xijiang Town Government and Village Committee, Xijiang Performance Company, Xijiang Primary School, and Xijiang Middle School. I contacted Xijiang government officials through my personal connection to request that they send the questionnaire to their colleagues. I visited almost all of the shops on the main streets of the village to recruit respondents who were businesspeople or self-employed entrepreneurs in a variety of business fields as well as their employees. Through the help of an acquaintance, I asked the principals of Xijiang Primary School and Xijiang Middle School to disseminate the questionnaires to their teachers and administrative staff. To invite performers to complete the questionnaire, I visited the Xijiang Performance Company on several occasions and worked with them for a short time. I also distributed the questionnaire to villagers at random. I supervised the whole

process of filling out each questionnaire, as this was the most effective way to achieve a high response rate. Moreover, it ensured that respondents could understand the questions and thus provide valid answers.

To formulate clearer question statements and assist in spell-checking and literal logic, I asked a few people from Xijiang and outside the village to read or fill in the questionnaire before its distribution. To further clarify, a pilot test was conducted in Xijiang Miao Village Scenic Area according to the strategies that Zikmund et. al (2013) have recommended. The pilot test involved 10 respondents (two from each occupational group), and before printing the final questionnaire, I refined the questions based on the feedback from respondents.

3.5.4 Data analysis

This research applied descriptive statistics by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) 25 Network Version to analyze the quantitative survey results. This package offers efficient software for extensively engaging with statistical procedures to derive consistently correct answers (Cronk, 2016). It is powerful

analytic technology that possesses certain conventions to synthesize quantitative data for obtaining descriptive and bivariate statistics or making predictions for numerical outcomes and identifying groups (Bryman & Cramer, 2011). The quantitative results include descriptive statistics that were derived from the frequency counts of responses and are displayed as frequencies or percentages. Since the research categories were classified in advance, the data analysis was performed on the basis of these categories.

3.5.5 Reliability and validity

Reliability concerns the consistency or stability of a method, whereas validity conveys the accuracy of results (Robson, 2002). Since multiple factors or situations can cause differences within the sample group of a study (Cargan, 2007), it is crucial to test the reliability and validity of the research instruments.

To ensure content validity in this research, the survey questions were either completely sourced (i.e. unaltered content) or partially borrowed (i.e. content adapted to the local situation) from previous studies (Starr, 2013; Nunkoo & So, 2015; UNESCO). In addition, as the previous section has explained, a pilot study was

conducted to assess the operational feasibility of the survey (Cargan, 2007). Based on the results, the questionnaire was revised to improve the flow of the conversation. The selection of participants was in accordance with described strategies. I analyzed the collected responses to determine the internal reliability, and the Cronbach's alpha of 0.83 ($\alpha > 0.7$) indicates a high level of internal consistency for the scale (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Internal Reliability of the Questionnaire

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items	Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation
.895	.908	9	39.66	31.311	5.596

3.6 Qualitative methods

Qualitative research methods acquire knowledge of human experiences and information about the effect of the natural environment on human development and behavior. Qualitative questions are designed to suit a particular context, and the data are usually gathered in a naturally occurring setting (Furlong, Lovelace & Lovelace,

2000). According to Creswell (2005) and Strauss and Corbin (1998), qualitative methods provide insight into phenomena and assign importance to the role of the researcher. For this study, I examined the *perceptions* and *lived experiences* (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2006) of participants with respect to cultural heritage conservation and tourism development, and I served as the primary figure in data collection and analysis.

3.6.1 Researcher positionality

The researcher's position implicates biases and values that can affect the results of qualitative research (Merriam, 1998). Experts have varied in their perspectives of the researcher's position in a qualitative study: Bonner and Tolhurst et al. (2002) have agreed that researchers are commonly members of the groups they study, while Allen (2004) has argued that the researcher's stance changes per circumstance within one research project. The researcher's stance relates closely to interpretive research and a constructivist epistemology that allows for a deep investigation of an area of social or human interest. Ritchie et al. (2009) have proposed a vague relationship between

“insiderness” and “outsiderness” and advised researchers to define their status according to their physical and psychological distance rather than their paradigmatic position.

Some authors have questioned the “authentic” position of the researcher (Crang, 2003 et al.). Ganga and Scotte (2006) have noted that being an “insider” (i.e., sharing a similar cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national, and religious background with the participants) could help a researcher make sense of identity and facilitate acceptance of the researcher by the group of study. On the other hand, scholars have also illustrated that an “outsider” can obtain valuable information from a different perspective than an insider by observing or asking “naive questions” (Hellawell, 2006; LaSala, 2003; Morrow, 2005; Tang, 2007).

I employed both insider and outsider perspectives when conducting the research. In terms of my background, I was born in Guiyang City, which is the capital of the Guizhou province, where 33 ethnic minorities reside. Xijiang is also located in the Guizhou province and only about a three-hour drive from my city. I became interested

in minority culture when I was young and had opportunities to access ethnic cultural education in my early education curriculum. My specialty is arts management, and I produced several minority concerts during my undergraduate study. For my master thesis, I studied the Dong Grand Song, a distinct minority song). Consequently, I engaged deeply with matters in minority regions, including Xijiang Miao Village. In some ways, I am an insider who was nurtured by minority cultures and is quite familiar with the history and cultural background of the Miao. My local network also allowed me to gather first-hand data and project credibility to government officials. However, I was also an outsider to Xijiang inhabitants, as I am a Han Chinese person who has no local life experience, and I cannot speak their language. Hence, I could apply an outsider perspective for the question design and observations, and my experience with living outside of Xijiang and studying in various countries and regions (Beijing, Sheffield, Hong Kong) imparted a unique perspective and allowed me to incorporate aspects from other cultures.

3.6.2 Observations

Participant observation is a common qualitative method in many disciplines, especially within cultural studies, social work, and pedagogy (John & Lyn, 1995). I employed this method to explore arts management in Xijiang Miao Village in terms of the quality of performance, programming strategy, promotion and marketing, and educational projects. Participant observation has been widely applied to study the process and structure of a social situation, and it can support a focus on communities and ethnic groups to generate an insider view of reality (Adler & Adler, 1994).

Before the start of my fieldwork in Xijiang, I attended a lecture and government group discussion that were held by the Guizhou Tourism Bureau (see Table 3.3). The primary topics were the development of mountain tourism, all-for-one tourism, and cultural tourism in minority areas. These events offered a general understanding of government policy and attitudes toward the development of tourism and the protection of cultural heritage in Xijiang. For my observations in the Miao village, the objective was to witness local art performances (i.e. arts programs that included a folk arts show that was performed at noon and the evening performance at the central plaza; the welcome performance; shows played by elderly natives in the pedestrian

street; and ballad-singing at the wind-rain bridge) as well as educational programs (i.e. the various handicraft workshops, exhibitions at the museum, and ethnic cultural courses at local schools) in addition to tourists' reactions and feedback regarding these programs. I also observed the daily cultural life of local residents and the cultural products that were sold in the village to complete my impression of the research setting and the interactions between visitors and residents.

To ensure effective observation, I pre-formulated the following main objectives:

- 1) To determine the functional processes of available arts activities and cultural and educational outreach projects;
- 2) To identify the strengths and weaknesses of the management of the programs;
- 3) To observe participants' reactions to the cultural activities;
- 4) To evaluating the interaction between residents and tourists; and

- 5) To review the progress of cultural-educational projects that were designed for the local community and gather feedback about them from residents

I conducted four observations in August, October, November, and December of 2016, respectively. During these periods, which ranged from one to four week in duration, I investigated both off-season and peak-season practices (see Table 3.3). The performed the analysis concurrently with the process of data collection. Thereby, I manually sorted data into themes and entered the key information into the analysis software NVivo. I also captured my visual and auditory observations via field notes, photographs, and video recordings.

Table 3.3. Four Rounds of Field Observations

Observation	Date & Time	Place	Participant
1 Lecture - Guizhou mountain tourism in the era of all-for-one tourism	2016/7/14 (10:00 a.m. – 12:00 a.m.)	Guiyang	Myself, the lecturer (Prof. Zhang), and other audiences (from various governmental departments)
2 Government group discussion	2016/7/18 (14:00 p.m. – 17:00 p.m.)	Guizhou provincial government	Myself, Prof. Zhang, the project leader of the Guizhou Mountain Tourism Conference,

				and two secretaries
3	Folk arts shows	2014/3/16 (11:30 a.m. – 12: 30 p.m.) 2015/5/23 (17:30 a.m. – 18: 30 p.m.) 2016/8/22-26 (20:00 a.m. – 22: 30 p.m.) 2016/12/28 – 2017/1/6 (20:00 p.m. – 22: 30 p.m.)	Xijiang center plaza; Xijiang village gate; wind-rain bridge	Myself, my friends, performers, and audiences
4	Cultural programs and products	2015/5/23 (18:00 a.m. – 21:00 p.m.) 2016/12/28 – 2017/1/6 (11:00 a.m. – 15:00 p.m.)	Xijiang pedestrian street	Myself, my friends, businessmen, performers, and visitors

3.6.3 Interviews and focus group

While the observations reflect an overall picture of the cultural programs and development status of Xijiang, the interviews and focus groups with stakeholders produced in-depth and targeted qualitative data to supplement the observational findings. Each expert interview lasted between one and two hours, and the tourist

interviews were 15 to 30 minutes in duration. Some qualitative survey respondents were asked further questions that related to the questionnaire to check whether they understood the survey questions or had any additional supplementary information. Certain key respondents were interviewed more than once.

This study adopted semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews, and focus group sessions to capture the views, experiences, and suggestions of government officials, experts in arts management, ethnic culture, and tourism, tourists, local residents, and artists. The resulting data inform answers to the three research questions.

An interview is a conversation between a researcher and at least one interviewee that is designed to explore a topic in depth (Scanlon, & Whitehead, 2015). According to Glaser et al., (1968, 2017), researchers should select interviewees who possess extensive general knowledge of a topic, as they are most capable of providing relevant information. Maxwell (2005) has also emphasized “purposeful selection,”

which requires that a person has been carefully chosen as a key informant because he or she can provide information that other sources cannot.

This research involved 19 semi-structured interviews during the second and third academic years (2015-2017). Table 3.4 lists the composition of all interviewees.

Table 3.4. Composition of Interviewees

Code	Gender	Age	Occupation/ Governmental body	Ethnicity	Residence
Local residents & Migrant merchants					
LR01	M	30-40	Local restaurant/ Farmer	Miao	Xijiang
LR02	M	20-30	Local restaurant	Han	Xijiang/ Guangzhou
LR03	M	30-40	Local restaurant	Miao	Xijiang
LR04	F	40-50	Local restaurant	Miao	Xijiang
LR05	F	20-30	Local restaurant	Miao	Xijiang/ Kaili
LR06	M	30-40	Retailing/Builder	Miao	Xijiang
LR07	F	40-50	Food stand	Han	Xijiang
LR08	M	60-70	Souvenir shop	Han	Xijiang/ Hunan
LR09	F	20-30		Miao	Xijiang
LR10	F	40-50		Miao	Xijiang

LR11	M	Over 70		Miao	Xijiang
Government officials					
GO01	M	Over 60	Director of the Expert Committee	Han	Guiyang
GO02	F	50-60	Guizhou Tourism Bureau	Han	Guiyang
GO03	F	50-60	Guizhou Tourism Bureau	Han	Guiyang
GO04	F	50-60	Guizhou Education Bureau	Han	Guiyang
GO05	M	40-50	Qiandongnan (southeast Guizhou) Tourism Development Committee	Miao	Leishan
GO06	M	30-40	Xijiang Tourism Development Company	Miao	Xijiang
GO07	M	30-40	Xijiang Town Cultural Bureau	Miao	Xijiang
GO08	M	40-50	Museum curator	Miao	Xijiang
Arts administrators					
AP01	M	40-50	Xijiang Performing Company	Miao	Xijiang
AP02	M	20-30	Xijiang Performing Company	Han	Xijiang
Educators/ academic scholars					
A01	M	Over 60	Xijiang Primary School	Miao	Xijiang
A02	M	50-60	Xijiang Middle School	Miao	Xijiang
A03	F	50-60	Guizhou Normal University	Han	Guiyang
A04	M	50-60	Central Conservatory of Music	Naxi	Beijing
A05	M	50-60	Guizhou Institute of Social	Han	Guiyang

Studies								
A06	M	40-50	Guizhou Institute of Social Studies	Miao	Guiyang/Xijiang			
A07	M	30-40	Guizhou Institute of Social Studies	Shui	Guiyang			
A08	F	30-40	A middle school		Miao	Leishan		
Tourists								
T01	1M	Over 60			Han	Xi'an		
T02	1M3F	20-40			Han	Sichuan		
T03	1M2F	Over 60			Han	Beijing		
T04	1M	40-50			Han	Fujian		
T05	2M	30-40			Han	Jiangsu		
T06	1F	20-30			Han	Guiyang		
T07	1M1F	50-60			Han	Guiyang		
T08	1M	20-30			Han	Guangdong		
T09	1F	50-60			Han	Beijing		

In order to collect the necessary data regarding the development of Miao cultural tourism over the past five years and the impact of such changes on local cultural heritage, Dr. Wang Xinji, Dr. Meng, and Dr. Wen from the Academy of Social Sciences in Guizhou were invited to impart an academic perspective. We formed a

focus group to allow for a free discussion, and I subsequently interviewed them individually with prepared questions. Prof. He Yunfeng from the Central Conservatory of Music, who has expertise in arts management and music education, delivered essential information about the promotion of Miao arts. He also elaborated on the challenges and opportunities in managing Miao arts. Prof. Wang Ying, a famous artist with over 30 years teaching experience, was engaged in an ICH conservation project for Miao's ancient song. She emphasized the role of scholars and artists in protecting minority culture. From the government side, Ms. Li Fang and Ms. Li Ping, civil servants for the Tourism Administration of the Guizhou Province, provided insight into contemporary policies that promote the development of Miao tourism. Ms. Wang, the Director of National Affairs for the Guizhou Province Department of Education, explained the original purpose of policies concerning minority culture and intended developments of cultural-educational activities in the coming years. The three additional management staff members from the local government were Mr. Lan, the Director of the Xijiang Cultural Affairs Bureau, Mr. Yang Tianwei, the Director of the Leishan Tourism Development and the Reform

Commission, and Mr. Yang, the Manager of the Xijiang Cultural Tourism Development Co. Limited. These interviewees were asked to explain the related policies of culture and tourism as well as their considerations and future plans. To acquire further information about cultural activities in Xijiang and elicit the internal perceptions of local performers, Mr. Long Yu, who was the captain of the Xijiang Troupe, and Mr. Huang Cheng, a senior administrative staff member from the Xijiang Troupe, introduced the operational mode of their group and shared the local performers' perspectives in addition to their experiences with arts administration and the team's local performance. Finally, Mr. Deng, Mr. Yang, Mr. Yang, Ms. Wang, and Mr. Li were encouraged to share their real-life experiences and evaluations of local tourism and cultural education.

I also invited nine tourists to participate in the research. Their accounts revealed consumers' views and indicated the effectiveness of arts management in the village. The interviewees were selected according to two criteria: 1) tourists who were attracted by cultural heritage and 2) tourists with diverse travel experiences (e.g. they had been to different places or to the same place at different times). The selected

tourists should fulfill both of these requirements to qualify. They were encouraged to share their views of cultural heritage conservation, their experiences with arts activities, and their expectations for the development of Miao cultural tourism. Field notes and audio recordings were the primary forms of data collection.

Since semi-structured interviews are highly dependent on interviewees' experiences and emotions, they could introduce research bias. In the interviews for this study, I avoided closed-ended questions and encouraged interviewees to elucidate their views as fully as possible. I sent each participant an email after the interview to express my gratitude.

3.6.4 Documentary analysis

According to Fitzgerald (2012), “documentary analysis is a form of qualitative analysis that requires readers to locate, interpret, analyses evidence presented” (p. 279). This analysis can be an important resource for case study research, as it highlights outstanding features and creates a reasonable interpretation and convincing description for readers. Because of its principal advantage of convenience,

documentary analysis was used in this research to answer the main research questions.

The review of documents attested to and confirmed the statements of participants (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Moreover, it clarified the differences in perceptions of tourism development between social groups and offered insight into the implementation of cultural policies in terms of whether those issued by top management were well received and addressed by the local government. The review of documents also provided a thick description of the case (Esterberg, 2002; Merriam, 2002).

Documentary resources in this thesis including the documents as follows:

- 1) Policies including those related to protection of minority culture and those are not directly tied to culture but in connection with the development of Xijiang (i.e. the State's Guidance on Strengthening the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage in China; Laws on Protection of Cultural Relics; New Progress in Development-oriented Poverty Reduction Program for Rural China etc.);

- 2) Critical reviews, reports and statistics of publications or available on the internet (i.e. Report on Cultural Development of China's Ethnic Minorities; Tabulation on the 2010 Population Census of the PRC);
- 3) Online resources of China's minority culture (i.e. UNDP China);
- 4) Course arrangement of local schools, internal materials of the Xijiang Performing Company (i.e. employment applications and performance records), and where relevant audio and video data of folk arts shows.

These were secondary data collected from the websites of various levels of governments, the third-party sites, the schools or company in Xijiang, which provided documentary evidence of the attitudes of government on cultural protection, ethnic tourism development, management strategies of local cultural company, the weight of ethnic cultural education in schools and the developmental tendencies and the changes of Xijiang over years.

3.6.5 Documentary photography

Documentary photography allows for “a kind of access to the world” that offers the viewer insight into a social reality and presents a moment that is “frozen” in time and place. Photographs following three conditions – namely “verisimilitude,” “sympathy,” and “relevance” – are considered documentary in nature (Happer, 2012, pp.18-38).

Analysis of photographs that were taken in the Xijiang village provided a visual tool to record changes over the specified period. It revealed the development of the area’s cultural tourism as well as changes to its arts projects. The photographs and videos were captured in various parts of the village over several years. Chapter 4 presents some photographs with comparative significance to illustrate the changes in folk arts performances and performance venues since 2009. In addition, Chapter 5 juxtaposes images to visually highlight the changes in the village since 2009.

3.6.6 Data analysis

Stake (1995) has described qualitative analysis as a creative process of making sense through an ordinary approach and “especially means taking things apart” (p. 71).

I recorded field notes during the participant observation for this research. In addition, each interview was audio recorded and fully transcribed, and any interviews that were conducted in Chinese were translated into English. Since research categories were determined in advance, the data analysis was carried out according to these categories. All of the qualitative data were coded during the collection and review process in accordance with the analysis and coding procedure that has been suggested by Creswell (2009) and Esterberg (2002). I then compared the answers from interviewees for each question, and I recorded and analyzed information that was not covered by the original research categories. Subsequently, the data from each of the research methods was combined and compared thematically with the findings from the other research methods. For example, I classified observation and interview data on educational experience under the theme of “education and outreach activities.”

NVivo (Version 11 for Mac) was employed to analyze the qualitative data. This software can increase efficiency and help a researcher manage, visualize, and query data (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013).

3.6.7 Goodness and trustworthiness

It is critical to ensure the validity of qualitative research, as “good qualitative data are more likely to lead to serendipitous findings and to new integrations; they help researcher get beyond initial conceptions and generate or revise conceptual framework” (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2013, p. 4).

3.6.7.1 Triangulation

“Triangulation refers to the use of several different research technics in the same study to confirm and verify data gathered in different ways” (McMurray et al., 2004, pp. 263). Denzin (1978) has identified four types of triangulation: source triangulation, which uses multiple data sources; investigator triangulation, which involves more than one researcher; theory triangulation, which considers more than one perspective; and methodological triangulation, which employs multiple data collection techniques.

This research incorporates both source triangulation and methodological triangulation.

Different informants were asked the same questions to add credibility to the findings, multiple methods were adopted to gather data in the same categories, and

comparisons were performed to, for example, triangulate the observations that were gathered through participant observations against data gathered from the qualitative interviews (Baxter & Babbie, 2003).

The study also utilized several other methods to achieve triangulation. First, I selected participants in a variety of ways (Denzin, 1978). Interviewees were experts whom I knew or was introduced to by my personal connections, and the local resident and tourist interviewees were either targeted, appointed, or randomly selected during the fieldwork. Second, I collected and analyzed data in multiple ways (Denzin, 1978). For instance, to explore the management of Miao culture in Xijiang, I used both textual and audiovisual materials, which I collected through either the survey, the interviews, or secondary data, and I analyzed the data with two types of software (SPSS and NVivo). Third, I gathered data from several interviewers and observers. I asked the same questions to different people to elicit a variety of perspectives, and I invited my friend to observe the cultural programs in Xijiang to determine if we shared the same or different ideas regarding our observations. The transcripts from the expert interviews were sent to the interviewees to double check errors and omissions.

3.6.7.2 Prolonged engagement and persistent observation

Many qualitative researchers (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Ely, 1991; Manning, 1997; Polit & Beck, 2008; Houghton et al., 2013) have indicated the value of prolonged engagement and persistent observation, which can guarantee high quality and rigor of a study. According to Polit and Beck (2008), prolonged engagement entails performing data collection through fieldwork for long periods of time. Through prolonged engagement, researchers can cultivate trusting relationships with their informants, which can help them obtain an in-depth understanding of the culture and views of participants. I devoted a significant amount of time to my fieldwork, which took place from June 2016 to February 2017, and I established strong relationships with some of my interviewees. Moreover, prior to starting the research, I visited the Xijiang village on three occasions with a local guide to become familiar with the area and the people I would study.

Persistent observation focuses on the particular characteristics or aspects of situations or conversations that are involved in a study to obtain an in-depth

perspective (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Polit & Beck, 2008). Even after documenting four intentional observations with video recordings or field notes, I continued to observe the activities in the village as well as visitors from outside, immigrants who were in the village for business purposes, remaining customs, the daily lives of local inhabitants, and interactions between tourists and residents every day in the field to construct a comprehensive understanding of the social reality.

3.6.7.3 Other enhancement strategies for determining validity

Member checking, thick description, peer review, and external audits are other effective strategies to enhance validity in qualitative inquiries. In this study, interviewees received drafts of the interview articles (transcribed interview records in Chinese, see Appendix C) in Chinese and were required to provide feedback on the contents and logic of the article to clarify any misunderstandings. I endeavored to provide a rich and thick description of the background and findings of the case to contextualize the key concepts and objects in the study. The entire thesis-writing process occurred under the supervision of my principal supervisor. In addition, the

full draft thesis was sent to the supervision panel for approval, and I made modifications based on their comments before the final submission. Since I am not a native English speaker and all interviews were conducted in Chinese, I also submitted the thesis for proofreading to ensure accurate translation.

3.7 Research ethics and data security

Veal (2005) has noted that any research that involves human activity must consider research ethics. In this regard, Furlong, Lovelace, and Lovelace (2000) have emphasized that research is a positive process and defined ethics as the study of appropriate action. They have also stated that numerous ethical issues can arise when formulating the research design, during the conducting process, while creating the data report, or at any other time during the research. The authors have introduced six general ethical principles: competence, integrity, professional and scientific responsibility, respect for people's rights and dignity, concern for the welfare of others, and social responsibility. Moral justification (Oliver, 2010) should also be a concern

when undertaking research. In addition to moral responsibility (Greenfield, 1991), the relationship between researcher and participants should be considered to prevent mental and physical danger to participants.

The two main ethical issues in this research are the concern of confidentiality and anonymity and the need for informed consent. All data that were collected through the survey were treated confidentially and anonymously and will not be used for other purposes. In line with Furlong et al. (2000) and Bryman and Bell (2011), participation was voluntary, and respondents were free to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty. In addition, an ethics application form Education University of Hong Kong was submitted and approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee. The consent form and information sheet (see Appendix D) were presented in the questionnaire or orally communicated to participants. Furthermore, data such as the telephone numbers and IP addresses of respondents were removed from the database, and only my supervision panel and I have access to the records.

3.8 Research limitations

3.8.1 Sampling Bias and Precision

According to Seale (2004) and Blaikie (2009), the selection bias exists in the process of sample drawing, and sampling bias is a systematic error of a particular sampling method, which may cause the sampling distribution deviates from the true population mean, and may also affect the ability to assess the demographic parameters.

In this research, the participants of the survey were opportunity samples from local resident, as most young adults were going out for work, the data can only be as representative as possible when the participants were guaranteed to be selected from different identified demographic groups. Moreover, regarding the interviewees of semi-structured interviews, the participants' subjective experiences and feelings may raise research bias.

3.8.2 Language issues

A final limitation was language capabilities. I am a Manderin native speaker, but some of the interviewees cannot speak well maderin, and I need the local people to

translate their words for me, which meant some information might have lost in the tasks such as interpretation. Further, minor errors might occur in transcription, and it took more time for proof editing as English is not my native language.

Chapter 4

Findings on Managing the Arts in Xijiang

As Chapter 2 illustrates, the mainstream discourse on definitions of performing arts and the management of performing arts in China has occurred mainly in the field of classic performing arts and the entertainment industry and rarely in the context of ethnic minority arts. However, with the rapid progress of cultural tourism, ethnic arts have become the primary tourism resource in China's minority areas in terms of attracting visitors and serving consumers for economic growth. Hence, the management of minority arts warrants discussion.

This chapter answers questions about the authenticity of folk arts performances and cultural activities in Xijiang and investigates the extent to which cultural sustainability is a determining factor in arts management practices, programming, and planning. I adopted a questionnaire survey to explore the perceptions of local Xijiang residents regarding the daily folklore performances and their evaluations and expectations of cultural and spiritual life in the village. Through the introduction of an

acquaintance, I was able to stay with staff of the Xijiang Performance Company for a couple weeks; through this opportunity, I formed a close connection with the director and manager of the only professional performing group in town, and I could thereby obtain first-hand information. In addition, I observed my informants' practices for rehearsal and formal performances and the performances by non-professional groups and independent artists in restaurants and bars around the village.

4.1 Folk arts performances in Xijiang

When I first visited Xijiang in 2006, there were no professional performing groups or venues. I did find that a few restaurants attracted customers by featuring local beauties to sing and dance for diners, and these restaurants were obviously more popular with customers. The village contained no bars at that time – only a small teahouse, which has housed in a simple building that was demolished and replaced by a bridge for both pedestrians and vehicles. In view of these observations, the cultural and recreational life of villagers seemed to be scarce a decade ago, as the cultural facilities were poor, and the village contained no museum, library, theater, cinema, bar,

KTV⁶, or performance venue.

However, soon after these observations, visible changes emerged in Xijiang each year over last decade. By the time I visited the village again two years later in 2008, the local authorities had built a small open-air central plaza that can hold approximately 200 people. Moreover, they had organized a team of performers, including local youth and native elderly, to present their culture to tourists in the form of folk dances, songs, and traditional costumes. Two free daily shows took place at different times of the day and attracted a large number of spectators. Compared to the situation of a few years ago, the number of visitors has dramatically increased. Moreover, many restaurants and guesthouses have appeared in the village, most of which provide paid folklore performances in which diners could ask waitresses to dance and sing for them by paying an extra fee. Both the merchant and employees could generate substantial economic gains through such paid artistic performances, and most visitors have been generous during their trips and willing to pay to experience the exotic cultures. Life in Xijiang arguably became easier with the

⁶ KTV refers to Karaoke -- a form of interactive musical entertainment, which is particularly used in China, Cambodia and Singapore.

development of tourism, as the village appeared to be much more lively and bustling.

Since 2012, changes in the cultural activities and indigenous recreational life in the village have been even more pronounced. For example, in front of the village gate, an overture plaza was built from which arriving visitors could watch the welcome show that local elders performed. The show was staged every few hours, and performers dressed in traditional clothes and sang in their own language (see Figure 4.1). Sometimes, young men and women sang to one another at the wind-rain bridge upon entry to the village. A renovated lane called Miao Cultural Presentation Street depicted the Miao ancient songs and other genres of Miao ICH, and old men and women chatted with visitors in an ancient building or sporadically sang pieces from the Miao ancient songs (usually in the afternoon). Occasionally, they enjoyed making a toast to their audiences (see Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.1. Performances at the Overture Plaza, Xijiang. August 17, 2016.



Figure 4.2. Performances at the Miao Cultural Presentation Street, Xijiang. August 17, 2016.

The photographs that were taken in 2010, 2014, and 2016 provide convincing evidence of the visible changes in performance venues in Xijiang over the past decade. Folk arts shows transformed from unorganized to large-scale performances, and the performance team members were no longer amateur locals but professional performers. Moreover, the stage design added more lighting and sound effects (see Figures 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7).



Figure 4.3. Non-professional performance in 2010 and Performer Interaction with Audiences, Xijiang. July 21, 2010.



Figure 4.4. Professional Performance at the Central Square, Xijiang. July 8, 2014.



Figure 4.5. Professional Performance at Noon at the Central Square, Xijiang.

August 17, 2016.



Figure 4.6. Professional Performance (Evening Show) at the Central Square, Xijiang, Aug 17, 2016.



Figure 4.7. Professional Performance (Evening Show) at the Central Square, Xijiang, Aug 17, 2016.

Through the interviews with tourists in Xijiang, I determined that one of their major motivations to participate in cultural activities was the significant difference between activities with strong Miao characteristics and their own daily life experiences. Most of them enjoyed chatting or playing with local Miao people, which was regarded as the most direct way to learn about the true life of the Miao.

It is fantastic to watch the old people sing their traditional songs in Miao. Although I don't understand what they sang at all, the experience is quite different from what I have in other places. (Respondent T03)

To see the unique ethnic culture is the main reason why I chose Xijiang as my destination. I heard that their culture is relatively well protected before I came here. People here are friendly; the storekeeper did not refuse to talk with us, and I can learn many interesting stories about the Miao and their life by chatting with locals. (Respondent T08)

During the fieldwork, I noticed that tourists often walked quickly through the shops, and most of them loved to spend time watching the shows, even when the performers were obviously untrained. Two of the most popular shows were the performances that were presented at the central square at noon and in the evening, respectively. The two shows have evolved over the last few years, and the Guizhou Xijiang Miao Village Cultural Performing Co., LTD, presently promotes them as the

most distinctive attraction of the destination and the main cultural product to present to tourist groups.

These two shows were formerly free to the public, and the 30-minute performances were scheduled at 12:00 and 17:00, respectively. In 2011, the night show began to sell tickets at a price of around CYN 120/100 Yuan (depending on seating differences) and charged tourists an extra CYN 45 Yuan to experience Miao ICH (e.g. ancient paper-making, batik, embroidery) in the exhibition hall, which is a small gallery in an old local building.

During my time at the Guizhou Xijiang Miao Village Cultural Performing Co., LTD, I continuously observed the management team and performers while casually conversing with them in order to understand the operational processes of the company and their true thoughts about Miao ICH. The interviews with a senior Manager (coded as Respondent AP01) and one of the executive officers (coded as AP02)⁷ from this cultural organization comprehensively revealed the organizational structure,

⁷ I sorted the chat and observation records of the company members and picked out some pieces of the conversations taken during the fieldtrip. The dialogues placed here were modified based on the raw qualitative data that were too many to be fully presented.

management strategies, marketing, and human resources of the culture-oriented company:

Du: Could you please give some introduction about your organization regarding the management of your company, such as the organizational structure, operations management, working capital, and so forth?

AP02: The full name of our organization is the Guizhou Xijiang Miao Village Cultural Performing Co., LTD, which is a state-owned enterprise of the Leishan county government. The company is managed by the government so that the deputy general manager or above has administrative positions. We have a partner – a performing company in Hunan – which is responsible for the management, casting, and coaching of performers and helps us dig out Miao culture. Besides, they are also responsible for marketing, selling tickets, and handling the publicity. We intend to expand the investment scale and scale of operations to make the company public in 2017. The government invested a registered capital of 80 million Yuan. Our company is a subsidiary corporation of Xijiang Cultural Tourism Development Co., Ltd.; therefore, this amount of money derived from the head office. The structure of the company is divided into two parts: the performance department and the service department. Under the performance department, we have the general office, which is responsible for administration, human resources, financial management, and the construction and management of the performance team. The art troupe is responsible for the daily performances, and the security group is responsible for the performance supervision and maintaining order. The service department takes care of the transportation and parking management. There are five executive officers in our company, and the total number of staff members is 105.

Du: How do you determine the contents of the shows? To what extent has cultural sustainability been a determining factor in planning, including programming? Or, in another words, what have you been concerned with in programming? Has presenting Miao culture been your first priority? Or is satisfying the audience more important to you?

AP01: We mainly present our Miao culture [to audiences] to display our Miao culture to tourists as our priority. Of course, we made some changes according to the needs of tourists and the market.

AP02: The content of the performance is determined according to the historical and cultural customs of the Miao nationality and emphasizes demonstration of the songs and dances of Miao and highlighting the characteristics of Xijiang's ecological culture and the specialty of each township of Leishan – for example, the bronze drum dance. We have to consider what kind of programs the tourists may like to watch when programming the performances; to satisfy the audiences is also very important.

Du: So how can know the needs of audiences?

AP02: We conducted questionnaire surveys every year in which we sent the questionnaire to our audiences and asked them questions about their views of the performances. Then, we adapted the programs based on the tourists' preferences and travel trends and made changes according to the tourists' preferences and the latest trends.

Du: About the adaptations, do you have a set of rules or limitations to ensure the artistic quality?

AP01: The adaptations are based on the Miao traditional dances. We did artistically expand the dance routines, but the foundation of the show is still the Miao [culture]. We cannot perform the dances of other minorities; all the artistic adaptations are from the folk Miao culture in order to make the shows

more appreciable. In terms of artistic quality, we have stage direction. We also apply the assessment mechanism to manage our performers.

AP02: We did not adapt too much of the songs or dances; we just applied more gorgeous stage design and more colorful costumes. There are no hard rules for the creative team to measure whether the adaptations are excessive or not.

Du: I noticed that you have extended the stage, and your group members are much more numerous than before, so your team is expanding as well. Where does the money come from? Does it come from the government? How do you manage the box office?

AP01: The local government provides us with funds. They made capital investments, and all of the revenues, such as the those from the box office, are returned to the government.

AP02: In addition to the two daily performances, we also travelled a lot to some minority districts in the Guizhou province, to cities in other provinces, or abroad to, for example, the USA and countries in Europe and Southeast Asia. These performances are often not-profit, as they serve to propagate Miao culture. Usually the government pays for the travelling and accommodation costs. Besides, we have commercial performances occasionally. For most of these performances, we select Miao performers from Xijiang or other counties in Leishan. We sometimes borrow actors or actresses from the Leishan County Song and Dance Troupe.

Du: Which criteria do you have to choose the performers? For example, is their nationality is a factor of concern? Do they have to be professionally trained? What is your assessment mechanism?

AP01: [We] mainly focus on their skills – for example, if they can play Miao instruments well, or if they are good at singing or dancing. Next, their looks, appearance, and height should be taken into account. We interviewed all

applicants, and interviewees with remarkable versatility will be given priority. Nationality is not a hard condition; their artistic expression is more important. We have exams [to assess the members] normally once or twice a year. Our producer, directors, and I are Miao; I also joined in the programming process.

AP02: A good appearance is the primary consideration followed by the results of the interview regarding interviewees' basic skills in dance, their other talents, and their stage performance. The cultural company in Hunan that I mentioned earlier recommends performers to us every year. One-third of our performers are from the Hunan Xiangxi Art School, and others are mostly Miao from Xijiang and other towns and villages in Leishan county. It is apparent that performers from art schools have more solid basic skills and stronger onstage presence, and the local performers present as more natural and graceful in Miao dances – maybe because they have deeper understanding of their own culture.

Du: Why did you decide to charge a fee for the night show? Have you worried that this may decrease the size of audiences? Did you consult with the villagers before making this decision?

AP01: Our original intention to sell this show was because there are limited tourist attractions in our village. The majority of tourists have nowhere to go at night, so we'd love to provide a choice for them. Second, we want to let more people know more about Miao costumes and dances. We totally don't worry about the loss of audience because there are few options for them to choose from at night.

AP02: The leading cause of charging the performance fee was to maintain the company's operational expenses, including the performers' wages. Our partner, the cultural company in Hunan that is responsible for publicity and ticket sales, shares the box-office with us. There is no evidence that selling tickets may cause the loss of audiences; we achieved full houses in peak tourism season from March to November because the yearly performance is a platform to present

Miao costumes and history, and it is the only way for foreigners to learn about the Miao and their culture. In fact, we have been losing money every year. The revenue of box office cannot afford performers' wages and the publicity expenses. If the tourists want to watch some small show for free, there is a short pedestrian street called gage ancient path that they can go to visit.

Du: What is your future plan?

AP01: We want to produce a large music comedy with actual landscapes. The one we have now is not rich in content. We intend to make a two-and-a-half-hour show like the Impression Lijiang⁸ plays in Lijiang. We found that tourists love those kinds of performances. We would also like to reconstruct our stage.

During communication, the managers from local cultural organization have repeatedly stressed the importance for their group to catering to audience tastes -- whether the performance can attract more audiences and expand its popularity is the goal they desperately want to achieve. They have mentioned that their ultimate goal is to promote Miao culture worldwide and let more people know their history and traditions through the presentation of Miao's folk music and dance, while they did not prioritized the social impacts of the performances on local communities. The programs were adapted without considering the feedback from local residents, the

⁸ Impression Lijiang is a large-scale live performance performed in front of the Jade Dragon Sown Mountains in Lijiang, directed by Zhang Yimou who is the Chief Director of the opening ceremony for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. More details can be found in section 4.2.

performance's aesthetic educational function was ignored and there almost were no performances planned for local villagers.

Moreover, almost all performers were full-time staff who signed a yearly contract with the company. They financially relied on the company and were not allowed to subsidize their work with earnings from other commercial pursuits. Some of them admitted that they did treat their performance as a means to secure a livelihood rather than as an integral part of their art career. Furthermore, a few complained that the training programs were not appropriate for people of all professional levels, and there was little room for them to improve their skills. Since most of the performers were not Miao and came from other cities within or outside of the Guizhou province, they were largely unfamiliar with the Miao and Miao ICH, even the myths and legends that underpinned the dances that they performed. Moreover, the mobility of non-local performers was serious, as implied by certain conversations that expressed their confusion and worries.

I am a professional dancer. I can learn and perform the dances of different nationalities, and since my home is not here, there is no need for me to stay in Xijiang for long. But, frankly speaking, I get a good salary here, which is why I

*come to the village. But, I may leave if I can find a job with higher pay.
(Respondent AP03, dancer)*

*Sometimes I'm bored staying here. We do the same thing everyday; my
enthusiasm fades away with the repetitive performance. There is little room for
promotion. (Respondent AP04, dancer)*

The working conditions of local and non-local performers were similar, but the native performers expressed distinct ideas. Only a few local performers were selected for the performance team, and they were paid more than many of their peers who fulfilled other jobs. Thus, they were relatively more satisfied with the current situation compared to non-local performers. These local performers were usually talented individuals who loved dancing and singing or possessed special skills in playing Miao instruments. Most importantly, they were attractive in their appearance. Unlike non-local performers, natives had few alternative career choices, and most were not willing or able to take up other occupations as, for example, businesspeople or teachers. However, they also expressed dissatisfaction about hiring non-Miao dancers from other cities as the lead dancer in the group.

Throughout the days of contact, the managers of this performing group also

disclosed the difficulties and challenges that they encountered due to a company shortage of professional administrators and directors. In fact, the selection, sequencing, and choreography of the programs were determined wholly by two core team members, who were also chiefly in charge of the management of the group. They were local folk artists who lacked long-term professional training, so they struggled to improve both the quality and quantity of programs. Furthermore, they were inexperienced in company operation and business promotion; thus, they eagerly sought a suitable manager with rich work experience with arts organizations. However, subsequent events progressed contrary to their expectations, as the village was so remote that few people were willing to stay there for long. They also did not have their own rehearsal space, so they could rehearse only at the performance venue – the central square – which could involve substantial uncertainty if rehearsal is prevented by bad weather or a time conflict with another event.

4.2 The replication of Yunnan's model and tourist expectations

During my stay with the Xijiang performance company, the managers and other group members repeatedly mentioned the cultural brand of the *Dynamic Yunnan* and *Impression* series (see more details in the following paragraphs), and they even set them as their development objectives.

The introduction of the original ecology (*Yuanshengtai*) performance in Chapter 2 indicates that the appearance of this performance in the Yunnan province led a trend in China's minority areas wherein the ICH was intended for maximum utilization as a tourist attraction.

In 2003, the success of *Dynamic Yunnan*, which was produced by the famous Bai ethnic dancer Yang Liping, created a precedent for performances with distinct minority elements on the Chinese stage. The series has been evaluated by domestic media as an outstanding innovation and a successful model for constructing *original ecology* as a new form of minority folksong and dance performances relative to other conventional ethnic performances in last century in China (Lin & Wang, 2004; Luo, 2018; Zhou, 2006, Chen & Huang, 2018). According to Chen and Huang (2018),

Dynamic Yunnan was intended to present an indigenous and artistic interpretation of their native cultures. It boldly cast folk dancers and indigenous farmers from the countryside of Yunnan in order to stress the originality and authenticity of the ethnic performers. It also emphasized their intimate relationship with their hometown. This theatrical creation supposedly received high appraisal.

Later, the famous Chinese film director Zhang Yimou expanded his unique cultural business model to Lijiang. *Impression Lijiang, a daytime outdoor performance* co-directed by Wang Chaoge and Fan Yue,⁹ featured the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain as the background. It was the second production of the *Impression* series, which has been consistent with the features of the previous productions that commit to “provid[ing] recognition of the pivotal role of scenic live-action performances strongly featuring local traditional culture and people” and “reflect[ing] the cinematic approach by highlighting the use of symbolism and the power of imagination and sensation” (Zhang, 2010, p. 25).

⁹ Wang is a stage director well known in China for the show *China National Spirit*, staged in the People's Great Hall in 1995, while the multi-award winning Fan is a dancing/art designer and director in the General Political Singing and Dancing Troupe. (*Impression West Lake* Official Website, 2010, <http://www.hzyxxh.com/en/index.htm>)

The massive success of these two spectacles prompted a wave of large-scale live-action performances in not only Yunnan but also Guizhou and other regions. An estimated 100 cultural performances of diverse types took place in various parts of Yunnan (Li & Huang, 2016). According to the manager from Guizhou Xijiang Miao Village Cultural Performing Co., LTD (Respondent GO01), the folk song and dance performance has become an essential project in many ethnic minority areas, and in Guizhou, most folk performances (including theirs) were considered too small to have a substantial impact. Therefore, they were eager to find management personnel and a talented director to pioneer a work in the local cultural industry, and they were fully confident that they would attract much larger audiences if they could produce a show at the same artistic level as the *Impression* series. However, a few of my interviewees expressed negative responses to this idea:

It is almost impossible to replicate the success of Naxi Ancient Music, Yang's Dynamic Yunnan, and Zhang's Impression series for several reasons. The first is the venue: it requires a very empty place, and it is usually a very famous spot of which many people know or have heard about. Or there should at least be a theater or, worse, a stage where can present the performance. So, to many small or poor minority villages, it a big challenge. Second is about the money. Large-scale live-action shows usually cost a large amount of money for stage construction, wage payment, and ensuring daily operation. It is super hard to

produce such a big show without support from the government and the patrons that the producers find. Moreover, the producers and directors of these shows are celebrities who are well known by Chinese people; they can use their power as celebrities to attract tourists. (Respondent A04)

Yunnan started these activities [live-action show] very early; they have already created the cultural brand. The image of Yunnan's minority culture will jump out when people hear the phrase of Yuanshengtai or Impression series. People are curious about new things but less concerned about similar things unless they are very distinctive. To tell the truth, no live-action performances in Guizhou can come out on top at this moment. (Respondent A06)

The aboriginal people in Xijiang Village are Miao, so the material for producing the cultural show is restricted to the category of Miao culture. It cannot be the cultural elements of other minorities. But the performances, such as the Impression series and Dynamic Yunnan are comprehensive performances that integrate the cultures of more than one minority in Yunnan. So, to the directors, there is more room for choices. In fact, there is a good attempt in Guizhou. A large-scale cultural show Wind of Colorful Guizhou was presented on the stage in 2006, which is a multi-ethnic cultural performances performed in Guiyang Grand Theatre. But it isn't as influential as the big shows in Yunnan. (Respondent A05)

In addition to the above views, Respondent A04 and Respondent A05 explained some phenomenon and practical problems that are widespread in China's minority regions, including Xijiang, which warrant attention from the management group of Xijiang's artistic performance:

1. It is increasingly difficult to maintain the originality of the contents that are extracted from the ethnic (Miao) folk culture and customs in the performances. The evolution is vivid and ongoing for original ecology performances, as the players are undergoing the personalizing process. Within globalization and urbanization, the ecological and living environment of folk art is changing inexorably. Many special performing venues are no longer in existence, and many customs have disappeared naturally.
2. The positioning of action-live performances, such as *Impression* series, is as a cultural tourism product, which combines cultural tourism and commerce. Maximizing economic benefits is the first priority as opposed to the pursuit of social value.
3. To a certain extent, as in other original ecology shows, the folk song and dance performances in Xijiang have been conducive to the inheritance of traditional culture. In some minority areas, the purpose of performance has

shifted from maintaining traditions to making a living. The demands of economic interests have partly raised the awareness of local governments and residents regarding cultural heritage conservation. However, the adaptations to cater to the tastes of audiences have induced changes in artistic content and forms as the theatrical creation diverges from the everyday practices of the ethnic minority people. Therefore, the cultural industry differs from public cultural undertakings in China. In fact, the government has advocated for developing cultural undertakings that should prioritize the maximization of social value. However, groups in many minority areas have experienced the side effects of industrialization when selling ICH as goods.

4. Without government subsidies, these folk song and dance performances in minority areas rarely break even. For example, *Dali of heyi*, another large-scale folk arts performance with an investment of 200 million RMB that was performed in Dali, Yunnan, has registered losses since 2010.

5. Many similar performances have aroused controversy concerning over-adaptions, such as in cases of ethnic performers or even Han performers singing folk songs in Mandarin with Han or Western musical aesthetics and lyrics.

6. One of the most important motivations to produce and promote a folk song and dance performance was the decision of the local government leader who was assigned the duty. Often, people in authority have intended to build a personal brand during their term of office, and producing a cultural performance could be an easy mark of achievement. However, the success of the performance and its sustained financial input are not assured after a change in leadership.

Concerning the problem of excessive adaptations in the original ecology performance, I interviewed tourists of different genders of ages from a variety of places in Xijiang to elicit intuitive senses and viewing experiences of the folk song and dance performances in Xijiang. Table 4.1 summarizes the interview contents,

which reveal several key commonalities among respondents:

- A. Most interviewees made positive comments about the performances.
- B. However, they evaluated the contents of the show as over-adapted.
- C. Compared to a show with stage effects, they perceived a show without effects to be more authentic, and such “traditional programs” were much more popular with audiences.

Table 4.1 Tourist Opinions of Folk Song and Dance Performances in Xijiang

ID	Sex	Age group	Departure place	Questions	Answer
Respondent T1	1M	Over 60	Xi'an	Could you please give some comments on the artistic performance?	Very good; the performances are great.
				Do you think the performance is adapted too much or too commercial?	It's a normal phenomenon. Every ancient village becomes commercialized. Xijiang is a less commercialized one, and I think it is acceptable.
Respondent T2	1M3F	20-30	Sichuan	How do you feel about the performance?	We like traditional programs. It [the free performance] is good, reasonable programming, but the performance is too short.
Respondent T3	1M2F	Over 60	Beijing	How do you feel about the performance?	Very good, but if they have more traditional programs it will be better.
Respondent T4	1M	40-50	Fujian	Do you like the performance?	I like traditional performance. It is good as a whole, but I prefer the program with traditional features. That is their real life. We can see those adaptations in other places.
				Do you think it is adapted too much?	The performance has a modern flavor and has been seriously commercialized.
Respondent T5	2M	30-40	Jiangsu	Do you like the performance?	We like the traditional program. They must aggregate the most

					beautiful girls and boys in the village.
Respondent T6	1F	20-30	Guiyang	How do you feel about the folklore performance?	The additional program [sale of calligraphy work] is quite tacky.
				Do you think the performance is adapted too much?	I think it's ok – not too much.
				Which do you prefer: the traditional programs or the adaptations?	I prefer the traditional programs.
Respondent T7	1M1F	50-60	Guiyang	How do you feel about the folklore performance?	The performers are not very highly skilled. We didn't feel very shocked.
				Do you think the performance is adapted too much?	Yes. We think the traditional elements are not enough; it didn't show the real life of Miao.
				Which do you prefer? The traditional programs or the adaptations?	Traditional programs.
Respondent T8	1M	20-30	Guiyang	How do you feel about the folk song and dance performance?	I felt quite interesting and strange when I first saw the performance. The performers seem very professional, but this is also the problem that makes it have less of a pure and simple sense.
				Do you think the performance is adapted too much?	Actually, I don't know if it has been changed or adapted. I don't know the differences between what it is now and the



					original ecology performance.
				Which do you prefer: the traditional programs or the adaptations?	I prefer to watch traditional programs. This is the reason I came to Xijiang – because I appreciate the unique minority cultures and their original residential environment and living conditions. Too much adaption may reduce the aesthetic feeling of simplicity.
Respondent T9	1F	50-60	Beijing	How do you feel about the folk song and dance performance?	In general, it's ok.
				Do you think the performance is adapted too much?	They did too much adaption. I cannot find any primitive characteristics of Miao.
				Which do you prefer? The traditional programs or the adaptations?	I like traditional programs very much.

4.3 The cultural experience and engagement of local residents in Xijiang

As an outsider, I observed various cultural activities in Xijiang. The main cultural activities for local residents might be daily folk performances, but there were also other cultural activities that took place in various parts of the village. For example, shows and presentations were held in the Miao Culture Pedestrian Street (see Section 5.2.4). It seems that the cultural life of locals was not as lacking as imagined, however, as the responses of residents were clearly different from my preconception:

I have never watched the performances; I heard that a company has contracted to operate the performing troupe without the consent of villagers. Although the performances are free to us [the villagers who live in Xijiang], if we invite friends or our relatives who live outside Xijiang, they will be charged. That's one of the primary reasons that I do not like the show and do not want to watch it. (Respondent LR01)

I have never seen the shows before, but one of my former students worked in the organization. He told me that there are almost no Miao people in the group, let alone aborigines. Most of the performers are outsiders. How can they understand our culture? It's even not adaption. What they present is not ours. (Respondent LR03)

I rarely participated in the cultural activities carried out in our village. Actually, I seldom go by this street [the Miao Culture Pedestrian Street]. I know that there are some cultural projects have been organized recently, but I'm not sure

what's going on there. I saw the folk performance a few years ago. (Respondent LR06)

I saw the daily folk performance several times when it was free to public but only saw the show once after it started charging. Well, it is free for us, but there are too many tourists. The quality of the show is better than before – surrounded by stunning scenery. The performers look professional. (Respondent LR07)

Among the rest of the native interviewees, the majority reported either actively or passively participating in the cultural activities, including the daily folk performances. Some of them admitted that they were busy with their own lives, so they never paid attention to these activities. This was especially typical of peddlers who invested time in their own business, as they had little energy to engage in cultural activities apart from the mandatory traditional festivals, such as sacrificial ceremonies. Some of them further complained that the communication of information was poor, and they rarely received promotions for arts and culture. The arts were obviously not valued, and cultural exchange with outsiders was minimal. However, almost all the local residents expressed strong interest in joining cultural activities. The local interviewees generally indicated that they like to participate in group activities, and most of their traditional assemblies are cultural events.

In response to the above concerns of local residents, the senior government official from Xijiang's Cultural Bureau (Respondent G006), explained that the local authority had a limited budget for cultural expenditure at the time, so it was impossible to organize many cultural activities in the village for locals: *"you can see that our village looks flourishing; that is because most of the money was invested in infrastructure construction, including the performance venues."* Behind the façade of prosperity of the village, the villagers were still struggling for a well-off society and had little energy for caring about culture and art.

I think this is a common phenomenon. It is very understandable that people spend time and money on their older family members and younger children, and only a few people are active in participating in arts and cultural activities. In fact, we have organized some cultural and art-training programs for villagers. For example, we have training courses on embroidery, Lusehng, and Miao songs. However, for many practical reasons, what we have usually done is find those highly motivated villagers and then ask them to recommend some other motivated villagers to join in the activities. We have limited quotas; thus, we must assure that people who get the chance are sure to benefit from the project.
(Respondent G006)

The officer (Respondent G006) further disclosed that their largest obstacle was the difficulty of cultivating an artist with strong social power. Although some folk

artists in Xijiang were awarded the title and treated as a national ICH ambassador to the local government, their lack of charisma allowed for limited social influence.

To obtain a fuller understanding of the engagement of natives in cultural activities, a questionnaire was sent to indigenous people to inquire about their participation rate in arts and cultural projects. The result was somewhat in line with the interviewee's standpoint; taking into account the involved activities (e.g. the Miao New Year), the results reveal that most respondents seldom took part in arts and cultural activities, and their levels of involvement were concentrated in the interval of 1 to 11 (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. Indigenous Participation Frequency in Arts and Cultural Activities

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Valid	0	16	8.6	8.7
	1 to 11	88	47.3	47.8
	12 to 47	34	18.3	18.5
	Over 48	46	24.7	25.0
		184	98.9	100
Missing	99	2	1.1	
Total		186	100.0	

N	Valid	184
	Missing	2

Mean	2.40
Medium	3.00
Std. Deviation	.959

Based on the results in Table 4.3, most respondents (n=157, 91.3%) had participated in arts and cultural activities at least once per year. Repliers who engaged in artistic programs as performers and handicraft workers were more likely to join cultural activities compared to those in other occupations.

Table 4.3. Crosstab: Participation Frequency in Cultural Activities and Occupation

Participation Frequency in Cultural Activities		Over 48	12 to 47	1 to 11	0 (never)	Total
Occupation	Self-employed people	6	5	28	4	43
	Government official	7	7	15	1	30
	Teacher	0	2	9	4	15
	Artist (e.g. performer, handicraft worker)	22	8	5	3	38
	Others (e.g. farmer)	6	10	27	3	46
Total		41	32	84	15	172

To further explore whether type of profession or any other factor influences frequency of participation in cultural activities¹⁰, an ordinal regression was applied to address the question. As the last section has explained, I recognized that the sample

¹⁰ Because of the unequal number of repliers with different jobs, it is difficult to formulate a conclusion directly from the data that are presented in Table 4.3

size of predictors for this study was not suitable for calculation together in only one logit regression. Hence, the five predictors were assessed individually to control for errors in calculation. The estimated logit regression in Table 4.4 indicates that three of the predictors – gender, educational level, and annual income – exhibited no significant influence on participation frequency in cultural activities at the 0.05 level, whereas the coefficients for age groups, occupations, and vocational attributes were found to be statistically different from zero in the logit regression model. Therefore, age group, job, and vocational attribute might attempt to or actually influence the frequency of participation in cultural programs. Table 4.5 specifies that respondents between the ages of 18 and 44 joined in cultural activities at a relatively lower rate compared to elder people (i.e. repliers over the age of 45), although the results might be influenced by sampling. Artists, including performers and handicraft workers, were the most likely occupation to join cultural activities, followed by government officials, other occupations (e.g. farmer), self-employed individuals, and teachers or students. For some repliers, engaging in cultural activities is part of their work; for instance, a performer is the principal participant of a performance or festival. Moreover, repliers

who thought that their work was related to both culture and tourism participated more actively in cultural events compared to those whose jobs involved neither culture nor tourism.

Table 4.4. Model Fitting Information for Participation Frequency in Cultural Activities

		-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Gender	Intercept Only	26.599	1.064	1	0.302
	Final	25.535			
Age group	Intercept Only	41.303	15.499	2	.000***
	Final	25.804			
Job	Intercept Only	94.267	39.212	4	.000***
	Final	55.055			
Vocational attribute	Intercept Only	55.942	7.905	3	.048*
	Final	48.037			
Educational level	Intercept Only	40.366	0.742	2	0.690
	Final	39.624			
Annual income	Intercept Only	35.887	1.929	2	0.381
	Final	33.958			

*p<.05; ***p<.001

Table 4.5. Estimation Results for Participation Frequency in Cultural Activities

Factor		Estimate	Std. Error	Sig.
Age group	18 to 44	0 ^a	.	.
	45 to 64	1.559	0.426	.000***
	Over 65	4.225	0.458	.000***
Occupation	Artists	0 ^a	.	.
	Self-employed people	-2.247	0.454	.000***

	Government official	-1.407	0.468	.003**
	Teachers or students	-3.282	0.648	.000***
	Others	-1.924	0.436	.000***
Vocational attribute	No relevance to either culture or tourism	0 ^a	.	.
	Related to culture and tourism	1.147	0.450	.011*

^aThis parameter is set to zero.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

When discussing the authenticity of the folklore performances, over half of the local respondents (52.5%) perceived the daily folklore performance to have very low authenticity, while less than one-fifth of respondents (18.0%) expressed the opposite opinion. The results were roughly in line with answers to the interview question regarding whether the daily folklore performance changed the original features of Miao ICH. The proportions of repliers who (strongly) agreed and who (strongly) disagreed with this statement accounted for 50.9% and 24.9%, respectively.

Furthermore, a few interviewees exhibited strong antipathy toward the adaption of the daily folk performances. A local interviewee even asserted that the so-called traditional folk customs were fake, implying that directors and producers do not respect their folk customs:

The Miao are distributed around the world. Some have their own language and text as well, but we didn't have the writing characters. Our history, religion, and culture can only be inherited by myths and legends and traditional ceremony. However, the contents of the performances were adapted past the point of recognition of the traditional ceremony.

For example, the best time to play Lusheng is between September and March. However, in order to attract tourists, both the performing troupe and some restaurants play Lusheng all year long. There is another case: the toasting song that is often sung in restaurants is actually a folk song of Yi ethnic nationality – not our Miao.

It is ridiculous that the director and performers are recruited from other places. How can they understand our culture if they are not even Miao people?
(Respondent LR03)

Although local residents have raised questions regarding the authenticity of the daily folk performances, most questionnaire respondents corroborated the contributions of daily folklore performance to promoting Miao culture: 82.5% of repliers agreed or strongly agreed that daily folklore performance helped in the cultural promotion of Miao, and 80.4% and 74.8% believed that the daily folklore performance raised the interest of tourists and inhabitants, respectively, in learning Miao culture (see Tables 4.6 and 4.7).

Table 4.6. Local Residents' Evaluations of the Daily Folk Arts Performance

The daily folklore performance	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)
Changed original features of Miao ICH	29.4	21.5	24.3	23.2	1.7
Helped in the promotion of Miao ICH	47.5	35.0	12.4	2.8	2.3
Motivated tourists to learn about Miao ICH	48.6	32.8	15.3	2.3	1.1
Motivated local residents to learn about Miao ICH	42.0	32.8	20.1	4.6	0.6

Table 4.7. Local Residents' Evaluations of the Daily Folk Art Performance (Mean and Standard Deviation)

	Changed original features of Miao ICH	Helped in the promotion of Miao ICH	Motivated tourists to learn about Miao ICH	Motivated local residents to learn about Miao ICH
N	Valid	177	177	177
	Missing	9	9	12
	Mean	3.54	4.23	4.25
	Std. Deviation	1.187	.932	.878

*1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree

Unlike the indigenous respondents, the senior scholars I interviewed were less focused on the songs or dances of the show, although they agreed that the shows had been overdramatized. Rather, they were primarily concerned with whether the core value remained unchanged. Such core value refers to the religious belief and culture psychology of the Miao. As minorities themselves, scholars from the Guizhou

Academy of Social Sciences provided insight into the authenticity of Miao cultural performance. They repeatedly emphasized that the core value of a minority group's culture is the decisive factor in determining their ethnic identity.

Through the studies I conducted in the past, it is apparent that, in Guizhou, our minority culture is considered to be very well protected compared to that of other minorities. I do not agree to be paranoid about one aspect of the culture, like the authenticity, performativity, creativity, et cetera. Our [Miao] culture takes different forms and bears different characteristic at different times. The culture should be innovative, culture can only develop and be inherited through ceaseless innovation. but the innovations should not be break away from the original culture. If the cultural performance is created entirely out of thin air or mixes too many human factors, it will not meet our expectations. In my opinion, culture has mobility that does not have to be passed down in a fixed mode. As long as the cultural identity is still there, and people have needs, I think it is possible to give the culture some new content. To me, it is ok if the cultural performance is not just created out of nothing or made up only for revenue generation. The operation of the management team must be in conformity with the specification. Presenting the primitive culture on the stage is impossible; nobody can guarantee the culture we have at the moment can be exactly the same as the culture of our ancestors. Cultural psychology remains unchanged. Like myself, once I returned to my hometown Xijiang, I immediately experienced the Miao cultural psychology. Whether or not the food, costume, or equipment changes, the religious faith remains the same. Miao cultural psychology and religion cannot be changed. (Respondent A07)

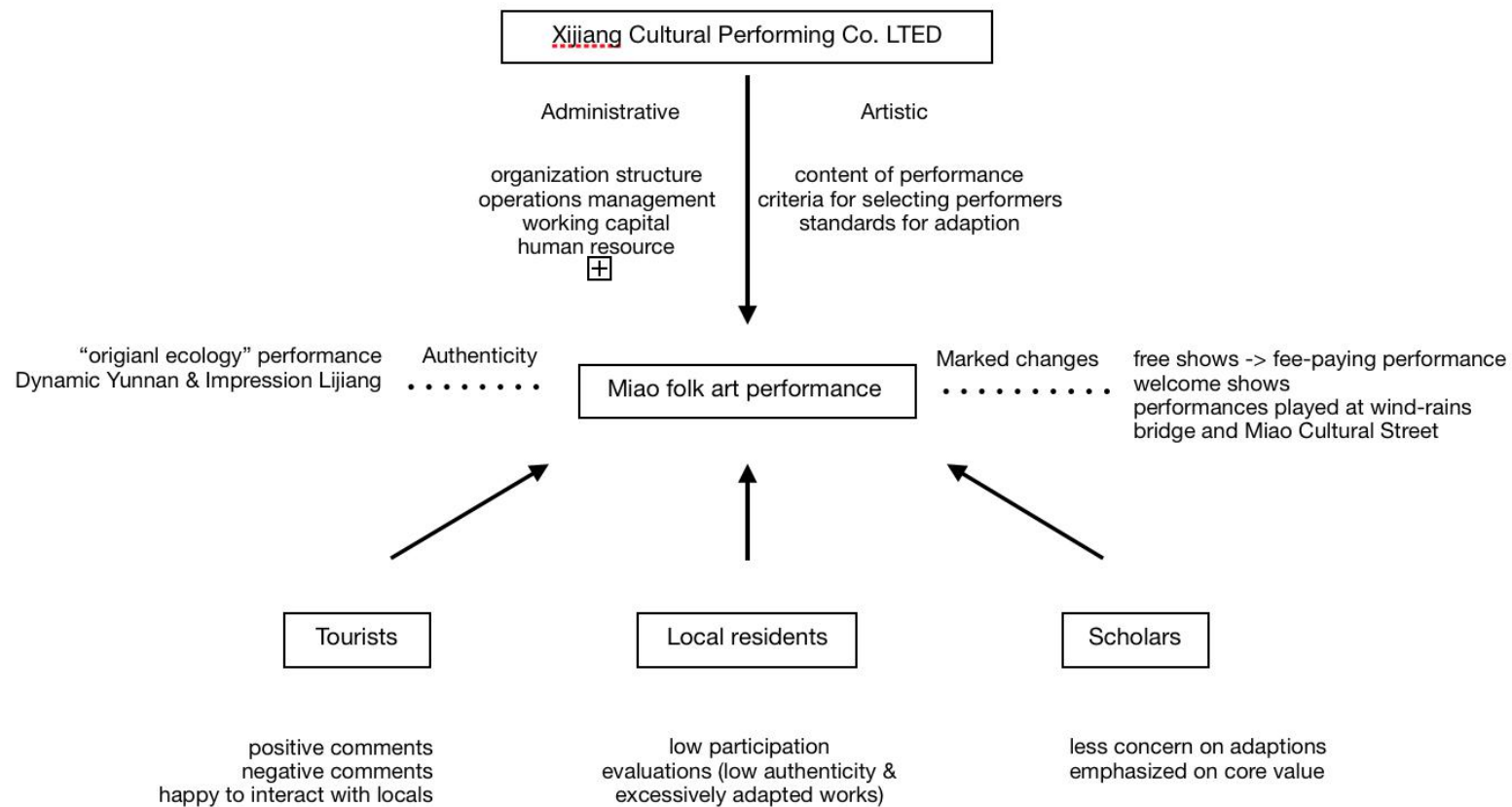
I have always believed that culture has not been a yuanshengtai (original ecology) characteristic or exists in any other forms because culture is in the process of blending, changing, and learning. When studying the minority culture and village culture, we should not only focus on the changed culture but

also be mindful of the unchanged culture. With the development of cultural tourism, we find that many things have been changed, but as a scholar, we need to set the sights on the entire social structure. I myself hold the point that culture is changing continuously, but the social structure remained stable. Regarding the folk performance, rather than the things that have been adapted, we should focus on the things that are unchanged. For example, the religion is not changed; the people's beliefs do not run counter to traditional values, and the village has strong social stability. To judge whether the culture has been changed cannot be based only on the surface-level contents of the cultural performance. Many scholars think that ethnic cultures have disappeared and sinicization (Hanization), but I think they tend to go for superficial qualities. In fact, the core values never change. (Respondent A06)

Both of the scholars believed that it is very common that people question the authenticity of the folk performance, but it is practically impossible to ensure that the programs that are played on the stage are the same as the original events in their daily life. It is therefore crucial for the arts managers to respect the cultural traditions and religious beliefs of minorities as much as possible. They emphasized the significance of remaining the cultural core values including religious beliefs. The Miao's cultural identity can be maintained if the Miao cultural psychology and religion remain unchanged.

4.4 Summary

Figure 4. 8. Chapter 4 Concept Map



This chapter offers insight into the management of the folk arts performances and cultural activities in Xijiang. It specifically focuses on the operation and management of the Guizhou Xijiang Miao Village Cultural Performing Co. Ltd. as well as the management of the most important cultural activity in the village – the daily folk song and dance performance – and the comments of local residents, tourists, and scholars.

Artistic activities in Xijiang include the daily folk performances in the central square at noon and in the evening, respectively. In addition, there are welcome shows at various times of the day in front of the village gate, irregular antiphonal singing of a love song at the wind-rain bridge, irregular performances of the Miao ancient songs at the gage ancient path, and the handicraft throughout the village.

The Guizhou Xijiang Miao Village Cultural Performing Co. Ltd. took over the management of the daily folk song and dance performances, which were the main artistic activities in the village. The company is a state-owned enterprise and subsidiary corporation of the The Guizhou Xijiang Miao Village Cultural Performing Co. Ltd.. It cooperates with a performing company in Hunan that is responsible for marketing, recruitment, and publicity. The evening performance used to be free to the

public but started to sell tickets in 2013 without first requesting every villager's opinion. The programs derived their content from Miao ICH, but most performers were non-locals and not even Miao people. Although the managers highlighted that their main purpose was to promote Miao culture, audience preferences seriously influenced the adaption of the programs. The management team clearly expressed an intention to create a large-scale live-action performance like *Dynamic Yunnan* and *Impression Lijiang series*; however, they faced obstacles, such as a shortage of professional directors and administrators and a lack of rehearsal space.

The tourists, scholars, and local residents reported that their views of the management of Miao ICH and artistic activities in Xijiang informed their respective positions. The majority of tourists offered positive comments about the ticketed performances and other artistic activities in the village, but they differed in their indications of whether the adaptations were excessive or if the sale of calligraphy works in the course of the free folk art performance at noon was objectionable. Views on adaptations were varied; some thought the performance was too commercialized, while others thought it was acceptable. Nevertheless, almost all of them expressed more

interest in traditional programs than in adapted works, which was contrary to the manager's judgment.

Compared to tourists, scholars cared more about the core value of the artistic performances. Every scholar I interviewed emphasized the sanctity of religion to the Miao people. From their point of view, the cultural customs changed over time, but it was acceptable as long as the religious beliefs and cultural psychology of the Miao were retained.

Surprisingly, only a few residents had joined in the cultural activities in the village, and very few of them had watched the daily folk art performances. Over half of the residents believed that the daily folk art performances had very low authenticity because they had altered the original features of Miao ICH. A few extreme opinions even emerged that the adaption disrespected traditional Miao customs. Despite questioning the authenticity of the folk art performances, over 80% of inhabitants agreed that the shows were conducive to promoting Miao culture. Moreover, 80.4% and 74.8% believed that they increased the interest of tourists and residents, respectively, in learning about Miao ICH. The vocational attribute of locals

influenced their frequency of participation in cultural and art activities. Specifically, the rates among government officials, cultural-related businessmen, performers, and artists were substantially higher than those of other occupations. In general, the amount of direct benefit that they can gain from the cultural activities positively influenced the participation rate .

Chapter 5

Findings on Education Outreach of Miao ICH and Community Engagement in Xijiang

Chapter 2 details the significance of education in preserving and promoting Miao ICH, which is essential to maintaining cultural sustainability in Xijiang.

Education is considered the root of civilization for inheriting culture and values in Chinese traditional culture, and it is necessarily co-responsible for and engaged in the sociocultural socialization of ethnic group membership and ethnic consciousness (Fishman, 1989). The significant role of education in preserving and disseminating indigenous knowledge should be recognized by ethnic minorities. This chapter shifts the research focus to the minority education in Xijiang to answer the research question of “to what extent has the goal of cultural sustainability affected community education in Xijiang in terms of curriculum design, teaching processes, and policy-making?” Based on the conclusions of several researchers, China’s minority education is highly centralized and therefore intends to achieve a high degree of cultural and political homogenization for several reasons: to make communication

possible among different parts of the country, to ensure the integration of peripheral areas into the Chinese state, to promote patriotism and loyalty to the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and , in a broader sense, to “improve the quality” of or to “civilize” the presumably more “backward” parts of the population (Hansen, 2011, p. xii).

Thus, like other minorities in China, the Miao have attempted to achieve the above goals through a host of practices while contending with issues concerning homogenization, religion, and ethnic identity.

For the aforementioned reasons, Han culture was transplanted directly into regions that are inhabited by Miao and other ethnic groups through the curriculum of Han schooling, the educational performance of which is recognized as superior. Since the manifestation of minority cultures in the school curriculum depends heavily on market demands that are seriously affected by the government (Postiglione, 2013), the problem of Hanization (or Sinicization in some literature) in Xijiang has led to increasing development of cultural tourism. In line with Postiglione (2013), religion was challenging to school education. It withdrew the main role in education from the

family, and, by comparison, Chinese minorities are seemingly far more religiously devout compared to Han people. In this regard, the first section of this chapter identifies the influences of Hanization in Xijiang and the impact of religion on indigenous identity. The following two sections then address the arts education of local inhabitants and tourists through a close examination of the programs and the challenges they encountered. Furthermore, the chapter investigates which educational activities can be promoted in Xijiang that are in accordance with the learning habits and interests of residents.

To explore the popularity of cultural and educational programs in Xijiang, the participation of inhabitants in educational activities, and their evaluations of local museum experiences, the third part of the questionnaire (“The Changes in Community Education”) posed related questions. The 15 target interviewees of the study included experts from the fields of minority culture and ethnic artistic education, academic researchers from universities, government institutions, and non-governmental organizations, and government officials in charge of cultural and ethnic education. In addition, I interviewed six local residents (including both Han and Miao) to refine my

understand of the learning interests of residents. This aspect focused on the basic situation of Xijiang's minority education to gauge the popularity of cultural and educational programs in Xijiang, the participation of inhabitants in educational activities, and their evaluations of local museum experiences. The data that were collected in these regards were assigned to sections according to theme.

5.1 Hanization and ethnic identity

The anthropologist Louisa Schein (2000) has recounted an experience during her fieldwork in Xijiang where a young teacher from Anhui, who was an oil painter, was urged to submit his work for an exhibition. He complained to her that there was no attractions to see in Xijiang because he could not see people wearing elaborately embroidered festival costumes or gorgeous silver headdresses. In addition, he had no interest in or time to observe the women with their hair pinned into a chignon washing laundry by the brook or the traditional dark wood houses that are piled up on the steep slopes. Louisa explained that the reaction of this young artist is typical of many visitors. They are in a hurry to capture certain images that they had seen on television

or in magazines, but, ironically, from Louisa's perspective, the "real" Miao were Sinicized, as "the women were in pants, and many of the people even wore Western-style clothing" (p. 117).

As Schein described in her article 20 years ago, local Miao people differed from their "typical" image in magazines in that they dressed like Han Chinese in daily life. Moreover, the items they used or produced were the same as outside Han people. The Mandarin or Han dialect was most-used language in Xijiang.

To investigate the effects of Hanization on Miao in the cultural sphere, I consulted various native peoples who lived in Xijiang between 2008 and 2016. Almost every interviewee believed that the Han culture essentially infiltrated their lives as the dominant culture in the country, which was a foreseeable development. The present Guzang chieftain, who was the tribal leader of the Miao and a primary school teacher in Xijiang, proved the influences of Han culture on their daily life:

I have to say, although we are trying to preserve what our ancestors left us, some living habits and customs changed gradually with the progress of society. For example, we seldom dress up in the ethnic costume but wear a t-shirt or jacket or coat just like other people living somewhere

else for the reasons of comfort and convenience, and those fancy costumes are not suitable for daily wearing but designed for some vital moment, such as wedding or the Miao New Year, which is far from what outsiders think. In fact, at present, there are many more local women wearing traditional folk costumes in daily life compared to before in order to satisfy curious travelers. It's not just about clothing: the lifestyle of modern Miao people is fairly similar to that of Han people. Especially many young people went out for work and received edification of another culture; on the surface, they have no difference from Han people.

Other two indigenous inhabitants expressed similar views:

I used to work in Kaili [a big city in southeast Guizhou, which has jurisdiction in Xijiang] for over two years. Of course, the city is much more modern and prosperous than Xijiang. Life there is more convenient and colorful, but as far as the people who live there, I didn't see any difference between me and other Han people around me when I lived there. We communicated in Mandarin or Kaili dialect.
(Respondent LR03)

I am Miao. I live in Xijiang and work here also. Because of the wide use of mobile phones and the Internet, we are not isolated anymore. Actually, most information we access is produced or delivered by Han or foreigners: the variety television programs, movies, concerts, books, journals, magazines, PC or mobile games, et cetera. I cannot speak or write the Miao language.
(Respondent LR04)

The above examples highlight the discourse of Sinicization or Hanization in

Xijiang. According to Oakes (1998, p. 84), Hanization is a form of “inner colonialism”

which can be defined as a civilizational process that “civilizes” ethnic minorities to become the same as the Han people. Harrell (1996, p. 36) has further explained the nature of “inner colonialism” as a hypothesis that cultural ascendance emerges from powerful economic and political forces and takes advantage of such superiority to deliver supposed merits to peripheral peoples “as an aspect of *hegemonic rule*”. In line with many domestic and overseas scholars, Su and Teo (2009) have agreed that Hanization has become “more subtle and effective” (p. 88), as proven by certain heritage sites in minority areas, including in Guizhou province.

Contrary to expectations, the indigenous residents did not exhibit obvious antipathy toward Han culture. Rather, they expressed a much more indifferent attitude to this kind of “cultural invasion” :

I think it is a common phenomenon that we are influenced by Han culture; it happens all over the country. It's impossible to stop the immersion of Han culture in ours, as we live in the Information Age. The development of the tourism industry also accelerate the process. As a modern people, we need to and must communicate with people from the outside. We also need to go out, and we also welcome people come in, which caused some inevitable changes.
(Respondent LR01)

I don't think we are dominated by this [Han] culture. I agree that its effects are clear – even ubiquitous – but it mainly plays a role in the material life, not our spiritual life. I mean, our lifestyle is getting closer and closer, but our unique culture, which has been refined over thousands of years, is not that easy to destroy. (Respondent LR05)

I disagree with the idea that Han culture that is intimated via dissemination or by migrants, visitors, or other channels will destroy our own culture, but the government's induction plays a crucial role in guiding the public to respect the native culture. (Respondent LR06)

Some immigrant merchants lived in Xijiang, and most tourists believed that the elements of the Miao were deliberately created:

To tell the truth, most of the shop owners are not Miao. They are Han from Hunan or Guangdong, and the things on sale are produced by Han, sold by Han, and even created by Han but labeled as a Miao specialty. How can you say these are real Miao culture? And the guesthouses are renovated in accordance with the standard of star hotels that are ruled by Han or foreigners. The outer shell is the same as before, but the inner side is not what it used to be. (Respondent NM01)

When we came here, we easily got used to the life here. I think this is one of the results of Han cultural influences: it makes the life easy and homogenous. (Respondent NM02)

The village is too commercialized! It is very easy to recognize the accent of some salesmen and saleswoman or waiters and waitresses. They must be Han Chinese! Most natives rarely wear traditional costumes, except those who work in restaurants. (Respondent TR08)

I think Hanization here is serious because I found that many Han people live and work here. (Respondent TR11)

To address the above issues, a senior official from the local cultural bureau (GO07), shared his ideas with me. His remarks represented the views of some government officials:

About the management of non-native merchants – we are a community. We are living in the same living area. What we can do is to try our best to maintain the balance of the local market by law enforcement...I think the cultural shock exists; for example, when I arrived Xijiang in 2002, I witnessed a funeral. I was confused by the people who were blowing Lusheng in the funeral procession because it is short skirt above the knee Miao custom but not common to Xijiang [Xijiang belongs to Black Miao, also known as long skirt Miao]. It partly explained that the cultural shock is not only made by Han culture but also by other cultures... (Respondent GO07)

The official observed people of various ages and professions in the village. For him, challenges with management and education accompany the integration of multiple cultures. However, blended culture yields surprises. He elaborated:

Where is the cultural shock? I think it does not appear in the respect of arts but religiousness and holiness. Some cultural rituals and content can only be expressed at a particular moment; it can't help to diminish the sense of divine when more and more outsiders come in to experience...I think it [the cultural exchange with Han] is also a learning process where we absorb the excellent experiences from Han or foreign entities. Their aesthetic can meet the

requirements of more outsiders. With the development of cultural tourism, locals gradually have realized the importance of Miao culture, and more and more young people have started to be interested in learning traditional culture. The situation is much better now than before, when an amount of young people went out for work. We also hope the tourists or migrants can learn about our culture when they stay in Xijiang. (Respondent GO07)

Compared to the official's reply, the responses of others sounded slightly more upbeat with respect to religion. Both the Guzang chieftain and the researchers from the Guizhou Academy of Social Sciences acknowledged the unshakable status of religion among minorities. They particularly stressed the necessity to maintain the religious beliefs of minority nationalities, which should be the dominant factor in directing or forming ethnic identities.

When we are studying the village culture, we should focus on not only the changes but also the unchanged elements sustained over years. The point I hold is that culture is evolving, but the social structure may be relatively stable. The social structure can keep a strong stability if religious beliefs of the ethnic people remain unchanged. It is one-sided to perorate whether the culture of a village has changed only by judging the performance or artistic expression; whether the core value has changed should also be a concern. Many experts have asserted that those minorities cultures have disappeared or Sinicized. This statement is superficial, and, in fact, the core values have remained intact. (Respondent AS02)

The ethnic cultural mentality remains rooted in their [minorities] hearts; this cannot be changed. The underlying cultural gene and cultural mentality cannot

be changed. Take myself as an example: I come from Xijiang. My ethnic cultural mentality appears immediately once I return back to hometown. It is infeasible to disrespect religious beliefs that carry our traditional culture. Our diet or costumes can be altered, but religious belief cannot. (Respondent AS03)

In divergence from the above theoretical elaborations, one of my interviewees, a middle-aged lady (LR07), expounded on the identification process of Miao religious belief and ethnic identity by sharing her own experiences as an immigrant. The lady was a Han Chinese woman who had independently run a small food stand in Xijiang for nearly 20 years since migrating from the neighboring county for marriage. She recalled,

Life was not easy in the first few years...there were very few immigrants in that time. There were only two other Han women in this village besides me. In the old time, the locals discriminated against Han Chinese daughters-in-law. It didn't improve until we started getting along. (Respondent LR07)

However, she smiled shyly and explained, “my parents-in-law and other relatives gradually found that I am capable and talented. There is no difference between me and other Miao girls except that I cannot speak Miao.” She added that “ironically, the Han Chinese whom they once loathed have now become their cash cow.” When asked if she regarded herself as Miao or identified with one of the communities since she

has lived there for such a long time, she replied,

I have feelings for both peoples now. I'm Han but lived in a Miao community for most of my life. I'm familiar with everything here. I didn't understand some of their customs at first, but now I know them very well because my husband explained for me, and I would participate in festivals or sacrificial activities just like local people. (Respondent LR07)

She admitted that the effect was subtle: “I was influenced imperceptibly. I spent a long time getting them to really accept me.”

According to the statements of the food stand owner and a few of my immigrant respondents, they were somewhat excluded from mainstream culture, although it was not especially difficult for immigrants to adapt to the local lifestyle. Because of differences in cultural and religious backgrounds, they were sometimes confused about their cognitive self-identify. Through interaction, the cultural conventions of indigenous residents changed subtly alongside the decreasing number of town residents and increasing number of new migrants. Such fusion of nationalities was accompanied by the blending of culture such that a certain degree of Han culture is obvious in the cultural palette. Furthermore, respondents from separate fields with

different life experiences revealed varying forces of religion in ethnic tribes.

Community members respected the power and holiness of religion, which imprinted cultural beliefs in their minds and contributed to consolidating their ethnic identity.

5.2 Education of Miao ICH in schools and community-based cultural education in Xijiang

School education is an important means of inheriting minority culture. In 1999, the curriculum reforms in Chinese primary and secondary schools explicitly proposed local courses that required the addition of indigenized and nationalized teaching content in basic education in minority areas (Yan & Li, 2007). In October 2002, the stipulation and implementation of *Implementation Suggestions on Developing Minority Cultural Education in Various Schools Province-wide* promoted the entry of ethnic cultures to the campus (Wang, 2012).

In terms of community-based art education, one concept is community art projects

that were initially organized to enhance artistic skills or increase outreach programs that empower special populations and furthermore to promote contextual learning of local art and culture (Ulbricht, 2005).

A few domestic scholars have indicated that the arts education of ethnic groups in multiethnic Guizhou has developed since the 1970s (Zhang, 2008). Furthermore, training attempts and teaching practices have advanced.

5.2.1 Multilingual education and schooling of Miao ICH in Xijiang

Miao cultural education in Xijiang commenced in the Republication Period (1912-1949). After the Xijiang National Primary School was built in 1923 under the influence of Western missionaries, the Miao pioneered multicultural education in Guizhou. According to some interviewees, the local government carried out bilingual education at Xijiang National Primary School in an early stage: “we can find the clause from photos and documentary that elementary and multicultural education started very early in Xijiang.” A local Miao teacher (A01) commented, “the school in that time held various artistic activities such as traditional games and singing Miao

songs.” However, once the Ministry of National Education and the State Language Commission implemented the countrywide policy of using Mandarin and standard Chinese characters in 1950s, popularizing Mandarin and eliminating dialectal differences became a basic teaching task of primary and middle schools, especially those in rural areas. Multilingual courses turned into bilingual (Mandarin and English) courses. The teacher expressed his disappointment:

we used to speak Miao because 90% of the teachers are local Miao people, but now we are required to speak Mandarin, and it is even listed in the assessment index. To young children, they can easily accept Mandarin as their primary language in daily life. A few years ago, some teachers began to use Miao in class for in-depth interpreting of the teaching content, and that indeed made the content easier to be understood. But I guess it won't work for a long time, as students can fluently speak Mandarin or even English, and the teaching materials and textbooks are imported things. (Respondent A01)

As a gratifying development, “the government started to put importance on intangible cultural heritage in recent years.” The teacher added, “they promote the ‘ethnic cultures enter the campus’ project.” This project was a form of community education service that was promoted in 2002. The Standing Committee of the Ninth (Guizhou) People's Congress endorsed the *Regulation for Protecting Ethnic Folk Culture in Guizhou Province* at the 29th session on July 30, 2007. Three months

later, the Guizhou Provincial Department of Education and Guizhou Provincial Ethnic Affairs Commission jointly issued the *Implementation Suggestions on Developing Minority Cultural Education in Various Schools Province-wide*, which required that all kinds of schools at all levels in Guizhou province should conscientiously implement the regulations and actively participate in the protection of ethnic folk culture. In particular, primary and secondary schools in ethnic minority areas should regard excellent ethnic and folk culture as quality educational content, and teaching activities should introduce forms of art, such as ethnic folk music, paintings, dance, sports, literature, and traditional handicrafts, that are loved by people of all ethnic groups. Qualified institutions of higher education should set up ethnic folk culture courses to cultivate specialized talents (Zhan & Zhao, 2008). To date, 431 schools throughout the province have carried out ethnic-cultural education. Government data is optimistic: more than 700,000 people received minority folk culture education through school teaching. However, the majority of beneficiaries were students, and the results of the teaching varied per region, which warrants consideration.

Table 5.1 details the course design of ethnic folk culture that is promoted in

schools. It covers the popular art forms of majority ethnic groups such as the Miao and the Dong. However, the information in the table demonstrates neither government strategies for promoting the project nor how to offer such courses in which areas of a certain minority group. The course descriptions for institutions of higher learning are vague.

Table 5.1. Curriculum Design of the “Ethnic Culture Enters Campus” Project

	Primary school	Secondary school	College/University
Folk dance	Bench dance, flower stick dance, <i>Lusheng dance</i> , Yi dance, “the Torch Festival”	Wooden drum dance, <i>golden pheasant dance</i> , <i>Caigu dance</i> , <i>leaf whistling</i>	Folk dances (Lusheng dance, wooden drum dance, Caitang dance, Maogusi dance, Roulianhua dance, waving dance)
Folk music	Dong grand song, eight notes	Dong Grand song, Pippa song, Caitang song, Lanlu song, <i>mountain song</i> , <i>water song</i> , <i>Miao song</i> , Buyi song, and folk instruments, such as <i>Lusheng</i> , Pippa, bracket harp, So-na, moon lute flutes	Ethnic vocal music, ethnic musical instruments, folk dance, ethnic music theory
Traditional sports	<i>Shooting</i> , walking on stilts, kicking the shuttlecock, beating spinning top	Cuqiu, kicking the shuttlecock, pearl ball	Cuqiu, Yiajia, sparkler-grabbing, kicking the shuttlecock, pearl ball, shooting

Folk arts and crafts	Embroidery, folk fine arts, brocade, cross-stitch, Houziguan famer painting	Embroidery, batik, paper cutting, wax painting, woodcarving	Folk fine arts, embroidery, batik, folk prints, folk costumes, folk crafts
Theoretical knowledge	Population distribution, language and costumes, traditional festivals, traditional culture	Ethnic policy, traditional culture	Minority culture and history, minority cultural theories, basic knowledge of minority culture
Ethnic language	Bilingualism, dual language literacy	Miao language class, Dong language class (Taipan middle school)	

*Data from Guizhou Provincial Department of Education

*Miao cultural elements were bold and oblique.

According to the teacher from Xijiang Primary School, the school promoted the project and opened some ethnic cultural courses in recent years:

the students have one to two ethnic cultural classes per week. The school would invite some local teachers to tell some Miao stories and legends or share Miao costumes, Miao language, Miao handicrafts, embroidery, batik, Miao songs, dances, and instruments... starting from this year, we have the “Big Breaks Activities Between Classes” to utilize the time of inter-class exercise [about 40 minutes] of one or two days each week to arrange various activates for students. It’s like the interest group: we arranged students with the same interests in the same group to play traditional games and sports, paint, learn embroidery, and so forth. (Respondent A01)

However, he also expressed the concern that heavy workloads prevent schoolteachers from joining in all of the activities. To mitigate this issue, some folk artisans were employed to teach interest classes or workshops. However, several problems emerged. The folk artisans varied in level of expertise; some of them were even illiterate, which might have led to disappointed results and unsatisfied demands of students and schools. The shortage of funds was another impediment to the hiring of specialists. Moreover, schoolteachers are increasingly non-local inhabitants from other cities in Guizhou. Some are Han or people from other minority groups; therefore, Mandarin is the only common language that is widely used in Xijiang, and multilingual courses are not practical.

The situation at Xijiang Middle School is similar to that of the primary school. An English teacher who retired from the middle school in 2015 recalled,

We used to have Lusheng band and Miao cultural training courses, but some disappeared with the development of tourism. Students lost interest in attending the ethnic-cultural courses. The school only pays attention to those exam-oriented courses. (Respondent LR07)

In responding to the statements of teachers from Xijiang's primary and middle schools, a senior officer (Respondent GO06) from the Town Cultural Bureau, opined

that the preservation of Miao culture and the folk culture education are substantially improved compared to their previous state:

Since Xijiang was opened to the public as a scenic tourism spot in 2008, the government devoted more attention to the conservation of cultural heritage. We have 13 items of intangible cultural heritage that can be presented in our village. We also built a museum – well, it might not reach the standards of a normal museum, and it can only make some small-size cultural exhibitions. With the development of cultural tourism, we are trying to present some living culture to public, although it cannot be a daily practice. For example, the festivals, marriage customs – these are unable to be presented to tourists every day, but other cultural forms, like embroidery and batik, can be displayed daily. Actually, we tried our best to motivate the indigenous to participate in the cultural activities. For instance, the elders are invited to perform Miao songs and dances at the performing square in front of the gate. We will pay them an amount of money – not too much, but they can get some economic benefits while experiencing the traditional culture themselves during these activities. It's multi-beneficial; in fact, we have received some critiques, but I think we are moving toward a better place considering the preservation and inheritance of Miao cultural heritage. Some young people who went out for work or study have returned to our village. We also attracted some folklorists and anthropologists to come to conduct studies. There were some artists, photographers, composers, and singers who set up studios or study centers here or nearby...these can be strong evidence that the conservation of Miao culture is much better now. A few villages are less developed; people who live there put their energy into increasing annual income but are careless about their cultural heritage. We know about the problems and criticism during the development process, and we are confident in solving these problems step by step.
(Respondent GO06)

5.2.2 Educational resource imbalance and high illiteracy

Apart from children who accept ethnic cultural education at local schools, the remainder of inhabitants are not as lucky to have adequate educational resources. The situation is complicated due to the complex background of the population, unbalanced development of education in regions, and the imprisonment of traditional ideas.

When asked if they received schooling on Miao culture, nearly half of local residents (46.1%) answered negatively. Only half received academic instruction on Miao culture from local educational institutes, and majority (68.3%) believed that local education facilities were inadequate. Some indigenous interviewees provided more comprehensive answers to this question, and the responses of interviewees varied significantly by age group.

A local female graduate of the Guizhou Normal University who was under the age of 30 shared her academic experiences:

I studied in Kaili when I was in primary and middle school. Then, I went to the capital city for undergraduate study. After graduation, I went back to Xijiang and worked at the town government. The reason why my parents sent me to the big city for study is easy to understand: just like many other Chinese parents, my parents also want me to succeed and be admitted to a good university. Since educational resources are imbalanced across the country, starting to study at a

good school in a big city certainly means you can touch the starting line earlier with better resources. Since I didn't take schooling in Xijiang, what I have learned at primary school and middle school is similar to normal primary school subjects, including Chinese, mathematics, English, physical education, chemistry, history, et cetera. Most of my classmates are Han, and we communicate in Mandarin or Kaili dialect. We didn't have the curriculum designed especially for minority students in my time, but I heard that some of the primary schools opened an interest-oriented class that taught students folk arts in the present day. (Respondent LR05)

A young man with an eight-year-old son added to the above statement. His remark demonstrates, to some extent, common thoughts of most parents in ethnic regions:

I'm working hard to create favorable conditions for my son. He is studying at the Xijiang Primary School, but my wife and I hope to send him to study outside in Kaili or Guiyang after graduation. There, he could accept better training for the college entrance examination. We know that is very important for him to enter a good university, which may make him stand on the threshold of a promising career afterward. You talked about the language education and traditional cultural education; as I know, they electively choose to attend the interest-oriented class on Tuesday. Most of the teachers come from elsewhere in Guizhou. They are taught in Mandarin. They also have English class. We [the child and his parents] communicate in Mandarin because we want to train him suitably for this certain context. The teachers at school also make this request. To tell the truth, instead of returning to Xijiang, we hope he can get a good job in some great cities in the future. (Respondent LR06)

The interviews reflect the common phenomenon of younger parents to sending their children to study in large cities to obtain better preparation for senior high school

or college entrance examinations. Unfair educational resource allocation forces students to move from remote areas to prosperous cities, and such movement prevents students from studying or living in the particular indigenous context.

The above two cases are relatively typical of the young adult interviewees in my study, whose responses differed drastically from those of elders. In fact, some of the indigenous people I interviewed were illiterate, so they could only accept verbal interviews in lieu of completing a questionnaire. Furthermore, nearly half of questionnaire respondents received only a primary or junior middle school education or never went to school, which reflected a somewhat discouraging basis for Xijiang's indigenous community-based education.

According to Huang (2009), the literacy rates of both Han and minority groups declined sharply between 1982 and 2000 (see Table 5.2). Huang (2009) has also recognized a few notable problems of the Miao:

Table 5.2. Literate Population and Literacy Rate in China (1982-2000)

	1982		1990		2000	
Nationwide	22997	34.49%	18161	22.21%	8699	9.08%
Han	21166	33.82%	16303	21.53%	7585	8.60%
Minority groups	1830	44.72%	1857	30.83%	1114	14.63%

Sources: Huang's (2009): "Changes in the illiterate population and illiteracy rate among Chinese ethnic groups."

1) There was a significant correlation between illiteracy and gender in the Miao group, wherein females had less education than males.

2) The variable of age had an effect on illiteracy, as the illiteracy rate of elders was higher than that of the younger generation. People under the age of 50 from ethnic groups reported an illiteracy ratio of nearly 45% of their total population, which highlights the difficulty of eliminating illiteracy among young adults. The author defined the Miao as a middle-aged illiterate group in which between 40% and 60% of people under the age of 50 are illiterate.

3) Surprisingly, the illiteracy rate continued to increase between 2000 and 2005.

Data on the Miao are particularly striking (see Table 5.3). Huang additionally explained that these data could prove a poor result in eradicating illiteracy, although defects in the sampling design could not be excluded.

Table 5.3. Literate Population and Literacy Rate in China (2000-2005)

	2000	2005	Difference
Nationwide	9.08%	11.04%	-1.96
Han	8.60%	10.45%	-1.85
Miao	19.83%	24.01%	-4.18

Sources: Data were transformed from Huang's (2009) study, "Changes in the illiterate population and illiteracy rate among Chinese ethnic groups."

Evidently, many minority people, including the Miao, are still in the initial stage of reducing illiteracy. The following two interview excerpts confirm this conclusion:

I have been to school for only few years. I even didn't complete the elementary school curriculum, so writing is difficult for me. I have been working these years, and the way I learn is by getting information online. There wasn't any content about Miao culture or arts in the textbook when I was at school. I didn't take part in any art activities in school. (Respondent LR09, female, approximately 20 years old)

I cannot read. I wasn't sent to school because my family couldn't afford it in that era. The family thought girls don't need to go to school. Singing and dancing that were generalized into Miao intangible cultural heritage are part of our life, and people who master crafts like batik, embroidery, Miao silver, et cetera may inherit these skills from their parents. (Respondent LR10, female, over 40 years of age)

Today, we are no longer as we have been in the past. There was no school in town; thus, it was impossible for us to study minority culture in school. We even had no concept of going to school at all. (Respondent LR11, male, over the age of 70)

The Miao developed Latin alphabetic writing in the 1950s, as their original text was destroyed during wars. Like many other ethnic nationalities, the communication of ICH for the Miao was dynamic and active and dependent on continuous oral instruction and rote memory. Therefore, the teaching methods of Miao ICH should not be restricted to traditional teaching methods of the mandatory subjects of compulsory education of the Han Chinese.

5.2.3 Province-level ICH education efforts

A leading figure from the Guizhou Provincial Department of Education who was in charge of minority nationality education elaborated on the attempts of the department from the provincial level:

The policy is always encouraging bilingual or even multilingual education in minority areas. They also encouraged offering courses of intangible cultural heritage in local schools. To be honest, it is not easy to effectively supervise and control the policy implementations in different regional autonomies of minority nationalities because of the limited budgets and staff. So, what we can do is provide some training programs for the minorities. For example, what we are now doing is offering a free two-week training program for Miao and Dong schoolteachers. We invited over 40 music or art teachers from counties with no cost for the courses; we even provided free accommodation and food for them. They can also apply for reimbursement of transportation expenses. The reason

that why we do this is only because we want them to come without any psychological or financial burdens. Thus, they may improve their passion and actively disseminate what they have learned to their students. (Respondent GO04)

I was fortunately invited to attend a training course at the Guizhou Minzu University. The program invited five experts from various fields, two of whom were anthropologists who were studying ethnic culture. The third was a painter and professor from Guizhou Normal University, and the last two were a Miao singer and a Dong singer, respectively. The lecture I attended was about the origin of Miao, the story of Miao Ancient Song and the creation of Miao painting, which was moderated by a professor as well as a painter (A03) who has studied Miao ancient songs for over 10 years. Some of her paintings are inspired by mysterious Miao stories and legends, and the history and artistic elements of the Miao have become the sources of creative material in her work. In addition to painting, she joined a few non-governmental groups that are dedicated to studying and promulgating Miao culture. She also held salons and sharing sessions to promote Miao ancient songs. She heavily praised this activity: “It is a good try, and we should fully support such activities. In recent years, the government department concerned is working hard to promote minority culture.”

However, she confessed that the government understood cultural ontology differently from non-governmental scholars, and the modern Miao people had a weak sense of cultural identity. In fact, most of the young generation could not speak Miao language, and they were wholly unfamiliar with Miao ancient songs, which aggravated the cultural dislocation. Moreover, the able-bodied workforce was directed to large cities, and the youth were unwilling to inherit traditional crafts.

Unlike the professor, the participants that I observed in class gave no negative feedback about this program. Although some attended to accomplish a task that was assigned by their school, the majority admitted that the free training courses were certainly seductive. Almost all of them expressed a strong interest in learning about Miao ICH. One explained, “we usually have no chance to systematically learn the history and culture of Miao and Dong. We enjoy the vocal coach by masters very much.” Moreover, instead of sitting in the classroom and listening to a lecture, performing arts classes generated more enthusiasm, and the participants were eager to share their newly acquired knowledge with students and fellows.

One of the participants was a Miao music teacher from Leishan County, which has Xijiang under its jurisdiction. She highly praised this project:

We seldom have the opportunity to systematically learn about the history and cultural background of our nation. Actually, this is the first time I have heard about so many tales of Miao ancient songs. Where are we come from? What is the origin of our traditions and customs? The teachers are very knowledgeable and nice; they know much more about Miao than me even though some of them are not Miao. I didn't expect anything at the beginning when the president of our school asked me to come to join the courses, but the harvest is much more than I expected. The agenda and course arrangements are reasonable. The teaching content is attractive and makes me deeply understand our minority culture. I feel very proud that our nation has deposited so much outstanding cultural heritage in its long historical river. I really hope we can have more chances to join in such projects, and it must be better if the teachers who taught us these days can travel to minority regions to give lectures in schools.
(Respondent A08)

In conversation with this respondent, she repeatedly stressed that the Miao people love music and other performing arts, and they could sing or dance especially well – an almost innate talent of many Miao people, especially women. However, those who lived in cities were unable to learn singing, dancing, or instruments because of a shortage of teachers. Nevertheless, as a music teacher, the respondent was pleased that her students expressed an interest in learning about ethnic music: “they love

music lessons not only because the course is less stressful but also because the music brings joy.”

5.2.4 Local residents’ learning interests and motivations of Miao Intangible Cultural Heritage

In terms of the degree of interest in arts and cultural education programs, the data from the questionnaire survey reveal that indigenous individuals in Xijiang were intensely interested in taking part in cultural educational programs. As Table 5.4 indicates, nearly 80% of respondents expressed strong interest, while only a few (1.1%) reported no interest at all.

Table 5.4. Interest in Cultural and Educational Programs in Xijiang

Degree of Interest	Frequency	Valid Percentage
Not at all interested	2	1.1
Slightly interested	3	1.7
Moderately interested	31	17.3
Very interested	71	39.7
Extremely interested	72	40.2

Furthermore, I asked several questions to clarify motivations and preferences regarding cultural learning. In terms of the acquisition channel of educational

information, invitations from friends and family were the most highly favored (46.6%) option in the questionnaire. The learning needs of family or friends ranked as a close second with a ratio of 46.1%, followed by job demands (40.4%) and other possibilities (33.1%). The most popular cultural and educational activity was arts performance, which received a support rate of 74.5%. The popularity of other options were ordered as follows: handicraft workshop (65.0%), exhibitions (40.0%), lecture or seminars (26.7%), parent-child campaigns (20.0%), and other options (18.9%). For most of the respondents (55.7%), educational information from the government could effectively reach them, and the use of posters and brochures as well as social networking (49.4% and 46.7%, respectively) were also effective ways to obtain educational information.

The replies of many local residents to the interviews also strongly supported the above results:

The information I receive is always from my relatives or friends. You see, this is a small village; almost everyone knows each other very well, and we often get together...I like singing – well, to join the crafts class is also attractive.
(Respondent LR08)

I seldom find posters or brochures on cultural programs or educational activities in the village, but if the government is going to hold some events and wants us join in, they will inform us by broadcasting or appointing members of the village committee to tell us directly. (Respondent LR09)

In the questionnaires and interviews, most of the inhabitants of Xijiang expressed a strong interest in joining cultural educational programs, but a majority admitted that they had limited opportunities or that external conditions prevented their engagement in such activities. Therefore, I walked around the village at both peak and off-peak times of the year (March, June, July, and December 2016) and visited local inhabitants of diverse occupations to generate a deep understanding of the catalysts for the problem.

I visited a famous local dining establishment that was also one of the oldest restaurants in the village. Despite its poor location, its business was succeeding, and many people were attracted by its positive reputation. Unlike in other restaurants in the village, the servers in this restaurant were busy throughout the year. After several months of communication, I became an intimate acquaintance of the servers. When asked about their interest in joining cultural-educational activities and their frequency

of participation in such activities, two young waitresses shared the following:

We have never heard that the schools or local authority organized any cultural or art activities for us. The schools may hold some activities, but their service objects are students – not us. But you can see that we are so busy in working hours; it is impossible for us to join those art programs unless they are held during my break time. It is also impossible for me to follow a long-term study at school or attend the activities for long periods. (Respondent LR04)

I agree with her; I didn't join any of the cultural activities that you mentioned, and I don't know how to join. We are so busy in peak season that we almost have no time to rest at work, and after 10 hours working, I feel very tired and just want to go back to sleep. Oh, there are cultural events or celebrations for some festivals, but we are also very busy at that time, and we can't leave to attend the activities. (Respondent LR05)

Apart from the two local young ladies, other migrants who were self-employed or employees of a guesthouse or local supermarket expressed similarly that they seldom joined in the educational activities, and cultural life in Xijiang was relatively scarce:

I feel very bored at the off-season; here at Xijiang, we don't have shopping mall or cinema or entertainment venues, like KTV or a stadium. There is no fun here, and the life is changeless... [Me: why you don't join some activities in the village?] I didn't know there were cultural activities! I know the Miao have various festivals or customs, but they attract many tourists, and we have no time to participate in the events. I really hope there will be more cultural activities or recreational facilities in the village, especially in the off-season, that can offer fun in our spare time. But, honestly, I don't like attending lectures. If there is some project that takes too much time, maybe I won't join. (Respondent LR13)

I may not stay here for a long time because I didn't learn too much here. I only learned some skills to deal with people while working here. The educational programs that you asked about – embarrassedly, I don't know about those projects, and I didn't attend any of them...yes, I have an interest in joining the cultural or educational programs, but I don't know how to join. (Respondent LR02)

I don't like to study [laughs], but if there will be some art performances or cultural activities, I'd love to know more details...The projects in which I may have interest? Well, maybe some handicraft workshop, like the embroidery workshop. I know you can find a few places that present this skill to tourists in the village, but I never go there. Other activities I have interest in are concerts or some interactive activities. (Respondent LR07)

From my observations (see Chapter 4), I indeed found several venues where locals performed Miao songs and dances or played Miao instruments in traditional costumes. One such venue was in the square at the gate of the village (Figure 5.1), while another was at the back of the performing venue (Figure 5.2). People also performed at the wind-rain bridge, and a smaller show square was under reconstruction. Moreover, an alley was constructed as a tourist attraction that displays Miao ICH (Figure 5.3). I also located a few old houses that were renovated as studios for spinning, embroidery (Figure 5.4), wax printing (Figure 5.5), and the creation of silver ornaments (Figure 5.6).



Figure 5.1. An Overture Plaza at the gate of Xijiang. August 17, 2016.



Figure 5.2. A Small Square where Miao Women Rehearsed for a New Year Party Dance Performance, Xijiang. August 17, 2016.



Figure 5.3. A Pedestrian Street with Miao Intangible Cultural Heritage, Xijiang.
August 17, 2016.



Figure 5.4. A Miao Spinning Workshop, Xijiang. August 17, 2016.



Figure 5.5. A Wax Printing Workshop, Xijiang. August 17, 2016.



Figure 5.6. A Silver-forging Technology Experience Studio, Xijiang. August 17, 2016.

Although there was seemingly no shortage of performance venues in Xijiang, the residents still perceived that opportunities to participate in the cultural and educational activities were rare. My observations reveal possible reasons:

1) The people who performed traditional Miao songs and dances and played

Miao instruments at the plaza in front of the village gate were paid by the government to perform at specific time of a day during the peak season or at the festival. The performers were usually older inhabitants who were retired or unemployed; thus, they had sufficient time to perform at the plaza. Young people and children rarely attended the events.

2) The workshops on the pedestrian street included a Miao ancient song hall, a

Miao ICH exhibition gallery, and a Chinese umbrella workshop. This street was reconstructed in 2015 and defined as a tourist attraction.

3) The Miao spinning workshop, embroidery workshop, wax printing workshop,

and Silver-forging Technology Experience Studio were mostly closed during the off-season, as there were few tourists. A local administrator and resident

interviewees further confirmed this insight.

To further explore the above issues, I also asked the senior officer (Respondent GO07) from the Town Cultural Bureau to collect responses from the government. His reply addressed some of the problems:

The government has invested money, manpower, and material sources in organizing some workshops, lectures, and other learning activities. For example, the government provides a certain space and calls someone to open and close the door everyday [guards in position]. People can freely access and sing Miao ancient song there. Sometimes we organized young men and women to sing love songs at the wind-and-rain bridge; this is the traditional way of being in love. Another example is that we have an embroidery association. We provide a certain amount of money to them to hold training workshops. Everyone can come to take the course in a one-to-one way. We also want to test the engagement of locals in these activities. We are still groping. But to tell the truth, the education is relatively centralized and meritocratic. The reasons are complicated. The arts activities and educational programs that we organized are open to the public for free, but we cannot force them to come. Regardless of the trainer or trainee, we cannot force them to dedicate their private time. The other reason is that the conditions are limited. We usually can offer service for 30 to 40 people in one workshop. We held training workshops for embroidery, Lusheng, and Miao song this year [2016]. We were selective at the beginning; for instance, we found a few people who are active in the village and like singing, and we then asked them to find other people who are highly motivated [to join the project]. We should allow people with enthusiasm to attend first – let them learn something from the training. It cannot reach our goal if the participants are just making the number. (Respondent GO07)

The officer statement was consistent with those of other government officials: although the government had invested a certain amount of money in Miao cultural education for residents and tourists, most officials argued that the capital input or infrastructural investment in Xijiang was insufficient. Several local government officials and scholars have mentioned that by comparison, the situation in some other village was even worse.

5.2.5 Contributions of non-governmental researchers and Miao ICH instruction to higher education

Beyond the local authorities, non-governmental individuals and groups have also expended efforts in educational development and Miao cultural inheritance. As Section 6.2.3 has mentioned, the professor as well as a painter (A03), who has studied Miao ICH for over a decade, was a pioneer in Miao cultural communication. Her initial motivation to study Miao culture was her attraction to the myths and legends of Miao ancient songs when she was collecting creative materials for her new paintings. The colorful history and gorgeous framing of the intriguing anecdotes prompted her to further investigate the culture of this ancient nation. “I’m not alone,” She explained;

she had become a principal member of a research society that is devoted to Miao cultural studies and the dissemination of Miao ICH. An expert in minority culture from the Minzu University of China set up the group by convening a dozen of professors from various universities as well as journalists, writers, painters, and craftsmen who were interested in Miao culture. The professor generated some research findings and explicated her efforts toward the promotion of Miao ICH:

I first accessed the Miao ancient songs in 2004. After three years of reading and study, I was deeply impressed by the amazing content of this epic of creation. It allowed me to realize that the origin of a nation's culture is about the integrity and diversity of Chinese culture. The way to promote Miao culture doesn't have to be literal only, so I got the new idea to visualize the Miao culture. I spent more than 10 years composing the strongly colored and meticulously styled painting series Miao Ancient Song, which based on my comprehension and collections of my fieldwork from 2006 to 2015. (Respondent A03)

In addition to the artistic creations, the professor (A03) also actively participated in academic activities that include the following: launching the official account “Miao Ancient Song – Prof. A03’s creative record” in May 2015; sharing her creation course in a program entitled “Wonderful Guizhou People” in May 2016; organizing a salon, “Miao Ancient Song,” that combined music performance and art exhibition in May

2016; taking part in the sharing session “Guizhou local customs and Chinese painting creation” that was held by Li Xiang, the Vice Chairman of the Chinese Art Association, in September 2016; 5) serving as a distinguished researcher for the Seminar for Government Officials; engaging in the “Historian enters Zhenfeng” project and working with local government to allocate the historical resources of the Miao and Buyi. Furthermore, she joined a Miao ICH research society whose members lived around the world. Therefore, the members communicated mainly through the Internet; however, when conditions have permitted, the society has irregularly organized some offline events and sharing sessions. According to the professor (A03), scholars and admirers of Miao culture who participated in these activities were motivated solely by their passion for this exotic culture. They were volunteers who received no payment; in fact, they sometimes they had to pay for the activities.

On the one hand, the professor (A03) was pleased to know that people were increasingly attracted to the events and educational programs that they organized, as it proved that their efforts were not in vain. Better yet, it developed a virtuous cycle in which the positive results and audience feedback of such educational activities further

encouraged she and other researchers. In return, the beneficiaries became a “bridge” to connect them with other people, who offered additional ways to promote Miao ICH. On the other hand, professor (A03) emphasized their limited power to fulfill the critical objectives of promoting Miao ICH, strengthening the input of basic educational facilities in rural areas, and enhancing minority cultural education in higher education:

The inheritance of Miao culture relies on the recognition of cultural identity by the Miao themselves. Because of the long-term acceptance of Han cultural education, most of the Miao students in college and universities cannot speak the Miao language. They know nothing about Miao ancient song. The youth from rural areas usually leave for work in cities when they grow up, and children who stay in the village have less interest in learning the traditional arts and skills. These [trends] may fractured the culture. My only hope is that the government will increase the investment of basic educational facilities in poverty-stricken areas and try to keep the young people in the village. It is possible for young people to sustain the culture; do not aggravate the phenomenon of a “hollow village.”¹¹ (Repondent A03)

Some other academic researchers have expressed a similar point of view.

Professor A04 from the Central Conservatory of Music, who is an expert in ethnomusicology, Chinese ethnic music, and arts management as well as a minority

¹¹ According to Liu et al. (2009b) and Sun et al. (2011), hollow village is a proper noun emerged in China in early 1990s with two outstanding features that the serious loss of land resources due to housing development and the significant decrease of the resident population because of the urbanization.

himself, was especially active in promoting minority arts education in colleges. His perspective differed from that of Professor A03, and he highlighted the advantages and disadvantages of including the minority culture education in higher education curricula:

As you see in our university, many colleges and universities in Beijing, or those in other major cities, the capital of every province has opened elective courses on minority cultural heritage to students or set up minority classes to attract minority students. These measures were mainly carried out in minority areas. There is an interesting phenomenon wherein the music education of ethnic minorities in China, the best mode of preservation, and the most effective inheritance [of minority culture] have relied on higher education. Take a few examples: after China's liberation, the Chinese Chin instrument would have disappeared without the support of the school's inheritance system because the civilian power is not strong enough. So, to a certain extent, the government intervention is good. Talking about the Chinese opera, I think many genres would die out without government funding. Another example is Mongolia Urtiin Duu, which is a typical model of inheriting ethnic cultural heritage in college education. But there a disadvantage coexistences with the advantage; the role of folk artists increasingly lost significance in the last decade, but the situation has improved over the last decade. (Repondent A04)

Professor A04 again proposed the standpoint of “mutation” and suggested that “going too far is as bad as not going far enough” (see Section 4.5) in inheriting ethnic music and culture in Mainland China. He believed the teaching of ethnic music was undergoing a mutation process that was reflected in the curriculum design and

pedagogics:

I'd love to show you two cases. One is the Mongolia Urtiin Duu. Before its teaching pattern returned to the apprenticeship tradition, the schools adopted piano to assist teaching, which completely transformed the musical temperament. Another example is the Uyghur Muqam of Xinjiang which with a strong Arabic color, but the way of its inheritance has also been changed in school teaching. We know that the musical notation for each ethnic music is different, however, their unique flavors can't be expressed as the numerical system and stave of notation is now in almost universal use in teaching ethnic music in all schools. (Repondent A03)

Based on Professor A04's view, the gradual change was normal, but the mutation was abnormal. He believed that the Western teaching methods that academics praised were not completely suitable for Chinese folk arts and music teaching; however, professional arts and music colleges undeniably contributed to passing down minority culture, and, in a positive trend, some specialized institutes and universities started to reformulate the teaching contents and methods to align with the traditional means of inheriting folk arts and music.

5.2.6 Museum education in Xijiang

Since museums prioritize education and learning (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007), the role of the Xijiang Museum in local community education warrants attention. Table

5.5 presents visiting experiences of the Xijiang Museum that were reported by local inhabitants. As the table indicates, most respondents (82.6%) expressed a positive overall perception that they enjoyed or very much enjoyed visiting the museum. In addition, the visit motivated most of them (82.4%) to learn about Miao culture during the visit, and the majority (83.8%) believed that the local museum also stimulates this interest among tourists. Although a majority of repliers (62.9%) also agreed or strongly agreed that the local museum offers various activities, the number of exhibitions seemed to be unsatisfying. A total of 84.1% of respondents believed that the program quantity needed to be increased, while only a few people (15.9%) reported no opinion on this matter or somewhat objected to adding more activities, including exhibitions, to the local museum.

Table 5.5. Crosstab: Evaluations from Local Residents of Experiences with Visiting the Xijiang Museum

		You enjoy the museum visit very much				Total
		Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree	
The local museum motivated you to learn more about Miao ICH	Somewhat disagree	1	0	0	0	1
	Neutral	0	15	14	1	30

	Somewhat agree	1	7	37	16	61
	Strongly agree	0	0	9	75	84
Total		2	22	60	92	176

- Numbers in the table refer to the amount of respondents who chose the corresponding options.

In response to the questions of inhabitants regarding why the exhibitions were rarely updated, a director of the Xijiang Museum provided the following explanation:

We have been collecting Miao exhibitions of, for example, beautiful costumes, dedicated handicrafts, and traditional instruments, but due to the limited space, we can't display all of our collections. The primary audience is tourists, so we need to consider their preferences. Our mission is to present the cultural characteristics of the Miao to the public, so we try to demonstrate the most representative works. (Respondent GO08)

He further revealed strategies that developmentally prioritize the family museum:

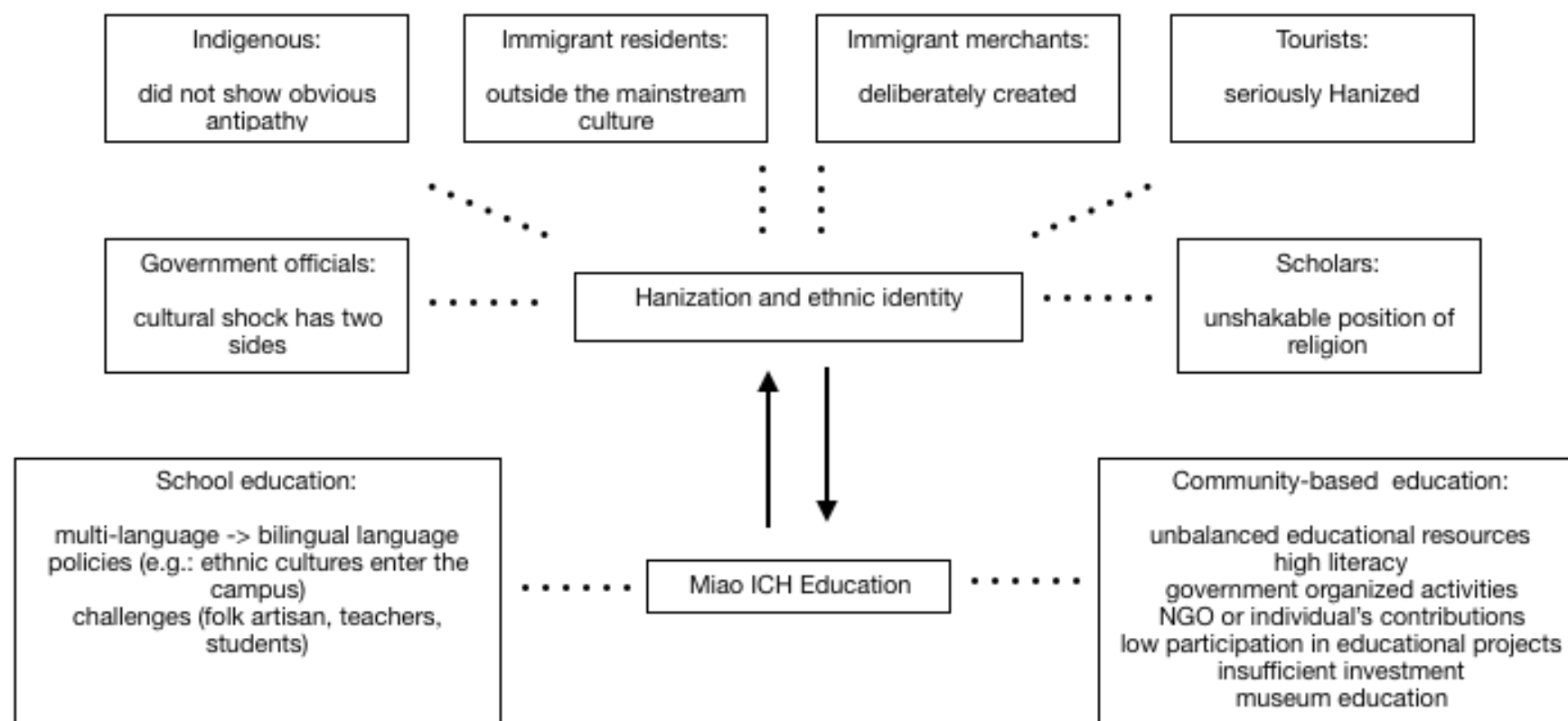
What you said is right – that we should also make the local residents a target audience. Owing to the limited budget, we are unable to, but a large number of exhibitions and some precious collections are family heirlooms, so the villagers refuse to sell them to us. Therefore, we are trying to persuade the families who have relatively more collections or whose houses look very special to open their houses to the public. We will give them some subsidies in return. Now we have two family museums. I think it is a very good thing that, on the one hand, the family is proud of their house; they gain a deeper understanding of their treasures and the history. On the other hand, they can also acquire a certain amount of income by attracting more tourists. It's a win-win result. (Respondent

GO08)

In general, local Xijiang inhabitants rarely visited the local museum although it had been opened for nearly 10 years. The unchanging exhibitions reduced the positive impact of the experience among locals, but most of them acknowledged the educational significance of museum and its benefit of instilling learning desire in both locals and tourists. Moreover, a majority of the locals expressed the high expectation that the coming programs and exhibitions of the local museum might provide them with more recreational choices in their spare time. In fact, the management of Xijiang Museum, planning and production of exhibitions were still have plenty of room for improvement.

5.3 Summary

Figure 5.7. Chapter 5 Conceptual Map



This chapter has focused on the issues of school and community-based education about Miao ICH in Xijiang. In the context of globalization and modernization, Han culture has rapidly spread to minority areas, including Xijiang. In addition, the development of cultural tourism in Xijiang has accelerated the integration of Han and Miao culture. Since the government recognized Han culture or the curriculum of Han schooling as more effective, “advanced,” and “practically useful,” it directly affects the curriculum design and teaching content of schools. Moreover, it could lower the interest of community members in learning about Miao culture.

Accordingly, the chapter has also highlighted Hanization in Xijiang. The opinions on this matter were varied among community groups. Most of the Miao interviewees acknowledged the reality of Hanization but they exhibited little antipathy. Interestingly, comments from immigrant informants were more critical: a few immigrant residents indicated that they were excluded from the mainstream culture despite having physically adapted to local way of life, and some immigrants who conducted local business remarked that they were rarely active in learning about Miao

culture. They maintained their living habits, and some of the tourism products that they sold were counterfeit Miao specialties. With respect to this issue, the government officials from local authorities believed that the culture shock was two-sided. On the one hand, it decreased religiousness and holiness; on the other hand, the entry of other cultures forced them to learn new and advanced insights.

To maintain cultural diversity in minority areas, the government implemented measures such as having ethnic cultures enter the campuses. However, such efforts were poor in effect, and other problems and challenges have confronted Miao ICH education in Xijiang schools. The use of a multilinguistic (i.e. Miao, Mandarin, and English) teaching model shifted to a bilingual (i.e. Mandarin and English) model. Although a few teachers insisted on explaining the teaching content in Miao, some worried that this practice would not be sustained much longer, and future students would have fewer opportunities to learn the Miao language and text in schools. In recent years, the government has emphasized ICH; in order to respond to the policies, Xijiang schools set up once- or twice-weekly ethnic cultural classes and daily “Big Break Activities Between Classes,” which offer students Miao ICH-related teaching

content. Most of my informants agreed that these offerings were a positive development; however, because academic pressure was high and Miao ICH education was not part of the qualification assessment for teachers and students, schools assigned low priority to Miao ICH education, and teachers and students were less active in learning. Moreover, many young people expressed a strong will to study or send their children to study out of town in larger cities.

In terms of community-based Miao ICH education, a serious relevant concern was the high illiteracy rate, particularly older people, who have a low ability to learn. The answers of local Xijiang residents indicate that only half of them had received academic instruction about Miao culture from local educational institutes, which most assessed as inadequate. For the majority of respondents, the most effective way to obtain educational information was through shared knowledge from family and friends; communication within the community was reportedly the most effective channel, and artistic performance was the most popular cultural and education activity among locals. Moreover, most of them agreed that they enjoyed the viewing experiences of the local museum, and were somewhat motivated to learn about Miao

ICH. They also believed that it was helpful to motivate tourists to learn about Miao culture. However, they complained that the exhibition content has rarely been updated. In general, the locals exhibited heavy interest in learning about Miao ICH; however, they perceived few chances to join in these activities, as they were preoccupied with work, and the events were limited in their seating. Beyond the government-organized educational programs, the contributions of non-governmental organizations and individuals were more significant.

Chapter 6

Findings on Promoting and Consuming Intangible Cultural Heritage in Xijiang

The findings in last two chapters focus mainly on the management of two important aspects of cultural sustainability of Xijiang: arts and education. However, based on the literature review in Chapter 2 and the data in Chapters 4 and 5, Xijiang underwent a period of industrial transformation that shifted the focus from agriculture to tourism, and cultural tourism consequently became a key driver of economic development in Xijiang. Hence, most of the cultural activities in Chapter 4, including the daily song and dance performance, were produced to attract tourists. Tourism has also affected the local curriculum designs of both schools and community education initiatives. Moreover, the government's policy-making for protecting and promoting Miao ICH, which directly affects the cultural sustainability of Xijiang, correlated strongly with the development of local cultural tourism. Therefore, when discussing the sustainability of Miao ICH in Xijiang, it is not sufficient to consider only concerns about the management of Miao ICH and education.

This chapter emphasizes the promotion and consumption of Miao ICH to provide insight into governmental actions and policies for Miao ICH conservation within Xijiang's tourism development process. It also clarifies the government's involvement in promoting and guiding the consumption of Miao ICH in Xijiang as well as the appeals and expectations of local residents, who were the most immediate stakeholders and engaged extensively in the production and consumption processes of cultural tourism.

Data in this chapter derive from the questionnaire survey and qualitative research results, including those of observations, semi-structured interviews, and documentary analysis. The chapter analyzes the results of 186 valid questionnaires plus data from the interviews and secondary sources (e.g. government documents and policies). To ensure trustworthiness of this research and obtain reliable and comprehensive information, participants of different identities (i.e. local inhabitants, government officials, culturally related practitioners, and scholars) were invited to participate in the research by sharing their interrelated perspectives.

6.1 Dramatic Changes in Xijiang from the Era of Scenic Tourism to All-for-one Tourism

For ages, Guizhou province has been considered an “economically backward” province. Because of geographical conditions, the situation in minority-dominated areas is even worse. Villages in such regions usually have a low level of industrialization, and the people who live there subsist mainly on agriculture. In the late 1980s, cultural tourism was designated as an important sector to support the socialist market economy, and the significance of tourism has since grown exponentially. To Xijiang society, the market and economic structure have undergone a massive change since 2008 whereby the traditional agricultural economy has been gradually replaced by modern tourism. Although many villagers still engaged in agricultural work, the main source of income was money from tourism. The number of visitors to Xijiang Miao Village increased from 7.73 million in 2008 to 75 million in 2017, between which years the revenue of the tourism sector illustrated a tenfold increase from 100 million Chinese Yuan to 6.4 billion Chinese Yuan.

Indeed, changes in Xijiang over the past decade have been breathtaking, especially those which took place after the Conference on Tourism Development in Guizhou was successfully held in Xijiang in 2008. Since then, the Guizhou government has vigorously promoted the development of Xijiang by investing significant capital and implementing supportive policies.

6.1.1 The Third Conference on Tourism Development in Guizhou

To hasten the development of local tourism and promote tourism as the pillar industry in the regions that ethnic groups inhabit, the Guizhou provincial government decided to facilitate the organization of an annual conference on tourism development (the GZTD) in 2006, which cities and prefectures in Guizhou alternately host. The GZTD conference had been successfully held on 12 occasions by the end of 2017. The Guizhou provincial government identified the GZTD conference as an important platform for assisting economic and social development in Guizhou, as it integrated resources and encouraged collaboration as well as exchanges of knowledge and experience among members and participants. The conference objectives included

improvement to the service quality and facilities of scenic areas and maintenance of adequate environmental conditions, which supported the ultimate goal of enhancing the images and influences of such exotic destinations to achieve more rapid development (Research Panel of Guizhou Provincial Government Office, 2009).

Xijiang was the host city of the third GZTD conference in 2008. The media extensively reported on the event, and almost all channels highly appraised the impacts of this conference:

The millennium ancient village Xijiang, which relies on the platform of the third tourism development conference in 2008, has become a 4A¹² scenic spot. Since then, the Miao village has become a visitor hotspot with growing fame.

The conference has broadened the elements of brand appeal [i.e. a love for the Miao and Dong villages, the beauty of southeast Guizhou]...it followed a human-oriented, sustained path of tourism development that is based on Guizhou's realities and drew from the experiences and lessons of other pioneers, which has helped Guizhou achieve a leap in development.

-- Guizhou Daily (July 8th, 2015)

¹² 4A refers to AAAA Tourist Attraction. More details can be found in Tourist Attraction Rating Categories of People's Republic of China. Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20120514181937/http://www.cnta.gov.cn:8000/Forms/TravelCatalog/TravelCatalogList.aspx?catalogType=view&resultType=4A>.

It is a secret weapon to speed up Guizhou's tourism development...the substantial improvement in infrastructure construction is a great gift that the conference gives to the host site.

-- Dang Dai Guizhou (Mo, September 23rd, 2009)

This conference was slightly promoted by the local government to support basic infrastructural efforts, such as the development of the highway to the town, the construction or retrofitting of hotels and guesthouses, the expansion of parking areas, and the building of museums, performance venues, and other community service facilities. Thus, substantial changes have taken place in this ancient village due to the booming tourism industry. Several interviewees from the government sector mentioned this conference and provided various positive evaluations:

Precisely, the completed changes came to Xijiang with the successful GZTD conference in 2008. The government invested massive amounts of money and resources in Xijiang. Don't underestimate the impact of this conference. It is true that many changes have been taken place in these years, and the contributions of the conference cannot go unnoticed, in my personal opinion. (Respondents GO1)

The changes in Xijiang in recent years have been amazing, especially in 2008. The number of visitors has increased exponentially. The local's living standards have also improved dramatically. The GZTD conference generated extensive media coverage and a great deal of business investments for Xijiang. (Respondents GO2)

It is a common phenomenon that the government is full of enthusiasm for holding various conferences, but a huge amount of funds can certainly be input for the preparation of conferences. In this way, it may be beneficial to the host city. More appreciation by superior authorities translates to more investment of resources. For Xijiang's local authority at that time, successfully organising the GZTD conference was the primary matter that might change the present situation of Xijiang's tourism industry. They received money and preferential policies from the central and provincial government, which allowed the local authorities to boldly drive the economy forward. (Respondents GO3)

One interviewee, who worked for the Tourism Administration of Guizhou Province, provided documentation that extended back for several years. One of the government reports was a survey about Xijiang's tourism development from September 26, 2008 to October 9, 2009. The report, which was developed one year after the third GZTD conference, stated the following:

Tourism infrastructure has been continuously adjusted and improved; the tourism and commerce investment environment have been optimized. Leishan government¹³ invested 80 million Yuan before the conference; twenty-six infrastructure projects were completed, supporting facilities, such as car parking, museum, venues for singing and dancing performances, souvenir shopping street and wind-rain bridge¹⁴ were constructed. Other 15 reconstruction projects including market, gate of the village and safety fence were completed in

¹³ Xijiang and Leishan are subordinate relationship; the xijiang government is under the jurisdiction of Leishan government.

¹⁴ Wind-Rain Bridge is the architectural symbol of the Dong. Dong is the second-biggest minority group in southeast Guizhou.

succession after the conference. In addition, the government introduced “interim provisions for Xijiang’s rural tourism”, which aims to enhance government’s administration and service quality, to strengthen the supervision of catering service, commercial production and operating activities and the construction of cultural heritage;

... both the number of local and foreign investors and the amount of investments have grown rapidly. Businessmen engaged in the industries of catering, lodging, aquaculture and silver jewelry increased to from 184 from 65. A group of young people who went out for work returned to start their own business. At present (year 2009), there are more than 80 merchants from Yunnan, Hunan, Sichuan, Guiyang and so forth brought 17 commercial projects to Xijiang for trade negotiation with a prospective investment of 130 million Yuan.

... the development of tourism improved the quality and annual revenue of villagers. Villagers’ environmental awareness and service awareness have improved during the development progress, villagers’ income has soared with a growth ratio of 77.8% from 1800 to 3200 Yuan on average.

... it has obviously driven up the development of other industries. After the conference, the tourists’ structure has been changed along with the increased popularity of Xijiang, the hospitality volume and the number of foreign tourists grew significantly. The rapid increased number of tourists not only directly leads to a respectable income from tourism, but also stimulated the development of other industries such as hospitality industry and planting industry; for instance, the tax revenues of site turned over 17 times from around 100 thousand Yuan in the past to 1.74 million Yuan in Jan, 2009.

According to the data and cases in this report, the ecological and economic environment of Xijiang reflects enormous improvement since 2008, including a

higher quality of life among villagers. From the perspective of economic development, the third GZTD conference was a turning point in Xijiang, which presents major differences pre- versus and post-2008.

Photographs (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2) that were taken in 2006 accurately reflect the memorable image of Xijiang during the initial period of the 21st century. I still remember the views I observed when I first visited Xijiang as a traveler. There were only two main streets in the village: one runs alongside the river, while the other one connects to the small central plaza. Other routes included winding paths up the mountain, where houses were built along the hillside. Most of the people lived in the mountain at the western side of the river, and only few houses were built on the opposite side. Almost no hotels or guesthouses operated in the village at the time; thus, my family and I stayed with local residents whose family had lived there for centuries. To solve a dietary problem at the site, we bought our main ingredients from the rural market and asked the property owner to cook for us, as we could find only few restaurants in the village. Because the timbered houses had low circuit capacity, air conditioning and heating systems could not be used. Therefore, people still warmed

themselves in traditional ways, such as by burning coal. Few tourists and non-local merchants lived in Xijiang at that time in view of its low visibility and inconvenient transportation.

The photographs in Figures 6.3 through 6.7 comparatively highlight significant changes in the landscape of Xijiang. The images were captured at the same or different locations in 2010 and 2016, respectively. The residential zone has clearly expanded; roads were repaired and widened, and more houses were built, especially in areas that were previously sparsely populated. The photographs also indicate an increase in people. As a result of the tourism development, the main streets in Xijiang have become full of souvenir shops and are crowded most of the time, especially during holidays. Overall, the photographs record the changes in Xijiang in the past years, which are somewhat consistent with the description in the survey report by the inspection team of the superior government.



Figure 6.1. Photograph of Xijiang in 2006: fewer mountainside houses. May 1, 2006.



Figure 6.2. Photograph of Xijiang in 2006: a shop on the street. May 1, 2006.



Figure 6.3. Photograph of Xijiang in 2006 from the View Deck: the publicly accessible village before the construction of the central square. May 1, 2006.



Figure 6.4. Photograph of Xijiang in 2010 from the view deck: the central square after it was repaired and opened to the public. July 23, 2010.



Figure 6.5. Photograph of Xijiang in 2016 from the View Deck: more houses were built, and the central square was walled and reconstructed as a performance venue for the daily song and dance show. December 18, 2016.



Figure 6.6. Photograph of Xijiang in 2016: more houses were built on the opposite side of the mountain. Aug 23, 2016.



Figure 6.7. Photograph of Xijiang in 2010: shops on the street. July 23, 2010.

The travel experiences of Prof. Cang, the Dean of History and Culture College at the Minzu University of China, revealed the views of some tourists. He shared the following insights with a journalist from the Guizhou national newspaper in 2017:

From my own experiences, I have been to Xijiang several times, and two of them were the most memorable to me. First, in the 1990s, there was no tourism in Xijiang. What I felt about this village was that it developed very slowly. In terms of transportation, as the American anthropologist Louisa has said, it took two hours from Xijiang to Kaili.¹⁵ The creaky bus was very crowded and jolted along the rough road. Besides the traffic problem, you would find that the village was too quiet and lifeless when you arrive Xijiang. People who

¹⁵ Kaili is the capital city of Qiandongnan Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture, where is almost 2.5h driving from Guiyang, the provincial capital of Guizhou province.

lived there were mostly the elderly and young children because most young adults were left for work. The state ethnic affairs commission entrusted me with writing a book, and I had the chance to visit Xijiang again in 2015. I felt that Xijiang has changed a lot. The expressway goes directly to the village. Its high popularity impressed me the most; tourists and shops could be found everywhere. In addition, I found that the colorful Miao culture that was hidden in historical documents was in front of me: Miao song performances, dressing shows, long table banquets, and so forth can be seen everywhere. The Miao village was alive with fresh vitality. I saw, so to speak, completely different sides of Xijiang in these two trips.

Two of my interviewees, who had visited Xijiang more than twice and witnessed its diverse features in different periods, acknowledged a variety of instances of more convenient life in Xijiang. However, they also complained that the village has become seriously artificial, especially since it started to charge an admission fee:

It has become very convenient for us to drive here. The village looks so busy nowadays – much more alive than we what we saw last time. We can see the life here has become much better over the past years; we now can enjoy complete infrastructure, such as a public lavatory, air conditioner, free Wi-Fi, and other basic facilities that did not exist in the old days...but we do not feel as joyful as last time, which may because of the obvious marks of artificial transformation. The increasing greenery makes the village more beautiful, but [with] the paved cement road, the battery cars...and so forth, the village looks too modern – just like any other ancient town – and it's hard to accept that we should pay for the visit. If we want to watch the performance, we need to pay more! (Respondents DT1)

What's delightful about it is that we can live in the well-designed and fully

equipped guesthouse. The village seems to have expanded substantial compared to before; the streets are no longer lonely or quiet but lively and noisy. The village has transformed a lot, not only because they have built too many new houses but also because of other modernized elements that we found in the village, such as the gorgeous lighting, the performances with sound amplifying equipment – to tell the truth, I think it is too noisy. I prefer the quiet and peaceful village, but it looks very backward and poor...by the way, I think it is not reasonable to charge an admission fee. Xijiang is a village; it should be open, not enclosed by a gate. (Respondents DT2)

6.1.2 All-for-one tourism

Some respondents, who were scholars and government officials working for the Tourism Administration of Guizhou Province and the Xijiang town government, respectively, consistently mentioned the concept of "all-for-one tourism" in their the interviews. They were optimistic about the long-term prospects of this political strategy, which was newly adopted in Xijiang.

In some literature, all-for-one tourism translates into comprehensive tourism. It first gained attention after the director of the China National Tourism Bureau proposed this idea for the first time at the National Tourism Working Conference in January 2016 (Shi, 2016, February 2). He explained that present-day tourism in China

was shifting from the unitary “scenic tourism mode” to the gradually diversified “all-for-one mode.”

In the director’s governmental work report (2016), “from scenic spots to the all-for-one tourism, it enters a new stage of the tourism development in the 13th Five-Year Plan period (2016-2020).” The all-for-one tourism mode was defined as a model that promotes tourism as the dominant industry in a certain area in order to accomplish the tasks of resource conformity, industrial convergence, and communal building as well as share and promote tourism resources (e.g. cultural heritage, ecological environment, public service, laws and regulations, and civilization quality) through comprehensive and systematic optimization with the ultimate goal of achieving coordinated development of the regional economy (Shi, 2016, February 2).

All-for-one tourism emphasizes resource integration and civil participation, which indicates that the challenge is to consider sites beyond the scenic spots to implement fresh strategies in entire villages, towns, and even cities. All-for-one tourism involves eight facets – total factor, industry-wide, overall process, entire space-time, omnibearing service, society, sector-wide, and tourist (see Figure 6.8) – that aim to

overcome time and space limitations and improve the quality of the tour experience (Li et al., 2013). The focus of all-for-one tourism is to strengthen the connection between residents and tourists in order to make the destination feel like a real home to both residents and tourists and avoid creating a “theme park” that forces residents to become performers (Chen & Ye, 2009; Li et al, 2013).

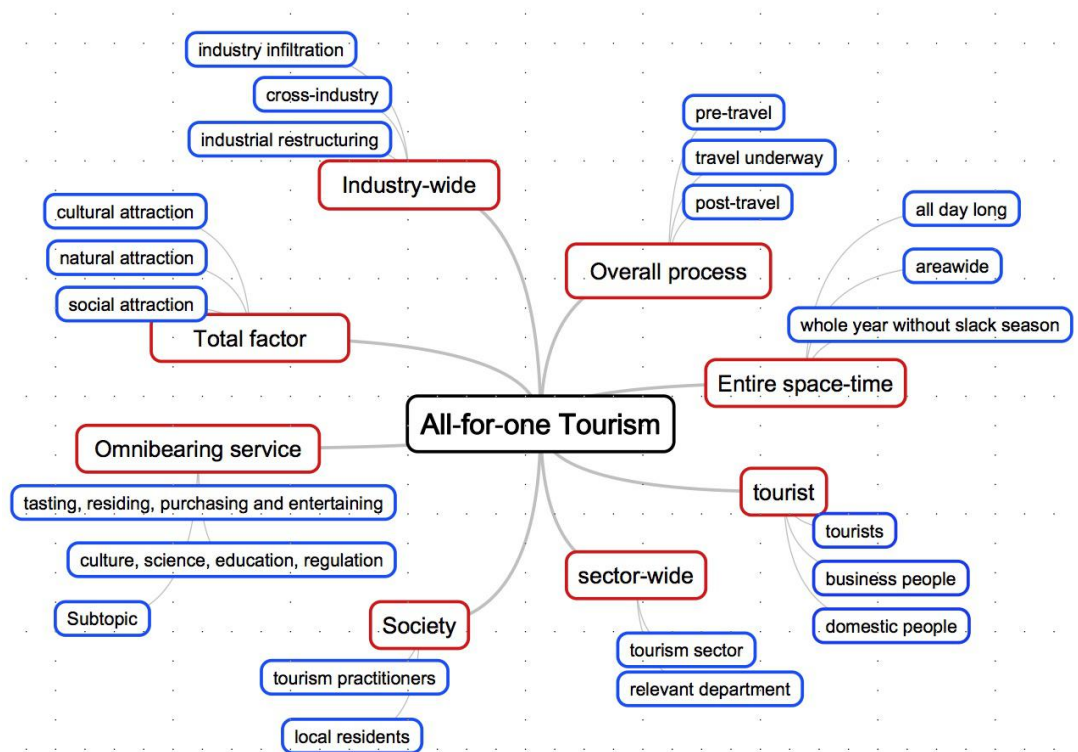


Figure 6.8. The Eight Facets of All-for-one Tourism

Sources: Li et al. (2013). Comprehensive Tourism: Idea Innovation on Building a World-class Tourism Destination. *Human Geography*, 28(3), 130-134.

Guizhou was one of the first provinces to respond to the policy, which intended to

implement the “tourism +” multi-industry integration model. The model was identified as a demonstrative basis for national all-for-one tourism alongside other six provinces; this recognition indicates that the government endorsed attempts in Guizhou and, accordingly, the development concept and management strategy.

According to interviewees who worked in the Tourism Administration of Guizhou Province and the Guizhou Provincial People's Government, Guizhou started vigorous, province-wide promotion of all-for-one tourism once the idea was introduced in 2016. To this end, it adopted the “Six ALL” strategies (*liu quan linian*): panoramic creation, full season experience, industry-wide development, full service, entire society participation, and regional management.

The tourism products are no longer uniform. The tourists do not just maintain the demand for basic functions, such as food, housing, and transportation, but pursue more spiritual enjoyment and the complete experience of the whole journey. The all-for-one tourism is trying to enhance the diversity of the tourism products, including the cultural products, such as folk songs and dances, traditional costumes, festivals, and so forth. (Respondent GO03)

To promote the strategy of all-for-one tourism, we emphasize not just the expansion of scenic areas but also the integration of different resources, including cultural resources and ecological resources, to drive the development of whole regions. This is a good move, I think, although there is still much room

for improvement. (Respondent GO04)

On the governmental side, the implementation of all-for-one tourism was a breakthrough for economic restructuring. It motivated the government and society to pay attention to the conservation of ecology and culture; subsequently, both material and political support was invested to assist the development. In terms of education, minority culture will account for an increasing proportion of teaching content.

6.2 The practices of Miao intangible cultural heritage conservation

According to Girard and Nijkamp (2009), tourism and culture have become the predominant attractive forces and strategies for economic growth, and cultural tourism as part of the modern economy is on the rise. However, the cultural tourism sector contends with the challenge of striking a balance between tourism and cultural heritage management – and, more specifically, between “the consumption of extrinsic values by tourists and conservation of the intrinsic values by cultural heritage manager” (McKercher & du Cros, 2002, p.9). The focus of this issue is not only the cultural heritage community but also the tourism community (McKercher & du Cros,

2002). Apparently, maintaining such balance and ensuring sustainability through ICH conservation in the development process is an important challenge to address, including in the context of Xijiang.

According to my interviewees, the process of Xijiang's development regarded the ICH of the Miao minority as not only a key, revenue-generating tourism attraction but also a vital factor in securing sustainable development of the community. The protection and promotion of Miao ICH has become increasingly important in the development strategies of all-for-one tourism.

Some of my participants, who were government officials for the Tourism Administration of Guizhou Province and Education Bureau, perceived that both tangible and ICH conservation were primary considerations in developing Xijiang and ensuring the cultural sustainability of the Miao – and, hence, achieving the goal of regional sustainable development:

The basis for developing tourism in Guizhou is the rich cultural resources that we have. We vigorously develop cultural tourism because we attach great importance to preserving the cultural heritage. In the case of development, we actually pay more attention to cultural protection. [We] develop the economy

on the basis of cultural protection. (Respondent GO02)

It is very common that some inevitable problems arise with the development process of tourism because tourism brings a large number of tourists to the destination, which causes damage to local ecology and culture. In order to provide a good experience for tourists, the government has improved the basic infrastructure – for example, the highways and hotels – But it could damage the ecological environment and has severely impacted the local cultures. Thus, before we can start development, we need to weigh the advantages and disadvantages – and, of course, under the premise of protecting the culture and ecology. (Respondent GO03)

The cultural activities that we organized were mainly applied to promote our Miao culture. Now, we have 13 art forms in the list of national intangible cultural heritage. You can find all of them in our scenic spot. We have organized different kinds of cultural activities according to seasonal changes, and we are encouraged to build more private museums to better promote Miao culture. (Respondent GO04)

A senior officer from the Tourism Administration of Guizhou (GO02), added that they had to request suggestions from the Guizhou Cultural Bureau and the Education Bureau before implementing specific policies. On occasion, they even had to convene multiple parties to collaborate on the implementation of an important programs or policy. Another department, the Cultural Heritage Office in the Tourism Administration of Guizhou, was responsible for the management of cultural heritage, including the discovery, preservation, and promotion of Miao ICH.

The government officials shared similar ideas with me. First, they recognized that the traditions in the village remained, and the culture was well preserved as a result of the relatively closed traffic conditions and previously backward economy. Therefore, the Xijiang could become a well-known tourism destination depending on their utilization of rich and original historic cultural resources. Furthermore, most of the government officials emphasized that authorities have engaged in many efforts toward minority culture conservation, and they carefully use minority cultural resources, including by packing and improving the cultural products on the basis of non-destructive cultural elements. They opined that the villagers in Xijiang would understand the importance of cultural conservation once they realized the considerable economic benefits of cultural heritage.

Evidently, certain statements from the official (GO02) overlapped with the following views of other informants who worked in the government:

- 1) A sequence of tourism development activities was based on the premise of cultural protection. The development planning was also founded on the

protective principals of the ecological environment and historic cultural heritage.

- 2) An effective protection for ICH was the generation of economic development in Xijiang, and the rich Miao ICH provided a constant supply of nourishment for Xijiang's tourism development. Since all-for-one tourism was considered a key overall strategy of national economic development, the awareness of all-for-one tourism increased, which led directly to cooperation between tourism and culturally related organizations as well as closer collaboration between departments.
- 3) At present, both the conservation of Miao ICH and the development of Xijiang's economy are the primary tasks. However, the latter inevitably damages culture heritage. To provide modern facilities to tourists while minimizing the negative effects of tourism on Xijiang's cultural heritage, the provincial government devised a long-term development plan for Xijiang that firstly involved formulating the design flow for the construction of a

tourism complex within a large tourism and leisure resort district nearby the Xijiang village.

- 4) The local authorities increased funds to cultural ambassadors and cultural activities each year. They also attempted to encourage the most active villagers to join protective and promotional activities for Miao ICH by providing them with more financial and educational support.

In short, for most of my informants from government departments, the rapid development of tourism in Xijiang has relied on primitive folklore resources, which suggests that the preservation of Miao ICH in Xijiang has been productive. They reported being highly active in protecting Miao ICH and encouraging villagers to join in cultural preservation activities. In the absence of an investigation, most of my government respondents theorized that villagers would pay increasing attention to Miao ICH preservation because cultural tourism development would raise their income.

However, according to my data, the actual reactions of local Xijiang residents to

Miao ICH conservation were contrary to the expectation of government officials. To gauge knowledge of Miao ICH, the questionnaire provided 12 Miao cultural forms that have been designated as national ICH and asked respondents to identify them. The result was unsatisfactory; only 46.7% of the respondents selected all of the correct answers, which implies that a large proportion of residents in Xijiang have an incomplete understanding of Miao ICH (see Table 6.1). Most respondents based their judgments of Miao ICH on their life experiences (43.2%), their academic knowledge (30.6%), government propaganda (21%), and other reasons (14.6%). These figures indicate subpar progress in government promotion of ICH and minimal achievement of educational institutes in Xijiang in promoting Miao ICH (see Table 6.2). The locals' readings of Miao ICH drew from their own justifications based on social experiences.

Table 6.1. Recognition of Miao Intangible Cultural Heritage

National Miao ICH	The construction process of the Xijiang Diaojiao building	The Guzang Festival	Nongx Niangx (Miao New Year)	Lusheng craftsmanship	Miao embroidery	Miao brocade	Miao silver-forging technology	Lusheng dance	Bronze drum dance	Miao songs	Traditional Miao medicine	All of the above
Frequency	26	33	46	37	18	55	37	36	54	40	59	86
Percentage	14.1	17.9	25.0	20.1	9.8	29.9	20.2	19.6	29.3	21.7	32.1	46.7
Mean	.87	.82	.75	.80	.90	.70	.80	.80	.71	.78	.68	.53
Std. Deviation	.383	.385	.434	.402	.298	.459	.403	.398	.457	.414	.468	.500



Table 6.2. Bases for judgments of Miao Intangible Cultural Heritage

Judgment of Miao ICH ^a	Life experiences	Academic knowledge	Government propaganda	Other
Frequency	79	57	39	27
Percentage	43.2	30.6	21	14.6
Mean	.57	.31	.21	.15

The results in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 illustrate that respondents generally indicated that ICH conservation was important: over 70% believed that it was extremely important to protect cultural heritage, and none of them denied the importance of ICH preservation. Furthermore, 88% regarded Miao cultural preservation as their duty. Among the respondents, over 50% expressed an interest in acting to protect Miao ICH, and a few shared no interest (1.1%) or little interest (0.5%) in joining cultural conservation activities. A small proportion of respondents (14.2%) had never promoted Miao ICH to tourists, and 12% had never even thought to do so. Even though many of residents agreed with the importance of protecting Miao ICH and admitted their responsibility to promote Miao culture, these responses do not guarantee subsequent actions. Notably, two respondents, who had no interest at all in joining any cultural conservation activities, described ICH conservation as extremely

important, and 19 respondents (11.7%) regarded the protection of Miao culture as their duty but had never considered promoting their cultural heritage to outsiders. The next chapter discusses possible reasons for these cases.

Table 6.3. Crosstab: Importance of ICH Conservation and Interest in Participation in ICH Conservation Activities

		Interest in participating in any act to conserve ICH ^a					Total
		Not at all interested	Slightly interested	Moderately interested	Very interested	Extremely interested	
Importance of ICH ^a protection	Slightly important	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Neutral	0	0	5	1	0	6
	Moderately important	0	0	9	15	10	34
	Extremely important	2	0	9	42	89	142
Total		2	1	23	58	99	180

^aICH = Intangible Cultural Heritage

Table 6.4. Crosstab: Dense of Duty to Support Miao Intangible Cultural Heritage and Promotional activities

		Have you ever promoted Miao ICH ^a to tourists?			Total
		Yes	No, but considered	No, and not considered	
Do you think it is your duty to promote	Yes	143	0	19	162
Miao ICH ^a to tourists?	No	15	4	3	22
Total		158	4	22	184

^aICH = Intangible Cultural Heritage

The investigation of the villagers revealed that local residents of Xijiang possessed poor knowledge of ICH, and many informants did not know the definition or evaluation criteria of ICH. For some villagers, Miao ICH encompassed ordinary objects that frequently appeared in daily life or activities in which they had to participate. They were rarely active in learning about Miao history and culture or thinking about the artistic and aesthetic values of Miao ICH. In addition, since their access to information was relatively minimal, they seldom obtained external culturally related information, and they largely disregarded cultural protection activities unless the village committee forced their participation.

6.3 Poverty alleviation and resident evaluations of tourism in Xijiang

The previous sections have provided convincing evidence that cultural tourism was an impetus for fostering economic growth in Xijiang. The enthusiasm of local authorities to develop cultural tourism has peaked in recent years, and such attention and support from the government has in turn accelerated the development of Xijiang's tourism industry. According to my government informants, the reason for this government action was obvious: the government was experiencing immense pressure to alleviate poverty.

With its strong government backing, the cultural tourism industry in Xijiang has made considerable progress, and the sale of Miao ICH products undoubtedly occupies the most important role in tourism consumption in Xijiang. Since Miao ICH is attractive and has often served as a means by which outsiders can access the underlying spirituality of Miao, principles and policies have been formulated to support the promotion and consumption of Miao ICH with the ultimate goal of eliminating poverty.

To further examine the expectations of Xijiang residents regarding local tourism and the perspective of Miao ICH as an “attraction,” related questions were attached to the questionnaire, and the residents were orally asked to share their attitudes toward tourism development in Xijiang. In sharp contrast with government officials, a few of the residents communicated strong disagreement with the perceived overdevelopment of cultural tourism.

In this section, the data mainly concern the driving force of the poverty alleviation program, which influenced government decision-making about cultural tourism and Miao ICH conservation. They also relate to the responses of local residents regarding the development of tourism as a core industry, which revealed the attitudes of inhabitants toward the developmental tendencies of cultural tourism in Xijiang. Such connections provide a basis for evaluating the cultural sustainability of Xijiang.

6.3.1 The poverty alleviation program

In the 1980s, the central government commenced anti-poverty efforts. A key strategic plan for poverty alleviation was developed at the national level in 1986 and subsequently forced more rapid economic development in rural areas while simultaneously fueling inter-urban competition. In 1994, the state council launched the guiding principle of their work, “the Seven-Year Priority Poverty Alleviation Program,” which intended to solve the subsistence problem of 80 million poor people before 2000. Major changes took place in rural areas, including minority villages, but the effects were limited. In 2009, the state council issued the No. 31 document of the Rural Tourism Wealth Project and the Plan of Accelerating the Development of Tourism, which defined tourism as a strategic industry. In the same year, Xijiang held the Third Conference on Tourism Development in Guizhou and started to charge an admission fee. Two years later, the 12th Five-year Plan for Tourism particularly emphasized taking full advantage of ecological and folk-cultural resources as well as developing special agricultural sightseeing and experiential tourism activities under the premise of protecting the primitive environment and historical culture.

The pursuit of investment and technology intensified once the sitting Chinese

president Xi Jinping proposed “targeted poverty alleviation” in 2013. Guizhou is one of China’s poorest provinces but is rich in natural resources and colorful ethnic cultures, so the province was granted privileges to energetically develop cultural tourism. Later, between 2013 and 2018, several important meetings and conferences were held that related to Xijiang’s cultural tourism and focused on stimulating the combination of ethnic cultural heritage with the tourism industry. Without exception, such programs were organized by both the cultural and tourism departments with joint assistance from the Poverty Alleviation and Development Office of Guizhou Province.¹⁶ Thus, it is clear that ICH, tourism, and poverty alleviation in Guizhou were closely linked in practice. For example, the First China Minority Cultural Tourism Summit in Southeast Guizhou, which was held in Xijiang in 2016, explored the indispensable role of cultural tourism in poverty alleviation. It also set the goals of presenting minority cultures in southeast Guizhou and attracting scholarly attention

¹⁶ The Poverty Alleviation and Development Office of Guizhou Province was set up in 2009, managed by the Guizhou Provincial Agriculture Committee. It is responsible for drawing up the medium-term and long-term development plans, proposing the vision, mission and implementing the policy, and the supervision and administration of poverty alleviation funds and projects. More information is accessible at: <http://www.gzfp.gov.cn>.

and investment. A forum followed the keynote speech with the theme of “developing minority cultural heritage, promoting targeted poverty alleviation,” which aimed to accelerate the modulation and optimization of cultural tourism resources of ethnic minorities and advance its diversified development.

As the deadline for the poverty alleviation task approached, further government documents were issued that bundled the three key points of Miao ICH, tourism, and poverty alleviation. For instance, the No. 44 government document [2017] “Guizhou’s Three-year Action Plan to Boost Poverty Alleviation through Tourism Development” (2017-2019)¹⁷ specified that tourism was significant for poverty alleviation. It urged the development of minority villages with distinctive features and the use of the ICH of other minorities, such as Miao embroidery, to create tourist commodities. It also recommended implementing a “tourism+” strategy, which integrates and advances multiple industries, including tourism, culture, and agriculture, to produce experiential cultural activities.

¹⁷ The No. 44 government document [2017] Guizhou’s Three-year Action Plan to Boost Poverty Alleviation through Tourism Development (2017-2019) is available at:
<http://www.lc123.net/laws/2017-09-15/315553.html>.

The responses from my informants who worked in government departments partly confirm the above statements:

Guizhou's economy has been lagging behind because of the poor natural and transportation conditions, so its ethnic minority culture has been completely preserved, and Guizhou is unfit for developing heavy industry. Hence, it's very suitable to develop rural tourism with ethnic minority characteristics. Recently, the central government proposed tackling poverty by 2020, and Guizhou's task is most severe. So, how to overcome poverty? A consensus was reached that developing ethnic minority characteristics for rural tourism is most appropriate. (Respondent GO01)

Guizhou is the province with the most difficult task of poverty alleviation, and southeast Guizhou [administrative areas, including Xijiang] have the most impoverished populations. Therefore, we considered first how to use the advantages of our minorities' cultures to develop cultural tourism and then how to lead the villagers out of poverty. In fact, our efforts have been fruitful. (Respondent GO05)

During the fieldwork, the officials from Xijiang local authorities were in a high-stress environment of accomplishing poverty reduction, which was the dominant topic of their meetings and government documents, although officials recognize the importance of conserving Miao ICH for its positive impacts on developing tourism in Xijiang. Still, their first priority has been to determine how to accelerate economic growth of the surrounding Miao villages by developing cultural heritage.

Moreover, from the officials' perspective, the household incomes of villagers have increased significantly, so villagers are the most likely beneficiaries of the cultural tourism industry. However, the results of the questionnaire survey and the interviews with local Xijiang residents reveal that their thoughts and attitudes toward the developmental tendencies of cultural tourism and sustainability of Miao ICH in Xijiang did not meet the exact expectations of local authorities.

6.3.2 Attitudes of residents toward cultural tourism development in Xijiang

The questionnaire prompted participants to evaluate the impact of tourism on their daily lives and specify their attitude toward the developmental tendencies of tourism in Xijiang. Table 6.5 indicates that nearly half of respondents – 44.6% and 53.4% – positively appraised the influence of the increase in tourists and in shops, respectively. Among the remainder of responders, 43.5% and 37.5 % did not have an opinion on this topic, and relatively small proportions of 12% and 8.1% of residents thought that the influence was negative or very negative, respectively.

Table 6.5. Influence of Increasing Number of Tourists and Shops

Influence	Very negative	Negative	Not at all influential	Positive	Very positive	Mean	Std. deviation
Tourists	4.9%	7.1%	43.5%	23.4%	21.2%	3.76	1.081
Shops	3.8%	4.3%	37.5%	21.2%	33.2%	3.49	1.056

Four specific questions were asked to determine if tourism in Xijiang induced any life changes. The results suggest that the development of tourism somewhat accelerated economic growth and stimulated the improvement of infrastructure. A majority of respondents agreed that household income had increased (81.7%) and living facilities had been improved (75.2%) in the last five years. However, regarding the development of tourism, 54.8% thought that it had changed the living customs, and 41.3% reported that the burgeoning tourist industry even caused certain destruction to cultural heritage. Overall, 80.5% of respondents expressed support for making tourism a local core industrial sector, while 2.1% maintained the opposite belief, and the remainder indicated a neutral attitude.

To further seek significance statistical differences among certain demographic factors and residents' perceptions of the tourist industry, an ordinal regression was calculated. Relevant predictors included gender, age group, occupation, vocational

attribute, educational level, and annual income, while the dependent variable was the degree of support for making tourism the core industry in Xijiang. Ratings were recorded on a five-point Likert scale: 5 = strongly support, 4 = support, 3 = neutral, 2 = oppose, and 1 = strongly oppose. Tables 6.11 and 6.12 display the subsequent analysis by SPSS.

Strikingly, the predictors were not applicable to all combinations in only one ordinal regression case: due to the relatively small sample size, a significant proportion of cells displayed zero frequencies in the dependent variable levels by combinations of predictor variable values. Therefore, each predictor was estimated through a one-on-one ordinal regression.

As Table 6.6 reports, occupation and annual income might have affected respondents' attitudes toward the local tourism, while gender, age group, vocational attribute, and educational level presented no significant features.

Table 6.6. Model Fitting Information: Demographic Characteristics and Support for Tourism

		-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-square	df	Sig.
Gender	Intercept Only	26.715			
	Final	26.355	.360	1	.549
Age group	Intercept Only	30.339			
	Final	29.598	.742	2	.690
Job	Intercept Only	89.478			
	Final	56.876	32.601	5	.000***
Vocational attribute	Intercept Only	46.353			
	Final	41.501	4.851	3	.183
Educational level	Intercept Only	40.053			
	Final	36.685	3.368	2	.186
Annual income	Intercept Only	52.899			
	Final	42.481	10.419	2	.005**

** p<.01; ***p<.001

The estimated logit regression in Table 6.7 indicates that occupation had a significant effect on residents' attitudes toward tourism at the 0.05 level. The associated p-value of all five types of profession was 0.000. Government officials exhibited the most support for developing tourism as the leading industry in Xijiang. Other occupations (e.g., farmers), artists, businessmen and their employees, and teachers followed, respectively. The regression coefficient for annual income was not found to be statistically different from zero when estimating attitude in the model.

Table 6.7. Estimation Results for Support for Tourism among Residents

Factor	Estimate	Std. Error	Sig.
Government official	0 ^a	.	.
Self-employed people	- 2.633	.617	.000***
Teachers	- 2.860	.729	.000***
Artists	- 2.621	.625	.000***
Other	- 2.292	.611	.000***

^a This parameter is set to zero.

***p<.001

The data collected from observations and interviews through filler questions also evidence that government officials were highly enthusiastic about the development of cultural tourism in Xijiang and stressed that the villagers were the primary beneficiaries since their incomes had risen, and their living environment had been drastically improved. Local Xijiang primary and middle school schoolteachers comprised the group of residents who objected the most. Some of them believed that the overexploitation of cultural tourism had led to the destruction of the ecological environment and their traditional folklore. There was the even extreme complaint that real Miao culture no longer existed. Compared to officials and local businessmen, teachers were also more oppositional to charging entrance fees for the village and admission fees for the daily song and dance performance.

It's ridiculous to build the gate of the village that makes Xijiang unlike a village but totally a tourist attraction. (Respondent A01)

I have not been to the central square since it was reconstructed for the performance. I have never seen the show either. The contents they present are false, and what I don't understand is that my relatives or friends who live in other villages come to visit me. They should buy the ticket if they want to watch the show. That makes me feel unhappy and ashamed, well, although I don't have to pay myself. (Respondent A02)

In terms of the admission fee of Miao village and the daily song and dance performance, About three-fourths of respondents (73.8% and 75.7% respectively) agreed that they were never been asked for their opinion regarding the admission fee for the Miao village and for the daily song and dance performance, respectively, before applying the charges. Residents in Xijiang expressed different views on this issue:

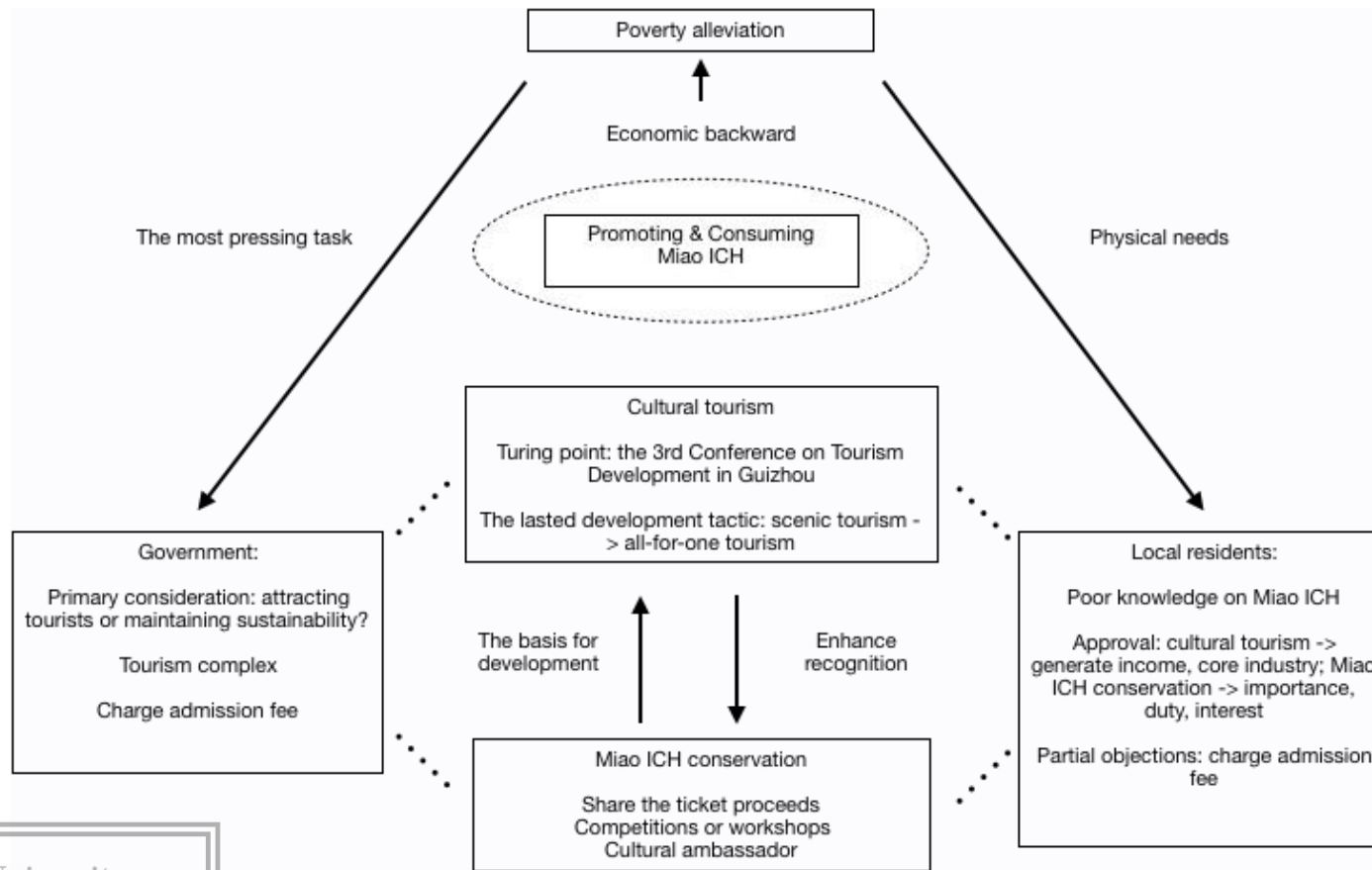
No person or organization asked for my opinion about the charge for entrance to the village and daily performance. I just knew when they started to reconstruct the gate, park, roads, and venues and then began to sell tickets. (Respondent LR09)

I am a member of the village committee. The committee called a meeting before the charge was introduced. The main content of the discussion was whether we agreed with the proposed amount of the fees. (Respondent LR10)

Moreover, most immigrant respondents voiced support for the development of local tourism. A few even thought that the village had not been fully developed because its modern recreational facilities were inadequate; for example, the village lacked any modern commercial complex (large-scale shopping mall) or entertainment venues, such as a cinema, casino or KTV, in the village.

6.4 Summary

Figure 6.9 Chapter 6 Concept Map



This chapter has explored the promotion and consumption of Miao ICH in Xijiang and introduced motivations for developing cultural tourism, practices of Miao ICH conservation, and the attitudes of local residents toward the development in Xijiang.

The management of arts and minority cultural education in Xijiang has been closely association with the development of cultural tourism. The reasons for the vigorous development of cultural tourism in Xijiang are summarized as follows:

- 1) Xijiang has no industry or basis for industrial development, but its natural and cultural resources are well preserved; hence, it was most feasible to develop the tourism industry.
- 2) The local authorities experienced immense pressure to complete alleviate poverty since Guizhou is one of the poorest provinces in China. Based on the outcomes in other minority areas, developing cultural tourism could improve the infrastructure and generate income.

3) Traditional customs and arts were well protected, which ensured abundant and high-quality resources for the development of cultural tourism.

To promote tourism as the core industry in Xijiang, the government actively proposed and implemented policies as well as organized activities beginning in 2006. Substantial changes took place in the village after the Third Conference of Tourism Development in Guizhou in Xijiang; the basic infrastructure was upgraded to serve the demands of tourists, and the economic benefits of tourism became the main source of income. In 2009, the Xijiang Cultural Tourism Development Co. Ltd was established, and two years later, the village was enclosed in order to charge an admission fee. In 2016, the emerging concept of all-for-one tourism was proposed, and the Guizhou government positively responded to the state appeal for planning of a new development strategy for Xijiang. A tourism complex was designed for construction near the village to meet growing consumer demands and protect the ecological and cultural environment of Xijiang.

The government officials I interviewed clearly stated that their primary consideration was the protection of the ecological environment and cultural heritage – both tangible and intangible – to maintain the sustainability of the village. However, they revealed that the main economic challenge required urgent resolution: they need to boost the development of tourism in Xijiang to drive the economic development of surrounding villages and finally reach the goal of eliminating poverty.

The officials recounted their efforts to protect Miao ICH by, for example, setting up training programs for minority artists and teachers at the provincial level, holding handicraft competitions at the minority regional level, and returning the ticket proceeds to local residents at the local level. They also provided special funds to cultural ambassadors and encouraged locals to join in the cultural activities.

Contrary to the views of government officials, the local residents felt entitled to the “reward money” that they received from the ticket proceeds, and they considered protecting the buildings and other forms of Miao ICH to be the duty of the government. Although most of the residents of Xijiang admitted the importance of

protecting Miao ICH and believed they also have the responsibility to promote Miao culture, they seldom joined in the cultural protection activities. In fact, the local residents appeared to possess limited knowledge of Miao ICH, as only half of the respondents could correctly select all forms of Miao ICH.

Regarding attitudes toward the development of cultural tourism in Xijiang, nearly half of the respondents indicated that tourism had yielded a positive effect on their lives. For instance, their annual incomes increased, and the living facilities improved significantly; nevertheless, half of the respondents believed that the living customs had changed through the development process. When asked about the ticket sales, most of the villagers revealed that they were not consulted before the government decided to charge an admission fee, and some of them opposed it. In general, the majority of residents pledged their support for developing cultural tourism as the pillar industry in Xijiang. In addition, attitudes varied by occupation; government officials were the most active group compared to other occupations (e.g. farmers), artists, self-employed people, and teachers.

Chapter 7

Discussion

Within years of development, the Xijiang Miao village has formulated a unique ecosystem that is comprised of the factors of culture, education, and tourism. As illustrated by the previous three chapters, the findings of this research confirm that the cultural sustainability of Xijiang has been criticized for the low authenticity of the Miao cultural displays (e.g. the artistic shows, museums, and festivals) as well as the serious influence of Hanization on education and the profit-oriented development of cultural tourism.

Previous research on sustainability in ethnic minority villages has primarily focused on the politics of tourism or the needs of stakeholders (e.g. Su & Teo, 2009; Xie, 2001; Liang, 2008). Meanwhile, the role of arts management and importance of community-based ethnic education have often been underemphasized or unequally elaborated. Hence, the objective of this chapter is to summarize the issues in Xijiang's development by authenticating the cultural tourism and cultural products (mainly folk arts performances) in the village and discussing the oversight of ethnic education in schools and at the community level. It appears that the low authenticity of cultural commodities and the loss of indigenous ethnic identity in the context of Hanization is detrimental for sustainability, as are the developmental tendencies, which are largely oriented toward the economic interests of the tourism market.

The discussion contains four sections; each of the first three sections corresponds to the previous chapters on findings that reflect ongoing problems in the development

process of Xijiang that have challenged the cultural sustainability of the Miao village. The last section then addresses the interrelationships between arts management, ethnic education, and cultural tourism in Xijiang, and it aims to clarify the root political issues within Xijiang's development as well as elaborate an appropriate management model for Xijiang's sustainable development. Figure 7.1 presents the operational framework that was established, which was adjusted and modified on the basis of the conceptual framework in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.7) to illustrate the holistic ecosystem of Xijiang. Furthermore, the summary in Table 7.1 compensates for the diagram.

7.1 The management of Miao intangible cultural heritage in Xijiang

7.1.1 Authenticity of cultural resources in Xijiang

As Chapter 4 and 6 illustrate, the cultural recourses of the Miao were abundant and rarely ravaged in the past. In recent decades, they have been gradually utilized to serve the development of cultural tourism in Miao villages. Cultural events in Xijiang have become noticeably richer and more colorful since 2008, which supplements the recreational activities in the village. However, cultural tourism highly influenced the activities, which were produced to attract tourists and modified to satisfy these visitors' preferences rather than to meet the cultural demands of local residents. For example, many workshops on Miao ICH were only open to the public during the peak tourism season, and some traditional shows were performed only for tourists. Moreover, the programs of artistic performances were heavily adapted for more appeal to tourists. Not

all stakeholder groups accepted these actions, which raised controversy regarding the “authenticity” of Miao cultural resources that are presented in Xijiang.

Authenticity, or “genuineness,” is often regarded as an anticipated experience or benefit of visiting certain kinds of travel destinations. The concept is crucial in evaluating the development of cultural tourism (Smith, 1990). The authenticity-related findings of the present research were similar to those of Xie (2001, 2010) and Yang (2009), which indicate that the folk arts shows in minority areas, including Xijiang, were performed in the name of “original ecology” (*yuanshengtai*), and the authenticity of shows focused on believability rather than originality.

The original ecology performance is an extended concept of the “original ecology folksong” (*yuanshengtai min’ge*), which was accepted nationwide in China in 2004 (Rees, 2016). The idea quickly gained traction in China’s minority areas through the large live-action stage show *Dynamic Yunnan*. Original ecology culture initially referred to unprocessed folk art forms, including aboriginal culture, that have survived intact in commercial civilization (Zhu, 2006). However, the term gradually became an advertising catchphrase, as *Dynamic Yunnan* used it as a commercial selling point. Its immense economic benefits encouraged other minorities to create folk art shows with this cultural label. This trend continues to have a serious impact on the philosophy of Xijiang arts managers, and the large outdoor live performance has become a model to follow. In addition, modern stage technology has been encouraged to achieve a gorgeous effect in shows.

In Xijiang, the two folk art shows that are performed at the central square at noon and in the evening, respectively, are the most representative cultural activity and are promoted as authentic presentations of Miao culture to tourists. With the mission of building a cultural brand, such as that of *Dynamic Yunnan* or *Impression Lijiang*, the evening show program is based on traditional Miao songs and dances that are adapted to display admirable stage effects with modern stage and lighting techniques. Since the original programs were dramatically modified, various interest groups have provided diverse comments regarding the show. Differences began to emerge as soon as the evening show imposed an entrance fee in 2011.

The criticism centered on the genuineness of the programs. While government officials and the management team of the show stressed its original ecology nature, the Miao inhabitants argued that despite the basis of the show programs and designs in Miao traditional song and dance, the programs were reimaged or newly created, and the performers were not even Miao people. The local inhabitants were unhappy that advertising campaigns labeled the modified programs as “Miao traditions.” In fact, these programs would not be performed on important occasions (e.g. sacrificial ceremonies or festivals). In reality, the evening show program did not match the definition of an original ecology folksong, as it combined traditional folk art with stage folk art and created works (see Table 7.1, Rees, 2016). It is actually a comprehensive work with artistic modifications that featured the original ecology cultural elements.

Table 7.1. Definitions of Original Ecology Folksong*

Original ecology folksong	>	Traditional folksong
Original ecology folksong	=	Folk style authenticity
Original ecology folksong	≠	National singing style Conservatory style Stage folksongs Created works

* Source: Rees, H. (2016). Environmental Crisis, Culture Loss, and a New Musical Aesthetic: China's "Original Ecology Folksongs" In Theory and Practice.

Comparatively, immigrants expressed less concern with whether the programs are offensive to Miao traditions. However, they did raise doubts regarding the authenticity of the show, particularly when they knew that the performers were non-local people. However, in China, it is not uncommon for Han people to pretend to be ethnic minorities on stage. Xie (2011) has described a case of fakery at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Opening Ceremony to illustrate the typical phenomenon of Chinese (Han) performers dressing in ethnic minority costumes. Such trend did not trouble the government officials. The findings of the Xijiang case illustrate that authenticity is not a significant concern in China's modern society. Furthermore, the producers and presenters of Miao culture largely ignored cultural inheritance and sustainability, which were regarded as important only to achieve certain desired effects, such as the performance imagery. However, the minimal concern of the Chinese government with authenticity in the cultural field may intensify the counterfeiting of cultural products, and the so-called original ecology performances have clearly incited repugnance among local indigenous communities.

Moreover, contrary to the management team's view, tourists exhibited a very strong interest in the "original" programs, which heavily restore the traditional appearance of

Miao customs. This interest is somewhat consistent with assumption that tourists actually enjoy an authentic experience, although not all of them purposely seek out authenticity.

Hence, ensuring the authenticity of folk arts performances in Xijiang is a key point that directly influences the sustainability of Xijiang's cultural products. Since the low authenticity of the show may conflict with the opinions of local residents and diminish the expectations of tourists, the local government and management team should reflect the recreational works of the show, which was regarded as overly modified, to ensure that the programs are consistent with Miao values and aesthetic perceptions.

7.1.2 Management of performances in Xijiang and tourist perceptions

Considering the arts management in Xijiang, there is currently some tension between different stakeholders, the conflict intensified once the evening show started to charge an entrance fee in 2011. The views of local residents reflect the criticism that the folk performances are completely profit-driven activities and therefore pursue money-making as the major objective rather than the protection and promotion of Miao ICH. They have been challenged as not conducive to sustainable development because such market-oriented cultural events that are based on tourism consumption usually preserve the form of folk arts but lose the soul of the ethnic culture or reduce the sanctity of traditions.

Following other examples of famous minority settlements (e.g. Lijiang, Fenghuang), the Xijiang government established the Cultural Performing Company in 2011 to improve the management of arts performances in the village. Some positive changes followed the establishment of the company; for instance, cultural activities were enriched,

and the management is more scientific and orderly than before. However, the company was questioned for its many non-Miao employees who grew up outside of Xijiang with limited knowledge of Miao culture. This controversy generated debate over whether the performers should be professional or original and whether the show is positioned as an original ecology performance or stage performance. Regardless of the low authenticity (see Section 7.1.1), the result from questionnaire also reveals a common phenomenon in most minority areas in China: local residents merely received systematic arts training, so they could not perform as well as professional dancers or singers could. Hence, cultivating the locals and recruiting professional administrative personnel are vital tasks for the company.

Additionally, the company lacked a professional artistic director who was skilled at producing large-scale performances, and none of the managers was an arts management professional. According to the results, their conceptions of the evening indicate some degree of conflict with the expectations of residents and tourists. Nevertheless, their role in the production process should be one of a mediator who considers the uniqueness of the artist's mission, the aesthetic expression, and the social and cultural background and makes arts productions resonate with the public.

Moreover, the feedback from tourists regarding the programming of the evening show seemingly diverged from the company's perception, and similar results were found for another live-action performance in Zhang Jia Jie¹⁸ (see Huang, Zhou & Zhu, 2014). The company firmly believed that grand performances with gorgeous special effects must fit

¹⁸ Tianmen Fox Fairy, a large-scale live-action performance played in Zhang Jia Jie, Hunan province, which is produced in 2008 with a total investment of 120 million RMB Yuan. The show premiered in September 2009 and later successively won some awards in China (Tian, 2017).

tourist preferences, yet a large proportion of tourists expressed interest in “more traditional and ancient-style programs.” Clearly, the company had not conducted as effective of a survey as anticipated, as the management team did not understand the initial stages of adopting the arts management approach. Therefore, the Audience Satisfaction Index Evaluation model,¹⁹ which was designed on the basis of the American Customer Satisfaction Index (ACSI) model²⁰ by Huang, Zhou, and Zhu (2014), was applied to assess customer satisfaction with the folk arts show. Tianmen Fox Fairy can be recommended in Xijiang.

7.2 Miao intangible cultural heritage education and community engagement in Xijiang

7.2.1 Hanization and strengthening ethnic identity

Based on the previous literature and the data I collected, the Miao and their culture have been seriously affected by Hanization to varying degrees due to the different paces of urbanization. Like many other Chinese minorities (see Hoa & Turner, 2010; Zhu, 2000; and Qu, 2010 for examples), the Miao are also confronting a cultural identity crisis with the expansion of Han population. Moreover, in Xijiang, the promotion of governing

¹⁹ Audience Satisfaction Index Evaluation model designed by Huang, Zhou and Zhu (2014) is following the evaluation path of audience expected -- product experience -- perception assessment -- customer feedback. It is used for assessing the customer satisfaction of the live-action performance *Tianmen Fox Fairy*. The results show that there are differences between the tourists' expectations and perceptions, and to balance the intensity of promotion and the quality of show, how to make good market segmentation are the key points.

²⁰ The ASCI (American Customer Satisfaction Index) Model is a quantitative economic model with multiple equations and dependent variables. It is developed on the basis of SCSB (Sweden Customer Satisfaction Barometer) model, which integrated the research results of marketing, TQM quantitative economics and other disciplines. It is generally believed to be the most completed and effective theoretical model of customer satisfaction assessment (Anderson et al., 2004).

measures of Han nationality or the control of Han governments in ethnic areas has been a common tactic for suppressing dissent through the ages. Therefore, the Han cultural hegemony has naturally penetrated Xijiang, particularly in terms of growing economic imperatives.

Hanization is a powerful force that subtly influences the culture of minority nationalities. Said (1978) has defined the phenomenon of minority representation by the Han majority in the field of culture as “orientalism,” which is analogical to the Western intellectual discourse about the East. In the case of Xijiang, Schein (1997) has described interactions between the Miao and Han nationalities as Chinese internal orientalism. Similar to in Lijiang, the process of Hanization in Xijiang was driven by the Chinese state, and it now occurs through a delicate mechanism that derives support from China's aggressive capital structure and implicit political management. For instance, Chinese authorities implemented the "civilized project" to "civilize" indigenous peoples in these undeveloped areas (Harrell, 1996), which legitimized dominance in these territories and the need to help "backward" (*luohou*) societies reach a higher evolutionary level by delivering progress and modernization to them.

School education about Miao ICH in Xijiang highlights elements of Hanization, as evident from the following points:

1. The pedagogy that Han schools adopt in their curriculum design, teaching method, assessment, and so forth are fully copied in Xijiang's schools, as the Han culture (including its language and text) and curriculum is regarded as more “advanced” and “practically useful,” and Han Chinese is commonly used nationwide.

2. Like many other minorities, the Miao face the threat of losing their language (Geary & Pan, 2003). Although trilingual education (i.e. Miao, Mandarin, and English) has been practiced in Xijiang for years, this teaching model has become increasingly ineffective and has been gradually replaced by bilingual education (i.e. Mandarin and English), as most of the teachers are Han people who cannot speak the Miao language.
3. Since there are only primary and secondary schools in Xijiang, students are desperate to obtain higher education in Han metropolises.
4. The schools in Xijiang arrange special Miao culture courses and cultural activities during breaks, but both students and teachers tended to be apathetic. A main barrier is the lack of professional teachers, as external instructors were folk artists who usually have minimal teaching experience, and full-time teachers are either non-Miao or have limited knowledge of Miao culture. Additionally, the assessment scope of the entrance examination does not include Miao ICH courses, so they do not receive the same attention as general knowledge courses from the local schools.

The acts of Miao cultural training at the provincial level generally received praise; however, the training programs were not carried out in Miao villages, and only a small portion of people – usually the selected teachers from Han schools – could derive benefits.

The responses from the Xijiang government officials confirm Wood's (1997) theory that supreme authority attempts to promote various minority cultures under the label of

unity to assert and create unique national cultures. I assumed a skeptical attitude toward such kind of “national culture” since, under the goal of “unity,” minority culture has been forcibly and selectively preserved or rejected rather than following the law of natural extinction. As Su and Teo (2009) have argued, “in reality, the national cultures are little more than an authoritative abstraction of Han Chineseness” (p. 88). The findings illustrates that a variety of tensions between unity (national integration) and uniqueness (ethnic diversity) have emerged in minority areas and moved from urbanized to less-developed areas. Moreover, the state should resolve contradictions to realize the moral hegemony of national construction.

7.2.2 Community-based education on Miao intangible cultural heritage in Xijiang

The statistical analysis indicates that the local residents, with the exception of the students, were enthusiastic about learning Miao ICH. However, they seldom had opportunities to receive academic instruction on Miao culture, and few related education programs had been designed for them. Basically, the educational facilities in Xijiang are inadequate, and it is difficult to disseminate knowledge of Miao ICH through text publications in view of the high illiteracy rate among locals, especially elders. Therefore, the top priorities of local authorities should be to increase investment in educational facilities (e.g. the library, activity center for residents, and gym), organize more educational activities for the local community (e.g. lectures, folk arts classes, and workshops), and encourage local residents to participate in community-based activities to stimulate their learning enthusiasm.

Rather than momentarily remembering the memories, individuals recalled them through performance and reformed them. Since a majority of the local residents in

Xijiang expressed a preference for cultural and educational activities and indicated that performances were the most popular and acceptable type, engaging community members in artistic and cultural activities is a direct and effective way to foster their learning interest in Miao ICH and enhance their ethnic identity.

Focusing on a specific group of local communities, the Miao performers of the folk arts shows in Xijiang shared aspects of their culture through interactions with tourists, so they were an appropriate group to consult about the authenticity of cultural tourism. Given that the performers were the most attractive people in the village and received monetary compensation that far exceeded that of traditional vocations, they did not care whether their colleagues were non-Miao people. They were less conscious of cultural preservation, and the authenticity of the programs that they performed was not an important issue for them. The shows were apparently commercialized and included in the tour package that was sold, so they became a form of entertainment to cater to visitors. For the performers, the mission of displaying their culture on stage served not only to illustrate and restore their traditional culture and lifestyle but also to generate profits. Thus, it is necessary to safeguard the cultural identity and distinctiveness of performers as well as raise their awareness of cultural preservation, as they build the bridge by which outsiders can access the Miao culture, and they directly influence tourists' perceptions of Miao culture, but they are primarily concerned with pursuing economic benefits.

Although it is too early to conclude the achievements of museum in the village, the efforts of the private museum, or “eco-museum,” in Guizhou, which has been regarded as an interesting model that focuses on “the development of the rural community while working on preserving the local cultural heritage” (Lu, 2013, p.162), have been logical. A

majority of Xijiang inhabitants appreciated its educational and promotional functions. They explained that the museums motivate both locals and tourists to learn about Miao ICH, although the strength of such impetus is proportional to the satisfaction with the visiting experience. Thus, a more enjoyable visiting experience would prompt stronger enthusiasm for learning. However, the residents rarely visited the local museums – whether public or private – because they were busy with work and had insufficient sources of information regarding the exhibitions. Furthermore, the permanent exhibitions that comprised the content of the museum displays were rarely updated. The low participation rate exposes certain problems in many ethnic minority areas in China: the local residents are often excluded from the decision-making and management of cultural and educational activities, museum exhibitions are rarely updated, exhibitions fossilize the minority culture; and some curators are non-locals who may not fully understand the minority culture and traditions on display.

Hansen (2011) has described a situation in Lijiang in which the education does not equally influence ethnic identity in downtown areas compared to the countryside. The effects of education have been more apparent in rural areas where Dongba²¹ rituals are still practiced and festivals are still celebrated in the traditional ways, as such areas have attracted international researchers who aim to collect data. Similarly, in parallel with the increase in popularity of the village in Xijiang, an increasing number of non-local scholars have attempted to collect research material or engage in educational outreach through, for example, exhibitions, competitions, and lectures. On the one hand, it seems that tourism has the potential to become a powerful force of strength for the sense of

²¹ Dongba, an ethnic minority inhabits in Lijiang, Yunnan Province, Southwest China (Hansen, 2011).

ethnic identity among villagers (Van den Berghe, 1992, 1994; Boissevain, 1996; Pitchford, 1995; Yang & Wall, 2009), and the resulting economic development may contribute to the self-confidence of locals in their culture and arouse their awareness of the significance of preserving their traditions (Yang & Wall, 2009). On the other hand, the contributions of external scholars are considerable and have been conducive to protecting Miao culture as well as motivating local residents to learn about their history and traditions. Thus, the government should support the behavior of the intellectual production for Miao ICH by non-government organizations or individuals, as they can provide more learning opportunities for local residents and help to promote Miao culture to the outsiders.

7.3 Promotion and consumption of Miao culture in Xijiang

Cultural tourism, or ethnic tourism in minority areas, has the potential to provide both social and financial benefits and is an important approach for the government to advance economic and cultural development (Henderson, 2003; Walsh & Swain, 2004; Yea, 2002; Yang, 2010). The statistical data collected from the Xijiang government and the feedback from local residents confirm that the consumption of ethnicity has increased economic income and driven modernization; however, the usual debate over balancing tourism development with cultural protection has intensified alongside developmental progress. Some respondents assumed the particularly negative view that tourism and the management of culture heritage were incompatible (in line with Berry, 1994; Boniface, 1998; Jacobs & Gale, 1994; Jansen-Verbeke, 1998; McKercher et al., 2005). Specifically, more tourism development would cause more serious cultural destruction. In addition,

some believed that exotic ethnic cultures have become the main tourist attractions and sources of income, so cultural values have been compromised for commercial profits (consistent with Urry, 1990; Daniel, 1996; ICOMOS, 1999). Conversely, others argued that mutual benefits could be gained, as the sharing of resources yielded opportunities for partnerships while reinvigorating people's interest in Miao history and culture. The findings illustrates beyond all doubt that the government recognizes the key role of the tourism industry in the strategic planning of Xijiang in terms of poverty alleviation. Furthermore, the government has exerted enormous force to support the development of cultural tourism through positive policies and financial investment.

The local government carried out tourism development and cultural protection simultaneously. The purpose of such cultural preservation is to conserve Miao history and traditions as well as consistently provide abundant, high-quality tourism resources. In addition, efforts toward promotion and commodification target sustainable development of the tourism industry.

7.3.1 Developmental tendencies of cultural tourism in Xijiang

Cultural tourism can contribute to the sustainable development of a destination in several respects. First, it can provide opportunities to address equity issues of indigenous populations in the tourism business. Second, the attitude of the host community is always the key consideration of a sustainably developed destination, though ethnic elements can be reproduced or sacrificed for the tourists' gaze at the product development level. Therefore, cultural tourism inquiries can explore whether the indigenous community has

a supportive attitude toward tourism development and whether the commodification of ethnic culture in Xijiang exceeds the product development level.

In Xijiang, the government has heavily supported the commodification of ethnic attractions for several reasons:

- The rich and well-preserved Miao culture in the village has the attractive charm of “otherness,” which provides more exotic resources for tourism development compared to many other cities.
- There is no industrial basis in the village, and agriculture used to be the only source of income. However, the area’s natural and cultural resources offer a valuable foundation for tourism development.
- The local government is under immense pressure to alleviate poverty; thus, it has highly encouraged tourism to learn from the experiences of other ethnic regions where economy has developed remarkably because of tourism development.

Generally, most of the local residents (including ethnic indigenous people, immigrant artists, immigrant business entrepreneurs, and officials) acknowledged the positive impacts of tourism on their lives as well as its substantial contribution to economic growth. A majority supported the development of cultural tourism as the pillar industry of Xijiang. The government and tourism businesses, who are the stakeholders who benefit the most from tourism, exhibited the most enthusiasm and dedication to initiatives. Through tourism development, the government can make remarkable achievements and relieve its work pressure. The economic benefits of tourism can help alleviate

poverty-related issues, and the development process can significantly improve the living conditions of villagers.

However, tensions between stakeholders emerged after Xijiang started to impose admission fees to enter the village and view the evening performances. For the ethnic indigenous people, their involvement in the control and management of tourism was not significant. The ticket receipts are opaque in that the recipients of the income are unknown, and the villagers considered the reward that was allocated to each household by local authorities (i.e. 70% of the ticket proceeds each year) to be unfair. As a result, the villagers in Xijiang expressed a relatively low level of confidence in the local government. The increasing number of tourists has also increased the economic aspect of prices and caused the cultural consequence of the loss of their language. Moreover, the low authenticity due to the commercialization and marketing of Miao culture also generated dissatisfaction among the villagers. The villagers believed that the true ethnic cultural forms were condensed into a superficial performance that resembles an assembly line product. Like in many ethnic villages or artificial ethnic theme parks in China (see Hsieh, 1999; Xie, 2003; Yang, 2010), the operation and management of cultural activities is now dominated by Han people, who may not fully understand the traditions and history of the minority nation. Cultural activities shifted their focus from villagers to tourists, and sacred ceremonies were presented as programs in the daily show, which violated customs and reduced the sanctity of the religion. Overall, the Miao people generally supported the government-led development of cultural tourism, but they opposed the Han-dominated tourism industry. Nevertheless, since the majority of ethnic residents were less educated

and lacked business knowledge and experience, they rarely gained influence over social and cultural management.

In China, the various levels of government functioned as planners, coordinators, regulators, and entrepreneurs for tourism development (Swain, 1989; Xie, 2003; Yang, 2009), which reflects a strict system of supremacy. The national government stressed the inalienability of the state and ethnic minority areas (Conner, 1984) and considered national unity as the policy guideline for regional development (Lee, 2001). Hence, the government selectively revived and fossilized ethnic cultures in exhibitions. Furthermore, it has supported and advocated for the identified “healthy and progressive” cultural elements as representative of the exotic ethnic characteristics and cultural diversity of the multi-national state. In Xijiang, certain elements of Miao culture that are recognized as “joyless or backward” were not promoted or left it naturally disappeared. Moreover, the government encouraged the Miao to be more open and modernized, as it believed that indigenous people also have the right to pursue a better modern life. Notably, a lifestyle that resembles that of urban areas was interpreted as evidence of improvement to local livelihoods.

In Xijiang, state policies supported both cultural preservation and the modernity of the village. Although the government highlighted cultural sustainability, it still focused on economic development. The minorities were positively or passively incorporated into the commodification of ethnicity to alleviate the persistent and dominant social issue of poverty. The authenticity and quality of cultural products directly linked to the tourism economy, and even the cultural preservation was somewhat informed by economic considerations. A rise in government awareness of cultural sustainability was

accompanied by a positive shift toward the application of all-for-one tourism (see Chapter 6) as a new strategy for the sustainable development of Xijiang. Through this approach, the government committed to building a new tourism complex nearby the ethnic village. Such a development could minimize the destruction of the original appearance and traditional cultural heritage of the village, which could support cultural preservation and more effective management of cultural attractions.

7.3.2 Conservation of Miao intangible cultural heritage in Xijiang

Alongside the development of cultural tourism, concerns regarding cultural preservation have mounted. In a cultural and economic sense, the simultaneous maintenance of identity and development of tourism produced an interesting phenomenon of the sale of cultural images (Ballengee-Morris, 2002), and cultural heritage became one of the most-sold products. Business in China's ethnic areas is usually profit-oriented and lacks proper planning (Xie, 2003), which leads to unsustainable development of the destination. Thus, the preservation of ICH in such regions on the premise of tourism development remains a challenge.

The results in Chapter 6 reveal that both the government and villagers in Xijiang recognized the importance of ICH preservation. The government stressed the need to maintain cultural sustainability of the Miao in Xijiang and engaged in actions such as the seek of talents in Miao performing arts and handicraft, the provision of annual cash bonuses, and programs in which “ethnic culture enters the campus” (see Chapter 5). The selected artists and craftsmen were called ICH ambassadors and could receive annual financial support. In addition, 70% of the annual proceeds from ticket sales to enter the village is returned to the villagers, and the Miao cultural curriculum is included in

schools. Although these policies have been effective for years, the implementation of cultural preservation in practice has been problematic in the following ways:

- 1) The selected ICH Ambassadors are highly skilled and possess exquisite craftsmanship and rich experience. However, they have limited influence in the community, and they rarely engage in in-depth communication with tourists.
- 2) The financial support for ICH ambassadors is significantly less than potential earnings from the tourism business. Instead of focusing on research and teaching, they usually fulfill multiple jobs to make a living rather than learning about Miao ICH and building a career around it. Youth are also more interested in lucrative careers, which may eventually diminish knowledge of Miao ICH.
- 3) Miao cultural education is hindered by strict enrollment criteria, which require high performance and scores in Han courses (see Section 7.2.1).

Despite being the most important stakeholders of cultural consumption, neither villagers nor tourists could directly or actively participate in the process of cultural preservation. From the perspective of villagers, there were few ICH protection activities in which they could engage. The Miao village maintains the traditional community management model, which resembles a clan system in which villagers can receive information from their leaders or depend on communication with neighbors and relatives; therefore, villagers had relatively low access to information. In fact, although the indigenous community perceived negative impacts of the market economy and tourism on their traditional culture, including a decline in religion, they rarely actively engaged in cultural preservation activities. Among this group, the most effective and direct means of

engaging in ICH conservation was by protecting and repairing their houses, as old buildings, which are included on the list of Chinese ICH, could attract more rewards if they were well preserved. Hence, to some extent, such protective actions were more motivated by the financial bonus rather than growing awareness of ICH conservation. Tourists enjoyed the exotic culture and sought a non-contrived and authentic ethnic presentation; however, they did not know which elements are culturally authentic, and they largely disregarded the influence of their accessibility on the traditional customs and cultural climate. The tourists expressed no concern regarding the long-term sustainable development of the ethnic destination. Therefore, tourists must receive chances to view ethnic people and places “within a contextual format that promotes respect” (Ballengee-Morris, 2002, p. 13).

In the case of Xijiang, the ethnic minority and immigrant villagers pursued a more convenient and modern material life. They had no real objection to the mainstream life of the Han and even adjusted their lifestyle accordingly. They were not preoccupied with cultural sustainability, and they believed that the government should assume responsibility for protecting ICH. From the government perspective, the officials stressed the importance of cultural protection and their quest for sustainable development, but they encouraged the commodification of ethnicity and traditional cultures and prioritized profit generation from tourism businesses; therefore, their measures to preserve ICH did not satisfy the local residents.

The findings suggest that in addition to the culturally protective acts by the government, some non-governmental organizations, scholars from universities, and enthusiasts of Miao culture expended substantial effort toward Miao ICH preservation.

Rather than focusing on the regulation of Miao cultural consumption or cultural tourism, they endeavored to address Miao cultural dissemination to non-Miao areas and even regions abroad. Their contributions to publications, the teaching and research of Miao ICH, the private museum, and financial support were effective complements to the ongoing protective programs. Their continued absorption of new members can attract more active participants to Miao ICH conservation activities, and Miao artists and handicraft workers can receive more opportunities to promote their work to outsiders via the relationships they establish with non-governmental organizations and scholars.

7.4 Cultural sustainability of Xijiang

7.4.1 Comparison of stakeholder perspectives in the cultural ecosystem of Xijiang

The findings in the previous chapters identify several stakeholders in the cultural ecosystem of Xijiang. Moreover, they suggest that stakeholders assume different positions with respect to cultural sustainability in the three dimensions of arts management, ethnic cultural education, and cultural tourism. The ecosystem encompasses four types of critical stakeholders, who include more specific subgroups according to their identity in society. These stakeholders are the government (i.e. officials and the Cultural Company Management Committee), local communities (i.e. ethnic indigenous populations, immigrant entrepreneurs, and immigrant artists), tourists, and scholars of Miao- and Xijiang-related studies. Unlike other studies on ethnic villages in China, the present study groups government officials and arts managers together because the performance company was under the authority of the government, and the main source of

investment was government funding. Hence, they possess similar ideas regarding the planning and programming of cultural activities, including folk arts shows, as they believe that more attention should be devoted to attracting tourists rather than presenting authentic elements of Miao culture. Meanwhile, the category of local community involves not only Miao and Han residents but also immigrant entrepreneurs and artists who live in Xijiang for years. Although both groups seek a higher quality of life and more generous incomes, they have different and clearly distinct desires and expectations regarding the development of cultural tourism and cultural preservation. For example, indigenous Miao tend to oppose tourism development and question the authentication of the folk arts shows, whereas immigrant proprietors exhibit less concern with the cultural authenticity, and immigrant artists treat performances as simply part of their job rather than as a means of cultural inheritance. In addition to the tourists, I also identify the group of scholars who studied Miao culture in Xijiang as stakeholders, as they obtained research data from the village and, in return, created research that is conducive to Miao cultural preservation and promotion. Such research achievements can provide a reference for policy-making and strategic planning, which directly affect the cultural sustainability of Xijiang.

Table 7.2 summarizes and compares the divergent views of the four stakeholder types to supplement the operational framework (see Figure 8.1) and inform a full understanding of the sustainability of Xijiang's cultural ecosystem. In general, the government and arts managers focused on the regulation and external investments of tourism and cultural products, while the immigrants prioritized profit generation. The indigenous Miao were most concerned with economic development and improvements to living conditions,

whereas tourists were attracted by the exotic Miao culture and original lifestyle of its people. Stakeholders also had unique perceptions of authenticity. Authenticity was not a high priority for officials and managers, who intended to present exotic Miao culture to visitors but believed that cultural works that cater to the market are more appealing and attractive, although this view actually contradicted the real demands of visitors and residents. Each party affirmed the importance of education on cultural inheritance, but the ethnic cultural education in schools and the community still warranted vast improvement in terms of the curriculum design and teaching method. The stakeholders generally supported government-led cultural tourism development, but the Miao minority was not well positioned to participate in management and the decision-making process. Stakeholder perspectives should be taken into account when strategizing for development planning, as they are the primary participants in cultural tourism and economic activities.

Table 7.2. Comparisons of Stakeholder Attitudes toward the Three Factors in the Holistic Cultural Ecosystem of Xijiang

	Arts Management		Education		Cultural Tourism		
	Authenticity of Miao culture	The management of cultural shows	Schooling	Community-based	Developmental tendencies	Miao	ICH
Government (officials & the cultural company)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The government and the management team determined the authenticity of Miao culture. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The management team was starved of professional art directors and administrators. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The policies endeavored to implement “ethnic cultures on campus.” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little attention was paid to community-based ethnic arts education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism was applied as a tool to improve the targeting of anti-poverty policies and programs. Economic efficiency was the main demand. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The conservation of Miao culture was the basis for the development of other industries, and maintaining cultural diversity was important. 	
Local indigenous communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The local communities’ perception of authenticity was strong. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The non-Miao managers or directors could not represent the Miao culture. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In addition to students, the local communities rarely received academic instruction on Miao culture in educational 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Few cultural or educational activities were designed for local communities and were instead intended to attract tourists. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The majority of inhabitants supported the development of tourism as the core industry. They were rarely involved in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little knowledge of Miao ICH was perceived. The perception of cultural 	



			institutes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indigenous respondents expressed a strong interest in cultural and educational activities. 	decision-making process.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> preservation was strong in ethnic communities, but they more highly prioritized money-making.
Immigrant businessmen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entrepreneurs did not care about the authenticity of Miao culture. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entrepreneurs did not care about the management of the performances. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entrepreneurs did not care about the ethnic education in schools. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entrepreneurs exhibited interest in participating in cultural or educational activities, but they were busy with money-making, so they rarely had time to join. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Their goal was to make money. Entrepreneurs had no sense of authenticity of the tourism industry. They even manipulated the market with counterfeit products, which reduced the authenticity of the tourism industry. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Miao culture was important for its business value.
Immigrant artists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The performance became a form of entertainment and was 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The relatively high payment was their primary reason for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-Miao artists did not care about the ethnic education in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They believed that they learned about Miao culture through their 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The level of vigor of the tourism industry corresponded to their 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They believed that the performance was



	modified to cater to tourists.	remaining in the village. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rather than caring about the role of performance in promoting Miao culture, the non-Miao artists treated the performance as a mere job. 	schools.	work (i.e. practices and performances).	potential profits.	an effective way to protect Miao culture, and they contributed to the preservation of Miao ICH.
Tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The perception of authenticity was strong, as they explicitly preferred more “original” elements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Like in many ethnic villages, the shows were over-adapted and commercialized. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourists did not care about the ethnic education in schools. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourists did not care about the ethnic education among local communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism in Xijiang was over-commercialized. They contributed the most to the village’s economy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourists had scarce knowledge of Miao culture. They did not engage in the process of cultural preservation.
Scholars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The authenticity of shows was quite 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The company was profit-oriented; Miao 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Protecting cultural diversity was 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Research output usually concerned the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There was no balance between tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It was necessary to

low but acceptable if arts became a source of very important, policy-making process. development and cultural improve Miao
they maintained the income. including through preservation. self-confidence in
core value (i.e. ethnic education in their own culture.
religious beliefs). schools.



7.4.2 Sustainable development of Xijiang

As noted, many ethnic villages in China have been criticized for their over-commercialization due to over-exploited tourism, which has had considerable negative impacts on the lifestyles of host communities and preservation of traditional cultures (see Su & Teo, 2009; Yang 2011; Xie, 2001; and Yang, 2009 for examples in Yunnan and Hainan, China). Compared to in the other destinations, the issue of excessive commercialization in Xijiang has remained within tolerable limits because of its relatively late development. Some tourists regarded the village as less modern or even celebrated its “original” natural and harmonious environment. Furthermore, the government claimed to have learned many lessons from its efforts elsewhere, so the management in Xijiang would avoid previous failures. Nevertheless, criticism has increased every year. Local residents and scholars criticized the management of the village and the preservation of Miao ICH, as they noted that certain obvious issues that were unsuitable for Miao culture.

1) Low engagement of local communities and tourists in ICH

preservation activities: Economic gain was the major concern for local residents. Thus, their willingness to participate in artistic and cultural preservation activities was driven by economic interest. Tourists did not participate in process of cultural preservation (see Sections 4.2, 6.2, and 7.3.2).

2) Han-dominant management in arts consumption (see Sections 4.1 and

7.1), ethnic cultural education (see Chapter 5 and Section 7.2), and tourism development (see Sections 6.1 and 7.3.1): In the process of cultural revival, the government selected forms of Miao culture from a Han perspective; accordingly, those elements deemed “unhealthy” or “vulgar” (e.g. witchcraft) were not recommended. Ethnic cultural education was not taken seriously, and the core content of school curriculum was copied from Han schools, with few educational programs that were designed for communities. Meanwhile, immigrant businesspeople were more concerned

with profits from selling cultural commodities than with the actual culture that makes them profitable.

- 3) **Low authenticity of cultural products:** Authenticity was an ambiguous concept for most interviewees in this research. The officials and the managers of the artistic performances believed that they provided an authentic portrayal of Miao culture; however, they also indicated that “appropriate adaptations” to the shows were necessary because tourists are the major consumers of the cultural productions, so their desires and needs were of primary concern. However, most tourists opined that the modifications in the folk art shows were so excessive that they could not watch the “original” Miao traditions that they pursued. In fact, even some other cultural products presented as “Miao specialties” were counterfeits intended for generating profits. Thus, during the Miao cultural commodification process, the government did not take into account the desires and needs of the indigenous residents who own the culture, and the

perceptions of managers and entrepreneurs regarding market demand were one-sided and subjective.

The causes of the above phenomena in Xijiang are ultimately due to the exact problem of management. This finding presents two other extended theoretical implications. The first is the need to enhance indigenous awareness of “empowerment” (Akama, 1996). Based on previous studies in Xijiang (see examples from Chen et al, 2011; Chen et al., 2010; Wang, 2016), the local Miao community has had a weak presence in the development process, whereas Han developers have dominated the tourism market, and profit generation is the first priority. These insights can explain why villagers rarely participated actively in cultural events or cultural protection activities; for example, limited positions were available in cultural and educational programs for villagers to fulfill, and only those with artistic skills were invited to take learning courses and encouraged to compete in a contest. Moreover, they can account for objections to the distribution of bonuses among villagers, who argued that the dissemination of ticket proceeds was not fair or transparent, as well as the support among most villagers for developing tourism as the core industry in Xijiang but their

opposition to the Han-dominant governance of tourism businesses and performance management. While most ethnic villages have developed tourism to stimulate economic growth, enhancing villagers' awareness of "empowerment" can heighten their positivity toward cultural promotion and preservation and thereby strengthen their cultural identity and confidence. Ensuring the inheritance of culture and its promotion by the people who create, use, and truly understand is a central premise of sustainable development of tourism destinations (Zuo & Bao, 2008).

As the second theoretical implication, the management of minority communities has been a contested terrain, and its practical applications should respect the customs and religious beliefs of ethnic groups. In line with Zhang's theories, the Miao inhabitants of Xijiang still followed the "clan management system" (see Zhang, 2008 2011; 2012). The internal relationships of the Miao in Xijiang involve two categories – family and relatives – and are subject to the administration of civic leaders, namely the Guzang chieftain, who manages religious affairs, and the Huolutou, who is responsible for agricultural management. Compared to the government, which engages in direct management, civic leaders carry more authority for villagers. Thus,

respecting and following this traditional social organization and management mode would be beneficial to preserve religious culture and traditional customs. Moreover, it can encourage the community to participate in cultural protection activities by effectively harnessing the charisma of civic leaders.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has explored the cultural sustainability of Xijiang by analyzing the interconnectedness of key factors in the cultural ecosystem of Xijiang. Such key factors refer to the authenticity of folk arts performances, the inheritance of Miao ICH, and economic gains from the cultural tourism market. More specifically, it has investigated the necessary balance between cultural heritage preservation and tourism development as well as the interactions among the three dimensions of arts management, minority cultural education, and cultural tourism in the context of cultivating cultural sustainability. Furthermore, it has identified four stakeholders with varying positions in Xijiang's cultural ecosystem and explored their authentication of the production of Miao ICH, their attitudes toward cultural inheritance, actions to protect Miao ICH, and the use of government power to influence the development of Miao culture and the local economy.

I have attempted to provide a fuller understanding of the sustainable development of Miao culture in Xijiang's society. Chapter 2 presents the three research questions that I formulated to navigate my inquiry:

- 1) To what extent has cultural sustainability influenced the development of Xijiang's cultural tourism since the Third Conference on Tourism Development in Guizhou in 2008?
- 2) To what extent has cultural sustainability been a determining factor in the policy-making, planning (including programming), and management practices that have informed the cultural development of Xijiang Miao Village?
- 3) To what extent has the goal of cultural sustainability affected education in Xijiang in terms of curriculum design, teaching processes, community engagement, and policy-making?

The data from the questionnaire survey, interviews, focus groups, and other secondary sources have generated numerous topics for discussion, including the comments of various stakeholders on the production of artistic shows, the expectations of residents for ethnic educational programs for students and local communities, and the positions of stakeholders in the development of cultural tourism. The results suggest that the key messages from Xijiang to other ethnic villages with similar conditions are to ensure the authenticity of cultural representations and products as well as maintain a virtuous cycle among the three dimensions of arts, ethnic education, and cultural tourism. These efforts can contribute to Miao ICH protection and enhance the sense of Miao identity while satisfying consumer preferences, thereby allowing for sustainable cultural development.

This chapter offers several conclusions that are based on the evidence in the previous chapters. It summarizes the key arguments and interprets theoretical implications to construct an operational framework. Then, it identifies critical problems within Xijiang's cultural ecosystem and analyzes the findings to inform

recommendations and test the utility of the framework. Finally, it recognizes the significance of this research and suggests opportunities for future studies.

8.1 Operational framework for the sustainability of Xijiang's cultural ecosystem

Based on previous studies on Xijiang and other ethnic minorities in developing countries, Chapter 2 proposed a conceptual framework to understand the equilibrium between the preservation of cultural heritage and development of cultural tourism. This chapter modifies the framework according to the actual data from the fieldwork in Xijiang. It reveals the necessity address challenges and weaknesses in the development process of Xijiang and remain aware of problems that emerged in other minority areas in order to achieve sustainable development of Miao ICH (see Figure 8.1).

Cultural sustainability, which refers to meeting the needs of both present and future generations while maintaining cultural diversity and its social and economic valuations (UNESCO 1995; UN 2002; Habitat, 2015), could not be achieved by sacrificing authenticity to cater to market demands or by abandoning development

altogether to preserve cultural heritage. The excessive pursuit of economic benefits without consideration of cultural protection may lead to the destruction of cultural heritage through over-exploitation, whereas the mere concern of preserving cultural heritage without regard for its developmental opportunities may also diminish the vitality of the culture and eventually render it an antique “artifact” in museums.

Based on the previous studies and practical cases around the world (see Chapter 2), the interlinked dimensions of society, culture, environment, and politics are the key elements of a sustainable society, and the status of culture is increasingly notable in a sustainable society. In the specific context of the sustainable development of Miao culture in Xijiang, the achievement of sustainable development is directly subject to the balance between the protection of cultural heritage and the development of cultural tourism, which accordingly implicates the equilibrium between the authenticity of cultural products and the pursuit of economic benefits. Meanwhile, the factors of arts management, ethnic cultural education, and cultural tourism in the cultural ecosystem of Xijiang were verified as interactive and interconnected. The results suggest that arts management, cultural tourism, and education are the direct

core factors of Xijiang's cultural sustainability; they form a stable triangle, and each acute angle interacts and benefits from the others.

In the context of Xijiang, the conflicts between globalization and localization were less marked than the tensions between Hanization and ethnic identity. The indigenous Miao lost their dominant position in a local sense, but the special management mode that they recognize still exists. The market-oriented enterprise management accelerated the commodification of Miao ICH in Xijiang and may have even resulted in the “museumization” of cultural heritage. The impacts of Hanization have spread through tourism, as proven by the many heritage sites in Guizhou. Within the development process, conflicts between Hanization and ethnic identity in Xijiang became even more pronounced (see Section 7.1). Ethnic identity, which refers broadly to one's membership in a specific racial group (Phinney et al., 2001), should be an important component of the self-concept; however, the sense of identity among Xijiang's local communities gradually diminished, and immigrants also seemed less immersed in the receiving society. Han culture informed the main content of

education in schools, and indigenous people widely accepted the Han way of life because of the rapid modernization and expansion of tourism.

In Xijiang's cultural ecosystem, the three factors of arts management, ethnic cultural education, and cultural tourism development are interdependent and contradictory, and thus both positive and negative. Since cultural resources were incorporated into China's urban political economy to "foster and encourage local development and employment growth" (Harvey, 1989, p. 1), tensions formed, and conflict in relationships was inevitable. On the one hand, respondents considered tourism and the management of cultural heritage to be incompatible, as the development of tourism accelerated the commodification of the culture. From the government perspective, cultural commercialization was a hegemonic mechanism of tourism space control in the development process (Su & Teo, 2009). Miao ICH was marketed for tourist consumption, and the desire for profit generation determined the authenticity level. Consumer expectations factored into the artistic process when commodifying arts; consequently, performances were condensed into superficial shows, and counterfeit cultural products were produced. At the same time, the

education of the Miao general public was also associated with economic activity. For instance, the handicraft courses were designed and opened to visitors rather than to local residents.

The commodification of Miao ICH attests to a condition in which capital immensely influenced the tourism market and cultural heritage protection. In Xijiang, the consumption of Miao culture was driven and shaped by the market needs; accordingly, the traditional cultural forms of the Miao (i.e. the authentic “original ecological arts”) were modified to satisfy the demands of curious tourists, and any tampering of content or forms of Miao ICH were justified with the need to attract larger audiences and earn more money. For example, modern stage effects were applied to the folk arts performances, and quantities of professional dance and music creations comprised the main content of the shows, which strayed heavily from the original features of Miao culture. Moreover, not all forms of Miao culture and customs were preserved or kept intact, and the selection of cultural elements was highly dependent on the socio-economic framework that underpins cultural tourism, wherein highly participatory and entertaining cultural forms receive more attention

from the government and investors (see Section 7.3.1). The village was no longer only a living space but also a scenic area with a complete set of tourism service facilities. Like most minority villages in China, Xijiang was eager to transform itself into a minority theme park and was convinced that tourism development would benefit the welfare of Xijiang. Only selected cultural forms and customs that were produced with a “focused gaze” (Urry 2002, p. 88) had the right to survive and be preserved.

On the other hand, Miao artistic products were both luxurious tourist attractions and rich educational resources. The consequent rapid growth in income due to the development of local tourism enabled the provision of higher quality facilities and other physical resources for cultural preservation and ethnic cultural education. These measures ensured that tourism would become an effective means of cultural transmission and also protected diverse heritage and cultural treasures. They assumed that cultural resources contribute to commercial gain, whereas tourism reintroduces people to the cultural roots of a tourism site (Donert & Light, 1996; McCarthy, 1994;) and reignites people’s interest in their own history and culture (Squire, 1996; Tourism

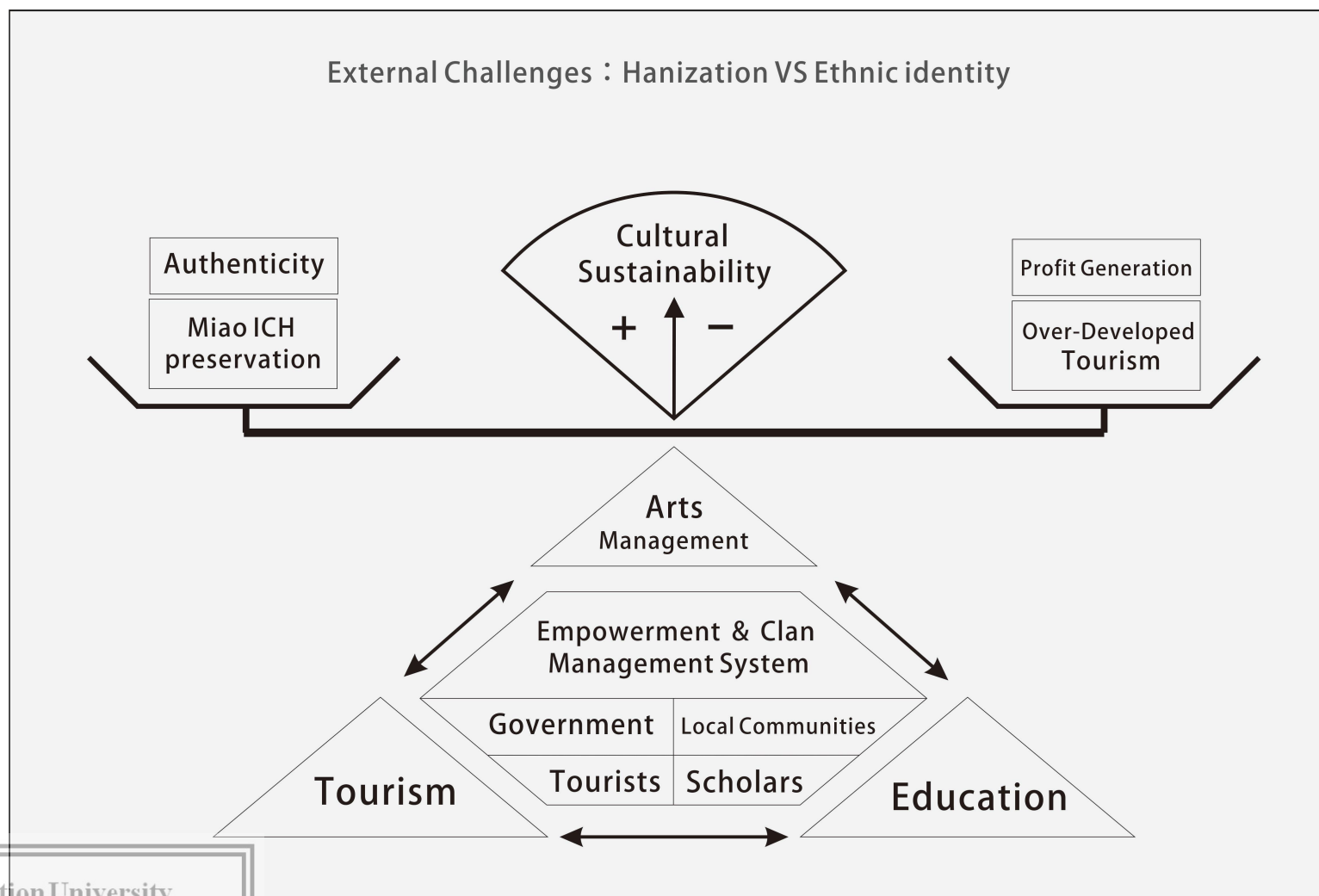
Canada, 1991; WTO, nd). The rapid economic growth of Xijiang in recent years strongly proves the positive role of minority cultural commodification on the accumulation of social wealth. Cultural and environmental changes to Xijiang must take cues from the stakeholders who are directly involved in interactions of cultural consumption. Furthermore, the use of culture as a tourist attraction can be a powerful stimulant of the protection of a region's history, religion, and cultural heritage (Harrison, 1997; Frew & Shaw, 1995; Brokensha & Gruldberg, 1992; Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Simons, 1996). It also created partnership opportunities that can achieve mutually beneficial outcomes (McKercher et al., 2005). The preserved archives, the performances that are presented to the visitors, and the exhibitions in the museum record the development and changes in Miao culture from multiple perspectives and inspired varying degrees of interest in learning about Miao ICH among local residents and tourists. Therefore, enhancing the stable triangulation of arts management, tourism, and ethnic education relates closely to the cultural sustainability of Xijiang.

The proposed operational framework encompasses factors that relate to sustainability in the cultural ecosystem of Xijiang and employs a platform scale to

present the relationship between elements. The antagonistic elements (i.e. authenticity of performances versus profit generation and cultural preservation versus tourism development) are located at each end of the scale, and the factors that directly act on cultural sustainability (i.e. arts management, education, and tourism) form a stable triangle at the bottom of the scale. The model indicates that the essence of achieving cultural sustainability in Xijiang is to balance the interests of cultural and economic sectors in the development process – which, after all, is the core issue of management. Taking advantage of the leverage of management could be an effective way to reduce tensions between authenticity and commercial benefits and ultimately fuse the two aims of cultural preservation and tourism development. To this end, it could maintain stability at the base of the scale by counterbalancing the influence of Xijiang's cultural tourism on Miao cultural heritage by designing appropriate management strategies for arts performances and other cultural products in the scenic area. Moreover, it could improve Miao cultural education in schools and within communities to reinforce the ethnic identity of locals and facilitate the protection and inheritance of Miao ICH. Four key stakeholders with distinct positions in the cultural

ecosystem were identified, namely government officials and managers, local communities (i.e. Miao indigenous people, immigrant entrepreneurs, and immigrant artists), tourists, and scholars of Miao culture (see Section 7.4.1 and Table 7.2). Furthermore, two strategies – the decentralization of authority to the Miao community and the employment of the clan management system – were highlighted as applicable to Xijiang’s cultural-social background (see Section 7.4.2) to grant more rights and interests to local Miao people in the village and increase the local market share rather than relying entirely on external capital. It is also important to formulate an impartial distribution of tourism revenues to guarantee that vulnerable parties can also benefit from the protection and consumption of their culture. A positive attitude of locals toward tourism development and tourists is key to the success of a destination. In addition, the incorporation of stronger engagement of local Miao in cultural activities supports the establishment of a harmonious civil society, which conducive to revitalizing locals’ diminishing sense of their own culture and rebuilding their cultural confidence.

Figure 8.1. Operational Framework for Maintaining Cultural Sustainability of Xijiang



8.2 Recommendations for maintaining cultural sustainability in Xijiang

This thesis has demonstrated tensions between several constructs – namely Hanization versus ethnic identity, cultural preservation versus tourism development, and authenticity versus profit generation – that directly affect the cultural sustainability of regions. In short, the cultural sustainability in Xijiang is manageable. The government officials and managers are cognizant of the concept of sustainable development, but their actions do not fully reflect it. The following problems illustrate concerns regarding the cultural sustainability in Xijiang, and some recommendations are provided to address these issues.

- . Authenticity of cultural representations in Xijiang was questioned. The village lacked normative business management, and entrepreneurs received poor supervision from authorities, so the content of shows that were based on Miao culture was dramatically modified and mixed with some non-Miao cultural elements (e.g. the toasting song that is sung at the local restaurants is of Li nationality). Moreover, the planners had a faulty understanding of audience preferences, as they believed that modern stage effects and

performers with beautiful faces were the key to making the shows more appealing, while tourists were more drawn to historical accuracy of Miao traditions and authentic cultural experiences. Therefore, it is recommended that managers and planners regularly conduct tourism impact assessments and customer evaluations to gauge the impacts of tourism on Miao culture, interpret feedback regarding the participation of locals in cultural and tourism activities, and identify the true demands of visitors. The planning and programming of cultural events should also be carefully managed, as the “gaze” of the shows may shape the impressions of visitors and lead them to stereotype the Miao and their culture. The strict supervision of business is equally necessary to guarantee the authenticity of cultural products.

. Tensions between unity (national integration) and uniqueness (cultural diversity) were present. According to scholars, developing cultural tourism in ethnic areas strengthens socio-political stability in these areas, which in turn fosters national harmony and prosperity (Goodman 2004; Tian 2004; Wang and Hu 1999). Thus, the “national unity [is] built upon a selectively sanitized

representation of multicultural diversity” (Oakes, 1998, p.38). As mentioned, the Miao culture that was presented and preserved was filtered by a label of “united,” which reflects the growing tendency of “museumization.” Therefore, it is recommended that the government shifts from its highly centralized control of ethnic autonomy to a more flexible management style. The preservation of Miao culture needs to be practical rather than merely “giving verbal promise” Whether Miao culture is commercialized, presented in museums and on stage, or neglected by the government and entrepreneurs, it must be programmed not only to cater to the preference of visitors but also to respect Miao traditions and religious beliefs. In this regard, local Miao residents and scholars stressed the significance of protecting religious beliefs to maintain the ethnic identity of a minority people.

There was low engagement of indigenous people in cultural and educational programs. It was obvious that very few programs were planned for local residents, and the youth had few opportunities to engage in professional performance training. Moreover, the implementation of the “developing

ethnic cultures on campus” project was poor. Therefore, there is a need for more recognition of the rights and interests of Miao indigenous people to enjoy the resources of culture and education. More investment in cultural preservation and ethnic cultural education is also necessary for the sustainable development of Miao culture and Xijiang in general. Government-sponsored cultural programs can advance their awareness as cultural subjects, and the educational programs can help them formulate a more comprehensive understanding of Miao ICH, which would be conducive to strengthening Miao ethnic identity. In addition, it would assist them in developing appropriate businesses to become more competitive with Han enterprises.

The indigenous community in Xijiang was a “voiceless follower,” and the way to present Miao culture and the content of cultural representations in Xijiang was no longer determined by the ethnic minorities themselves but by the government and entrepreneurs. In reality, indigenous Miao were rarely involved in the management of cultural and educational projects, and the

power of Xijiang's civic leaders (i.e. the Guzang chieftain and Huolutou) had diminished. The government should acknowledge that the ethnic communities have right to participate in managing and protecting their culture, religion, and traditions. The beneficiaries of Xijiang's tourism development should include not only investors but also the local Miao people who embody these cultures. The local ethnic communities should increase their sense of "empowerment" to participate more in the decision-making process regarding tourism development and cultural preservation. The distribution of cultural tourism revenues should also be impartial so that those with less power can also enjoy the benefits of cultural resources. Otherwise, the subjective consciousness and power of choice among the subjects will be lost, and their culture may corrode or assimilate with the cultures of other nations.

8.3 Research significance and implications for further research

Since ethnicity and cultural heritage have been increasingly applied as tools to attract tourists for economic production and cultural exchange (Jamison, 1999; Wood, 1998), an adverse impact on the way of life and cultural traditions has also emerged (Oakes, 1998; Picard & Wood 1997; Smith 1989; Yang & Wall, 2009). As tourism exploitation has become a key strategy of western construction in China, concerns about Xijiang have intensified in regard to the protection and promotion of Miao culture (Liao, 2016; Yuan & Zhang, 2004; etc.) and the balance between using Miao ethnicity as a tourist attraction and sustaining ethnic pride to achieve sustainable tourism development (Hu & Zhou, 2017; Wang & Wang, 2016; etc.). However, few studies have focused on the cultural sustainability of Miao, and the literature on the Miao in Guizhou have placed more emphasis on the management of ethnic tourism and cultural commodities or focused on only one dimension of Xijiang's cultural ecosystem (Xu & Tian, 2004; Zhang, 2012 etc.). Moreover, previous studies, such as the research of Li in Hannan (Xie, 2001), Naxi in Yunnan (Su & Teo, 2009), Dai in Yunnan (Yang, 2009), and Miao in Hunan (Wu, 2010), have paid more attention to

the positions of stakeholders, been less concerned with the management of minority arts, or have not explored the interrelationships between arts management, ethnic cultural education, and cultural tourism. To complement previous research, the present study focuses on cultural sustainability in the context of Hanization rather than the development of the tourism industry or cultural commercialization in the context of globalization. I have reiterated the importance of appropriate use of minority ICH, which covers broad subjects, including cultural sustainability, arts management, ethnic cultural education, and cultural tourism in ethnic areas. Although the research concentrates solely on the Miao in Xijiang, China, the findings may be applied to other ethnic villages in China or those in developing countries where the culture is undergoing the commercialization process or cultural tourism has become the leading industry.

The literature review indicates that many ethnic villages with political structures, societal conditions, cultural conventions, and economic conditions that are similar to those of Xijiang have encountered the same problems and complexities: for instance, Han cultural hegemony is a common phenomenon in ethnic areas of China, the

managers have insufficient expertise in the management of ICH and ethnic art programs, few minority regions have ethnic schools, and the Han curriculum determines the mainstream teaching content. Instead of passing down the history and culture, the villages have mainly pursued economic growth and have not fully comprehended or implemented the significant elements of arts management and ethnic cultural education. There seems to be a lack of common and standardized terms or definitions for arts management and cultural sustainability, which reveals a general need for further investigation of the success factors to maintain cultural sustainability in ethnic villages.

The sustained development of cultural tourism, effective management of cultural heritage and cultural events, and development of the ethnic cultural curriculum are interesting topics for further research. The conceptual models that this study has developed may provide useful perspectives, and their implementation can support practices for quality management and sustainable development of minority culture.

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Appendix A Questionnaire (English version)

The awareness of local residents regarding the development of cultural tourism, the conservation of Miao's cultural intangible cultural heritage and the evaluation of community education

Dear participant,

You are invited to participate in a project supervised by Prof. Leung Bo Wah and conducted by Miss. Du Junge, who is student of the Cultural and Creative Arts in The Education University of Hong Kong. Please note that the data (answers & personal information) will be stored in anonymous form. It is your decision whether or not you participate in this project. Please find the attached information sheet for details. If you still wish to contact myself for any further information, please contact:

or .

Thank you very much for your help!

Participant No. : _____

Part I The Developmental Tendency of Cultural Tourism in Xijiang

1. What extent has the increasing number of visitors made an impact on your daily life? (5: very positive influential; 1: very negative influential; 3: not at all influential)
 - A. 5 (extremely positive influential)
 - B. 4 (slightly positive influential)
 - C. 3 (not at all influential)
 - D. 2 (slightly negative influential)
 - E. 1 (extremely negative influential)

2. What extent has the increasing numbers of stores made an impact on your daily life? (5: very positive influential; 1: very negative influential; 3: not at all influential)

- A. 5 (extremely positive influential)
- B. 4 (slightly positive influential)
- C. 3 (not at all influential)
- D. 2 (slightly negative influential)
- E. 1 (extremely negative influential)

3. If you have been asked viewing of charging the entrance ticket of Xijiang Miao Village?

- A. Yes
- B. No

4. If you have been asked for opinions of charging the admission fee of folklore performances?

- A. Yes
- B. No

5. Please indicate to what extent you agree with the statements below (1 means you completely disagree with it, 5 means you agree with it completely, and 3 means neutral):

5 4 3 2 1

A. Tourism
development makes
your household income
increased between
2011 and 2015

B. Tourism
development makes
infrastructures a sizable
improvement from
2011 to 2015

C. Tourism

development changes
the social conventions?

D. Tourism
development makes
destructions of
intangible cultural
heritage?

6. Overall, what is your attitude towards making tourism a local core industry? (1 means strongly support, 5 means strongly oppose, and 3 means neutral):

5	4	3	2	1

Part II The Consciousness of Conservation of Miao's Intangible Cultural Heritage

* **Intangible cultural heritage:** Intangible Cultural Heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.

1. Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
2. Performing arts;
3. Social practices, rituals and festive events;
4. Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
5. Traditional craftsmanship

7. In your opinion, which of the followings belongs to Miao's intangible cultural heritage?

- A. The construction process of Xijiang Diaojiang Building
- B. The Guzang Festival
- C. Nongx Niangx (the Miao's new year)
- D. The Lusheng craftsmanship

- E. The Miao embroidery
 - F. The Miao brocade
 - G. The Miao silver forging technology
 - H. The Lusheng dance
 - I. The bronze drum dance
 - J. The Miao songs
 - K. The traditional Miao medicine
 - L. All of the above
8. What is the basis for judgment of Question 12?
- A. Life experiences
 - B. Academic knowledge
 - C. Government's promotion
 - D. Others (please describe_____)
9. Do you think it is your duty to promote Miao's traditional culture to tourists?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
10. Have you introduce Miao ICH to tourists?
- A. Yes
 - B. No, and have no intention to do so
 - C. No, but intend to do so
11. As you know, if the local government has introduced a cultural policy to protect intangible cultural heritage?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Not sure
12. How frequently you joined local cultural activities (including festival, performances, lectures etc.)?
- A. More than 48 times

- B. 12-47 times
- C. 1-11 times
- D. 0 (never)

13. What is the main purpose do you think of protecting the intangible cultural heritage?

- A. Transferring historical culture/ Maintaining cultural diversity
- B. Contributing to the tourism development and then facilitate the economic growth

14. What are the possible reasons to cause damage to Miao ICH (multiple choice)?

- A. Cultural shock caused by increased number of tourists
- B. Cultural shock caused by increased number of non-local shop owners
- C. Social network accelerated the transmission of popular culture (eg. popular music)
- D. Cultural globalization (i.e. pop culture)
- E. Others

15. How important do you think of the protection of intangible cultural heritage (5 very important, and 1 not at all important)? :

5	4	3	2	1

16. Do you have interest to participate in any act to conserve intangible cultural heritage (5 deeply interested, and 1 not at all interested)?

5	4	3	2	1

17. What is the intensity of government promotion on Miao ICH (5 very strong; 1 little publicity)?

5	4	3	2	1

18. How much do you think the local government provides financial supports to the protection of Miao's intangible cultural heritage (5 sufficient support; 1 inadequate support)?

5	4	3	2	1

19. Compared with the traditional singing and dancing, how do you evaluate the authenticity of the daily folk performances (5 very low; 1 very high)?

5	4	3	2	1

20. Do you agree/disagree with the following statement (5 strongly agree; 1 hardly agree):

5	4	3	2	1

A. The daily folk performances changed original features of Miao's intangible cultural heritage?

B. The daily folk performances help in the promotion of Miao's intangible cultural heritage

C. The daily folk performances motivated tourists to learn about Miao's intangible cultural heritage

D. The daily folk performances motivated

local residents to learn
about Miao's intangible
cultural heritage

21. What is your support for the following measure to protect Miao ICH (5 very support; 1 hardly support)?

5 4 3 2 1

A. Keep in unaltered living
environment (eg. remain the
residential houses)

B. Local schools provide
courses on Miao culture

C. Provide free Miao art
lectures

D. Provide more Miao
culture exhibitions

E. Increase number of
Cultural Ambassador

F. Strengthening traditional
Miao culture education (eg.
incorporate relevant
traditional Miao culture
curricula in locally
developed curriculum)

G. Penalties shall be
imposed on atcs that destroy
cultural heritage

Part III The Changes in Community Education

22. Have you ever learnt/ Are you learning Miao's culture in local schools?

A. Yes

B. No

23. Do you think if there are adequate community educational facilities in your village?

- A. Yes
- B. No

24. How much you are interested in cultural and educational activities? (5 very interest, and 1 not at all interest)

5	4	3	2	1

25. What are the possible reasons for you to join the cultural and educational activities (multiple choices)?

- A. Received the invitation from friends
- B. The family have learning interest
- C. Job requirements/ School tasks
- D. Others (please describe_____)

26. Which cultural education activities you are interested to attend (multiple choice)?

- A. Artistic performances
- B. Handicraft workshop
- C. Lectures
- D. Exhibitions
- E. Parents-child campaign
- F. Others (please describe_____)

27. What channels is the best one for you to get culture and education information? (Multiple choices)

- A. Friends/Family
- B. Local educational institutes
- C. Local government
- D. Social network (eg: Wechat/Weibo)

- E. TV/Broadcast
- F. Poster/ Brochures
- G. Others (please describe_____)

28. About the local museum, please indicate to what extent you agree with the statements below (1 means you completely disagree with it, 5 means you agree with it completely, and 3 means neutral):

5 4 3 2 1

A. You enjoy the museum visit very much					
B. The local museum motivated you to learn more about Miao's intangible cultural heritage					
C. The local museum helps tourists understand Miao's intangible cultural heritage					
D. The local museum holds diversified activities					
E. The local museum should hold more educational activities					

Part IV Personal Information

29. Please indicate your gender?

- A. Male
- B. Female

30. Please indicate your age group?

- A. 18-44
- B. 45-65

C. 65 or over

31. Please indicate your nationality?

A. Miao

B. Han

C. Other ethnic minorities

32. What is your highest level of educational qualification?

A. Primary school/ Secondary school

B. Vocational education/ College/ Diploma

C. Bachelor degree/ Master or doctoral degree

33. Which of the following categories best describes your current position?

A. Businessmen, self-employed entrepreneurs and their employees (e.g. store owners and salespersons, restaurant owners, waiters)

B. Government officials

C. Teachers and students

D. Artists and performers

E. Other occupations (e.g. famer)

34. Is your current occupation (or former occupation) connected with culture or tourism?

A. Cultural related only

B. Tourism related only

C. Related to both

D. Unrelated to both

35. Which category best describes your annual household gross income group?

A. RMB 48,000 or less

- B. RMB 48,000 – 120.000 Yuan
- C. More than RMB 120,000 Yuan

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendices B Questionnaire (Chinese version)

问卷调查

关于居民对西江旅游发展、非物质文化遗产保护、社区教育的意识和态度的调查

尊敬的受访者您好，

您受邀参与由香港教育大学文化与创意艺术系梁宝华教授指导、杜浚歌女士执行的研究项目，请注意本研究所收集的数据（您的答案以及个人信息）将以匿名形式保存，并不会用于任何商业用途。您有权决定是否参与或随时退出。请阅读信息表获取详情。如有其它疑问，请联系：_____或_____

感谢您的参与！

编号：_____

第一部分 对西江旅游发展的评价

1. 自2011年以来,游客人数的增加对您的生活有什么影响?

有很积极的影响	有较积极的影响	无影响	有较消极的影响	有很消极的影响
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2. 自2011年以来,商铺数量的增加对您的生活有什么影响?

有很积极的影响	有较积极的影响	无影响	有较消极的影响	有很消极的影响
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3. 西江苗寨景区决定收取门票之前是否询问过您的意见?

是

否

4. 民俗演出决定收取门票之前是否询问过您的意见?

是

否

5. 对以下描述您所持的态度?

非常赞同 比较赞同 中立的 比较不赞同 非常不赞同

旅游发展使得家庭收入增长

旅游发展使得基础设施改善

旅游发展改变生活习俗

旅游发展破坏文化遗产

6. 总体来说,您对旅游业成为当地核心产业所持的态度?

非常支持

比较支持

中立的

比较不支持

非常不支持

第二部分 对苗族非物质文化遗产的保护意识

***什么是非物质文化遗产：**非物质文化遗产是人民世代相传并视为其文化遗产组成部分的各种传统文化表现形式，以及与传统文化表现形式相关的实物和场所。
包括以下方面：

- 1、口头传统和表现形式，包括作为非物质文化遗产媒介的语言；
- 2、表演艺术；
- 3、社会实践、仪式、节庆活动；
- 4、有关自然界和宇宙的知识和实践；
- 5、传统手工艺。

7. 您认为下列哪项属于苗族非物质文化遗产（可多选）？

西江千户苗寨吊脚楼建筑工艺

苗族鼓藏节

苗年节

苗族芦笙制作工艺

苗族服饰刺绣工艺（苗族刺绣）

苗族织锦

苗族银饰锻造工艺

苗族芦笙舞

苗族铜鼓舞

苗族飞歌

苗族医药

以上全部

8. 您对上述项目是否属于非物质文化遗产的判断依据是?

生活经验

学术知识（课堂授课、书本阅读、讲座、博物馆展览等）

政府宣传

其他

9. 您认为向游客宣传苗族传统文化是应尽的义务?

是

否

10. 您是否曾经向游客宣传苗族非物质文化遗产?

是

否，并且不打算这样做

否，但打算这样做

11. 您是否知道地方政府出台的保护非物质文化遗产的政策?

知道全部

知道一部分

完全不知道

12. 您一年中参与(包括演出/观看)当地文化活动的次数 (包括民俗表演、节庆活动) ?

48 次以上

12-47 次

1-11 次

0次（从来不参加）

13. 您认为保护非物质文化遗产的主要目的在于?

传承历史文化 / 保持文化多样性

有助于旅游业的发展, 进而促进经济增长

其他

14. 您认为哪些原因可能对本地文化造成冲击(可多选)?

游客增加

外地商户增加

社交媒体的广泛应用 (例如: 微信、微博)

流行文化的流入

其他

15. 您认为保护苗族非物质文化遗产的重要程度?

非常重要	比较重要	中立的	比较不重要	非常不重要

16. 您有兴趣参与保护苗族非物质文化遗产的活动吗?

非常有兴趣	比较有兴趣	中立的	比较没兴趣	完全没兴趣

17. 您认为政府对保护苗族非物质文化遗产的宣传强度是?

非常积极地宣传	比较积极地宣传	中立的	不太积极地宣传	没有宣传或 几乎不宣传

18. 您认为政府为保护非物质文化遗产提供的资金支持是?

非常充足的支持	比较充足的支持	中立的	不太充足的支持	缺乏支持

19. 与原汁原味的传统歌舞相比较, 您如何评价当地每天的民俗表演对传统表演的改编程度?

完全改编	较大程度改编	中等程度改编	较小程度	完全还原 (没有改编)

20. 关于民俗表演,您对下列说法的看法是?

非常赞同 比较赞同 中立的 比较不赞同 非常不赞同

民族表演改变了苗族非物质文化遗产的原貌

民族表演有助于苗族非物质文化遗产的推广

民俗表演有助于增加游客对苗族非物质文化遗产的学习兴趣

民俗表演增加了本地人对苗族非物质文化遗产的学习兴趣

21. 您对以下保护非物质文化遗产的措施的支持度?

非常支持 比较支持 中立的 比较不支持 非常不支持

保存现有的建筑(包括居住房屋)

当地学校增加苗族文化的相关课程

提供免费的苗族文化艺术讲座

增加苗族非物质文化遗产的展览

增加文化传承人的数量

当地政府应该出台激励性政策
(例如:奖励对保护苗族非物质文化遗产有贡献的个人或组织)

减少对苗族传统歌舞的改编
对破坏文化遗产的行为给予处

第三部分 对当地社区教育的评价

22. 您是否曾经或正在当地学校接受苗族文化教育?

是

否

23. 您认为当地的文化教育设施是否足够?

是

否

24. 您对参与文化教育活动的兴趣程度?

非常有兴趣

比较有兴趣

中立的

比较没兴趣

完全没兴趣

25. 什么原因能使您产生参加文化教育活动的兴趣(可多选)?

亲朋好友的邀请

子女或亲朋有学习的兴趣或诉求

工作需要

其他

26. 您对哪类文化教育活动感兴趣(可多选)?

艺术表演

手工艺工作坊

讲座

展览

亲子活动

其他

27. 您通常通过哪种渠道获取教育活动的信息(可多选)?

亲友相告

当地学校发布的信息

当地政府发布的信息
 社交媒体（例如：微信、微博）
 电视、广播
 海报 / 宣传册
 其他

28. 关于本地博物馆,你对下列说法所持有的态度是?

非常赞同 比较赞同 中立的 比较不赞同 非常不赞同

您觉得参观本地博物馆的体验很好

本地的博物馆有助于本地居民加深学习苗族非物质文化遗产

本地的博物馆有助于游客了解苗族非物质文化遗产

本地博物馆开展了多种多样的活动

本地的博物馆应该增加更多的教育活动

第四部分 个人信息

29. 您的性别?

男
 女

30. 您的年龄?

18-44岁
 45-64岁
 65岁或以上

31. 您的民族?

苗族
 汉族

其他少数民族

32. 您的最高学历？

小学、初中

中专、高中、大专

大学本科、硕士、博士

33. 您现在所从事的职业？

商人、个体工商户及员工（例如：商铺老板、售货员、酒店老板、饭店服务员）

政府人员

学者、教师或学生

艺术家和演员

手工业者

其他（例如：务农）

34. 您现在（或曾经）的职业与文化或旅游有关？

仅与文化有关

仅与旅游有关

与两者都有关

与两者都无关

35. 您的年收入在哪个范围？

低于4.8万元人民币

4.8-12万元人民币

高于12万元人民币

感谢您的参与

Appendix C Interview transcriptions

Appendix C1 Tourist interviews

I D	Sex	Age group	Starting point	Questions	Answer
A	1M	Over 60	Xi'an	1. Why you come to visit Xijiang?	1. Recommended by my friends.
				2. How do you feel about this village?	2. It's very spectacular; it's very beautiful and special.
				3. Please give some comments on the artistic performance?	3. Very good, the occasions are great.
				4. Do you think it did too much revision? Too commercial?	4. It's normal phenomenon, every ancient village becomes commercialized, Xijiang is less commercialized one, I think it is acceptable.
				5. Will you come back again?	5. Yes.



B	1M3F	20-30	Sichuan	1. How do you feel about this village?	1. Too commercial! Most of the shop owners or sellers are not locals.
				2. How do you feel about the performance?	2. We like traditional programmes. It's (the short free performance) good, reasonable programming, but the performance is too short.
				3. Will you come back again?	3. No, never be back.
C	1M2F	Over 60	Beijing	1. Why you come to Xijiang?	1. Recommended by friends. We saw friend's photos taken in Xijiang. We have been here for more than twice. We like this village very much.
				2. How do you feel about the performance?	2. Very good. But if they have more traditional programmes will be better.
				3. Do you think it is too commercial?	3. It is inevitable.
				4. Will you come back again?	4. Yes.
D	1M	40-50	Fujian	1. Do you like the performance?	1. I like traditional performance. It is good as a whole, but I prefer the programme with traditional features. That is their real life. We can see those



					adaptions in other place.
				2. Do you think it is too commercial?	2. The performance has modern flavor and has been seriously commercialized.
E	2M	30-40	Jiangsu	1. How do you feel about this village?	1. This is our second visit. It is very beautiful and the buildings are very well preserved.
				2. Do you think it is too commercial?	2. It acceptable.
				3. Do you like the performance?	3. We like the traditional programme. They must aggregate the most beautiful girls and boys in the village.
				4. Will you come back again?	4. Yes.
F	1F	20-30	Guiyang	1. How do you feel about Xijiang?	1. I feel very interesting and relaxing.
				2. Do you think it is too commercial?	2. Yes.
				3. How do you feel about the folklore performance?	3. The additional programme is quite tacky.
				4. Do you think it is adapted too much?	4. I think it's ok, not too much.



				5. Do you like traditional programme or adaptations	5. I like traditional programme.
				6. Will come back Xijiang again?	6. Yes, I will.
G	1M1F	50-60	Guiyang	1. How do you feel about Xijiang?	1. Overview, it is good. But we like the primitive lifestyle more.
				2. Do you think it is too commercial?	2. This is a tendency of all 'Original-ecology' scenic spot in China, especially in ethnic minority settlements.
				3. How do you feel about the folklore performance?	3. The performers are not very highly skilled. We didn't feel very shocked.
				4. Do you think it is adapted too much?	4. Yes. We think the traditional elements is not enough.
				5. Do you like traditional programme or adaptations	5. Traditional programmes.
				6. Will come back Xijiang again?	6. Not for sure. Different people may have different decisions. People from different place



					may also have different ideas.
H	1M	20-30	Guiyang	1. How do you feel about Xijiang?	1. Xijiang has pleasant scenery; it also has very strong national scent. The Miao's lifestyle and cultural custom have been entirely presented. I feel very convenient as a tourist.
				2. Do you think it is too commercial?	2. I think this exists. The shops are located throughout the whole village, which sell the same goods. I also found that most of the shop owners are not locals.
				3. How do you feel about the folklore performance?	3. I felt quite interesting and strange when I first saw the performance, the performers seems very professional, but this is also the problem that makes it less senses of pure and simple.
				4. Do you think it is adapted too much?	4. Actually I didn't know if it has been changed or adapted. I don't know the difference between what it is now and the "Original-ecology" performance.
				5. Do you like traditional programme or adoptions	5. I prefer to watch traditional programme, this is the reason why I came to Xijiang because I am



					appreciating the unique minority cultures and their original residential environment and living conditions. Too much adaption may reduce the aesthetic feeling of simplicity.
				6. Will come back Xijiang again?	6. I think I will visit Xijiang again.
I	1F	50-60	Beijing	1. How do you feel about Xijiang?	1. It's good. May be because this is my first time come here, it gives me a novel feeling.
				2. Do you think it is too commercial?	2. It is too commercial! I didn't have a sense of simplicity.
				3. How do you feel about the folklore performance?	3. That's ok all in all.
				4. Do you think it is adapted too much?	4. They did too much adaption. I cannot find any primitive characteristics of Miao.
				5. Do you like traditional programme or adaption	5. I like traditional programmes very much.
				6. Will come back Xijiang again?	6. No. It is over commercialized.



Appendix C2 Interviews – Government officials (in Chinese)

Code	Position	Transcription
GO01	Expert Committee of Guizhou Mountain Tourism Conference	<p>問：首先我想了解針對少數民族地區是否有特殊的政策發展旅遊業？</p> <p>答：貴州的鄉村幅員比較廣大，行政村一般包含很多自然村，分散居住，行政村大概有一萬八千個行政村，自然村就更多了，三到四萬。這些村寨多半是靠旅遊業和畜牧業以及林業等作為生存發展的產業。由於貴州原來的交通閉塞，加上經濟發展比較落後，是全國經濟發展水平較低的省份。雖然經濟貧困，但是鄉村文化，特別是少數民族文化保存很好。經濟落後但是文化富有。隨著改革開放，尤其是交通的改善，使得原來的民族文化展現出來，變成國際旅遊組織所說的世界比較少有的多元文化保存較好的區域，成為中國乃至世界人們嚮往的地方。加上貴州的其他優勢，比如氣候、空氣質量、安全、自然災害少等，旅遊價值這些年就凸顯了。紐約時報評價2016年世界最應該去的地方，中國佔了兩個，杭州和貴州，所以貴州旅遊出現了井噴的現象。來貴州旅遊很少在城市，主要是觀光、體驗、欣賞、度假、避暑，目的地都在鄉村。所以鄉村旅遊的蓬勃發展成為貴州產業發展非常重要的特點。所以貴州省政府，各級政府都把發展旅遊，特別是鄉村旅遊擺在最重要的位置。最近國家提出了要在2020年解決貧困的問題，貴州的脫貧任務又是最</p>



重的，如何脫貧，大家取得了一個共識，其中一個非常重要的抓手就是鄉村，即通過發展鄉村旅遊實現脫貧致富。這些年發展鄉村旅遊的經驗證明發展鄉村旅遊不會大幅增加政府的財政收入，但是能增加農民的個人收入。在脫貧致富方面具有明顯的特點。貴州省把旅遊產業作為支柱產業，把鄉村旅遊作為發展農村經濟，特別是脫貧攻堅的力量是由貴州的特點決定的。那麼政府在2004年編制了全省的鄉村旅遊規劃，也被國家旅遊局評價為當時全國最好的鄉村旅遊規劃，從那時起，貴州省的鄉村旅遊就進入了一個新的階段。去年貴州省又提出了全域旅遊的新概念，貴州省已經制定了相應的政策措施鼓勵鄉村鼓勵農民開展鄉村旅遊，鼓勵企業參與到鄉村旅遊的建設中，要求各級政府把鄉村旅遊擺在一個十分重要的地位，對從事鄉村旅遊產業的組織實行優惠政策，比如免稅、投資、土地配置方面的優惠政策。所以鄉村旅遊現在的發展是比較好的。鄉村旅遊當中有一定的矛盾，一個是發展，一個是保護，以一個以前保存完好的村寨為例，它如果發展鄉村旅遊，必然會遇到這個問題，保護與發展的問題。它要發展就會建立許多經濟個體，企業也會進入，大量的遊客就會進入，必然帶來對原來的文化的衝擊和破壞，給保護就帶來了問題。如何處理好發展與保護的關係呢，國家主席習近平在貴州視察的時候提出了兩個底線，第一條是一定要發展，不發展農民的生活不能進入現代化，不能脫貧致富，但是在發展當中還要保住另一條底線，就是保護，即保護前提下的發展，是發展中的保護。這始終是一個難題。最近啟動了貴州省旅遊資源大普查的活動，以89個單位進行資源大普查。貴州已經把三大發展：大數據、大生態、大旅遊作為重點。要求摸清家底。第二呢包括獨立單體結合單體都調查完了，要了解結構、分類情況。第三呢質量、級別。國家對旅遊資源分為5級，1、2普通級，3良級，4優級、5極品級，各等級的資源有多少。了解這些資源之後便於更好的整合，建設優質的旅遊產品，滿足旅遊市場的需要。同



時呢，進入全域旅遊時代，省、市、縣三級都要重新制定旅遊規劃，普查為制定各級的規劃提供了數據支撐，在全國還是首例。同時呢檔案局、檔案館都參加了普查。還特別強調對貧困地區和貧困村寨的旅遊重點進行調查，專門進行統計。使貧困山區的村民認識到我們有多少旅遊資源，如何打造旅遊產品。這些數據都要省政府領導來指導。這個工作現在已經大概進行了一半，從四月開始，年底結束。

問：是不是要在保護本土文化的基礎上才發展鄉村旅遊？

答：發展旅遊，特別是鄉村旅遊，省裡確定了一個原則，要求是先規劃，後建設，不允許在沒有規劃的情況下進行建設，建設體現在項目上。國家12年制定了旅遊規劃通則，省裡制定了一個旅遊規劃技術導則，這個導則裡面就把生態保護的具體規範進行了規定，規劃必須有切實可靠的對自然文化資源進行保護的切實的措施，那這個規劃才能通過評審。每個規劃都有生態保護的專家（參與評價），比如清潔、環境衛生，住宿、餐飲設施的排污處理，開展旅遊活動產生的污染，包括垃圾、水污染、空氣污染都有切實可靠的措施進行保護，那這個規劃才能通過，形成法定文件，政府最終在評審的基礎上做出最終決定。採取三級評審，縣級進行專家評審，市級進行複審，省裡進行審核。我是最後一到關口，叫覆核。只有覆核通過之後相關的政府才能做出決定，組織實施。這是保護的底線。發展的底線就是要有規劃，這個好弄。保護的底線我們設定了這些關卡。例如今年制定五年規劃，明年旅遊人次和收入達到多少，就可以計算出來交通設施、產生多少污染，用什麼方法、技術對污染進行清理，歸為零這個規劃才能實施。不能說為了保護就不發展，



城市人有追求現代生活的權力，農村人更有。你到農村去看，原來沒有指導，他們認為富裕就是和城市一樣修水泥房，大量的水泥房進入了保存完好的鄉村，實際上是一種破壞，人們就不願意去了，你也不能阻止他，只能告訴他怎麼建。現在歐洲的鄉村旅遊發展很好，比如愛爾蘭，房子的外部看是傳統的外觀，但是內部有現代的設施，居住很舒適。所以要有指導的，不可能為了保護就不讓你發展，發展是第一位的，但是這種發展要以保護為前提。在省裡指導鄉村旅遊發展要注意的就是兩個問題，不能不讓發展，可能就亂發展，進行破壞，比如在河邊搞燒烤，搞旅遊設施，把河水污染，要鼓勵發展同時要求保護好，而且保護要有切實可行的村民可以接受的措施。

問：西江收取門票以後，商業化的感受好像更濃了，例如雲南的麗江、湖南的鳳凰，有很多遊客反映體驗不好，商業化氣息太重，如何避免讓貴州的少數民族變得過於商業化？

答：商業化不是問題，市場化就要商業化，其實是模式的問題，關鍵在於管理。省裡面提出三精戰略，產品要精緻，服務要精細，營銷要精準。既是一個發展概念，又是一個管理概念。馬上要推出一個5A級景區，青岩古鎮。它的管理和服務是精細化的，在景區看不到一點垃圾，管理有序，把發展和保護的理念在管理當中融為一體，使得兩個目標都能實現。管理精細化，發展是精細的，管理是精細的，就把發展和保護的問題解決了。整個一條街有特色餐飲，有購物設施，有住宿設施，還有其他的文化體驗設施，怎麼通過規劃管理弄得精緻化，服務精細化。比如洗手間的佈局很合理，免費、乾淨等。在這些細節上做到有效管理。不但是有效地發展也要做到有效的保護，這都是對管理提出的問題。在保住兩條底線的情況下，管理非常重要。管理的過程是對評價效果



		<p>進行處理的過程，貴州很多管理沒有形成閉環，有目標，有計劃，有對相關資源的整合，有實施，但是對實施的效果不及時反饋，對反饋的問題不及時處理，就不能達到預期效果。我建議你研究文化的傳承，尤其在發展中的傳承要把管理很好的考慮進去，並且給出一些方案和建議。貴州的很多問題是管理問題。比如口號，建世界旅遊名城，口號沒有問題，但是離世界旅遊名城的差距有多大，就是管理不到位。</p> <p>現實的情況，中國的領導人善於提出很好的設想，和一些鼓舞人心的目標，也可以為實現目標組織、制定、支撐目標的團隊，也可以要求下屬政府相關機構實施規劃，但僅此而已，規劃到底實施的怎麼樣缺乏跟蹤和反饋。</p>
GO02	Senior official from Guizhou Tourism Bureau	<p>那就從民族文化的講起吧，剛才你說到非物質文化遺產的開發和保護，其實貴州這幾年發展旅遊也是基於我們在民族文化旅遊資源非常豐富的基礎上在做，民族文化旅遊在貴州有一定的地位主要是因為貴州在民族文化的保護上是非常注重的。那為什麼這麼重視呢，因為處在偏遠的地方，窮的話投資也很少，就被保存下來了，因為貴州窮，在大山裡面，沒有開發，沒有被擾亂的原因。這幾年貴州交通、經濟條件也不錯，全國的名次也上來以後，有實力讓老百姓走出大山，讓他們過更好的生活，政府在扶貧這塊是看重這點的。在發展的情況下，更加注重的是保護。是在保護的前提下在發展。特別是旅遊事業，因為旅遊是人打交道的，帶來了人就會帶來破壞和一系列的問題。為了讓旅遊者能夠到達，當地政府會改善當地的旅遊設施，比如修路，會建吃、住的場所。這些建設一定會破壞當地的一些資源，特別是交通。但是這些又是必須建的，所以我們要在保護的前提下來開發。這幾年我們是這樣考慮的，我們的文化部門，我們專門有一個非物質文化遺產</p>



辦，成立這個部門的目的就是在現在大發展的環境下，不光更好的好嘍我們的民族文化資源，還有生態資源。因為我們和文化部門、遺產部門緊密的配合。旅遊的目的就是開發、發展、讓更多的遊客進來，這是旅遊的目的，要開拓市場，開發更好的產品出來，但這種產品不是單一的，是有關聯的，一個成熟的產品，必須要有吃、住、行、游、購、娛六要素才能構成一個產品。西江苗寨原來是在深山裡，沒有人去的，之所以能夠開發成旅遊景點，是當地的政府和一些相關部門對它的保護，居民還在居住，我們現在才有這個條件開發它。如果當年就亂開發，我們現在也沒辦法得到這樣的一個好的旅遊產品。其實哪家不想住的好一點？西江它的木板房，它的結構，各方面的條件沒有混凝土房這麼好，老百姓從這些條件來說是比不了這些磚房、混凝土房的條件，老百姓出去打工回來肯定想改善家裡的環境，農村就是這樣的，外面打工再辛苦，也要留著錢回家來修一棟房子，這是他們光宗耀祖的一件事。但是我們跟他們說的是你們要保護好你們現在的房子，將來會給你們帶來更多的收入，老百姓才願意保護。那是他們自己的房子，他們肯定是要去改建的。相關政府在充分進行調研、專家評審之後，對民族的元素進行包裝、改善，但是並沒有破壞它真正的特性。所以應該說在民族文化保護這塊是做了相當工作的。但是這和旅遊一點都不矛盾，既然保護怎麼能開發呢？所以我們說的是在保護的前提上開發。習總書記來貴州的時候說要守住兩條底線，一個生態，一個發展，這兩條底線必須守住的。除了民族文化這一塊，還有我們的生態資源，我們的森林覆蓋率在西部已經是最好的了，也是這幾年沒有開發的原因才能維持這麼好的生態環境。大概四五年了吧，國際生態文明論壇一直在貴陽開，現在是國務院主持這個會議。貴州現在就在主打生態牌、民族牌，這麼我們具有吸引力的地方，如果沒有生態、沒有民族，貴州的旅遊業是永遠搞不上去的。我們佔的優勢，就是生態和民族。和周邊的地區相比，



比如雲南、四川，雲南的少數民族也很多，但是在開發的過程中，很多東西已經異化，商業化太嚴重，沒有民族文化的純樸；四川的生態也很好，但是民族的多樣化就不如貴州。三十多個民族在貴州是世居的，就是在這裡生活、生產、發展的，這些東西正好就是我們最好的產品。特別是境外市場，外國人來這裡旅遊更感興趣的是原汁原味的東西而不是加工過的東西。我們找準了市場的需要，也把民族和生態的保護放在首要前提。比如西江苗寨、黎平的侗族、山都的水族等，都是保護的很好的，就是原汁原味的。

這幾年貴州在發展山地旅遊，貴州處處都是山地資源，我們以前說的山地都是戶外、攀岩等運動，我們的少數民族都是世居在山地，比如苗族一般居住在山頂、布依族居住在山下，都是民族當時的爭鬥和長期的磨合形成的格局。布依族的漢化比較嚴重，因為交通發達，外來文化侵入比較多，他們是嚮往外面的東西的，比如穿著。這就是幾個民族之間的差異。在這種情況下，我們除了所謂的保護好，我也更多的在投入做布依族的東西，因為它們的交通條件更好，他們的文化、傳說都有很多。

這幾年本土的專家和學者在保護和傳承，傾住了大量的心血，特別是傳承上是做了很多工作的。因為像苗族等很多民族她們沒有文字，很多文化是依靠口口相傳，過程中會有流失。現在的文化工作者在傳承的方面做了很多事，通過一些故事和其他一些表現方式挖掘、保護、傳承下去。水族的自治縣僅在貴州有一個，水族文化很神秘，他們的文字很像象形文字，他們在水利、天文等方面有一套自己的文化。現在能懂、書寫水族文字的已經很少了，他們現在中小學開設了水畫這類教授民族語言的課程。不止是以前懂這種文化的人去傳承，而是要廣為普及的傳播。在少數民族地區會開設這樣的課程，讓大家都要學會講自己的語言，懂自己的文化，世代相傳，這樣能夠



讓我們的民族文化在經濟發展的今天不會斷裂，而能可持續地發展下去。現在的狀態是很多都出去打工去了，子女也在外面，留守老人在村里住著，政府通過旅遊扶貧來解決這個問題，因為少數民族地區的文化多樣性，生態非常好，非常適合發展旅遊業，我們把這類旅遊統稱為民族文化旅遊或者鄉村旅遊。讓老百姓覺得他們傳統的生活習慣、生產方式能夠讓廣大的外來人喜歡甚至購買、交易，就能獲得收入，解決貧困問題，子女就不會外出打工，願意在當地生活，文化就能流傳下去。小孩跟著父母出去打工，他對自己老祖宗的文化都不了解，因為接受的是外來文化的教育。他們接受了當地的教育以後，文化才能得以傳承下去。現在很多社會團體和機構也看到這些問題，做了很多公益活動，騰訊在黔東南黎平縣做了一個生態和民族文化傳承保護的項目，這個項目是完全公益性的，不需要政府出一分錢，也不需要老百姓出錢，通過運作建成了侗族文化的博物館，是原生態博物館，展品都是真實的，在博物館裡面教大家唱侗族大歌，因為他們沒有文字，完全是口口相傳，已經列入世界非物質文化遺產名錄，是我們要保護的一個產品。通過這個博物館讓大家不僅能鞏固自己的文化，而且也學侗族大歌、侗族的生活習俗，還有侗族文化的挖掘。這是一個民族文化保護傳承的項目，現在不只是政府、領導重視這個事情，很多社會團體也在幫忙做這件事，把它作為一種責任。不止是在中國，在國際上都把民族文化傳承當作一個共同的課題在研究。在保護這塊上更多的是文化部門在做，你可以去找他們了解一些政策。我們作為旅遊部門還不掌握這些內容，主要是合作的關係。哪些東西是不能動的，哪些是可以開發、發展的，我們做旅遊規劃，不是只從發展開發這塊去考慮。文化部門掌握文化保護的政策、條例、實施方案、工作機制，作為旅遊部門我們更多的是從產業這個角度去考慮，因為旅遊和文化是部分家的，更多的是推廣，都是要把我們少數民族這些古老的、獨有的東西宣傳出去。所以旅遊不



	<p>是帶人來看看簡單了事的，而是要宣傳、推廣，把民族的牌子打出去引起社會、國際的關注，形成很好的共識。現在也很多做國家在合作山地旅遊，馬上要開展國際山地旅遊大會，其中一個展廳就是非物質文化遺產的展廳，參與的嘉賓來自一百多個國家，有非物質文化遺產的展示，還有一些手工藝的製作，嘉賓非常感興趣，我們希望集中展示他們能夠在短短幾天感受到貴州多樣的民族文化所以專門設立了這樣一個展廳，反響非常好。我們會對分佈在貴州的民族文化產品進行整體的策劃和包裝，在保護的前提下宣傳和包裝，包裝以後宣傳出去，我們的目的就是要傳承、宣傳、推廣。</p> <p>這幾年貴州省現在三大戰略：大生態、大旅遊、大數據。我們要通過大數據來發展旅遊、發展生態。通過大數據提升貴州旅遊產業的發展、旅遊服務質量的升級、提升旅遊宣傳、推廣的手段、創新旅遊發展的機制，甚至通過大數據提升民族文化對外的傳播等等。通過大數據我們能夠知道比如哪些民族文化特色受人歡迎，哪些需要被保護，可以通過數據分析為政府提供決策參考。大數據不止是說把光纖、電纜建了，信息化技術設施是要建設的，更多是在旅遊產業、交通行業、環保、工業等各方面的應用。比如旅遊雲、工業雲、食品安全雲等等，通過大數據來提升政府管理，我們要让政府行為處處留痕。以前文件的處理結果無法查詢，通過大數據可以知道文件滯留在哪裡，完全是透明的，政府的管理和政府行為要做到公開化、透明化，要對老百姓負責人。民族文化、旅遊、大數據都是關聯的。我們書記經常說，老天留給貴州兩個寶貝，一個是文化的寶貝，一個是生態的寶貝，所以生態文化是我們需要去發揚光大的，我想在未來貴州的生態文化旅遊應該處於領先的地位，因為我們的基礎太好了，這是因為我們保護得好，傳承下來了，再配合好的基礎設施，走一條獨特的路。所以我們在開發的時候都會盡量把原有的東西保存下來，把功</p>
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	<p>能區域放在另外一邊。這是一個村寨，如果吃住玩都在裡面會破壞它的，它的承載基礎有限，那我們的規劃以後就會把原有的東西保存在那裏，不過過多的改善，把配套的旅遊設施放在另外一個區域，不去破壞它，有這樣的理念。否則一個很好的民族生態不按照一個好的規劃去做就會破壞它。現在我們在旅遊規劃，會把一些民族文化的元素在城市裡展現出來，就像我們領導說的，傳統的元素，現代的表達，民族元素是要保留下來的，但是用現代的理念呈現出來更契合市場更契合現代的觀賞。有相關的部門在做大量的工作。</p> <p>問：回顧一下您所說的，現在看來對貴州來說，所以現在所有旅遊政策的制定還是基於保護文化的前提？</p> <p>答：是的。</p> <p>問：你們與其他文化機構，比如文化廳也有密切的合作？</p> <p>答：對對。</p> <p>問：旅遊的部門是否會針對文化保護會提供資金或非物質的資助？</p> <p>答：我們有。比如遵義海龍屯，是世界遺產，是古軍事遺址，我們每年都會撥款給它。既然要作為一個國際旅遊產品打造，我們更多的要做的是保護。我們在保護的同時，在周邊開發一些配套設施。保護和發展是不矛盾的，作為世界遺產，它出名了，我們也想把它展現給世界，也想把它保護好。政府對這方面都會有考慮。</p>
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	<p>問：西江收取門票，是由什麼部門來制定？</p> <p>答：當地政府會制定，物價部門、發改部門參與制定，然後開聽証會，收不收費，收多少費，是有法律程序的，旅遊部門不參與制定。我們更多的還是要他們價格不能高。門票不能作為門檻讓其他要素消失。門檻高了就不能拉動其他服務業的發展。可能偏高的門票還要降低，還在制定相關政策。我們的目的是讓更多的人來貴州體驗。</p> <p>問：如何避免西江的發展商業化？</p> <p>答：現在我們就在考慮這個問題，麗江、鳳凰很典型，他們就已經很商業化了，給遊客的印象很不好。西江已經有一點這種感覺了，我們要制止這種事情，要提要求。將來在規劃這塊上，要讓村寨有原汁原味的東西，老百姓還是在裡面生活、習作，不要管他，商業化在另外的區域，這樣就不矛盾了。老百姓盼了那麼多年終於來了那麼多人，自己的房子可以變成收入了，可能就會賣什麼東西。外面近來的管理公司，當地老百姓沒有錢包裝自己的房子，都是外地的有錢的人來租賃房屋，是賺錢的，是不會考慮文化方面的東西的，我們在投資上是要提要求的，所以就要做好規劃。如果規劃不做好等於就亂了。比如鎮遠古城是不收門票的，政府也意識到這個問題，門票不能收，不讓更多的人來體驗當地的生活，吃和住，不要變成商業街、購物街這樣的情況。貴州還不是太明顯，畢竟貴州發展比較晚。</p> <p>麗江收益的都是外面的人，把老百姓的房屋租下來，完全是從商業的角度考慮，不會考慮如何做好文化體驗，這一塊應該說是現在旅遊業面臨的一個問題，我們在產品設計規劃上也在考慮這個</p>
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		<p>事，但還沒有出台相應的政策。但已經在考慮，而且重視這個事情。</p> <p>問：如何評估政策的執行情況？</p> <p>答：通過暗訪、檢查的形式，民族文化村寨的建設，旅遊是有評級的，每年會組織人員去檢查標準的實施情況，服務情況，我們有暗訪的隊伍，如果不符合就摘牌。旅遊行業標準，如果做的不好，比如遊客投訴價格欺詐、服務質量不好等，旅遊部門有權力摘牌。我們只能從行業上去約束、要求它。都是委託第三方去做，我們自己不去，這樣的話才客觀。</p>
GO06	Xijiang Town Cultural Bureau	<p>問：您也看到了問卷上有很多關於非物質文化遺產保護和社區教育的問題，所以想要了解您們的職能和已經開展的工作有哪些？</p> <p>答：我們從一開始，就我們西江來說，我們08年之前沒有做大規模的開發，我們作為地方上苗族文化的代表，我們也把文化作為旅遊開發的主題，如果沒有文化這樣的主題，我們這個景區的開發可持續性沒有那麼強。開發之前其實已經有比較好的名聲了，雖然我們的結構、管理、非物質文化遺產都在延續，但是受關注度不高，08年開發以後短短幾年時間反而對文化的關注和保護有了高度的重視和管理。我們雷山現在有13項非物質文化遺產，基本在景區都能展現，但我們也只能看到展現的內容和程度，我們有一個苗族博物館，還達不到博物館，只能達到文化的展覽、觀摩的層面。隨著旅遊的開發，我們也在做活態文化的展示，比如苗族歌舞、節慶、苗寨的風俗一</p>



婚俗等等，我們會盡量根據季節的不同做展示，但是這種展示達不了日常化，比如苗年節只有過節的那一個時機，你看到的我們的迎賓、刺繡、銀飾製作這些可以達到日常化。我們嘗試充分調動原住民來開展這項活動，在這些活動中他們得到了自己的文化體驗，在傳承上也更加積極，另一方面也獲得了一些報酬，幾個方面都可以滿足他們的需求。我覺得最重要的還是文化傳承，因為西江不同別的地方在於留下來的（本地）人比較多，他們在解決了溫飽以後，他們就會很主動的參與文化的傳承和研究。我們的景區現在有一些自發的組織，比如我們刺繡的合作社，還有苗族的藝術中心，都是當地的藝術愛好者，在外求學、工作，對美術比如雕刻、雕塑，這些人回來後成立了一些組織，盡量把我們苗族的藝術風格，比如油畫、雕塑，帶有我們自己的藝術風格。還有苗族研究院，比如一些地方學者，本來在高校做研究，民族學、人類學等等，他們也自發的回來成立研究院，盡量引進外面的學者。包括我們攝影的組織，也自發組織攝影的活動。我覺得從文化藝術的角度，現在已經朝著一個比較好的方向在走，比一些偏遠的地方，或者說沒有很好開發的地方，比如留守兒童、老人比較多的地方，對文化的傳承、或者社會的管理，地方文化型態的展演，我們在探索我們自己的路。當然這個過程中也有很多批評的聲音，我們覺得在發展的過程中肯定會有一些問題，不可能一點問題都沒有，只不過這些問題我們知道了，已經在關注，慢慢在想辦法我們還是比較有信心的。

問：您提到了已經有很多民間自發形成的組織，你們與他們會有聯繫和合作嗎？

答：我們會有。是這樣的，在景區剛開發的時候，我們有方向引導，底線的控制，整個旅遊產業是由市場來決定的。比如說這棟房子是你家的，你要開展什麼生意要根據景區的需要、根據自己



的能力，你看到我們的景區很繁榮，很多人誤會了，以為這麼繁榮的經濟狀態收入收入都是政府的，這是錯的，我們只收取門票以後又用門票把基礎設施做了，我們的步道、綠化、開支、地方文化的展示展演，我們是用在這些地方，市場上的東西盡量讓老百姓受益。所以今年我們被國家旅遊局評為旅遊扶貧的示範景區。我們作為示範景區，我覺得我們是很有信息的，整個景區的發展老百姓是受益了的，政府還要找項目、找資金，盡量把景區擴容擴大，我們還要來找資金而不是從景區裡面拿出錢來，不會的。我們的門票收入剛剛超過一個億，但我們的項目建設已經好幾個億了。你說到這些藝術組織，我們是盡量讓他們自由地活動，但是呢，千萬要控制不要有違反我們苗族禁忌，不要對我們苗族文化有反面的宣傳。之前有很多外面的人來，對我們苗族，比如巫蠱文化這個東西放大化，我覺得對我們是一個反面的宣傳。我們的巫蠱文化是神秘感在裡面，這種神秘感是沒法解釋的東西，不能用這種無法解釋的東西來引導遊客去誤解我們苗族，所以對這些我們堅決對他們，先教育，慢慢可能要控制，再取締。只要你積極的宣傳我們的文化，不管你用什麼形式、什麼方法，我們都還是比較支持的。只不過到現階段，我們還達不到去把，我覺得哈，沒必要把他們納入我們行政管理的範疇。像景區裡面有好幾個酒吧，有很多地下音樂人，他們自由發展，他們在酒吧唱唱歌，和遊客交流，我覺得這樣很好，但是千萬別超過12點以後還很大聲地唱，造成噪音影響，破壞我們苗族的秩序，我覺得可以的，但是沒有必要把這些酒吧歌手組織起來管理什麼的，這個不是我們的想法。

問：另外我比較關注的是社區教育方面的問題，這次我來，包括我八月份的時候也來過，對住在裡面的人做了一些訪問，我感覺實際上他們好像自己參加文化教育的活動不是很多，可能就是節



慶的時候比較多，作為文化局有沒有一些實際上已經組織過的一些文化活動比如培訓，但可能參加活動的人數不多，有沒有這種情況發生？

答：這個情況是這樣的，我研究過這個問題，比如年初我們組織過刺繡培訓、蘆笙培訓，還有苗族飛歌的培訓，剛開始的時候我們是有選擇性的，我們先讓我們這裡的人，比如找到幾個比較喜歡唱飛歌的，在社會上比較活躍的兩三個人，我們找到他們，告訴他們我們要組織這麼一個活動，我們現在的條件可能是三十到四十個人左右，根據你在民間的觀察，哪些人積極性比較高，你組織一下，把他們叫來，做這麼一個培訓。因為我們要先讓積極性的人先參與進來，讓他們在培訓之中有收穫，如果只是濫竽充數或者只是覺得好玩，那也達不到我們的目的，因為我們請的培訓老師有我們西江本地的，也有縣裡面的，比如我們文化館的那些老師，還有我們縣外的對苗族歌舞比較熟悉的老師。我們希望我們的學員層次性不要太高，這個老師在講這個事情的時候如果有一半的學員聽不懂，那就不是因材施教了，所以我們也在做這個摸索，可能達不了全面的鋪開，達不了這麼一個鋪開。比如我們十一月份的苗年節，我們專門組織了銀飾、刺繡的愛好者把他們的作品拿到縣裡面展覽、評獎，我們也在做，大量的做這樣的工作，但是呢，這些活動呢參與的人一方面說態度一定要積極，另外呢像這種情況還是要拿出作品，拿不出作品也很難參與。我們才過半個月，做全縣的蘆笙比賽，今年的6月份的時候我們也在做蘆笙的培訓，還給他們成立了專門的蘆笙協會，我們另外一個村也在做，我們還拿出一些資金，現在製作蘆笙的技藝比較高，蘆笙也比較貴，我們拿出一些資金給他們買一些蘆笙，補貼一些日常費用，我們也在做。但是說實話呢，我們目前還沒有很大的一塊純粹來做文化的費用支持這個事情。我們現在一直在談，麻料、



控拜、烏高是我們這地方比較出名的銀匠村，我們一直想在那個地方建銀飾的博物館，省文化廳來考察以後也答應給我們六百萬，我們還要補一些，可能要超過一千萬才能把這個苗族銀飾博物館修建出來。你可能看到我們的景區一片繁華，但我們的投入還是主要在一些硬件設施上。你看到我們籃球場旁邊正在維修，這是我們最古老的蘆笙場，這個蘆笙場已經很多年很沒有修了，加上居民都在那裏出租服飾照相，遊客一多很難找到時間來修復，趁現在是淡季，跟老百姓做工作，然後把我們苗寨的蘆笙場重新修起來，這都是基礎設施上我們在做的一些事。文化軟件和硬件的話，我們軟件的東西也在做，就是之前跟你說的那些，主要還是在硬件方面，佔到百分之七十八十的範疇。你進入寨子，怎麼能看到銀飾，我們得有一個場所，得有製作的作坊，得有很好的展示，這是我們現在的一些作坊。你剛才提到的大家說參與比較少的情況，這個我向你做這樣的解釋，我們一般做這方面工作的時候，雖然看起來旅遊比較繁榮，但大家還處在溫飽解決了，在奔小康的階段，可能大家還是把重心放在，可能百分之七八十放在怎麼把自己的家庭過得更好，讓自己的孩子更好的讀書，老人更好的度晚年，很大的精力金錢放在這些地方，我們有一些宣傳一些活動，真正關心的是那些積極性比較高的，很多老百姓關心度了解性不是很高，我覺得這也是個很正常的狀態，我覺得他們慢慢都奔小康了，他們在文化上的關心度、支持度、甚至支付度，比如現在一把蘆笙幾千塊捨不得買，可能到時候就覺得這是小錢啊，可能要收藏。就像有些音樂愛好者，一開始買不起一把吉他，後來收藏吉他一樣，我們也會慢慢走向這個過程。目前這個階段我們也比較頭疼，很難找到文化藝術這塊比較拔尖的人物出來，類似於黃平的阿幼朵，一些在外的民間工藝大師。我們也有國家級的非物質文化遺產傳承人，但是更多是享有這個榮譽，但是達不到這麼大的社會影響力。我們也在想辦法怎麼能培養出這樣的一些人，我們的小學民族文化



進校園也在做，你有空可以去瞭解一下。但是說實話呢，民族文化進校園對我們老師來說，應該還處在一個比較矛盾的階段，因為上級的教育部門對我們老師的考核，對學生的考核，這方面比重不是很重，我們的音體美老師做事不是那麼主動。但這應該不只是我們這裡的問題了，應該全中國都有這個問題了。

問：您提到民族文化進校園這類活動，採取的是什麼方式？未來還有沒有其他的打算？

答：很早的時候，0幾年還是九幾年，我們省文化保護條例就提到民族文化進校園這個規定，我們一直在實施，但是現在面臨一個問題，目前沒有常態化的，我們的進校園的老師不是有所謂的師資格證、大專本科教育學院的畢業生這樣的，很多是苗族的普通百姓，進校園以後他的待遇，比如這個月請來上課，下個月不上了，那這個月本來可以種田的，所以積極性不是很高，那就只能是抽空來一下，我覺得不是培養的問題了，是師資的制度上，我們可能還需要有一個比較好的引導的政策。還有一個我們地方的氛圍的營造，可能就不只是學校的責任了，老師天天在課堂上跟學生說我們的文化多麼多麼重要多麼多麼珍貴，但一打開校門是另外的花花世界，大人談論的是外面的世界是什麼樣，這個社會氛圍沒有營造起來，對我們文化進校園的型態也不是很好，也很難培養一個群體，只能是精英化的教育。第三個呢，我覺得民族文化進校園從民族政策上應該給予學校老師和學生更多的榮譽感，我自己感覺我們貴州、黔東南這麼大的少數民族地區，很難讓老師有想法說我要好好培養我的學生帶他們參加一個什麼比賽，獲得什麼簡單的榮譽，搞不好年終一考核，學生就只有民族文化課好，其他文化課都不行，那他們在教育部面前、在別的老師面



前還是覺得抬不起頭，校長可能就覺得那我們還重視這個幹嘛呢？重視了又得不到承認，所以可能還是要從整個教育型態，我覺得應該不只是教育專家的問題，可能還要和民族文化的專家一起來研究一個更好的方式。老師只知道怎麼去上課，讓他們達到去制訂政策的型態很難。我們現在在基層的老師積極性不高。我剛來上班的時候就感覺，越是基層的地方工資應該越高，越進入中期工資越低。我們越是中心大家的資源就好老師就好，越是偏遠的地區老師又少，學生的素質、文化氛圍也不是那麼集中，而恰恰我們的老師的工資是最低的，那誰願意去。所以這應該是整個型態的問題。

問：您剛才也提到過現在大多數的培訓是比較集中化的、精英化的，未來有沒有打算擴大到比較平民化的，另外在宣傳上會不會有新的處理方式？

答：我們現在有的活動是向全體民眾開放的，比如我們的活動展示，在一個地方提供一個活動空間，苗族人唱古歌的，每天有人去開門，大家就自己去唱歌，也是遊客經過的地方，遊客可以進去聽進去看，有時候在風雨橋組織苗族青年男女在那裏對歌，這是傳統的談戀愛的方式。我們有面向全社會的這樣的活動，我們也想從這些活動中來考量大家對地方活動的參與度高不高，我們也是在摸索中，目前要全面推開的話我們可能只能以一種社會性的型態，政府沒辦法去組織這麼一個，比如我們有一個刺繡協會，我們會給他們一些活動經費，做一些培訓，比如有幾個刺繡很好的秀女，不管誰來都可以教，授課時間是固定的，來一個教一個，來兩個教兩個，可以達到一對一的狀態。如果要組織比如，今天晚上大家全部到哪裡來學習刺繡，這個不可能，大家會覺得



你是強迫他了，佔用他們的時間了。我覺得最好的我們要讓他們感覺到我們民族文化是有價值的，讓他覺得外面的人來，我會這個技藝很厲害，穿民族服飾很漂亮，所以我們要先把這個榮譽感、自豪感樹立起來，讓社會上的價值觀，這是我們可以做的，不能像小學生一樣，下課必須交作業，那會適得其反。

問：所以說現在就是有這樣固定的場所，人們可以過來接受教育、培訓？

答：對對。但是現在有的場所在建設，有的在調整，夏天你看到的更多。因為夏天天氣好，有很多露天的場所，冬天比較冷。比如風雨橋、蘆笙場，都是我們傳習的場所。我們有一個小亭子，一群老人圍在一起刺繡，平時遊客來看著也很好看，他們自己覺得我們幾個老人平時各忙各的，老了終於可以聚在一起聊聊天，從社會學的角度來說還是挺好的社會狀態。不像以前，老人在自己家裡面，以兩個月都不和人接觸，現在好多了。這些老人我們對他們沒有要求，想來就來，不來也沒關係，比如門口的迎賓，來的話我們會給一些補貼，來幾天算幾天。

問：那你們通過什麼方式讓大家知道有新的活動開展了？

答：是這樣的，你可能對我們的苗族社區不是很了解，不要當成城市的社區，可能鄰居住了一輩子都不知道姓什麼。我們苗族的社區有的是血緣的、非血緣的親屬關係，交叉性很強。你給一個人說了，他的整個網絡都知道，而且他們對彼此很了解，傳播很快，這是不需要我們去操心的，



我們要做的反而是一些公示性的，政務公開，這些是我們要對他們宣傳的，我們廣播景區要做什麼，雖然他們已經知道了，但是程序要這樣做，我們的村幹部候選人是哪些人等。在我們這邊，每個人對每個人都很清楚很熟悉，不像我們城市。哪家修房子了大家都去幫忙，處於一個互相協助的過程，有感情在裡面。在我們苗家，我們目前覺得比較好的是，不但是我們很多傳統的結構很多還保留的很好，而且我們漸漸引入我們傳統的管理模式，我們現在在做的，比如我們成立了一個苗族文化傳統保護協會，

我們變了一個形式，比如每個片區成立一個，比如哪家的房子要拆，哪家要新建房子，先向這個十幾個人申請，這些人對他們很了解，我們也只能規定每年只能修15戶，這個協會同意了就報給景區管理局，我們有專門的規劃人員，再去測量，你們按照這個方案去修就可以了。我覺得從長遠的開發和管理來看，村民自治的理念應該會越來越強。我們還保留著古藏頭、我們還保留著他們的活動組織的方式，我們還是比較尊重他們的意見，我們的工作盡量讓他們參與，讓他們知道我們的想法，也把我們的想法傳達給老百姓，因為他們是有威望的人，在苗族的文化中他們這些人是帶領苗族走向繁榮的，不會害他們。我們對寨老、頭人的信任度都比較高。除非涉及到特別大的利益衝突，他們也會有暫時想不開的想法，我們也遇到過，因為他覺得自己的利益受損了但是又沒有影響到其他人的利益。因為在這個社區下你是沒法獨立地過好自己的日子的，比如家裡有老人死了，要大家來幫忙，一個群體的儀式老人才能入土，苗族人才覺得心安。如果把大家都得罪了，紅事冷冷清清的讓人笑話。所以很多活動是群體參與的，過程之中他們融入群體身份認同是比較強的。我在苗家很難看到說對這個地方失去信心離家出走不再眷顧，目前我還沒有看到。特別是我們苗家有一個很重要的鼓，苗族人的祖先就放在那裡面，人死了就要放在鼓裡，如果開



除鼓籍，你死了就沒歸屬了，這是宗教性很強的一個東西。

問：我這幾次來注意到外地人越來越多了，也聽到很多當地人反應比如做餐飲的老闆其實都不是本地人，有麼有會擔心外地人的增加會帶來文化的衝擊？

答：這是一把雙刃劍。我們從2012年就在關注這個事情，特別是麗江的火災和鳳凰的水災之後，遊客來我們這兒特別多。據我觀察餐飲做得比較少，雖然我們苗家的餐飲還處在農業社會比較低端的位置，但是有自己的特色，所以外地人很難做，我覺得餐飲還是大部分是我們本地人，外地人形成不了大規模，可能就是一個小餐館，我覺得百分之八十五以上吧是本地人或者周邊苗寨的人。客棧外面來經營的人還是比較多的，我覺得客棧大概在50%-60%左右。今年7月份我讓他們統計過，我們現在有七千五百多個床位，外來的經營者應該已經超過一半了。我們是這麼想這個事情，外面的人來有一個好處，我們整個客棧的品位全部上升，環境、服務、設施都得到了提升。因為苗家人習慣住他們傳統的吊腳樓，對環境衛生、噪音沒有敏銳的視角，在審美上也沒有從遊客的角度來看待這個事情，沒有考慮怎麼方便遊客這麼讓遊客住的更舒服。外面的人來以後刺激他們改進，他就會有一個差別，外面的人來做的服務的、裝修的設施更好，他們的遊客量就會更大，我們老百姓傳統的客棧遊客就少，他們就會想為什麼我的生意沒他好，他們就會學習、進步。外面的人來因為他們是沒有產權的，只能租，買不了，很難買賣，所以我們也不擔心，這個房子還是我們苗族的，只不過暫時他覺得經營不是很好，或者暫時沒有這個能力所以租給別人來經營，我覺得這也是個學習的過程，讓房主本人感覺到，你看我20萬把這個房子租給他，他一年營業額



100多萬，除去成本賺了5、60萬，他也在思考這些產業上的東西。如果我們的文化很繁榮，但是老百姓沒有因為這種文化受益，就像博物館裡的文化。博物館還有國家文化部給的錢，我們沒有錢老百姓怎麼過活，他的下一代怎麼更好的去生活，這是我們要考慮的。我的意思就是說這幾棟房子是苗家人的，一定要知道很重要很珍貴，但同時也要知道怎麼在不改變他們原來的情況下能賺到錢。這是我剛才說的產業的問題。如果不需要產業我們就沒必要開發，哪怕一百年兩百年以後，人都走完了，去凱里去貴陽，剩一個空寨子，還是沒變，但這不是我們要的，確實不是我們要的，這是我們在思考的事情。所以對我們來說，不只是文化，我們還要產業發展，沒有產業發展，人就不會回來，就是死的文化。外面的人來老百姓看人家怎麼做你們再學習，你們再認同，認同賺錢是可以的，拿我們的東西賺錢是可以的，只要不違背我們苗族的風貌文化。剛才說的這些都是好事。壞的情況是外面的人來，會有短暫的經濟訴求，賺到一年是一年，所以會破壞到我們的要求和規定，可以跟你這麼說，我們景區的社會投訴百分之九十都是外地商戶，本地的人覺得被投訴很不好意思，被投訴以後叔伯兄弟鄰里之間怎麼看他。外面的商戶，反正家也不在這裡，一個門面就租個兩年，能賺能騙就騙點，可能有這種心態在裡面。我們現在也在思考要控制外地商戶的結構。怎麼控制這個結構呢？我們不可能用強制的手段，我們沒法用強制的手段，只能用，培育好地方上的產業。我給你打個比方，比如外面的藥材很多，這些人會形成一個團體，變成我們遊客的投訴的隱患點，我們怎麼辦呢，我們只能培養地方上的苗醫、苗藥，培育我們的人的參與度，讓我們的人逐漸佔有市場上的份額，變成地方上某個產業的主導，比如我們的銀飾，我們的幾家銀飾他們自己成立了銀飾協會，外面的人可以來賣銀飾嗎？可以，但是我們這裡的銀飾是國家非物質文化遺產，大家都很好的在保護這個品牌，首先不能賣假銀，第二工藝不能太差，第



三價格是公平公正的。外面進來一家銀飾，如果價格高、工藝差、含銀量低，沒人買你的。我們現在也在思考這件事，投訴都會回到我們這裡，我們也會分析遊客對哪些地方不滿意，被投訴的人的結構、產品、產業的結構我們都會進行分析，就知道哪個產業有問題了，工商的、市場監管的，要對這個產業重視起來，控制在萌芽狀態。所以剛剛你說的我們的客棧，再多也好，我們在控制好的。鳳凰給我們很好的經驗，鳳凰出事後也來我們這裡考察交流。他們的問題就是全是外地的商戶，突然要收門票，商戶的利益受損，就抱團反對政府。西江現在還形不成這個情況，這是第一個，第二主要的利益群體還是當地群眾，還達不成幾個人抱團然後反對我們某項政策的實施。就怕鳳凰的這種事件發生。

問：我不知道有沒有可能對外來商戶的數量進行控制？

答：不不，我們要走市場化，不然的話就是計劃經濟了。而且我們不但不這樣，外面有好的我們還想引進來，幫我們策劃一下。我剛才說的其實是一個社會輿論狀態，盡量讓整個產業比較平衡，我們是一個景區管理，又是一個生活區，如果只是一個市場不是生活區，我們不需要平衡，如果只是一個菜市場，是貴州人多，外地人多我們不管，只要不缺斤少兩。因為我們還是一個社區，一個生活區，還要平衡這個產業的偏向。一旦有問題了，我們的執法部門可以介入，但是介入就會產生一些不好的影響，就像鳳凰，大家談論的已經不是商鋪怎麼反對政府的政策，討論的是鳳凰的管理有問題，讓所有的老百姓反對，其實反對的是外來的商戶，景區的老百姓並沒有反對。我們現在也是這樣，是你們外來的商戶在反對，我們的老百姓很好的，外面的輿論會說怎麼會讓



市場這麼亂，擔心的是這個問題，我們也不希望。但是我們好在裡面的老百姓都是出租，不是出售，如果一查裡面的房子百分之七十都是外面的人不是景區老百姓的，那就完了。

其實外面來的很多人，我跟他們聊了很多，也有資深的文化人、專家。我覺得首先我們為什麼花這麼多錢，投入幾個億。我們雷山縣的gdp是整個貴州88個縣最低的，我們作為國家級的貧困縣，三分之一的國土面積是自然保護區，是我們整個黔東南州唯一一個沒有工業的縣。所以呢從開發上來說，我們目前只有走文化旅遊、生態旅遊。說到文化的保護，八幾年的時候西江已經被國外一些學者熟知，特別是法國的，對黔東南州民族文化關注很多。我記得93年法國有一對夫婦在我家住了三個月，之後寄了一盒錄像帶來，那時候我們還沒有通電，我們是98年通電的，很多老人都不在了，寨子裡的老人看到很感動。民族文化保護的這塊，我覺得真正用心在做的人不多，反而很多都是在喊口號。我們上大學的時候很多老師說，好不容易從農村出來，不要回去了，好好做研究，我說你們這叫什麼研究，把自己關辦公室，三尺書桌寫了幾大本書，對苗族文化一無所知，對農村一無所知，你們一個月五六千塊的工資，吃喝不醜，所以對學院派我對他們很熟悉，我也跟他們提過這些努力，要看到我們的努力，看到的問題是我們最先接觸到的，只不過目前我們還沒有辦法去解決。如果你要關心我們，給我們提出解決的辦法，而不是一味的譴責，始終這麼多年來大家的生活狀態好了很多。避免不了會有一些破壞，但是如果是說大方向上，百分之八十是好的，百分之二十是後遺症是避免不了的，但是就要看我們是不是需要這百分之八十。西江可以一點不動，但是可能是一個死寨子，這有意義嗎？02年我到西江的時候，我們住在百姓的家裡，看到一個老伯買鵝，他不知道應該賣多少錢，也沒有一家飯店。第二天早上送一個死人上山，



有人吹蘆笙，我們覺得很奇怪，短裙苗才吹蘆笙，後來一問說這個老太太是短裙苗嫁過來的，吹蘆笙的是她的親戚。後來到這裡來上班，我覺得還是有很大的改變的。但是我覺得這種改變是我們應該可以去思考的，對文化有衝擊嗎？有。衝擊在哪裡，不是你提到的藝術性上，是宗教性上，神聖性上，有一些文化的儀式、內容只能在某一刻才能表達，但是現在因為要更靈活的更豐富的來展示，讓外面的人來體驗，避免不了的神聖性會減弱。這是我覺得必須要承認的東西。在文化傳承上我反而覺得是繁榮的。之前浙江大學來了幾個學生和我聊這個事情的時候，他們也是這個觀點覺得經濟性的引入對文化破壞性很強，我說你們可以去找一個很偏僻的苗寨，沒有經濟開發，還是農耕民族，從文化傳承的角度和西江來比，兩個一比較可以比較出來，因為那兒的人能走的走了，能嫁的外嫁了，人都走了，文化怎麼傳承，一些標準的文化儀式人手還不足，我覺得不要從這個角度去思考。我也比較反對一些人類學家，把文化提得太高，高到比人的生存權、自尊、尊嚴還高，就沒意思了。我覺得要把我們地方上要維一到圍牆，把我們當動物園一樣，恨不得看我們鑽木取火。原生態都是變化之中的原生態。我不太喜歡這種所謂的原生態。環境變了，文化一定會變。你看我們苗族全世界大概一千萬多一點，每個地方的風俗習慣還是不同，有的語言不同。有的地方還過苗年，其他地方不過苗年了。美國的三十多萬苗族，我們已經沒法交流了，最後只能用英語交流。我問他們在那邊說什麼語音，他們說苗語或者英語，不說漢語，問他們是不是認同華人，他們也是認同的。很多大型的活動說我們炎黃子孫，我們就很不舒服了，因為我們不是炎黃子孫，感覺被排除在外。很多學者來我也和他們討論如何把古老的傳統文化怎麼和現代化的生活方式展現在舞台上，我也不太喜歡當地一些保守的文化人，在自己的圈子裡沾沾自喜。我很不喜歡民族的就是世界的這句話，你還不了解世界是什麼樣，怎麼知道民族的東西能不能站



		<p>在世界的舞台。我覺得應該先面向世界，擁抱世界，你都不知道世界是怎麼樣的，怎麼知道東西好不好。我們的東西也不是都是好的。比如一些污蠱的、一些勞民傷財的傳統、婦女兒童的社會地位，這些也不是都是好的。</p> <p>問：問您最後一個問題，我知道08、09年開始收門票以後，11年開始收演出門票，我想再了解一下政府這邊對制定門票的價格的考慮是怎樣的？</p> <p>答：我們每一次收費都要經過物價部門審批，按照物價部門的程序，開聽證會，再決定能不能收費。為什麼我們要申請收費，因為中午是演員的日常表演，晚上的表演的不論是燈光、舞美、編排都是投入更多、花的精力越多，演員像加班一樣，這個演出是屬於自願消費的，意思很簡單，就是我們這群人編了一台節目，加班做了這件事，你們可以買帳也可以不買帳，白天是民族文化體驗式的演出。</p>
GO05& GO07	Qiandongnan (southeast Guizhou) Tourism Development Committee & Xijiang Tourism Development Company	<p>問：少數民族文化被運用於旅遊開發是基於何種考慮？</p> <p>GO05：雷山一直以來都是黔東南州GDP最低的縣之一,而且由於少數民族眾多,又沒有工業,發展旅遊業是最環保也最實際的.我們的扶貧成果是很有成效的,現在西江應該是扶貧攻堅非常成功的範例.</p> <p>問：現在有哪些保護少數民族文化的措施呢？</p>



		<p>GO05: 每年政府都要拿出門票收入的17%返還給村民,主要就是鼓勵他們保護好自己的房屋.這在其他的地方是很難做到的.除了返還給村民的收入,一部分上繳財政,大部分還是用在當地的基礎設施建設上.文化方面會組織很多的活動,比如百人競技,取得的反響很好. 我們還積極地建立家庭博物館,鼓勵房屋歷史悠久的家庭把自己的房子開放讓遊客參觀,鼓勵村民把自己的保存比較好的樂器、銀飾、服裝、刺繡等等拿出來展示.</p> <p>問: 會擔心遊客增加對文化造成破壞嗎?</p> <p>GO05: 現在在西江的旁邊正在開發服務區,建立一個集酒店、餐廳、購物中心、娛樂場所為一體的綜合服務區.這樣可以緩解景區的壓力,遊客來了也不會覺得待不長沒什麼好玩的會覺得無聊.</p> <p>問: 我留意到街道上的商鋪大多數都是外地人在經營,是否擔心被投訴太商業化?</p> <p>GO07: 我們已經意識到了這個問題,外地來的商戶確實太多了,而且是話說我們的大部分投訴都是針對外地商戶的,本地的商戶基本沒有被投訴過.所以現在也正在商討解決方案.一方面要對外地的商戶進行清理,把不合格的、投訴多的店家的資格取消,另一方面對新進入村寨的外商進行限制,提高進入的門檻.這個是必須要加強管理的.</p>
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Appendix C3 Interview – Scholars & Teachers (in Chinese)

Code	Position	Transcription
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A01	Xijiang Primary School	<p>問:想要向您了解的是学校开设了哪些关于苗族文化艺术的课程和活动?</p> <p>答: 学校很早以前搞一些活动主要还是以苗族的游戏、歌曲比较多, 民国以前, 后来, 近一段时间, 强调搞普通话教育以来也许是全国吧, 都推行普通话, 在校园都必须说普通话, 包括我们老师也在说, 同时还要作为一个考核的目标来考核学校的工作, 学生、老师说普通话就多起来了。西江99%都是苗族人, 当地的老师多, 所以原来我们在办公和学生的交流中都说苗语, 课堂上才用普通话来教学。后来特别是西江搞旅游开发, 外地人多起来了, 外地人到这里肯定都是说普通话, 对孩子的语言, 往普通话的推行得很快。现在刚生下来的孩子有的父母都教普通话, 学校教育也都用普通话, 所以现在孩子基本说普通话都没有事了。前几年为了探究教学教法, 还有些老师和教育者推行双语教学, 利用苗语加以说明、解释, 这也是可以的, 特别是有的内容孩子们不清楚还得用苗语加以说明的话更加清楚一点。这是之前, 之后的话我想苗语用在课堂上不会多。因为现在孩子参与生产生活什么都是现代的东西, 都是外来的多, 之后的教学用苗语掺进来的不多。因为那些书本啊都是外来的多, 内容都是外来的。在近几年呢重视非物质文化遗产还有民俗文化进校园进课堂。我们学校也推行了, 包括我们雷山县都在推行一些民族文化进课堂, 地方课, 每个星期授课一到两节。地方课请一些当地的老师来讲一些当地苗族的故事, 讲苗族的服饰, 苗族的语言、苗族的民间技艺、儿歌、情歌、酒歌、古歌等等, 包括像吹芦笙、刺绣都进来了。所以我们学校从今年打造大课间活动, 大课间活动就是利用一个星期安排一两天的课间操时间时间长, 相当于一节课, 做一些兴趣小组, 哪些学生喜欢打球、下棋、画画、刺绣等等都在举行。通过我们学校刚开始也没有经验, 因为老师又教学又要抓这个, 忙不过来。而且教育考核主要是以</p>
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	<p>应试教育，民间民俗教育即使提出来了，但是真正在推行中还是不够有力。于是我们学校就请一些外地的专业人员，教孩子吹芦笙、唱民族歌，但是毕竟课时量还是少，我总感觉推起来还是有一定的困难。</p> <p>問:现在还是有相关的活动，主要是地方课，其它的并不是很多？</p> <p>答：双语教学很少，主要是民族文化进课堂，地方课才做了一些。由于老师也没有这方面的特长，往往去上课也没有民族课来授课，有的用民族课来上自己的语文、数学课去了。不是必修课。学校安排老师去上课。学校自己安排。没有列为考核内容。</p> <p>問:您作为古藏头、老师，您觉得苗族文化课程、活动在学校的普及是不是不足？是否需要加强？</p> <p>答：我觉得作为学习，一个人最好的学习阶段就是在小学初中，现在按照国家的发展，农村的旅游发展相结合来看，还有民族文化的发展和传承来说，我认为民族文化进课堂，重视民族文化很有必要。为什么呢？我们经常提出来各个少数民族容易被汉化。就说服饰吧，少数民族的服饰特别好看，但是大城市的工厂生产的服装简便、实用，不像少数民族的衣服材质、颜色是固定的。比如苗族的棉布夏天很热。不管是哪个民族，你看特别是男士，都穿的是汉族、流行的现代服装。女士的话还能保留一些民族特色。服饰这块汉化特别厉害。还有语言，特别是西江苗寨，一年到头都有游客来，小孩都教普通话，父母教小孩也是说普通话，甚至有的父母觉得他们教小孩说普</p>
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	<p>通话很荣耀。当然也有好的方面，但是也有弊的一方面。包括节日都受到影响，比如春节、圣诞节。比如春节我们小的时候都不知道这个节日，后来改革开放以后很多人出去打工，放假回来自己的苗年没有时间过，回到家自己的父母很高兴就要过一下春节，自然而然就形成起来了，照这样发展下去各少数民族的文化流失还是有的，还是受到很大的冲击。语言、民俗、节日都受到了一些冲击。所以我觉得民俗文化进课堂很有必要。近几年推行的这种是老师边教学边进行民俗文化的教育。力不够。首先有的老师是从外地来的，不懂当地民俗。有的老师即使懂，但是为了应试去了，因为考核没有这些内容。让孩子背诗、公式，考试就有好处，那这样传承下去肯定不行。我建议国家这块要单独的安排民俗文化遗产教育的老师，并且给他们进行考核，一定要有考核，没有考核就不行了。像吹芦笙，如果没有考核他随便应付一下学生，没有达到效果，比如学钢琴有一定的（考级）标准，比如学到什么时候要达到什么程度。学芦笙、舞蹈、刺绣都是有一定的标准。不是因为我是苗族我才提倡，从全国来说都是，五十六个民族五十六朵花都开放才美丽，如果不重视，五十六朵花就一朵一朵地谢掉了，以后在找就找不回来了，趁现在还在开放就应该给它施肥、播种。</p> <p>問:您是非常支持推行传统文化的。您提到的建议实行考核，是否学校和地方政府没有办法自己安排课程规划？</p> <p>答：一定要按照省、地、州、县这样来安排，没有办法自己来安排。因为他们上面来考核，要定级定职称，老师才有兴趣。</p>
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		<p>問:老师有一部分是外地人,会不会在招聘老师的时候会有本地老师优先的政策?</p> <p>答:现在考试是以分数来的。面向全省招收。有些是别的地区的老师来,不是苗族,也可能是苗族不会说苗话或者民间技艺。当地也没有本地人优先的说法。只要有教师资格证就可以参加考试。</p> <p>問:苗族的传统节日是否都保留下来了?</p> <p>答:是按照以前的时间和传统来举办节日,但是还是受到了冲击。比如我们的苗年,有初年、中年、结束年,初年一般在国庆节前后,第一个卯日,往往那个时间是国庆节的前后一两天,国庆节游客都来多了,大家都忙着去接待客人,自己的节日就没办法好好过了。本来活动会打糍粑、祭拜祖先等,客人来了为了赚钱就要照顾客人了,哪还有时间煮糯米饭,这方面也是受到一些冲击。</p> <p>問:您觉得旅游的发展有没有过于商业化的情况?</p> <p>答:我觉得不是过于商业化。我认为旅游很好,让大家到各个少数民族去,关键是当地政府和管理人员必须要遵循、保护原民族的生态,这块很重要,包括房子、服饰、语言,生活方式等等,那就好。有很多搞旅游的为了接待客人修砖房,因为游客喜欢住那种,老房子、木房没有隔音、</p>
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	<p>游客不喜欢住。但是这也是一个引导者的作用，以前古老的房子，我保留下来，弄干净一点，卫生间也同样弄好，别人来一砖一木就能看到原来的生态。首先招商引资这块就搞砸了。一搞旅游就要有星级酒店，那老百姓就不愿意，所以冲突就很大。客人都去星级酒店住了，没人住百姓的房子，那我们就等着你们来看，也没有钱赚？关键是引导者这块，一定要做得好。比如会管理的人住在森林里，砍一棵树都觉得可惜，外来的人就不会考虑这些，全部砍完修房子，那就完蛋了。有的人就很想占有原生态很好的地方。应该尊重地方民俗。有时候很多人要来和我照相，答应了还要来搂着我肩膀，显示出和古藏头很亲近。我们也听过一些专家的讲课，比如美国加拿大，对一些村落的开发以民意为主，达到什么目的，有什么影响，申请以后政府会有专门的部门的来研究，然后再开发。我们的政府不是如此。</p> <p>問:对居民的教育，您觉得为居民提供的传统的文化教育是否丰富？</p> <p>答：没有。有时候搞一些调研会跟个别村民谈话，但还没有专门组织人来开会，或者说必须要把我们的服饰搞好。寨子里培育这块，政府也有出钱来做，但是就一些人去学习，有的人年纪大了也没有学习的信心，有些活动为了让人来参加，还发钱，这太不像话了。所以我认为学习这块还是从小在学校学习才行。现在客人多了，孩子们家里都要招待客人，就没时间学了。但是搞点思想上的教育也是很好的，比如像张晓老师、中国民族博物馆副馆长利用国家的资金和渠道来宣传苗族文化，把苗族服饰拿去参展、评比等，让我们苗族人知道自己的服饰很有价值。老的衣服不要卖出去，以前以为老的东西都不值钱。通过他们搞这些活动我们才知道我们这些东西很值钱。</p>
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	<p>有一些专家来搞培训，比如我们的语言要保存下来，不然就忘记我们老祖宗的东西了，这些都很好。</p> <p>問:其实对村民的传统教育还是比较匮乏的？反而激起大家学习的是增加了学术</p> <p>答：是的比较匮乏。外面的专家学者来讲课、宣传大家才知道文化的重要性。</p> <p>問:有没有民间的组织或者个人来做一些文化教育活动？</p> <p>答：很少，特别是在景区，一弄就要钱，所以弄的人不多。有一对父子做了苗族文化研究院，推行苗族礼节，他们也在做，我觉得做得还挺不错的。</p> <p>問:您觉得博物馆的展览内容怎么样？如何提高居民的参与度？</p> <p>答：我觉得既然是地方博物馆，就应该突出本地的历史、人文、包括姓氏啊，苗寨的来由，感觉做得不够全面。</p> <p>問:民俗演出您有什么评价？</p>
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		<p>答：我没去看过。他们现在是一个公司承包了，这并没有得到我们当地人的赞同。当地人不收票但是当地人的朋友来一定要来买票。我带我的亲戚来都要收票。门票的管理应该派人去监票。</p>
A02	Xijiang Middle School	<p>問：您覺的發展旅遊業以後的生活改變大嗎？</p> <p>答：负面影响太多，是一種破壞性的。雖然收入確實也提高了，但是付出的代價遠遠大於賺的錢。</p> <p>問：所以您覺得開發過度了嗎？</p> <p>答：非常過度。現在為了搞旅遊簡直弄得亂七八糟的。比如那些飯店唱的酒歌，最常見的那首根本不是苗族的，而是彝族的酒歌，就因為好記好聽，所以就變成了“苗族”的，這不是欺騙嘛。還有西江本地的應該是中裙苗，開發旅遊以後的周邊有一些其他長裙和短裙的來打工，發現客人覺得長裙和短裙好看，本地的也改成穿長裙和短裙的來攬客。</p> <p>問：西江收取門票和民俗表演收取門票有徵求過當地人的意見嗎？</p> <p>答：沒有，從來沒有。我贊同收取門票，但是要合情合理，不能过高。</p> <p>問：民俗演出您去看過嗎？有什麼評價？認為改編大嗎？</p> <p>答：我沒有看過，但是我以前有個學生之前在裡面做事，他說這裡面都沒什麼苗族人，別說是本地人了，都是外地來的。外地人怎麼能懂我們的文化，別說是改編了，根本就不是我們的東西。苗族在全球範圍都有，有一些苗族的分支是有自己的文字的，但是我們沒有，只能靠這些神話傳統和儀式來傳承，這些改編的演出把真正的東西搞得面目全非。</p>



		<p>問：本地有什麼民族文化的課程嗎？</p> <p>答：2007年开发以前，西江中学有苗族芦笙队等苗族文化培训班。西江小学开设了苗文语文课、苗族各类苗歌、苗族芦笙舞等舞蹈教学。参与人数极多，教学效果很好。08年开发旅游以后就逐渐消失了，非常令人伤感。现在基本沒有。都是應試教育，只重視那些主科。民族文化的課沒人來上。而且學校要求普及普通話，學校說普通話，遊客多了，平時的生活也說普通話。</p> <p>问：除了节日和扫寨仪式，当地组织过村民参与苗族文化相关的活动吗？或者是自愿邀请村民参加的文化活动？</p> <p>答：过去有，开发以后不复存在。</p> <p>問：您覺得發展旅遊對本地文化的衝擊很大？</p> <p>答：幣大於利。發展旅遊把整個村子搞得不像樣。苗族的房屋是木質結構的，自古以來就是這樣，沒有水泥的東西。一開始就是為了修那條主道，水泥修，相當於政府帶頭開始修水泥的建築，很多村民也沒有這個意識說要保護自己的文化建築，看到水泥的比較好，木質結構容易發生火災，保暖性也沒有水泥的建築好，所以也跟著紛紛開始把原來的房子拆了修水泥房。後來政府又要求保持木質結構的建築，但其實一開始就是政府帶頭修的水泥建築。還有之前我們中學差點被拆掉，因為學校的位置非常好，有人多投資人想要買這塊地，後來是全校老師集體反對才保住了學校。</p> <p>問：那你們的這些意見有地方反映嗎？</p>
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		<p>答：沒有渠道去反映。有時候就是和地方政府的意見不同，找上一級的他們肯定也是先聽地方政府的匯報。看著這些傳統的東西被毀掉，我是真的痛心啊。</p> <p>問：您是否看過演出團的民俗演出？有什麼評價？</p> <p>答：景區的所謂民風民俗表演我認為都是造假。1.官方開發西江以來根本不重視、不尊重我們的民風民俗。例如，吹蘆笙只能在9-3月，這是蘆笙表演的最佳時節。2.演員、導演、編排大部分是外地聘請來的。</p> <p>問：您認為當地的苗族文化保護與傳承的工作做得怎麼樣？政府是否需要增加保護力度？</p> <p>答：談不上保護和傳承，我認為反而是破壞了苗族的傳統文化。苗族是典型的農耕民族，但是由於旅遊開發而逐漸消失。風雨橋的和街頭巷尾的表演都是造假的東西，都是受利益驅使。</p> <p>問：您是否有興趣參與苗族文化的保護和宣傳？</p> <p>答：如果有可能，我肯定第一個站出來！</p>
A03	Guizhou Normal University	<p>問:您从什么时候开始参与保护苗族文化的活动？是什么动机或原因让您参与活动的？</p> <p>答： 我是2004年开始接触《苗族古歌》的。通过三年的阅读，使我从宇宙起源、神的诞生、大洪水、人类繁衍、蚩尤与炎黄的族群之争与迁徙到生老病死的灵魂归处、宗教信仰等的记叙等，使我深深地被这部创世史诗的神奇内容震撼。 它让我意识到，对一个民族的文化起源追溯事关中</p>



	<p>华民族文化的完整性和丰富性。我们有56个民族，对文化多样性的保护和研究刻不容缓。苗族文化要发扬光大其传播方式一定不能只停留在文字上，于是我萌发了要将其图像化的创新表达，在没有任何参照物的情况下完全凭借自己三年的阅读理解和下乡采风首创了《苗族古歌》系列工笔重彩组画，共计12幅。绘制《苗族古歌》系列组画从2006年开始至2015年底整整用了十年时间。</p> <p>問:请您介绍一下您所做的关于苗族文化的活动。</p> <p>答: 1. 应邀参加中国美协副主席李翔2016年9月26日在贵州省文史馆主讲“贵州风土人情与中国画创作”2. 2015年5月苗族古歌-王瑛老师的创作纪实由贵州师范大学美术学院微言公众号推出。3. 2016年5月由【精彩贵州人】王瑛: 十年磨剑绘古歌。4. 2016年5月在贵阳和舍酒店举办音画合璧表述《苗族古歌》沙龙活动。5. 2016年12月刻画入微传精神——工笔画名家王瑛作品欣赏。6、参加2017年第一期馆员（特聘研究员）研修班，并写介绍《苗族古歌》的专题发言文稿。7. 2017年5月参加《文史专家走进贞丰》活动。为贞丰梳理苗族、布依族文化历史及沿革。用《苗族古歌》中的文化元素助推转色旅游景点的文化建设。</p> <p>問:会到苗族当地进行采风、演讲、主办活动吗?</p> <p>答: 由于教学研究工作的事情，暂时没有开展此项工作。</p>
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	<p>問:据您所知,有与您们的组织类似的其它组织或者个体进行苗族文化的保护和传承吗? 这些组织和个体是自发性的还是政府主导或部分支持的?</p> <p>答: 有。政府、自发的都有。</p> <p>問:您对政府对苗族文化的保护、传承和教育工作有什么评价(例如: 资金或政策支持是否充足)?</p> <p>答: 政府有关部门在努力做, 有民族民间文化进课堂, 双语教学等。但是在认识上政府与民间有较大差异, 民间内部也有不同的研究倾向。最主要的原因是没有将民族文化的研究放在中华民族整个文化建构的历史大框架内进行。政府部门同时担心民族文化研究在走向多元化时形成不乐观的结果。</p> <p>問:您对现在的苗族村寨的民俗表演有什么看法(例如: 内容改编很多, 真实性低)?</p> <p>答: 表演形式化, 演员诉求与政府行为的目标不在文化传播本身, 与利益近, 与文化远。</p> <p>問:您对苗族文化的保护传承和推广苗族文化有什么建议?</p> <p>答: 苗族文化的传承需要苗族人民对自己文化的认同感。由于年青一代受汉文化教育的时间长,</p>
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		<p>好多在校大学生不会说苗语，对古歌一无所知，造成了事实上的文化断层。中小学时期学习到的不多的一双语课到大学时几乎全忘了。在农村长大的年青人又长期在外打工，老年人许多技艺没年轻人愿意学习。 我唯一希望的是政府要加大贫困地区的服务配套设施建设，想办法让年轻人留下来，有了年轻人文化的传承才有可能继续下去。千万不要让空心化的村寨再进一步扩大了。</p>
A04	Expert Committee of Guizhou Mountain Tourism Conference	<p>問：老師您好，我的論文是關於文化可持續性與文化遺產旅遊、藝術管理和社區教育，以西江千戶苗寨作為案例進行分析。想請教您作為學者、研究少數民族音樂的專家，對現在國內的少數民族文化旅遊產業的開發和少數民族地區的藝術教育有什麼研究和看法。</p> <p>答：我其實已經有很多現成的東西，從2000年就開始關注這些問題，可以說我涉足這個問題很早，特別是旅遊開發，2000年在香港參加一個關於國際傳統音樂的會議，當時提交的論文就是一篇關於旅遊業與中國西南少數民族文化發展的文章。文章在這本書中有收錄，提出了很多觀點應該是你想要問的。其實在這十幾二十年都有關注這個主題。書的每一部分我都分類得很清晰，我思考的問題和參考目錄可以作為參考。你的論文涉及的就我理解是文化、旅遊、少數民族、教育。你希望得出什麼樣的結論？</p> <p>問：一方面的是想要探討是否當地的文化旅遊開發已經商業化？...</p> <p>答：早就商業化了，早就過度了，00年就舉了很多例子了，全國的，新疆的、西藏的、雲南的，特別麗江的不用說了，改革開放到現在都三十年了。千戶苗寨我覺得可能也有這樣一個問題，怎</p>



麼把它們的文化拿出來展演，如何把握邊界的問題。你好像前年還是大前年也去了那裡做了研究。談到中國少數民族音樂舞蹈的教育，有幾個民族可以關注，立足於貴州的話，有侗族，侗族大歌的傳承方式，從幼兒班、少年班、中年班、老年班等這樣的分班；還有侗族的蘆笙，它有一套獨特的狀聲詞紀錄法，這兩點跟教育都是有一定關聯的。再者是麗江的大家所俗稱的納西古樂，它的傳承和別的民族不一樣，有四種傳承方式，一是公車譜，這受漢民族文化影響；第二是機動的，不會樂器沒關係，可以坐在樂隊裡聽別人奏樂、然後跟著哼唱、然後學習樂器，邊學樂器邊接受了音樂的傳承，但是現在沒有了，現在普遍使用的都是簡譜。簡譜、五線譜的問題是很難把韻味記錄下來，少數民族的也比較難記，在教育過程中存在一些問題。現在中國大陸的少數民族傳統音樂的傳承在發生著一種突變。漸變是正常的，突變就不正常了。我給你舉兩個例子，一是內蒙古的長調：現在回歸到了師父帶徒弟的模式，之前一直是用鋼琴教學，鋼琴教學律制就不對了。第二一個是新疆的木卡姆，非常阿拉伯的體系，現在的傳承方式也放在了學校，不是不可以，但是傳承方式發生了質變。這是最典型的兩個例子了。中國對少數民族的音樂教育有一個很有意思的現象，包括傳統民樂，現在保存流傳比較完整的都是院校培養出來的，比如古琴，在中國解放以後，如果沒有學校的傳承體系的支撐可能就逐漸消亡了，因為靠民間是不足以支撐的，所以政府的介入有它的好處，計劃經濟在這一個方面起到了一定的作用。戲曲方面，崑曲，北昆也好南昆也好，你想想如果沒有政府的注資的話我覺得它應該也走到邊緣了。剩下的還有剛剛提到的長調，蒙古族的長調是學校傳承的一個典範，民間藝人的作用越來越顯得微不足道，當然近十幾年又重新恢復了，大家覺得應該回到田野。所以少數民族的音樂教育發生了突變是一個特點，這種突變如果大致給一個時間應該在10年以後，這個突變在逐步發生一種向原來的傳統的回歸，這



個回歸的抓手就是非物質文化遺產，國家和國際的體系的認定，國際非遺的促進，在這個過程中，我覺得可以用一個詞：過猶不及，走得太快，這種回歸歸得太快，到一定的程度出現了很多虛假的、假冒偽劣的品種頻頻出現，這些品種往往聯繫到旅遊、文化的發展。文化產業這個詞我覺得更多的應該回歸到文化，但現在更多的在做產業，文化被產業這是很可怕的，這是我個人的想法，文化被產業這是很可怕。有的東西是可以被產業化的，比如與旅遊密切接合的《印象系列》，原生態系列等等，它的定位就是旅遊產品，旅遊產品的目的，就像我們藝術管理常說的追求社會效益的同時，第一位是追求經濟效益。但是文化產業，不應該追求商業價值的最大化，而應該更多的追求社會價值最大化。所以這裡有一個誤區，我們所說的“文化產業”、“文化事業”的關係。政府實際上在提倡的是文化事業，從國民黨時期就一直在做，這個你可以了解中國的教育體制，但文化產業的提出，我覺得實際上是近二三十年的事情。產業就可能帶來很多的副作用，比如教育，你在英國、香港、中國都學習過，就可以有一個很好的局內人局外人的視角，看國外國內的文獻與評價，可以發現教育就是一個典型的產業化的產物。中國的教育，我覺得生源的擴大化，教育質量的下滑都和這個有關係，這就是把教育做成了一個產業。例如貴州、雲南好多大學的二級學院，都很典型，生源增加了好幾倍。這是一個必然但是這種必然帶來了很多副作用，教育的副作用宏觀的來看越來越凸顯了，比如畢業以後大多都是失業，今年七百萬人的畢業，國家的安排也就兩三百萬人，國外的教育是否擔負過職業培訓、尋求的義務，我覺得更多的大學不會保證你有一個工作，但是如果是一個好的大學根本不愁工作，在一個不像中國這樣大躍進的突飛猛進的增加招生規模。中國的大學四千多所，包括民版的，這個基數是很嚇人的。在看種環境，音樂圈，小環境某個民族、地區、項目，這種後果已經體現出來了。少數民族音樂的教育和傳承我覺得也



	<p>面臨這種危機。當然危險與機遇並存，現在的機會也很多，比如文化館、文化站現在有很多，國家對非物質文化遺產的投資這幾年越來越多。中國的非遺項目，集體項目一般在一百萬，現在還要加。國家級的傳承人，去年是一萬，現在好像是2萬，雲南有些地方還在加錢。這就是一個發展太快既有好處也有弊端的情況。</p> <p>問：就西江這個例子，它們也像其他很多地方一樣，把歌舞表演作為一個產品銷售，並且開始收取門票，您對於這種現象持什麼樣的觀點？如何來保證文化產品的藝術質量？</p> <p>答：要原汁原味的保留的可能性越來越小了。你看我的書中04年發表的一篇論文第一節是質疑原生態音樂，第二節是一些實例，第三節是七年後的一個反思，所以實際上原生態的東西基本上不存在，原因在於大家對它的過度開發導致了它已經不可能存在了。所以我到覺得在這一點上持一個開放的態度。所謂開放的態度就是說兩條腿走路吧，第一條叫傳承，第二條叫發展，傳承就是保護，沒有保護的發展是盲目的，光有保護沒有發展是愚昧的。新疆的木卡姆是做得比較超前的，民間現在保留的程度也是相對而言比原來更豐富，因為人是在變化的，它的傳統藝術也在不斷改變，比如樂隊編制，以前用兩件樂器的現在可能用到了三、四、五件，它並不像交響樂團有固定編制，很民間化，從這個方面來看有比以前民間樂隊擴大化的現象，是一個好的現象，另外對於老百姓來說傳承了幾十幾百年的東西能夠產生一定的經濟效益，對於老百姓本身來說，我覺得也是好的，但永遠是雙刃劍。我不知道你去沒去過新疆，在新疆歌舞樂總是給人很深的印象，只要有人的地方幾乎就有麥西萊普，是十二木卡姆的第三部分，是群眾娛樂的項目，一些發展比較好</p>
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的還保留大曲，有的地方保留著達斯坦。現在的中小學教育、鄉土教材都在提倡孩子從小學習本民族的樂器、歌舞，新疆、西藏、雲南、貴州都有，甚至還有雙語學校。貴州和雲南可能沒有，但是新疆、西藏、寧夏都有。這種雙語學校，很大程度上政府保護了民間的文化，比如馬頭琴，在內蒙規定所有的孩子都必須學，這是學校教育的一個方向。一定程度上，這些政策還是幫助保留了很多東西，有利於它們的發展。但是另一方面，由於有利益的訴求，可能走得很快。我覺得在學校教育這塊，由於有了鄉土教材，藝術進校園，實際上很大程度豐富了地域文化。但是否這樣就能解決傳承的問題，我只能說還有待觀察。從量上看是比以前更完善了，但從質上來說還有待考證，總體來說還是比較樂觀的，有識之士在做保護，官員在做弘揚，總體環境是比較好的。

問：您一直從事納西古樂的研究，像納西古樂這類把文化產品作為旅遊產品開發的情況，如何把握那個度？因為旅遊產品總是避免不了要迎合觀眾的口味，從把這些傳統的文化搬上舞台到發展到現在，您覺得這樣的發展是否是弊大於利的？

答：我先舉兩個例子，一是內蒙古的教學，我們發現很多長調老師永遠教的歌曲不會超過10首，因為他的老師就只交給他12首，其他的他唱不好，他的學生可能再教只能教8首，就形成了一種模式，量在逐步減少。二是納西古樂，原本有20個曲牌，但不能每天晚上表演，後來按觀眾的反應熱烈保留曲目，最終保留的固定曲目是8首，這樣會演奏全部曲目的民間老藝人越來越少。正如你說的為了迎合觀眾的口味，造成了一種人為的失傳。我們常說傳統是一條河流，這種發展肯定會有變化，例如侗族大歌，以前男女分開演唱，五十年代受到西方合唱的影響變成男女對唱的形式，



	<p>這樣的演出和教育會逐漸形成一種約定俗成。不過要看變化的程度，可能三分之一是變化的，三分之二還保留著原樣。我主張一個觀點，“文化”關鍵是在“化”，“文”是一個文本，可能是具象的也可能是抽象的，是一個標識。關鍵的在於流傳過程中的變化，核心就是傳承，“傳”是學校教育、社會教育，“承”是基因的傳承。有些變化的存在具有合理性，但合理的成分有多少是有別的。但肯定是要發展的。少數民族的發展很多地方沒有規劃，發展太快他們還覺得不夠，覺得不能與時俱進。大家都跑到桂林去看《印象劉三姐》，很多人照著做卻沒有成功，有的東西還是要有自己的地域特色，不能太模仿，我聽說貴州也有很多這樣的演出。很多地方把少數民族的文化和旅遊結合，目的很清楚，就是為了票房，但真正能成功的並不多，成功的標準是什麼，要具備造血功能，不是依靠政府來維持，《希夷之大理》你聽說過嗎，陳凱歌的，是很典型的例子。大理當時說我們一定要弄一個超過麗江的東西《印象麗江》，去年我去的時候已經停演了，光修場地就花了好幾千萬，宣傳力度很大但並沒人看。這個是中國大陸普遍存在的問題，領導想在任期內，可能是4年內打造一個帶有他烙印的品牌，這種短頻快的項目最容易的就是排一台節目，成功不成功不管，排完了就是他的政績。這是很嚴重的問題，所有的學者都發現了這一點。政治家有自己的考量，他可以說通過一台節目拉動地方的經濟、造福一方人民，這種說法也沒錯，但是往往存在很多問題。還有另一個節目《印象海南島》，不能肯定現在是否還在演，這是印象系列最不成功的一部。</p> <p>問：您之前提到了在教育方面有一些民族已經有可以借鑑的模式，除此之外，您覺得政策上有那些可以考慮的，針對苗族，在教育方面有什麼可以改善的？</p>
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		<p>答：我對苗族還不是特別了解，我覺得傳承發展做得比較好的還是這幾個地方：內蒙、新疆、雲南、貴州都是做得不錯的。比如進校園，基層文化站點，另外還有旅遊的拉動，我覺得整體來說還是做得不錯的。麗江可以特別關注一下，它是旅遊的熱點城市，雖然現在有很多旅遊造成的問題，現在很多人都不願意去了，原因是人滿為患，並且當地的民風民俗被外來的商戶和客人給變異了，但是麗江這個小小地方有四台出名的駐演，《印象麗江》、《麗水金沙》、《麗江千古情》和楊麗萍的《雲南的響聲》，加上納西古樂有五台演出。五個項目所有制不同，是股份聯營的模式，分別有的和政府、企業、個人合資，有上市公司，也有小的文化演出公司，所以我覺得這是個試驗田，豐富多彩。這是中國獨有的在這麼小的地方有如此多的、集中的旅遊產業產品的展演，每天至少一場，甚至二至三場，這是聯合國定義的“麗江模式”。你可以關注一下鄉土教材，另外可以關注教育模式，比如是否有雙語教學。有時候表演也是一種傳承，傳統的表演是在舞台下，在節日中、民俗中，現在的表演在舞台上，加入了服裝、道具、化妝，目的也不一樣，原來的表演是為了維繫傳統，現在的表演是為了維繫生計。比如去年去廣西一個村，就有一個小戲台，找了侗歌隊來表演，除了侗族大歌還有一些婚喪嫁娶的儀式，不只是他們的村，幾乎每一個村都有，平時看的人很少。這有一種說法，叫政府採購，中國的很多傳統藝術都是在政府採購的背景下還“活著”。例如政府給一百萬，要求演一百場，去不同的村落。這也是傳承的一種方式，這個過程中存在教學的形式“以團帶班”，就是歌舞團自己帶學員，這些學員從小跟著歌舞團去演出、奏樂、表演，長大以後就成為了樂團的骨幹。</p>
A05,	Guizhou Institute of	A06：八十年代美國的學者對中國文化的研究通常是兩個路徑，一是東南亞漢族社區的研究，以



A06 & A07	Social Studies (focus group)	<p>弗里德曼為代表，把中國看作一個文化整體，（研究）漢族文化對少數民族文化的影響，另一個途徑是把西南每個少數民族看成一個個體。旅遊開發，文化展演是一個熱點問題。西江苗寨的開發和研究實際上存在很多問題，這裡涉及到誰是策劃者。西江苗寨文化的可持續性，是文化的持有者者一當地的老百姓對文化進行展演和保護，還是政府和企業對當地文化的打造，那就會有原真性的問題，也就是說原來的文化還剩下多少？實際上有很多旅遊開發的模式存在這個原真性的問題。開發到底是破壞還是保護？我們看到的表演出來的並不是他們真實的東西。</p> <p>A05：西江苗寨我們去過多次。講到貴州少數民族文化遺產的保護和旅遊開發的平衡，在我們國家現在的狀況下，是一個兩難的選擇。我們所有涉及到民族文化和旅遊的結合最根本的目的都是為了促進當地的發展，社會發展、民族發展和經濟發展，但是以經濟發展做為最根本的目的，所以就存在一個所謂的過度開發，二是所謂的商業化特別嚴重的狀況，還有就是為了迎合旅遊，使文化中一些不那麼積極的因素得到了一種擴張，需要更好傳承的東西逐漸消失，這在很多對方都出現，包括西江苗寨。以研究者的角度出發，我們要尋求的平衡是人與自然的平衡，人與生態的平衡。我不清楚西江一年的旅遊人次，但一個地方的發展是有承載力的，超過一定的限度就會造成破壞。實際上西江苗寨已經出現了破壞的勢頭，包括西江苗寨開發區域都在逐漸向外延伸，旅遊區和原住民的居住區域是否分開？</p> <p>A07：保護肯定有，現在是以一種“露天博物館的方式”，就是整個村寨都可以參觀瀏覽。開發範圍的話村寨裡面不能亂動，肯定是有保護的。村寨之外又搞了旅遊綜合服務區，是按照旅遊景區標</p>
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		<p>準建設的。</p> <p>A05：世界文化遺產保護的相關資料提到文化保護的核心區和非核心區，剛才文博士說的如果不把核心區保護好，將會破壞原有的核心區的……</p> <p>A06：你提到的社區教育的問題，比如博物館，不管是國家還是當地政府修建博物館都是想作為公共記憶來提高對社區的教育。如何把公共記憶和社區教育聯繫在一起？人類學總是強調客位和主位，例如展覽的圖片，是當地老百姓自己選的還是政府選的？旅遊開發以後的教育和傳統的教育、現代的教育有什麼不同？人類學在討論社區教育的問題時會更強調如何強化人的記憶。需要留意是誰制定的這些內容，就會涉及到記憶和選擇的權力的問題，權力與社區教育的問題。</p> <p>A07：西江現在受到很多人的關注，有做得成熟和可取的地方，也有不同的聲音說過度開發，文化保護出現問題，是不同的視角。剛剛王博士也提到了開發過度的問題。現在不同的專家學者從不同的角度來看有不同的看法和觀點。西江從最初開發08年貴州省第一屆旅發大會在西江召開，現在隨著交通設施的完善，西江的遊客上升到了一定規模，一年大約在三百多萬人次，可持續性這一點來說我覺得政府在旅遊開發中也提到了這個問題，遊客看得多次以後可能會有遊客數量的減少，這個時間不好估計，是一個市場機制的問題，作為學者關注的怎樣使得它更有持續性，如何讓文化繼續保持魅力和吸引力，文化要保護好，旅遊的生命力才在。要更多聽當地主體的聲音，學者可能會帶有先入為主的觀點，不一定全面。西江千戶苗寨文化研究院想通過這個平台對西江</p>
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	<p>進行更多的研究，發現不同的聲音。西江現在萬家燈火，有人認為破壞了鄉村的寧靜，但是按照西江4 A / 5A級旅遊景區的定位，又需要燈光等設施的配套。所以從學者和旅遊規劃的不同角度看到的問題是不同的。有學者提到西江本地人應該保護好“原生態”的文化，不應該使用電器。但是作為當地的群眾有發展的權力，有在旅遊的發展中追求現代生活的權力。有學者叫當地人不參與旅遊發展的分享，是一家之言。</p> <p>A05：從學者的角度，從政府的角度，從遊客的角度，是完全不同的。我們總是站在第三方的角度去思考。例如我04年去扶貧，當地有人說我們根本不需要這些東西，我們苗族人是熱情好客的，如果有客人來可以放在手中的工作去接待，這才是最重要的，所以我認為要考慮生活方式是自己喜歡的，還是外部強加於你的。民族文化確實要繼承和發揚，但發展和繼承本來就存在矛盾，需要做的是尋求一種平衡，不是發展了就不保護文化，也不能因為保護文化就完全不發展，這是不現實的，歷史的進程中已經證實了很多東西是注定要消亡的。</p> <p>A06：張曉老師寫的一篇論文提到了“夜郎制度”，社區如何管理。從學者來說，我們更關注文化的持有者，當地的老百姓。</p> <p>A06：前幾年我去西江的時候問老百姓都沒有覺得從旅遊中受益，但是政府會覺得，你看我們打造了一個很好的景區拉動經濟。那時候是這樣，不知道現在如何。</p>
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	<p>A07: 這個問題是因為分層造成的，不同的區位的人受益不同，比如住在公路邊的人收益就大。現在政府設置了攤位，給條件不好的人，讓大家都參與抽籤分攤位，在不斷推行一種公平制的項目。</p> <p>A05: 我以前做過一個項目，旅遊開發公路修通對當地居民的影響，國外的福利恢復計畫，我們進行了5年的追蹤。在人們的印象中，公路開通對當地都是好的影響，但實際上恰恰相反，恰恰相反。作為學者就要思考這些問題，為什麼旅遊開發帶來的不是更多的收益而是更多的煩惱，生活受到了影響，物價提高。比如三亞，為什麼反對外地人，為什麼反對過多開發，因為旅遊帶來了更多的社會不穩定因素，對生活造成了打擾，而收入又沒有增加。</p> <p>A07: 這是利益的博弈。不同的主體，政府、商家、當地人、遊客、研究者，不同的利益訴求不同。當地主體處於弱勢，在商業開發過程中。</p> <p>A05: 實際上政府和商人是結合在一起的，所謂的公司。而應該參與其中獲得較大利益的當地居民反而沒有參與其中，一旦發生利益的衝突，政府往往是站在資方的一邊。往往有利益關係在裡面。據我所知西江的每一家都有股份參與分紅。</p> <p>A07: 不是，是保護費用。公司每年從門票收入中拿出百分之十幾，大概一千多萬分給一千多戶，分下來一家也沒多少，還有根據房屋的樣式和保護程度獎勵不同金額。政府認為一年拿這麼多錢</p>
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		<p>出來也是可以了，但是寨子太大了分下來也沒多少錢。</p> <p>A07：當地的掃寨儀式是一個很好的社區教育的例子，特別是在放火安全教育和村寨的相關事務，都是通過掃寨活動把大家召集起來，重申一些管理規定和獎懲機制。這是苗族最傳統的社區教育方式。現在很多地方政府的消防法規落實到村寨很難，國家法律與基層的對接很難，但是這種傳統的方法很管用。九年義務教育在鄉村都很難實現，但是傳統的社區教育可能很管用。古藏頭相當於地方的領袖，當地村民比較信任他，他代表村民與政府有很多對接，包括當地居民的維權等，他常作為代表與政府溝通。怎麼利用傳統的方式在現代進行治理都是逐漸被學界所關注的。</p> <p>問：貴州把少數民族文化和旅遊結合的發展模式您的看法是什麼？</p> <p>A05：旅遊發展是需要一定的要素的，以貴州來說，真正有代表性的也就是少數民族。貴州和雲南是我國兩個非民族自治省份而享受民族自治的省份，我們的少數民族人口數佔了36%，遠超西藏、新疆、寧夏等。貴州有17個世居少數民族，比如仡佬族、苗族、布依族、侗族等，貴州的民族特性比較濃，就把民族文化和自然風光作為主要的展現內容。多彩貴州風，講文化的多彩性。一個是民族文化的多彩，所謂十裡不同音，第二從貴州的文化組成方面也體現了多彩。貴州的文化是多樣性的，銅仁楚文化，黔南是渝文化，黔西是滇文化，是很多元的。所以貴州把民族文化與旅遊結合是一個必然的趨勢。</p>
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	<p>問：對於西江收取門票和演出收費，您持有什麼態度？</p> <p>A05：我覺得從“中國特色”的角度，相比其他地區，我覺得是應該的。因為旅遊帶來的是人們對社會、不同民族、不同區域文化的了解，是一個學習的過程，既然是學習，除了基本服務之外，都採取付費的方式。旅遊發展肯定會對當地帶來一定的影響，當地也會有一定的投入，旅遊發展還要為當地人民造福，老百姓要獲取利益，我覺得這種收費方式是應該的。我個人做世界文化遺產的項目，我覺得相對來說，貴州的收費還比較偏低。但收費的同時，需要更注重包括演出在內的質量的提高。我們如何把旅遊開發、旅遊收費與景點提供的表演、服務質量兩者達到一個統一。西江苗寨我去了四五次，我感覺現在的旅遊都採取快進快出，特別是有的人沒有遇到演出時間的，就沒有體驗到在西江應該看到或者獲取的知識，比如苗族的歌舞、服飾等，人與自然相處的和諧都沒有看到。西江苗寨或者一個民族旅遊地點，最好還是快進慢遊的方式，能夠住下來，體驗到當地少數民族的文化和生活。大家為什麼會對苗族的飲食、歌舞感興趣，因為與我們平時生活的不同，但是只有待下來才能體驗到。國外也收費，華盛頓國家大教堂每人收取11美元，都在採取收費的方式，除了國家必須保證對居民的公共文化服務之外，比如圖書館、博物館，其他的還是採取有償服務的方式，我覺得很正常，但是在收費的同時，切記不要把收費和提供產品的質量割裂開。兩者要達到統一。</p> <p>問：關於文化演出的真實性您的看法？</p>
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	<p>A05: 文化最好保持它的原真性。</p> <p>问: 贵州把少数民族文化和旅游结合的开发模式, 您的看法是?</p> <p>A07: 贵州作为少数民族较多的省份, 这些年发展经济、文化, 少数民族居住在民族地区、乡村, 经济发展的程度比较低, 贫困人口比较多, 民族文化比较浓厚, 从文化资源的角度来说, 少数民族的非物质文化遗产很多。贵州省把这些视为资源。怎么把这些作为发展旅游发展经济的资源, 所以是很好的一个结合。贵州这几年发展工业强盛, 旅游变成了全球的朝阳产业, 省更明确了好好利用民族文化资源, 把文化产业作为主要的产业来抓, 自然而然就提到了一个决策上。最近几年的政策都能看出来如何把民族文化资源转化为经济优势, 各地州, 尤其是黔东南州, 争取到召开中国传统村落峰会, 这个论坛的规格很高。是一个趋势, 符合当地群众的利益, 符合地方的产业布置。</p> <p>A06: 贵州一直想把旅游和民族文化高度融合, 政府想通过旅游产业带动整个地区的经济发展, 但是在旅游开发的过程中, 很多的规划、实际应用到底对当地的老百姓有多大的意义还是要打问号的。当今社会人口流动性很强, 有很多村寨为了打造旅游产业把人召回来, 把房屋统一规划统一规格, 但老百姓自己的发展意愿是在政府的指导下的, 政府有考虑到村民的切身利益吗? 肯定有考虑过, 但在实际过程中老百姓的实际获益在哪里? 文化展演与当地老百姓的文化有很多出入之处, 这是原生态文化展演有多少真实性的问题。旅游开发的最大问题还是人的问题。还是要</p>
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	<p>以当地人为出发点。比如很多旅游承载区都是游客，当地人大部分人都离开了剩下老人在。我觉得这些是旅游开发中需要思考的问题。</p> <p>问：西江收取费用、民俗演出收费，您所持有的态度？</p> <p>A07：传统村落作为景区开发围起来收费，从景区开发、经营的角度有多方面的因素。政府作为经济管理者，围起来加强管理和建设是一方面的因素，从经济的角度围起来收取门票是很多景区的做法。现在也看到单依靠门票收入不足以成为一个成熟的景区开发模式，特别是乡村社区，仅仅重视门票收入，而旅游产品太单调还是不够的，村民主体在门票收入没有好的分配机制，没有好的收入村民也会有意见的。收取门票还是要权衡多方的利益，要有好的利益分配方案设置、实施。不要造成太大的利益悬殊和矛盾纠纷。</p> <p>A06：一个民族的文化产品，更多是从精神价值上体现出来的。门票的收入远远低于文化价值。对文化的保护是完全封闭性的，也应该适当开发，但是开发所带来的冲击远远抵消不了门票所弥补的缺憾。真的要体现出民俗文化的价值，我觉得应该有一个长远的利益规划，而不是看到短期的利益。真正让老百姓在旅游开发的过程中提高自己的文化自信才是最重要的。所以一定要充分体现文化而不是以经济来衡量。</p> <p>问：西江民俗演出的真实性如何？改编后的作品对保护、传承民族文化有促进作用吗？还是造成</p>
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		<p>了破坏？有什么建议？</p> <p>A07：我做过一个省的课题，关注贵州的语言生态文化的保护发展和提升，在贵州来说民族民间文化，或非物质文化遗产，还有我研究中提到的原生态文化，都是贵州这些年在发展民族文化中所看到的亮点。我们的民族文化是保存得比较好的。文化的真实性和展演性、创新性、流动性的问题。我们现在不要太偏于某一个特点。真实性，不同的历史时期文化的特点是不同的，如果以前是什么样现在还是百分之百的和以前保持一样也不一定科学。文化也应该有所发展有所创新，在原来的基础上发展创新，但是发展创新也不可能脱离原来的文化样式太多，凭空创造一个文化或者人为因素太多，离我们对某个文化的期待距离太大。我觉得民族文化的基本样式存在，即使社会发展，文化是流动的，也不用局限完全原封不动的流传下来。文化的特点还在，人们也有需求，可以赋予这些文化一些（新的）东西。现在舞台化的文化展演，不要是商家为了达到创收故意编造的、无中生有的东西出来，完全的商家炒作是需要规范的。舞台化的舞台展演文化的真实性肯定是有疑问的，也无法做到百分之百真实的文化展演，肯定是有改编和创新的，文化只有不断创新才能发展、传承，不可能做到完全搬真实的文化上舞台。谁也不能保证和老祖宗的文化是一模一样的，也无法做到。</p> <p>A06：所谓的原生态文化，我一直觉得文化是不存在原声还是其他的，文化实在一直交融、变化、学习的过程中的。但我们在研究村落文化的时候，不仅仅要看到变了的文化，还要看到不变的文化。在旅游开发的过程中，我们看到了很多文化发生的变化，作为政府、学者我们要考虑到整个</p>
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	<p>社会的结构。我持有的观点是文化是会变的，是在变迁的，但是社会的结构是非常稳定的。文化展演是现在很常见的现象，但是我们除了看到它变的东西，还要看到它不变的东西，比如民间的宗教信仰是不变的，社会的结构稳定性是很强的。判断一个村落的文化变了没有不能仅仅通过表演、艺术就确定是否产生了变化，可能是比较表面的东西，核心的东西是否改变要留意。</p> <p>A07: 民族文化心理是在的，这种文化已经植入他们的心理，无法改变的。</p> <p>A06: 所以现在很多专家说少数民族文化已经不见了，已经被汉化了，这是比较表面的东西，核心的东西从来没有变过。</p> <p>A07: 比如我们作为从地方出来的人，我们回到家乡民族文化心理就马上体现出来了， 宗教信仰不尊重是不行的，文化传统在里面的，吃饭穿衣、服饰文化可以改变的，民族文化心理和宗教信仰不能改变。</p> <p>A06: 一种观点：文化变化了，全部没有了。我觉得是值得深究的。</p> <p>A07: 深层次的文化因、文化心理变不了。</p> <p>问：你们认为政府对西江提供的非物质文化遗产保护的资源是否充足？政策的执行情况怎么样？</p>
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	<p>A07: 粗略说一下。不仅仅是文化保护政策的落实情况，整个中国实现法制的理想和实际是有冲突的，这是一大前提。文化保护政策、法律制度的实施和效果与我们制定法律法规的设想有差距。西江看不到多少这方面的落地的理想情况。省里面出非物质文化遗产保护条例，省里面还出了非物质文化遗产保护规划。</p> <p>A06: 我补充一下，03年的时候贵州省人大就通过了《贵州省民族民间文化保护条例》，是继云南以后，第二个的对民族文化保护进行立法的省份。05年国务院出台了一个关于我国非物质文化遗产保护工作条例。08年贵州又启动了《贵州省非物质文化遗产保护条例》起草工作，12年开始实行。15年贵州发展规划也把这方面列入其中，是在立法上做的比较好的省份。</p> <p>A07: 先把法律制度建立起来，工作有一个参考，这是一个前提工作。但是能做到多好的效果其实并不是非常理想。比如省里面的非物质文化遗产保护规划2014-2020年，具体的工作都规划得很好。我的理解是国家的民族政策，特别是民族文化保护方面，落实起来有难度。要激发保护主体的保护意识，要跟他切身利益相关的事他就有积极性，如果跟切身利益相关性小或者没有明显成效他们作为主体就不太有意识去保护，如果单凭政府单方面来推动保护，保护效果能有多大？政府、专家喊着保护，当地的文化主体没有参与保护，保护效果可想而知。所以现在制定法律法规政策，都要考虑如何激发当地主体的积极性，能够与他们的利益相关起来，这种政策才是最好的保护措施。</p>
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问：你们认为教育对激发当地人的保护意识和积极性的作用有多大？

A07：这是个很重要的问题。历史上传统村寨的节日活动，年轻人都参与，参与的过程中都感受到自己的民族文化和传统教育，社区教育机制还存在，效果也好。随着时代的变化，特别是打工经济出现，年轻人出来谋生活，乡村出现衰落，传统的机制也有衰落，现在一些问题就出来了。我们怎么利用国家的教育体制在乡村实现，这需要考虑几个问题。现在教育资源有限，教育措施在乡村怎么落地，怎么符合乡村的特点，探索有但是真正有效的例子不多。所以现在乡村面对这种情况，怎么让年轻人在内的村民能够在当前形势下能够把当地的传统教育有所利用起来，通过这种方式能够调动他们在乡村实现传统文化的恢复、提升自信心十分重要。尤其是现在年轻人要在社会中安身立命，要有所发展，需要考虑基本的问题，年轻人也很困惑，在城市没有太多立足之地，随着乡村旅游的发展，年轻人有一个回乡的趋势，乡村旅游又需要民族文化的支持，年轻人也应该重新学习民族传统文化，这些东西就需要政府、村民一起合力恢复我们的文化。这就必然涉及到民族文化的教育，这是值得去做的事情。

A06：我们讲很多民族社区的传统教育都是通过出一些传统的仪式，这种教育对整个民族的发展都起到根本性的促进作用。旅游开发以后，仪式的表演离它最开始的原貌有很大的差别。这些仪式的教育作用是毫无疑问的，本社区的人去参与这些仪式并不是去看热闹的。客体去看这些训练的表演式的仪式跟原本的潜移默化的仪式有很大差距。我觉得乡村的这种旅游展演都是通过训练



	<p>的，而且有时候还有其他民族的人参加表演，这肯定跟最初的家里的仪式有很大很大的区别。当然本地区的年轻人接受这种展演的仪式可能学到其他的东西，是另外的一种教育方式，但是和传统的东西是有差异性的。在社区教育方面要分清楚，旅游的开发对社区的教育可能是另外一种模式，和原来的社区教育是不一样的。我们还是要更加注重传统的仪式的教育作用。现在有很多功利性的需要。</p> <p>问：你们对西江的文化可持续性所持有的态度？</p> <p>A07：我介于两者之间，我觉得要比较理性的看待。西江的乡村旅游模式通过这些年的发展虽然取得了很大的成绩，旅游对西江、对当地村民的改变，增加他们的收入，提高他们苗族文化的保护意识来说应该是有不少的促进的，但是旅游开发当中也出现了一些问题，现在一些游客反应景区过度开发，商业化过重，这是这个过程中出现的一些问题。下一步旅游怎么做呢？可持续发展我觉得就是要总结这些问题存在的原因，找出一条下一步怎么更好的可持续性发展的路子。我认为旅游开发要兼顾多个主体的利益平衡，只有多方的利益兼顾，才使得这个景区取得一个持续的发展。另外在发展旅游的过程中，要做好保护工作，文化保护是发展旅游的一个前提，如果没有民族文化作为支撑，西江的千户苗寨旅游就失去了吸引力，当地政府和当地村民也是意识到这一点的，要把文化保护和旅游开发提到同样重要的位置。</p> <p>A06：我是持有一个比较悲观的态度。我对整个贵州的旅游都感到很失望。我从硕士就一直去不</p>
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	<p>同的村寨，是深有体会的。当地政府在开发的过程中，很好会到村落去做一个深入的评估调查，很少有，就是去几天、一周，问问几句话，就弄出一个规划，我就不信短短几天一周就能了解当地的情况？所以我对整个贵州抱着很失望的态度的。国外在做旅游规划大多使用人类学的研究方法，参与式的长期调研、评估。现在很多旅游规划都是一厢情愿，老百姓并不想要，都是为了经济效益，政府的政绩在考虑。贵州的少数民族文化丰富多彩，没有一个前瞻性的桂发。</p> <p>A07：定位是够高的了，但是要把每个景区景点规划做到位就很有难度了。</p> <p>A06：就是没有深入投入嘛，一是缺少人才， 二是不会利用人才，第三是去规划的人才缺乏真正的训练。</p> <p>A07：请旅游规划设计院，请高价给他们来规划，其实都是一个模子出来的，才下去（村寨）几天嘛。</p> <p>A06：很多旅游规划，比如之前在三都做了规划，然后荔波做一个规划，把三都的规划文本修改一下就成了，这叫旅游规划吗？人类学强调人文关怀，而我们的规划都是冷冷的文本。</p> <p>A07：兼顾当地人利益太多，开发商觉得投资回报率太低，还敢来投资吗？政府也是考虑到这些问题，多方利益取舍。</p>
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		<p>A06: 所以在GDP为主导的国家体制之下，中国的旅游是失败的，至少贵州是这样的，这是我所看到的，没有可持续性，破坏更多。</p> <p>A07: 也不要太悲观，旅游的增长率还是节节攀升的。</p> <p>A06: 数据的真实性是有疑问的。</p> <p>A07: 大数据统计。航班、火车车次、电信流量等可以查出来的。</p> <p>问：生命周期的问题？</p> <p>A06: 旅游的周期从接受、上升到衰落，我们现在处于宣传阶段，不断让人接受，但是这种生命力是比较短的。</p> <p>A07: 旅游是针对人的消费，人的享受是无止境的，只要经济条件能够达到。随着工作压力增加，经济条件增长，旅游消费是一个大的趋势。不能用产品周期来定论它，但是有其他因素的影响，比如经济下滑。还有从旅游产品设计上，如果旅游产品老旧，也会失去吸引力。如果这些因素都不存在，人的旅游消费不会停止。</p>
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Appendix C4 Interview – Local residents (in Chinese)



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Code	Position	Transcription
LR01	Local restaurant/ Farmer	<p>問：發展旅遊業以來您的收入水平有明顯提升嗎？</p> <p>答：經濟收入還是有明顯增加的，人們的生活水平也提高了，但是對環境的改變太大了。以前的西江和現在看起來差別很大。</p> <p>問：你觉得发展旅游后现在生活改变大吗？</p> <p>答：人的变化不大，但是对生态环境改变挺大的。</p> <p>問：你一直在這裡擺攤嗎？</p> <p>答：我們是抽籤的。每年350個攤位，但是2000多戶抽，其實抽中的概率也不大。</p> <p>問：是隨機分配的嗎？</p> <p>答：是的。300個攤位位置也有好壞，如果是在一頭一尾的位置生意就非常好。所以都是隨機抽的，有沒有抽中，抽到哪個位置都是隨機的。</p>



		<p>問：如果抽不到怎麼辦？</p> <p>答：抽不到的話就只能做其他的事情了。比如回家幫親戚做生意，哪家建房幫忙建房子，跑跑運輸等等。</p> <p>問：所以經濟來源的方式還是很多的？</p> <p>答：總是要生活嘛，有攤位比較方便，淡季還可以做點別的事。如果抽不到就只能去做其他的來賺錢了。</p> <p>問：你覺得收取門票對你們的經營有影響嗎？</p> <p>答：影響不大。現在大家也都習慣了旅遊付門票。一開始還是很多人有意見的，去反映過，後來政府出面協調，也答應拿一部分門票返還村民，慢慢大家也都習慣了。遊客到不會因為收門票而減少。</p> <p>問：據說每年門票的17%會根據建築保護情況返還給村民？</p> <p>答：是這樣的，有個委員會，每年評估房子的保護情況，然後根據年代的長短，新舊、大小來分</p>
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		<p>錢。但是說實話，這個怎麼評的我們也不知道，都是他們那幾個人在決定。而且我認為返還門票太少了，一年分下來一個人根本沒多少錢。既然說這些房屋是文化遺產，那麼保護文化遺產政府是不是本來就該出錢？我們自己出錢保護，政府年底分一點錢，就覺得是獎勵了很多。其實本來就是政府應該付的，人們來旅遊也是因為要來看這些房子，才有這麼多門票收入，返還給老百姓是應該的，我覺得分得太少了。</p>
LR02, LR03 & LR04	Local restaurant	<p>店主：广东人</p> <p>員工：1位西江本地人，1位凱里人</p> <p>問：你們在西江呆了多久了？</p> <p>店主：我是跟我父母過來做生意的，這家店是我姐姐姐夫開的，我父母在貴陽青岩做生意。我姐夫是湖南人。這家店開了兩三年了，最近開了一家酒店在山顶。廚師是本地人，阿姨（幫工）是從凱里來打工的。</p> <p>阿姨：我來了三年多了。</p> <p>問：你們覺得現在的西江過分商業化了嗎？</p> <p>答：不會啊，對我們的的生活完全沒有影響，我們還希望更商業話一些，現在是淡季，遊客很少，</p>



	<p>一天都很闲。但是旺季的时候又忙不过来。对我们来说希望能够平均一下。</p> <p>问：为什么会希望更商业化，是因为客人会变多吗？</p> <p>店主：也不是，旺季的人就已经很多了。但是这里没什么玩的，就是来看看寨子，看看建筑，爬山的也不多，再看看演出，很多都是当天来回。我们在这里就觉得很无聊，刚来的时候觉得很好玩，风景很好，呆一段时间就无聊了，下面有几个酒吧，也没有其他的娱乐活动，逛街也没有商场，所以我经常和女朋友打车去凯里或者贵阳看电影、唱歌等等，有很多可以玩的。</p> <p>厨师、阿姨：淡季就是没有那么忙，旺季特别忙，忙得没时间休息，但是也会请人来帮忙。不忙的时候也没什么事做，可能有时候去下面帮帮忙。</p> <p>问：在下面主道附近的餐饮店应该会客人很多吧？</p> <p>店主：非常多，只要不是做的太差，基本上只有赚钱不会亏本的。其实我们一年下来也不会亏。但我们不包旅行团，还是想做得精细一点。下面那些接团的，每天都有很多客人，我们家这两天你都是头一位开张的。但是你接旅行团，质量、味道就很难保证了。我们的食材每天都是新鲜的。</p> <p>问：听说每年会返还一定的门票收入给你们？</p>
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	<p>店主：我们是租的，返还也不会还到我们手里。</p> <p>厨师：每年差不多一家能分到一万块到两万不等。说是根据保护的情况来分的，但是具体我们也不知道怎么评分的。</p> <p>店主：每年收这么多门票，一家一年才分一万多块真的太少了。</p> <p>厨师：是的，平均每个月一两千块，人口少的还行，人口多的人均就没多少钱了。</p> <p>店主：我们觉得可能一部分被贪污了，不然那么多门票收入为什么每家才分那么点。其实游客来看也主要是看建筑，没有村民的建筑哪里能吸引这么多游客。应该分多一些。</p> <p>问：淡季你们会做什么？</p> <p>答：这里交通太不方便了，出去一趟也不容易，所以大部分时间都是在店里带着。一方面要看店，一方面出去一趟太麻烦。淡季的生活非常无聊，有客人就接待客人，没人的时候就打游戏、看剧。阿姨有时候会出去串门。</p> <p>问：我发现好像很多店主都是外地人。</p>
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		<p>店主：是啊，下面的商铺基本上全是外地人承包了，而且都是湖南来的。湖南来的最多吧，他们有的是租门面，有的租房子改造成民宿或者饭馆，有的把一整块地租下来然后重建酒店，通常签10-15年的租约。基本上这里的店铺都是盈利的。</p> <p>问：对收门票有什么看法？</p> <p>店主：一开始收门票的时候也有很多村民不同意，闹过一次然后采取了分红的措施。我觉得这里管理还是很差的。深圳有的地方就做的很好，我听说有个村借款给村民，鼓励他们投资，收很低的利息还是不收利息，这样村民就可以做很多想做的能做的生意。这边就没有这种政策，村民没钱怎么投资，都是外地人来投资。湖南的一两个来了以后在这里发财了又回去跟他们的同村的人，兄弟姐妹朋友们互相说，一个传一个来的人越来越多。</p> <p>问：收取门票会造成游客减少吗？</p> <p>店主：游客的人数和收取门票与否好像没太大关联，门票也不贵，去其他的景点旅游也都要收门票，所以大家都挺理解的。</p> <p>问：你们的固定员工就是三人吗？</p>
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		<p>店主：是的，这里工人一般都是临时工，淡季和旺季人工需求量差别非常大。</p> <p>问：你也在青岩开店，有什么不同的感受吗？</p> <p>答：西江现在正在评4 A景区，青岩准备评5A景区了，青岩还是要好很多。管理得很好，而且娱乐活动很多，离市区又近，交通非常方便。据我所知评5A景区的条件非常苛刻，比如游客人数一年达到多少，其中外国人的比例要达到多少，我都怀疑是请的“托儿”，哪有那么多外国人来旅游。</p>
LR05	Local restaurant	<p>問：您是本地人嗎？</p> <p>答：我不是，但我是苗族人。我是過來打工的。 我是本地的。</p> <p>問：為什麼回到西江來打工？</p> <p>答：我之前在凱里打工，後來別人介紹就到這裡來了。</p> <p>問：平時工作忙嗎？</p> <p>答：淡季沒什麼人，晚上比較忙，其他時間還好。旺季就特別忙了。我感覺這裡的工作時間安排特別不合理。忙起來的時候根本停不下來，沒人的時候又很閒但是也要在這裡守著不能離開。沒有倒班。</p>



	<p>問：你在這邊的幾年也見證了西江的變化，喜歡以前的西江還是現在的？</p> <p>答：我更喜歡以前的。雖然沒有現在條件這麼好，但是人很純樸，現在感覺人沒有以前純樸了，變了很多。以前都是有什麼事鄰居朋友都會來幫忙。現在就沒有以前那麼親密。</p> <p>我也喜歡以前的。</p> <p>問：除此之外覺得有什麼不同嗎？</p> <p>答：安全感變低了。以前都是夜不閉戶的。現在還是要鎖門。</p> <p>外面來的人多了，壞人也變多了。還有些客人老是來合影或者叫你唱歌，其實挺不尊重人的。就覺得你是苗族的也一定要唱歌，但其實我們是接待我們認為尊貴的客人的時候才唱。</p> <p>問：有參加過當地舉辦的文化活動嗎？</p> <p>答：沒有參加。好像也沒有聽說。平時有些公共的節日遊客很多也要上班不能離開。</p> <p>問：有在學校接受過一些苗族文化的教育嗎？</p> <p>答：我們讀書都很少的，課本裡面沒有那些內容。</p> <p>問：你們覺得政府對保護苗族文化的宣傳和其他投入充足嗎？</p> <p>答：挺充足的吧。具體不太清楚，但是感覺還是充足的。</p>
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		<p>問：會一直留在西江嗎？</p> <p>答：不會，還想出去打工，感覺這裡待不長，沒什麼意思，學不到什麼技能，就是和客人溝通的話能學到一些待人接物的技巧。</p> <p>暫時還沒有離開的打算，可能會和我男朋友去凱里看看。</p>
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Appendix C5 Interview – Managers from local cultural organizations (in Chinese)

Code	Position	Transcription
AP01	Guizhou Xijiang Miao Village Performing Company	<p>問：請問是出於什麼原因決定晚上的演出實行收費？</p> <p>答：這個主要是遊客來了以後西江的景點比較少，考慮到晚上遊客沒地方去，沒有景點觀看，我們就做了這麼一台演出。第二也是讓更多的遊客更深入地了解苗族服飾和舞蹈。</p> <p>問：會不會擔心收費之後觀看的人變少了？</p> <p>答：不會。因為西江晚上本來就沒有什麼景點。</p> <p>問：在節目的選擇和編排上有哪些考慮？在編排的過程中以展示苗族文化為主要目的還是更多考慮觀眾的口味？</p>



	<p>答：主要還是以展示苗族為主，也根據一些遊客和市場的需求做了一些改動。</p> <p>問：是會問一下觀眾的意見嗎？</p> <p>答：我們每年都在做問卷調查，根據遊客喜好和旅遊趨勢去改動。</p> <p>問：如何把控改編的程度？保持傳統還是改編更多？</p> <p>答：我們主要是以苗族舞蹈為基礎，對舞蹈做一些延伸，根還是在苗族，改動不太大，不可能做其他的舞蹈，藝術創編我們是以苗族為基礎做一些延伸，讓節目更有可看性。</p> <p>問：編導和節目設計者都是苗族人？</p> <p>答：對。都是我和另外幾個編導。</p> <p>問：如何保證藝術質量？</p> <p>答：我們有舞台監督，還有演員的表現、演員的績效。</p> <p>問：我是不是可以理解會對演員有考核？</p> <p>答：有考核機制。</p> <p>問：考核是以藝術表現的情況來判定還是其他方面比如缺勤？</p>
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	<p>答：主要是以藝術表現能力。</p> <p>問：你們會有考試嗎？</p> <p>答：有啊。</p> <p>問：頻率是多久呢？</p> <p>答：一年一次。</p> <p>問：在演員的選擇上是如何考慮的？</p> <p>答：主要是以苗族樂器、舞蹈和歌曲（技能）為主，第二是身高、顏值。我們主要是面試。才藝多的會優先考慮，不是苗族的也沒有關係。</p> <p>問：是否考慮到“二次觀眾”？</p> <p>答：這個其實我們也沒有很大的擔心，因為我們主要是展示苗族文化，不可能展示其他民族的文化。節目我們是每年一換，只能在苗族文化的基礎上改變。舞台設計的一到兩年就要做一次更換。</p> <p>問：會有人提出過過於商業化的質疑？</p> <p>答：有的，有些遊客建議加入篝火晚會，但是由於苗寨不能點火，所以不能做有關火的節目，要依靠燈光來增加亮度。我們在風雨橋有民歌對唱，也是根據遊客的需求，如果你想看到更原生態的節目，也可以過去看表演。門口的表演也是我們在做，活態文化。召集當地的群眾，給他們一</p>
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		<p>點錢，吹蘆笙、繡花等做任何民族文化型態的展演。</p> <p>問：舞台設計投入也挺大的，資金是政府提供嗎？所得到的門票收入是全部用於節目製作的使用還是有其他支配？</p> <p>答：政府統一收入統一投放。投資也是政府投的，所得的收入也是政府管理。</p> <p>問：在演出團運營過程中有沒有什麼困難？</p> <p>答：我們現在很缺策劃的人才，節目都是我和我們的另外一位老師在編排，但是我們也是水平有限不能做出像印象麗江那樣的作品。所以一直想請專業的編導來幫我們策劃。另外場地也是個大問題，我們排練沒有專門的場地，只能在表演場，遇到天氣不好就不能排練了，或者排練的時候就場地不能進行其它活動。</p> <p>問：你們近期的計畫是什麼？</p> <p>答：我們想做一台大型的演出，現在晚上的這台演出內容不夠豐富，我們想做一台2個半小時的像印象麗江那樣的作品。我們發現遊客都喜欢那種類型的。我們還想把舞台再改造一下。</p> <p>問：你們如何確定遊客的口味？</p> <p>答：我們也會做一些問卷調查什么的。</p>
AP02	Guizhou Xijiang Miao	問：



Village Performing Company	<p>1.你们的演出团全称是？经营和管理模式是怎样的（eg：外商承包？政府出资？组织结构？演员行政人员比例？）？</p> <p>2.你们的如何选择演员，对有的演员不是本地人或者苗族人有什么看法？</p> <p>3.演出的内容是如何确定的？</p> <p>4.出于哪些原因晚上的演出实行收费？是否收费会造成观众人数减少？</p> <p>5.是否有人质疑过演出内容的“真实性 / 原生态性”，有没有考虑过如何解决这些问题？</p> <p>6.除了日常的两场演出还会组织其它的文化活动吗？参与者有哪些？是免费开放给公众的吗？</p> <p>7.演出团是否会参与社区的文化活动？</p> <p>8.作为在西江工作的‘新居民’，您觉得当地的文化生活是否丰富？您有没有参与过苗族文化的活动（保护或教育类）？您认为政府在文化艺术教育方面的投入大吗？</p> <p>答：</p> <p>1.我们演出团的全称是贵州省西江千户苗寨文化演艺有限公司，经营和管理模式是雷山县政府独资的国有企业。管理模式也主要是政府在管理。比如副总经理以上的都是有行政职位的，总经理是正科级。外商承包的话，主要是合作，我们和湖南的一个演艺公司合作，负责演员的管理、培训、苗族文化的挖掘，他们湖南的公司负责商业售票和对外的宣传，主要是市场和售票这两块。政府出资的话，今天是2017年为了上市，扩大投资规模和经营规模，政府出资注册资金8000万。演艺公司是西江千户苗寨的子公司，资金也是总公司出。文化演艺公司现在分成两块，演艺部和服务部。我们演艺部分为办公室——负责行政、人事、财务管理和演员队伍的建设和管理；</p>
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	<p>艺术团——负责景区的歌舞演出，中午11点半晚上八点半各一场，还有编导、排练等相关工作；特勤部——负责演出监票和秩序维护，表演场的安保工作。服务部又分为交通营运部和停车场，交通营运部又下设观光车队和检票组。演艺公司行政人员我们有五个，总的人员105个。</p> <p>2.选择演员首先看身高和外貌，其次是面试，舞蹈的基本功、才艺展示、舞台表现力。我们的演员差不多三分之一是湖南湘西艺术学校的，其它的都是本地的一些苗族。对他们的看法，作为演员的话学校出来的基本功和表现能力肯定要强一些，本地的话土生土长的苗族对舞蹈的表现力比较强。</p> <p>3.演出的内容是根据苗族的历史、文化、风俗来确定的，着重展示苗族的舞蹈和歌曲，突出西江原生态、雷山的各个乡镇的苗族的特产，比如铜鼓舞。</p> <p>4.演出收费的话，首要原因是维持公司运营所需的经费，演员的工资。我们和湖南的宣传公司合作，他们负责对外的宣传和商演门票，肯定要提走提成。收费也不会造成观众人数的减少，我们从三月到十一月进入旺季，基本观众席都是坐满的。因为每年西江的大型晚会，作为西江千户苗寨唯一一个展示西江文化历史民族风俗这些内容，是国内外游客了解苗族最好的一个途径。其实我们的收费并没有赚钱，每年演艺公司都是亏损的，因为要维持演员的开支和苗族文化的对外宣传。如果不收费的话现在景区搞了一个噶歌古道苗族文化的展示，也有苗族的歌舞展演。</p> <p>5.这个我们还没听说过，因为我们的商演的话是以苗族的原生态文化为基础，展示苗族的歌舞和服装，再结合市场的需求、游客的需求进行一些加工和提升，满足游客的需求。原生态的话，中午的表演没有进行过多少包装和打造，是比较原生态的。</p> <p>6.出了日常的两场演出外，我们还经常出差到地州市、外省以及国外，比如美国、东南亚等地区</p>
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		<p>进行苗族文化的展演，这些作为苗族文化的宣传肯定是免费的。去的时候出了西江的当地演员，还有雷山的其它苗族。</p> <p>7. 西江艺术团也会参与社区的文化活动，比如参加周边学校、外地去进行慰问演出、展演。</p> <p>8.我觉得苗族文化非常丰富，吃、住、玩方方面面都有，唱歌、跳舞、斗牛、长桌宴、捉鱼、逗鸟等。苗族文化的保护和教育每年都是有的。保护方面西江成立了一个苗族文化馆，去民族大学请了李教授担任院长，进行苗族文化的开发、传承、展示等等活动，教育就是进学校、去演出、舞蹈的培训等等。近年来，随着雷山和西江千户苗寨苗族文化的挖掘和大力开发，政府也认识到苗族文化艺术教育的重要性，对苗族文化艺术教育的投入逐年在增加。</p>
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Appendix D Consent form & information sheet

**THE EDUCATION UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG
Cultural and Creative Arts**

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

**Cultural sustainability with tourism, arts management and community
education:**

A study of Miao's intangible cultural heritage in Xijiang, China

I _____ hereby consent to participate in the captioned research supervised by Prof. Leung Bo Wah and conducted by Du Junge.

I understand that information obtained from this research may be used in future research and may be published. However, my right to privacy will be retained, i.e., my personal details will not be revealed.

The procedure as set out in the **attached** information sheet has been fully explained. I understand the benefits and risks involved. My participation in the project is voluntary.

I acknowledge that I have the right to question any part of the procedure and can withdraw at any time without negative consequences.

Name of participant

Signature of participant

Date

INFORMATION SHEET

Cultural sustainability with tourism, arts management and community education:

A study of Miao's intangible cultural heritage in Xijiang, China

You are invited to participate in a project supervised by Prof. Leung Bo Wah and conducted by Du Junge, who are staff / students of the Cultural and Creative Arts in The Education University of Hong Kong.

This study aims to understand how to achieve the balance between cultural heritage and cultural tourism. The research questions of this study are: 1) to what extent did cultural sustainability feature in the development of Xijiang's cultural tourism between 2011 and 2015? 2) to what extent has cultural sustainability been a determining factor in the policy making, planning (includes programming), and management practices, that have informed the cultural development of Xijiang Miao Village? And 3) to what extent has the goal of cultural sustainability affected community education in Xijiang, in terms of curriculum design, teaching processes, and policy making? You are chosen to be the appropriate participant is because your professional knowledge/ rich experiences in the area of arts management/ minority cultural heritage/tourism.

The research design applied will be a case study format. Both quantitative research method (questionnaire survey) and qualitative research methods (observation, interview, document analysis,) will be employed to address the research questions. The sample size of quantitative survey is 200 and the number of interviewees in this research is 15.

Your participation in the project is voluntary. You have every right to withdraw from the study at any time without negative consequences. All information related to you will remain confidential, and will be identifiable by codes known only to the researcher.

The research results may be published in journal or presented in the conferences.

If you would like to obtain more information about this study, please contact Du Junge at telephone number _____ or their supervisor Prof. Leung Bo Wah at telephone number _____.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research study, please do not hesitate to contact the Human Research Ethics Committee by email at hrec@eduhk.hk or by mail to Research and Development Office, The Education University of Hong Kong.

Thank you for your interest in participating in this study.

Du Junge
Principal Investigator

香港教育大学
文化与艺术创意艺术系

参与研究同意书

文化可持续性与旅游、艺术管理和社区教育：

以中国西江苗寨苗族文化遗产研究为例

本人_____同意参加由梁宝华教授负责监督，杜浚歌执行的研究项目。

本人理解此研究所获得的资料可用于未来的研究和学术法宝。然而本人有权保护自己的隐私，本人的个人资料将不能泄露。

研究院已向本人充分解释所附资料的有关步骤。本人理解可能回出现的风险。本人是自愿参与这项研究。

本人理解我有权在研究过程中提出问题，并在任何时候决定推出研究，更不会因此而对研究工作产生的影响负有任何责任。

参加者姓名:

参加者签名:

日期:

有关资料

文化可持续性与旅游、艺术管理和社区教育：

以中国西江苗寨苗族文化遗产研究为例

诚邀阁下参加梁宝华教授负责监督，杜浚歌负责执行的研究计划。她 / 他们是香港教育大学学生 / 教员。

本研究旨在寻求文化眼馋保护与文化旅游开发的平衡。研究问题包括：1) 2011 至 2015 年间，文化可持续性以何种程度显现在西江的文化旅游开发中？2) 文化可持续性作为影响因子对西江苗寨的政策制定、项目策划及管理实践的作用？3) 就课程设计、教学过程以及政策制定等方面，文化可持续性在何种程度上作用于西江的社区教育？

考虑到您在艺术管理 / 少数民族文化 / 旅游等专业的行业知识以及丰富的领域经验，您受邀参与本次研究并提供学术观点。

本次研究为案例分析，采用量性（问卷调查）和质性（观察、采访、文档分析）研究来解决研究问题。问卷样本为 200，采访人数为 15 人。

阁下的参与纯属自愿性质。阁下享有充分的权利在任何时候决定退出这项研究，更不会因此引致任何不良后果。凡有关阁下的资料将会保密，一切资料的编码只有研究人员得悉。研究结论可能会用于会议或学术出版。

如阁下想获得更多有关这项研究的资料，请与杜浚歌联络，电话或联络她 / 他们的导师梁宝华教授，电话

如阁下对这项研究的操守有任何意见，可随时与香港教育大学人类实验对象操守委员会联络（电邮：hrec@eduhk.hk；地址：香港教育大学研究与发展事务处）。

谢谢阁下有兴趣参与这项研究。

杜浚歌
首席研究员