Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguarding in the Context of Tourism: A Case Study of Lijiang, China

by

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Junjie, on the Chinese New Year’s Eve, 27 Jan., 2017
Abstract

A study on Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in the context of tourism is needed not only to resolve practical problems in heritage management, but also to further the development of theory in the field of heritage studies and heritage tourism. While studies on ICH have been burgeoning in recent years, little research has been done in relation to the safeguarding of ICH in the context of tourism. This is particularly so with regard to the applicability of key theoretical concepts in heritage studies, namely authenticity and integrity. My thesis is that these need to be rethought and reconceptualised in relation to ICH safeguarding.

I will advance my arguments through a case study of ICH practices and their management in Lijiang, located in Yunnan Province, China. Here the indigenous ICH is rich and heritage tourism development is mature. Most commentators interpret this place as an example par excellence of the tension between “authentic protection of ICH” and “use of ICH in commodification”. I argue, however, that this tension is in itself a reflection of two points of difference within the Chinese ICH system. The first is between the Chinese official ICH discourse and UNESCO ICH discourse. The second is between these “official discourses” and the “cultural practice” engaged by the ICH practitioners on the ground in Lijiang. I use these findings to argue that the understanding of the local ICH practitioners is central to the resolution of the tension between the protection and the use of ICH.

Methodologically, the research draws on the Critical Heritage Studies approach and the emic perspective in experimental ethnography. I use these to propose an innovative inheritors-based emic perspective to reveal, analyse and privilege the understandings of the local ICH practitioners of four types of ICH in Lijiang, namely Dongba culture, traditional music, handicrafts and traditional food making skills, which I then contrast with the perspectives of the officials (at national, provincial, municipal and county levels) and the experts (both non-local and local experts). Given the way in which the officials and experts have interpreted the relationship between authenticity and commodification as one of tension between the two, I deliberately studied two forms of ICH: the less-commodified practice in the community and the more-commodified practice in the tourism market.

Key Words: Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), Authenticity, Integrity, Continuity, Critical Heritage Studies, Inheritors-based emic perspective, Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), Tourism, Commodification, China, UNESCO, Lijiang
List of Abbreviations
(In the order of appearance)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
ICH: Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICHC: *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*
AHD: Authorised Heritage Discourse
LICH: *Law on Intangible Cultural Heritage of the People’s Republic of China*
ICOMOS: The International Council on Monuments and Sites
OG: *The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*
The SACH: The State Administration of Cultural Heritage of China
The LPMB: The World Heritage Old Town of Lijiang Protection and Management Bureau
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Background

1.1.1 Issues in Lijiang

Yunnan, which locates on the southwest border of China, is a Chinese province with abundant and diverse ethnic minority cultures and natural environments. The World Heritage Property the Old Town of Lijiang,¹ an 800-year old town located in the northwest of Yunnan Province, is well-known for the local Naxi people’s ethnic traditional culture and folklore, vernacular architectures, picturesque landscape and pleasant natural environment. Naxi is an indigenous ethnic minority living in Lijiang Municipality (including the Old Town of Lijiang) and they constitute 19.33% of the total population.² Cultural heritage, especially the characteristic traditional Naxi culture, is the essence of the tourism attraction of Lijiang which, surprisingly, attracted 35,199,100 tourist trips from home and abroad in 2016.³ Lijiang enjoys a reputation as one of the “Chinese City Rankings-Top 10 Touristic Cities” in 2010,⁴ as well as its listing amongst the “Chinese International Ethnic Cultural Tourism Destinations” in 2016.⁵ Fulsome compliments have been heard from news reports which are exemplified by one

¹ The Old Town of Lijiang, including the Dayan Old Town, Baisha housing cluster and Shuhe housing cluster, was listed as World Cultural Heritage in 1997 based on the Criteria (ii), (iv) and (v). See details in Chapter 5.
² Lijiang Municipality is comprised of five administrative regions and the total population was 1,244,769 as of 1 November, 2010. Among these people, Han Chinese constitutes 43.21% (population 537,893) and the remaining are ethnic minority peoples. Following Yi people who constitute 19.54%, Naxi people is the second largest ethnic minority which constitutes 19.33% (240,580). See [http://www.tjcn.org/rkpcgb/rkpcgb/201112/22683.html](http://www.tjcn.org/rkpcgb/rkpcgb/201112/22683.html), retrieved on 19 Jun., 2017.
article in the top national official newspaper *People’s Daily*\(^6\) which writes in the preface that:

What makes Lijiang, an unknown little town in southwest of China’s frontier, develop into an internationally renowned world-class touristic cultural city where economy is developed, culture is prosperous, society is harmonious and the nationalities are united? The success is because: Lijiang targeted the advantageous characteristic economy that fits the local reality and tried every way possible to make the tourism industry bigger and stronger. Meanwhile, Lijiang highlights its culture, extends the Opening-up\(^7\) and enhances social harmony through the nationality unity.

Thus, Lijiang is portrayed by the Chinese government as a model city that has developed from an “isolated, backward and impoverished” county into an “affluent, prosperous, civilised and harmonious world-class touristic cultural city” which is the “well-known business card of Chinese tourism.”\(^8\) Entwined with China’s ethnic solidarity building and political agenda, cultural tourism has been regarded as a necessary and beneficial industry for the economic, cultural and social development in Lijiang. Even, a so-called “Lijiang Model”\(^9\) has been boasted of in China. Former Lijiang leader Yang Guoqing praises the Lijiang Model as a dynamic in which a balance is reached between heritage protection and economic development so that it is possible to “promote the (economic) development through (cultural heritage) protection and realise the protection through development” (2011b, p. 239).


\(^7\) It was initiated in 1978, shortly after the Cultural Revolution. This policy shifted China’s national agenda from class struggle to an economy-centred socialist modernisation endeavour.

\(^8\) See footnote 4.

\(^9\) The Lijiang Model is discussed in Chapter 5.
In contrast to this however, criticisms have been noted from different stakeholders, including the local government, regarding the threats of tourism to the local Naxi people’s ethnic traditional culture and folklore. As early as 2000, the Lijiang government officially expressed their worries in an international meeting organised by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO),\(^\text{10}\) pointing out that:

> The commercial culture and travel culture atmosphere is too strong and is attacking the traditional living culture. With the rise of modern culture and tourism, traditional customs of architecture, festivals, virtue, language, clothing, religions, traditional handicrafts and folk arts are disappearing and changing, making the Old Town face a cultural crisis. (Duan 2000, p. 16)

Since the inscription of Lijiang as a World Heritage Property in 1997, tourism has burgeoned especially since the early 2000s. This phenomenon also drew attention from domestic media. After 2003, the effects of over-commercialisation on ethnic and traditional culture in Lijiang were noticed by the domestic media, blog writers

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\(^{10}\) This report *Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Cooperation among Stakeholders* was written for the UNESCO Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism Cooperation meeting between managers of nine World Heritage areas of Asia and the Pacific Regions in 2000 in Bhaktapur, Nepal.
and tourists. They commented that the booming tourism industry was harming the tranquillity and simplicity of the Lijiang Old Town; that there were imported fake handicrafts disguised as authentic Naxi handicrafts; that gentrification processes were resulting in the large displacement of local Naxi residents and soaring rentals in the Old Town; that a cultural acculturation process was occurring during which the native Naxi language, traditional performance culture and traditional way of living were being negatively influenced; that there was a misuse and abuse of Dongba culture; and that pseudo ethnic minority performances had emerged (Chi 2010; Fengchakou 2009; Gui 2007; Hu 2010; Huang & Si 2012; ifeng 2009; Li & He; Lu 2008a; Wang 2009; Yang 2010a, 2011c; Zeng 2008; Zhang 2009; Zhang 2003b; Zhang 2006b).

The World Heritage Committee expressed its concerns about the “uncontrolled tourism” and other issues that “might have a negative impact on its heritage values” at UNESCO’s 31st World Heritage session in 2007 (UNESCO 2007, p. 92). Subsequently, two mission trips led by UNESCO experts (Jing, Logan & Kaldun 2009; Jing & Nishimura 2008) investigated Lijiang in 2008 and noted that uncontrolled tourism related business was significantly impacting on the heritage values of the town, to the extent that the commercial atmosphere tended to dominate, an impact which is also admitted by the local government (He 2008c). Since both the Lijiang government (He 2008c, 2011) and UNESCO’s experts (Jing, Logan & Kaldun 2009) agreed that Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) contributes to the Outstanding Universal Value of Lijiang, the negative influence of tourism on ICH is pointed out in this Mission Report which said that:

> The commodification of ethnic minority cultures through cultural tourism can bring communities a short-term benefit in terms of revenue generation, but at the risk of the transformation of their culture and the loss of their cultural distinctiveness. (Jing, Logan & Kaldun 2009, p. 11)

Though not emphasised, the term ICH, usually used interchangeably with ethnic traditional culture and folklore in China, appeared in the critiques for the protection and commercialisation of local ethnic and traditional cultures in Lijiang in the early 2000s in China. These critics are a large number of Chinese

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11 See Chapter 6 for introduction of Dongba culture.
scholars who expressed their concerns about the change and disappearance of ICH under the commodification in tourism by taking Lijiang as a typical case (such as Chen 2009; Guang 2008; Li 2009; Liao & Zhang 2006; Yang 2007a; Yang & Yang 2012; Yang 2007c). These criticisms became intensified once China ratified UNESCO’s 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC) in August, 2004, and quickly issued a series of regulations and laws with special principles for its national ICH campaign. I will continue to illustrate in the following section and Chapter 2 that, in addition to the government officials, Chinese scholars or experts play an important role in the discussion of the notion and theory of ICH safeguarding.

It is clear here that the ICH of Lijiang is experiencing change as a result of cultural tourism and that two divergent voices are heard regarding the relationship between ICH and tourism: the one acclaiming the benefits that tourism brings to the protection of ICH and conversely, the other one condemning the negative effects of tourism on the protection of ICH. It can also be noted that the abovementioned commentaries are predominantly constituted by the voices of governments, organisations, scholars and tourists while the voice of the ICH inheritors is missing. It is important therefore, to avoid making a quick and simplistic judgement as to whether or not tourism, or the “change” derived from it, is advantageous or disadvantageous to the ICH concerned. In the first place, it is imperative and fundamental to examine these issues: how should ICH and its values be understood? From whose perspective is ICH influenced by tourism? In which aspects is ICH influenced by tourism?

In order to address these issues, I aim to investigate how the notion of ICH, as well as the key concepts in relation to ICH safeguarding and tourism influences, are understood from the perspective of the marginalised inheritors in Lijiang, as against other dominant understandings from the perspectives of the government officials and experts. Based on subsequent case studies of specific forms of ICH

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12 Inheritors, practitioners, people, holders, bearers, masters, actors, creators, custodians, transmitters, performers, or carriers are used in different countries and, unless otherwise explained, they generally mean the individual or a group of people who practice, inherit and transmit their ICH. In China, the people who practice and transmit ICH, either directly or indirectly, are usually called ICH inheritors. In order to avoid confusion, I will use practitioners and inheritors more often in this thesis, but this choice does not exclude other terms.
which interact with tourism in Lijiang, I will be able to establish my resolution from a “bottom-up” manner to address the dilemma of ICH safeguarding and tourism development.

The research begins with the examination of the notion of ICH. Therefore this chapter will introduce, in the first instance, the Chinese official discourse of ICH as revealed through its laws and regulations with their characteristic concepts of authenticity and integrity. This will be followed by an analysis of the UNESCO’s ICHC. My aim is to contextualise debates about the commodification of ICH in Lijiang, understood as an opposition between protection and commodification of ICH, by setting them in conversation with the tensions that also exist between the national and international ICH discourses. This comparative work enables me to argue that the gaps that exist between the ICH understanding at international and national levels, as well as between these official discourses and the ICH practices engaged by the practitioners on the ground necessitate a re-theorisation of basic concepts in ICH. In particular, I propose that the concepts of authenticity and integrity should be reconceptualised and that the concept of continuity should be based on an “inheritor discourse” rather than on an “authorised discourse”.

Before I do so however, it is necessary to recognise that the very concept of ICH is discursively produced and that the contexts in which this occurs have a bearing on how we understand them. Following the Critical Heritage Studies approach, I regard ICH, and heritage in general, as a discourse (Smith 2006), a “cultural practice” (Smith 2006, p. 11), or a “discursive practice” (Hall 2005, p. 25), but not a pre-existing “thing”. If we treat the official discourse of ICH in both UNESCO and Chinese government as so-called “Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)” (Smith 2006), and then privilege the understandings of the ICH inheritors of the ICH engaged by themselves in the community, what do we learn? Is there another way to understand what is going on in Lijiang and if so, can that provide any alternative ways to understand the impact of tourism on ICH?

To begin this analysis I will first give a short history of the development of the ICH concept in China itself and then more widely within the context of UNESCO in order to deepen the issues.
1.1.2 Concepts of ICH in China

China is reported as having the largest number of ICH within any nation in the world in the UNESCO’s ICH listing system as of 2016, with 31 elements on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, seven elements on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding and one project on the Register of Best Safeguarding Practices as of 2016. Domestically, as of the latest national registration of ICH in 2014, the total number of the national listed ICH elements was 1,372 while that of the national listed ICH representative inheritors was 1,986.

While China has a history of engaging with protecting its “ethnic traditional culture and folklore” from the early 20th century (Kang 2011, p. 30), the ratification of the ICHC in 2004 has been driving the national campaign of ICH safeguarding in recent times (Kang 2011, pp. 3-9). This government-led movement was strengthened in 2005 when The Opinions of the General Office of the State Council on Strengthening the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China (the Opinions) was issued by the State Council of China. On 25 February, 2011, the Law on Intangible Cultural Heritage of the People’s Republic of China (the LICH) was enacted and this marks a milestone in the establishment of a legal system of Chinese ICH safeguarding. Under this powerful national action, local governments also began to either draft or revise their regional regulations in order to keep in line with this national ICH campaign. Amongst them is Yunnan province which enacted the 2013 Protection Ordinance on Yunnan Intangible Cultural Heritage (the Yunnan Ordinance). The origin of this ordinance is the ground-breaking Protection Ordinance on Yunnan Ethnic Traditional Culture and Folklore in 2000. A decade after the birth of the ICHC, we can see that international ICH ideas have been introduced and accommodated

\[\text{Sources: } \text{http://js.ifeng.com/a/20161201/5193301_0.shtml, retrieved on 6 Dec., 2016.}\]
\[\text{http://news.xinhuanet.com/shuhua/2014-12/05/c_127279409.htm, retrieved on 6 Dec., 2016.}\]
into national and regional ICH legislative systems in an individual country like China.

ICH is defined in China’s national and provincial\(^{18}\) systems as:

Various traditional cultural expressions that are transmitted from generation to generation by all ethnic nationalities and recognised as part of their cultural heritage, as well as the material and places associated therewith.

These include:

1. Traditional oral literature and the language as a vehicle
2. Traditional fine art, calligraphy, music, dance, drama, quyi\(^{19}\) and acrobatics
3. Traditional crafts, medicine and calendar
4. Traditional rituals, festivals and other folklores
5. Traditional sports and entertainment
6. Other intangible cultural heritage.\(^{20}\) (Article 2, the LICH, 2011)

Furthermore, the most significant issue in the Chinese ICH official discourse is that the concepts of authenticity (Zhengshi Xing) and integrity (Zhengti Xing) are upheld. However, these concepts are not seen in the UNESCO’s ICHC as we shall shortly see. These two key concepts are initially seen in the first pivotal ICH administrative documents: the 2005 Opinions as guidelines, and then stated in the national and regional ICH regulations as constituting the basic requirements of safeguarding:

(…) treat the relationship between protection and use correctly and adhere to the authenticity and integrity in intangible cultural heritage safeguarding (…). (Item 2: Operational Directives, the Opinions, 2005)

Protection of intangible cultural heritage should: emphasise the authenticity, integrity and inheritability of it; strengthen the cultural identity of Chinese

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\(^{18}\) What is different in the Yunnan ICH Ordinance is that it modified the national categories in order to incorporate the related tangible ethnic heritages that are distinctive in Yunnan province.

\(^{19}\) Quyi means Chinese folk art forms which include ballad singing, storytelling, comic dialogues, clapper talks, cross talks, etc.

\(^{20}\) Unless indicated, all the translation of original Chinese text in this thesis is done by the author.
nationality; strengthen national unity and ethnic solidarity; promote a harmonious society and sustainable development. (Article 4, the LICH, 2011)

The safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage should adhere to (…), and emphasise authenticity, integrity and inheritability of it (ICH). (Article 4, the Yunnan ICH Ordinance, 2013)

Authenticity in the LICH is officially interpreted as “maintaining what it was like in the past when transmitting and disseminating this ICH, as well as respecting its historical original”, and consequently, “variation and distortion to the historical original is detrimental to ICH” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 14). For integrity, it implies two requirements (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 15): the first is the cultural integrity that concerns protection of all the components of a given ICH and the second is the ecological integrity that concerns protection of all ICH elements along with the ecological environment in a designated area, for instance the Cultural Ecological Protection Area (Wenhua Shengtai Baohuqu).

It is necessary to notice here that these notions of authenticity and integrity are not seen alone in the abovementioned official documents, for they have been largely influenced by both domestic bureaucratic scholarly trends and international heritage ideas and theories. Domestically, the then Chinese Vice-Minister of Culture and an ICH bureaucratic expert\(^\text{21}\) Wang Wenzhang articulated in the ground-breaking theoretical guidelines *Introduction to the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2006c, 2008a, 2013a) the concepts and theoretical implications of authenticity and integrity, which are very similar to the abovementioned documents. The influence from UNESCO is also clearly shown in his remarks: though there are many difficulties when keeping the principle of authenticity in protecting ICH in a changing social and cultural context, we still have to keep it because “authenticity is one important principle applied by the World Heritage Committee for the World Cultural Heritage assessment” (2008a, p. 291; 2013a, p. 308). The influence of authenticity from UNESCO’s documents is discussed in Chapter 2.

\(^{21}\) In China, academics are part of the government bureaucracy and government itself has scholars amongst its public servants. In this thesis, I use “bureaucratic expert/scholar” to refer to those experts, scholars and researchers working in the institutes who are commissioned to serve the Committee of Experts on ICH at national, provincial, municipal and county levels for ICH policy making, implementation and ICH identification and recognition. This system will be detailed in Chapter 4.
It seems that the issues observed in Lijiang lie in the tension between the demands produced by the emphasis on authenticity and integrity in the Chinese national ICH discourse and the commodification of ICH on the ground in Lijiang. However, it is interesting to notice that the economic values are recognised and commodification is encouraged somehow by the same national discourse and bureaucratic experts (Wang 2006c, 2008a, 2013a). This is clear if one takes note of the point in these same documents that ICH practices are officially regarded as “important resources for cultural industries and tourism” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 106). It is therefore not surprising that the LICH states:

The nation encourages and supports using the special advantage of ICH as resources to rationally develop marketable cultural products and services with local and ethnic characteristics, on the basis that an effective protection is in place. (Article 37, the LICH, 2011)

The “working guidelines” of the 2005 Opinions begins with the sixteen-character directives that state “Protection Prioritised, Rescue First, Rational Use and Transmission and Development” with regard to ICH. Though protection is superior to the use of ICH, the economic aspect of ICH is emphasised and the government wants to deploy ICH for cultural industry and tourism to sustain the national macro-economic goal (Wang 2008a; Xin & Huang 2011). In 2009, the Ministry of Culture and the National Tourism Administration jointly issued the Guidance on the Joint Promotion of Culture and Tourism Development in which it is clearly stated that “it is required to maintain the original ecological culture (Yuanshengtai Wenhua, see Chapter 2) and authenticity (Benzhen Xing) of ICH and to promulgate and promote ICH to the outside world through tourism development.”

Under this culture/economic dialectic agenda, complicated further by a political agenda, China also initiated the so-called productive protection method for the commodification and reproduction of marketable ICH such as handicraft and performing arts (Kang, Lin & B 2011). It is therefore argued here that the issues in Lijiang can also be described in another way: the tension between the protection in line with authenticity and the use in relation to commodification of ICH in the national official discourse.

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23 Its implementation is detailed in Chapter 4.
As mentioned, the Chinese ICH discourse is influenced largely by the international forces. Meanwhile, it is imperative to transcend this national discourse in order to fully examine the issues in Lijiang in a wider international context where the concept of ICH was initially formed. So next I will deepen these Lijiang issues by reflecting on the definition and principles of ICH at the international level.

1.1.3 Comparison of the Concepts of ICH between UNESCO and China

UNESCO’s endeavours, especially its 2003 ICHC, provide a new forceful international ensemble of the understanding of ICH. But we need to bear in mind that the terminology and theory of “ICH” comes later than the existence and practice of what ICH refers to, and it should be noted that just like in China where ethnic traditional culture and folklore existed as both concepts and cultural practice before they existed as ICH, there are other international organisations in the world who do work concerning parts of ICH or heritage in general. This thesis, however, will only follow the discussion of ICH in UNESCO and its agencies in China.

As early as 1956, the intangible heritage values described as “feelings” were “implicitly recognised” (Blake 2006, p. 23) by UNESCO in a tangible heritage recommendation. However, during the development of the ICHC, UNESCO was influenced by the established concept of Intangible Cultural Property and Living Human Treasures in Japan and Korea who were among the first countries in the world to conceptualize and protect intangible heritage (Bamoqubumo 2008; Hafstein 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Kurin 2004; Bamoqubumo 2008; Hafstein 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Kurin 2004; Bamoqubumo 2008; Hafstein 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Kurin 2004; Bamoqubumo 2008; Hafstein 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Kurin 2004)

24 The relationship between language, knowledge and power in the discourse approach is discussed in Chapter 2.
25 For example, WIPO deals with traditional knowledge and its intellectual property issues; UNEP deals with environmental issues and resources; UNPFII deals with the indigenous issues which concern culture, environment and human rights.
26 The recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations, New Delhi, 5 Dec., 1956.
27 Similar programs were also established in other countries during the late 20th century, such as The Philippines, Thailand, France, Romania, The Czech Republic, Poland, China, and the US. See http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/?pg=00061 retrieved on 6 Dec., 2016.
Liao & Zhou 2007; Schmitt 2008; Smith & Akagawa 2009; UNESCO 2008b; Zhou 2008). Also during the period of the later 20th century, several regional and international documents referred to the intangible elements of heritage, such as the living nature of historic sites (1982) and the association and meaning in places of cultural significances (1999), as well as the intangible works of people (usually the artists) such as language, rites and beliefs, etc. (UNESCO 1982). But it is undoubtable that the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore adopted by UNESCO in 1989 is the first international document that specifically focused on intangible heritage issues (Bedjaoui 2004). Afterwards, through the Living Human Treasures program launched in 1993 (UNESCO 2004a) which suggests a model of measures for ensuring the transmission of ICH nationally and the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity program established in 1998 (UNESCO 2001c) which provides the “basis for identifying the scope of intangible heritage” (Blake 2002, p. 44), the term Intangible Heritage was proposed in UNESCO’s instruments. Thus in 2003, a set of new terminology for ICH safeguarding was acknowledged internationally with the adoption of the ICHC.

Though the term ICH is still criticised,28 it is defined as:

(…) the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills— as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith— that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (Article 2- Definition, the ICHC, 2003)

If we compare this definition with that offered by the Chinese government, several differences can be noticed and they are central to the issues being examined in the Lijiang case. The first is that while UNESCO tries to grant the ultimate power of recognition to the “communities, groups and, in some cases,

28 Critiques exist not only for the term ICH (Blake 2006, p. 23; Kurin 2004), but also its predecessors such as folklore (Blake 2006; Seitel 2002; van Zanten 2004) and traditional culture (Blake 2006, p. 22).
individuals” (Article 2 UNESCO 2003), Chinese LICH shuns this wording and rewords it into “all ethnic nationalities”. Notably, the self-recognition clause is omitted in the definition of ICH in the 2005 Opinions. From the texts, the purposes of the LICH are for “inheriting and promoting the splendid Chinese traditional culture, advancing the building of the socialist spiritual civilisation and enhancing the protection and preservation” of intangible cultural heritage in China” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 1) and the purposes of the ICHC are to safeguard and respect the recognised ICH and, “raise awareness” and “ensure mutual appreciation thereof” (Article 1 UNESCO 2003). Therefore, it is easy to see that the ICH elements and its values should be recognised by the groups or individuals concerned in UNESCO’s ICHC but that in China these are recognised by administrative powers, or authoritative agencies with their public power granted by the Chinese LICH administrative law (Gao 2012). As stipulated in the 2005 Opinions, Chinese ICH safeguarding is a “government-led” work (Kang 2011, p. 23). An important functional organ within the government ICH agency is the Committee of Experts which recognises and assesses the values of an element of ICH for official recognition.

The second discrepancy noticed between UNESCO and Chinese ICH discourse lies in the different concepts or theories. While authenticity and integrity are highlighted in the LICH to avoid change or distortion, these words are not seen in the ICHC. However, the ICHC emphasises that ICH should be “continuously recreated and transmitted” and it “must be relevant to its community”, and the safeguarding measures are necessary for the “continuous evolution and interpretation” of ICH so as to “safeguard without freezing.” In order to achieve these ends, a set of salient ideas and concepts are highlighted in the ICHC: ICH provides the inheritor(s) with a sense of identity and continuity, promotes respect for cultural diversity and human creativity, and the ICHC concerns the implications of human rights and sustainable development.

29 The difference between protection and preservation of ICH will be explained later.
30 See details in Chapter 4.
I will continue discussing these key concepts later in Chapter 2. When we come back to the issues noted in Lijiang after comparing the two basic authorised discourses of ICH, it is clear that the Chinese official ICH discourse diverges from the UNESCO’s ICHC during the localisation process. This difference may be seen in terms of the definition/recognition of ICH and its values and the concepts/principles of safeguarding ICH as for its change and evolution.

1.2 Research Questions

By locating the arguably oppositional relationship between protection and commodification of ICH in broader Chinese and international discourse contexts, the issues in Lijiang can be seen at two levels. The first is the problem between Chinese and international concepts/theories on ICH, especially authenticity, integrity and continuity: how are ICH and its safeguarding theories understood differently in China by practitioners, officials, and experts? And the second concerns the problems between the Chinese national ICH theoretical framework and the ICH practices in Lijiang, including recognition, safeguarding, commodification and transmission: how is change in ICH practices, as well as the influence of tourism on ICH understood differently by practitioners, officials, and experts?

Authenticity is a key word in both heritage and tourism studies. Therefore, the crux of the research problem is whether authenticity is still a valid concept or not in the safeguarding of ICH in the context of tourism. On the one hand, China upholds “keeping authenticity” as a principle in its ICH discourse and inevitably, changes in ICH practices, largely in the form of commodification in tourism, are considered as harming the authenticity, original ecological culture (Yuanshengtai Wenhua) or the values of ICH. On the other hand, authenticity is still regarded as a controversial concept in the international ICH discourse. For instance, authenticity is regarded as “not relevant” to ICH in the Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Heritage (Article 8 UNESCO 2004c) and UNESCO writes on its website that “the (Yamato)

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32 Discussed in Chapter 2.
Declaration also recognised the difficulty of applying the concept of ‘authenticity’ as used in the context of the 1972 Convention to intangible cultural heritage as defined in the 2003 Convention. While the concept of authenticity used in the heritage field has shifted to some extent to a “constructivist approach” after the Nara Conference on Authenticity (WHC 1994), it is still largely affected by the conventional object approach which adopts etic external judgements to assess the absolute and static value of the other’s heritage. At the same time however, key words such as identity, continuity, cultural diversity and human creativity are clearly written in UNESCO’s ICHC. China, nevertheless, diverges from this direction by emphasizing nationalism and national unity rather than the individual subjectivities of the ICH inheritors. Therefore, the discrepancy between Chinese and UNESCO discourses in ICH is this: in China, authenticity is indisputably used by authorities to curb change to ICH with the result that the individual subjectivities of the inheritors are likely to be neglected; while in UNESCO, authenticity is disregarded and the subjectivities of the inheritors and communities are underscored.

It should be clear therefore that different understandings of authenticity and subjectivities are pertinent to how one views the resolution of the problem that commodification or the transformation necessarily harms authenticity or value of the ICH in Lijiang. Following the Critical Heritage Studies approach which critiques the hegemonic AHD, I will show in this research the diversity and dissonance of ICH in people’s minds and practices. Reflecting on the ideas bolstering ICH in UNESCO discourse, the emic approach suggested in experimental ethnography (He 2006) and the current discussion of existential authenticity in tourism studies (Cohen & Cohen 2012a; Steiner & Reisinger 2006; Wang 1999), I will therefore explore whether or not taking on the proposed inheritors-based emic perspective to reconceptualise the concepts of authenticity and integrity in the ICH field is one possible solution to the tensions that can be found in places like Lijiang. Here, the perspective is crucial. On the one hand, I apply the emic/subjective perspective to reveal any possible diverse or dissonant point of view of the officials and experts within the Chinese ICH AHD to

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demonstrate the problems. On the other hand, more importantly, I apply the emic/subjective perspective to reveal, privilege and draw from the personal understandings from the internal or insider point of view of the ICH inheritors within the Lijiang community to resolve the problems. With this innovative emic/subjective perspective as a precondition, authenticity, along with integrity and continuity, can be configured as a set of “necessary but not sufficient conditions” to assess to what extent the ICH element is practiced and transmitted by the inheritors according to their volition and expectations.

Reflecting on the issues, problems and possible resolutions discussed above, I therefore narrate the specific research questions as follow:

**Research Questions:**

Are the concepts of authenticity and integrity understood in the Chinese ICH authorised heritage discourse (AHD) inappropriate in safeguarding the ICH situated in the paradoxical tension between “protection” and “use”? If so, in line with the proposed inheritor-based emic perspective, to what extent can the reconceptualised concepts of authenticity and integrity, and the restructured concept of continuity, overcome the inappropriateness and tension enabling us to better safeguard ICH in the context of tourism?

In order to answer these questions, this thesis will achieve six main research objectives:

**Research Objectives:**

1. To describe how the authorised ICH discourse is implemented in China.

2. To find out the understandings of officials, experts and, importantly, the ICH inheritors in Lijiang of ICH (its values) and the related concepts (i.e. authenticity, integrity and continuity).
3. To reveal whether or not the concepts of authenticity and integrity in the authorised ICH discourse are inappropriate in reality.

4. To investigate the understandings of officials, experts and importantly the ICH inheritors in Lijiang of the notion of commodification, as well as the implications of commodification on the values, authenticity, integrity and continuity of the ICH concerned.

5. To use the resulting findings to reconceptualise the concepts of authenticity and integrity and to restructure the concept of continuity.

6. To theorise the safeguarding of ICH in the context of tourism with reconceptualised concepts of authenticity and integrity and restructured continuity.

I will pursue these objectives through an analysis of detailed case studies in Lijiang. Specifically, I will choose four typical ICH cases (i.e. Dongba culture, Naxi music, handicrafts and culinary skills) each with two differentiated situations (the less and the more commodified). Lijiang is a relevant case study to pursue as it is situated in the Chinese national ICH discourse which represents one case of the implementation of UNESCO’s ICHC. Therefore, I use the cases in Lijiang to address the problems observed in the two gaps I identified above: the one between national and local levels and the other between international and national levels.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

In general, this thesis consists of four parts: the first part (Chapters 1, 2 and 3) teases out the research questions, the second part (Chapters 4, 5 and 6) undertakes an analysis of the concept of safeguarding and commodification of ICH while also explaining the ICH management system in China, the third part (Chapters 7, 8 and 9) investigates and analyses the case studies and draws out the findings. Finally, the last part (Chapter 10) concludes all the findings and theorises the safeguarding of ICH in the context of tourism. In the following, I will sketch the aim and content of each chapter.
Chapter 1 is the introduction of the thesis. I observed and teased out the problems in relation to the safeguarding and commodification of ICH in Lijiang. Then I pointed out that these issues could be examined in terms of the gaps between the Chinese ICH discourse and UNESCO’s discourse and the divergences between the ICH theories and the practices engaged by the practitioners on the ground. In this sense, I reviewed the texts of these two discourses so as to display the divergences and the crux of the problem: theories and practices of the concepts of authenticity and integrity in the ICH field. I therefore proposed the inheritors-based emic perspective to conduct my research.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature. Firstly, based on a Critical Heritage Studies approach, I will critically analyse, compare and contrast the Chinese and UNESCO ICH discourses and establish my inheritors-based emic perspective based on relevant theories. In the second part of Chapter 2, I will critically review a series of theoretical concepts which are central to my research, in particular authenticity, integrity, continuity and commodification.

Chapter 3 explains the methodology. In order to implement my research perspective in reality, I will adopt an interpretative approach. Based on the research objectives and the reality in Lijiang, I ascertain officials, experts and the ICH inheritors as the study population and further classify them into two groups: the governmental players (including the officials and experts) and the community players (including the ICH practitioners). The community players are privileged according to the inheritors-based emic perspective. Furthermore, inheritors of the ICH of Dongba culture, Naxi music, handicrafts and culinary skills will be selected as the cases.

Chapter 4 illustrates the implementation of the national ICH discourse from the national level down to the county level in Lijiang by the governmental players. Furthermore, I will describe how the Chinese national ICH system has been built on UNESCO’s ICHC and previous domestic ICH related protection regulations. Importantly, I will describe the role of the Committee of Experts and other administrative agencies within the governmental players.
Chapter 5, connecting the previous macro background and the following specific ICH cases in Lijiang, will be written to describe the actual administration of tangible and intangible heritage and the tourism in Lijiang. On the one hand, I will delineate how the World Heritage and ICH are managed respectively in Lijiang. On the other hand, after reviewing the literature of cultural tourism in Yunnan, I will analyse how tourism and cultural industry, which interact with heritage management, have emerged and developed in Lijiang.

Chapter 6 will further prepare the context for each of the case studies in the following chapters. Specifically, I will introduce the background of the practitioners and the history and current situation of their ICH practices in Lijiang.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are the main sections where I will analyse the data of the case and develop my conclusions. I will discuss the issues of the value of ICH and the concept of authenticity in Chapter 7. According to the methodology, I will detect the understandings of officials (national, provincial and local), experts (non-local and local) and the ICH practitioners respectively. In addition to examining the diverse understandings of the three players, I will specifically reveal how and why the definition of ICH value in the Chinese official discourse and the conventional concept of authenticity are inappropriate in reality and how we can draw from the understanding of the practitioners to address these problems. As a main phenomenon across the thesis, the influence of tourism, and the accompanied commodification of ICH, will be discussed throughout Chapters 7, 8 and 9 whenever it relates to the issues being examined.

Chapter 8 then studies the concept of integrity, as well as commodification and its implications for integrity. As in Chapter 7, in addition to the demonstration, comparison and contrast of different understandings of the three players, I will focus on the ICH practitioners’ understandings towards the change (in relation to the components of ICH) and the differences between the less and more commodified forms of their ICH. In particular, I will detect how practitioners perceive the components of ICH in the diachronic dimension (from past to present) and the synchronic dimension (between less and more commodified situations).
Consequently, I can critique the conventional concept of integrity and reconceptualise it with the findings.

Based on Chapters 7 and 8, Chapter 9 will further demonstrate the findings in relation to continuity and transmission. The value and the components of ICH are two crucial aspects to understand the nature of ICH. Therefore, in addition to the demonstration of the diverse understandings of the governmental players of the notions of continuity and transmission, I will specifically analyse to what extent the values and the components of ICH can be sustained and transmitted in the inheritors’ perspective and what commodification does to the continuity of ICH. Since the concept of continuity is not commonly used in China, I will examine the position of it and how it relates to other concepts in question. Finally, I will reveal the gap in the governmental players’ understanding of continuity and how this concept should be understood.

Chapter 10 will conclude the findings of the thesis. Specifically, major findings will be presented concerning the establishment of the inheritors-based emic perspective, the characteristics of the Chinese ICH AHD, the reconceptualisation and theorisation of authenticity, integrity and continuity and finally the relationship between ICH safeguarding and tourism development.

1.4 Significance

1. This thesis will contribute to the current development of a Critical Heritage Studies approach by providing a bottom-up analysis of diverse understandings of heritage and its values in the heritagisation process with the hope of, firstly, revealing the characteristics of the so-called AHD in the Chinese ICH field, and secondly, theorising the making and the change of ICH in practice. Among the theoretical concepts, this thesis will primarily rethink authenticity and integrity and restructure continuity in the field of ICH and heritage studies in general, thus contributing to the theorisation in heritage studies.

2. The thesis will address practical issues related to ICH utilization in the tourism context, such as the Lijiang case. Since China has its economic agenda in heritage
tourism and cultural industry, the utilization of ICH by developing commercial activities, conflicts such as cultural evolution and economic development, preservation and commodification, inheritors’ and government’s interests need to be tackled within the new context in which ICH finds itself. Characterised by the innovative inheritors-centred theoretical perspective, experimental bottom-up research design and the mixed methodology, this research could provide resolutions to relevant governmental bodies, experts and international organisations.

3. This thesis will apply the innovative inheritors-based emic perspective to provide new empirical results and thoughts for the current authenticity discussion in tourism studies. ICH is a burgeoning topic in both heritage studies and tourism studies; however, little research has deeply discussed the fundamental issues in relation to authenticity and commodification of ICH in tourism. Hopefully the proposed inheritors-based perspective and the reconceptualised concept of authenticity will not only help to better understand and facilitate the operation of ICH tourism but also shed light on the current theorisation of authenticity in the interdisciplinary heritage tourism studies.
Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will reveal the ideas behind ICH in more detail at both national and international levels, establish theoretical perspectives and interrogate concepts to justify the research questions and validate the research design. There are two major parts. The first part, based on the Critical Discourse Approach proposed in Critical Heritage Studies, reviews key ideas/philosophies underpinning UNESCO’s and the Chinese Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), comparing and contrasting them. Drawing on a Critical Discourse Approach and an emic perspective in experimental ethnography, the first part then concludes by opening up a space in which to establish an inheritors-based emic perspective which allows for the development of an inheritor discourse of ICH in China. The second part then reviews key concepts in Chinese and international literatures that are central to the research questions and theorisation of ICH safeguarding in the remaining thesis.

With an alternative perspective, major concepts, such as authenticity and integrity will be reviewed to manifest the divergences between “objective” and “subjective” perspectives so that they can be reconceptualised into my proposition. Based on the research questions in Chapter 1 and the theoretical approaches established in this chapter, my theoretical proposition will be described in Figure 2.1 at the conclusion of this chapter.

2.2 Theoretical Approaches

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective

It is demonstrated in Chapter 1 that the understanding of ICH in UNESCO’s and the Chinese AHD are produced discursively in texts. This is true not just for ICH but for all heritage since the very concept of heritage, its values, and the process
of making it as “heritage”—heritagisation (Harrison 2013; Smith 2006)—can be understood and represented in diverse ways. Therefore, it is imperative firstly to examine how heritage is represented in the official documents, and to examine in more detail the ideas and philosophies behind these representations.

As asserted in the *Association of Critical Heritage Studies Manifesto*, “the study of heritage has historically been dominated by Western, predominantly European, experts in archaeology, history, architecture and art history” who construct the AHD that “privileges old, grand, prestigious, expert approved” tangible “things.”34 In this sense, it is imperative to develop alternative approaches and perspectives to rethink heritage and other central concepts. In the last three decades, it is noted in early critical commentary of heritage, such as David Lowenthal’s (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country*, that heritage is the representation and construction of the past in present socio-political conditions (Hou & Wu 2013). This is in the same vein as the development of an emerging Critical Discourse Approach to museum and heritage interpretation after the late 1980s in the West. For instance, Tony Bennett examined in the Beamish Open Air Museum case how working class heritage is interpreted from the perspective of the middle class through the “training of curators or the structures of museum control and management” (1988, p. 83). In contrast to this, however, those advocating for “history from below”, such as Raphael Samuel (1994), argued for the existence and value of popular discourses of heritage practices, outside of what nowadays we would call the AHD. Following these discussions, a Critical Discourse Approach was systematically articulated in Critical Heritage Studies in Western contexts by Laurajane Smith (2006), Emma Waterton and others (Waterton 2010; Waterton, Smith & Campbell 2006) and in non-Western contexts by Wu Zongjie and Hou Song (2013) to examine the construction and representation of the concept of heritage that we usually take for granted and the consequences of these heritage making practices.

In these perspectives, heritage is not regarded automatically a “heritage” with no preconceptions; it is a set of values, meanings and identities that are recognised,

constructed, engaged, negotiated, maintained and transmitted by present people and communities in the process of remembering/forgetting the past. Accordingly, there is no such thing as an intrinsic value that exists objectively outside of discourse and is neutral or separate from the interrelation of political, cultural, historical ideas, values and ideologies (Hou & Wu 2013). In other words, heritage, in the view of these scholars, is a verb, a process, but not a thing. These ideas are underpinned by two central theoretical concepts: discourse and power. As Stuart Hall (2001) outlined, the concept of discourse and the relationship between power and knowledge are two major themes in Michel Foucault’s works in which, “discourse is about the production of knowledge through language”, and most importantly, “discourse is about language and practice” (2001, p. 72). As a consequence, Hall argues, “meaning and meaningful practice is therefore constructed within discourse” (2001, p. 73). In the context of heritage, Stuart Hall suggested that “we should think of the heritage as a discursive practice” (2005, p. 25), an argument that Laurajane Smith pursued in her book by demonstrating the “discursive nature of heritage” and arguing that “heritage is therefore ultimately a cultural practice, involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings” (2006, p. 11).

Based on Foucault’s concept of discourse and the Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Norman Fairclough and others (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999), Smith and other Western scholars (Smith 2006; Waterton, Smith & Campbell 2006) introduced the Critical Discourse Approach as a theoretical approach for analysing interrelated discourse and practice in heritage studies, arguing that there is a Western, professional dominated AHD which constructs heritage as “monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, consensus and nation building” (2006, p. 11) while other popular/community discourses and practices are marginalised. Beyond the West, Chinese scholars (Hou & Wu 2013; Wu 2012b) also tried to establish a non-Western heritage discourse from local traditional knowledge to challenge the AHD and related key concepts such as authenticity. A discourse approach or perspective as suggested, concerns examining research problems at two layers: one concerns representation and construction by
examining how things are constructed and represented in the landscape or modality, and the other considers the consequences of the actions of power and ideology that underpin those constructions (Hou & Wu 2013).

The following sections will firstly reveal the ideology, ideas, philosophy and values behind the two AHDs in the UNESCO and Chinese ICH systems and secondly invite alternative approaches to allow the community/inheritors’ discourse to be established theoretically.

2.2.2 UNESCO ICH Discourse

Though UNESCO, along with its canonical conventions and charters, dominates the AHD in the world and acts as one of the powerful “authorising institutions of heritage” (Smith 2006, p. 113), we still need to examine the diverse ideas and philosophies behind it, since UNESCO is an inter-governmental organisation with international political and economic conflicts (Meskell 2013, 2014). It is evident that the concept of ICH in UNESCO has been largely influenced by three strands.

The first is the imbalanced and incomplete understanding of heritage, especially the World Heritage concept that UNESCO adopted in 1972 (Beazley 2006; Hafstein 2004; Harrison 2013; UNESCO 1994, 2001a). The idea of ICH in the UNESCO system has its internal and external origins. Internally, these factors could be seen in the inner crisis such as the variance of value between the “universal canon” and “local diversity”, the hegemony of politics between Europe-America and developing countries and the imbalanced representation between cultural and natural heritage, as well as Western (or the “North”) and non-Western countries’ (or the “South”) heritage (Harrison 2013; UNESCO 2001a). In some ways, the ICHC can be seen as a “counterpoint” (Smith & Akagawa 2009, p. 1) to the existing philosophies behind the AHD in UNESCO, though the effect is yet to be assessed. External philosophies and ideas can be seen in two dimensions. The first refers to the postmodern philosophical shift in Euro-American heritage fields from the “objective nature of material culture to the subjective experience of the human being” (Ruggles & Silverman 2009b, p. 11), such as the argument that intangible heritage not only exists in developing
countries but also in Indigenous people’s concepts in non-Western countries (Daes 1997; Harrison 2013). The second is the claim that more consideration should be paid to the present and future of heritage rather than just a static conception of the past in Western countries (Harrison 2013; Ruggles & Silverman 2009b). These reconceptualisations of heritage reflect the theorisation of heritage studies in the international academy (Harrison 2013; Howard 2003; Lowenthal 1998; Ruggles & Silverman 2009b; Smith 2006).

Though the construction and representation of the idea of ICH by UNESCO can be seen as being subject to the AHD (Smith 2006) and the practice, in the form of implementation, is the art of governing (Wu 2012b), it is misleading however to treat the idea of ICH in UNESCO as another Western dominated concept. This is because behind the idea of ICH are the important concepts of Intangible Cultural Property and Living Human Treasures in Japan, Korea and other countries as mentioned in Chapter 1. As one of the first countries in the world to conceptualise and protect ICH, Japan involved the Intangible Cultural Property in its *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties* which was revised in 1975 to put former folk materials under the new category of Intangible Folk Cultural Properties (SUGA 2009; Wang 2008b). It has been argued that Japan has used its political, economic and cultural powers to lobby for the making of the ICH concept, the ICHC and the *Convention of the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression* (2005) in UNESCO, especially during the period between 1999 and 2009 when the Japanese Director-General of UNESCO, Matsuura Koichi, was in position (see Akagawa 2014).

Logan, Langfield & Craith 2010), the development of the ICH safeguarding campaign in UNESCO has a basis in the idea of human rights, especially cultural rights and the right to cultural diversity which can been seen in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948), the *International Convention on Civic and Political Rights* (United Nations 1966a), the *International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (United Nations 1966b), the *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies* (UNESCO 1982), the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (UNESCO 2001d) and the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (UNESCO 2005).

Many international scholars have discussed the evolution of ICH safeguarding embodied in the international laws and treaties adopted by UNESCO (Aikawa-Faure 2009; Bedjaoui 2004; Blake 2002, 2009; Hafstein 2004; Kearney 2009; Kurin 2004, 2007; Lloyd 2009; Ruggles & Silverman 2009b; Schmitt 2008; Seitel 2002; van Zanten 2004). It has been widely recognised by these scholars that the movement of ICH safeguarding culminates in the ICHC which leans heavily on valuing cultural processes rather than the end product (Aikawa-Faure 2004), and emphasises inheritors or local communities’ key role (Aikawa-Faure 2004, 2009; Bedjaoui 2004; Blake 2009; Hafstein 2007; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Lloyd 2012; van Zanten 2004). Furthermore, the ICHC realises that ICH concerns not only the inheritors, practices, tangible objects and place but also the relationship among them (Seitel 2002; van Zanten 2004). Among these, the focus is on the inheritors/community and their cultural practice which “depends wholly on the ability and willingness” (Blake 2009, p. 45) of the people concerned. Therefore the ICHC recognises that more authority should be given to the people to define, identify, recreate and therefore safeguard their ICH for their lives. Thus, “people are not only object but also subject” of cultural preservation (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, p. 58) or even become the so-called “human resource” (Bedjaoui 2004, p. 154).
2.2.3 Chinese ICH Discourse

In line with the Critical Heritage Studies approach, Wu Zongjie and Qin Bailan argue that “the idea of heritage in China has been dominated by the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)” (2016, p. 18). Further on this argument, I will investigate how the AHD is established in the Chinese ICH field in the form of discourse and practice. In this section, I will examine how the enterprises of ICH safeguarding in China derive from existing national ethnic traditional culture and folklore protection and the UNESCO ICH concepts in the early 2000s, and how it is influenced by China’s conventional tangible heritage mindset.

Many Chinese scholars (Kang 2011; Wei 2010; Yang & Zhang 2010) have stated that UNESCO’s concept of ICH was formally introduced into China in 2001, but China’s initiatives in documenting its rich ICH can be traced back as early as the *Book of Poetry* (B.C. 11th to B.C. 6th century)\(^35\) and this tradition can be linked to the preservation and studies of traditional folk culture and folklore in the early 20th century (Wang 2006c, p. 19) during which Chinese scholars began studying “ICH” in the subject of folklore (Gao 2007; Kang 2011; Wang 2006c) until the Cultural Revolution.\(^36\) Indeed, the work in the early 20th century was mainly undertaken by research organisations to document and study the folklores (Kang 2011) rather than to “safeguard” ICH and its inheritors.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, under the regime of Mao Zedong, the Chinese government treated the traditional Chinese culture, including tangible and intangible heritage, in an ambivalent and ambiguous way. On the one hand, traditional culture was regarded as “unscientific, feudal, antimodern and antisocialist” (Sofield & Li 1998, p. 367), and was thus regarded by the Chinese Communist Party as against its agenda of establishing a “new Chinese socialist culture” (Sofield & Li 1998, p. 364); on the other hand, the Chinese Communist Party leader Mao held a critical attitude which “rejects the

\(^{35}\) Also translated as *Classic of Poetry*, Shi Jing is the oldest collection of Chinese poetry. Comprised of 305 works, it is one of the “Five Classics” of Confucianism.

\(^{36}\) This is a social-political movement (1966-1976) activated by then Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong to strengthen the communist ideology by purging remnants of capitalist and many traditional Chinese cultures and tangible heritage, denouncing them as “bad cultures”.
feudal dross and assimilates the domestic essence” (Ai 2012, p. 130) of the traditional culture. These guidelines were followed at the early phase of the Chinese Communist Party’s regime from the 1950s to the early 1960s when investigation and documentation works on the traditional and ethnic cultures were undertaken. However, nearly all traditional Chinese culture was suppressed and destroyed ruthlessly during the Cultural Revolution and comprehensive preservation and protection of traditional culture was only possible after 1978 with Deng Xiaoping’s Open Policy. Since 1978, the traditional culture, including tangible and intangible heritage, has been used by the Chinese Communist Party as a political and strategic tool for its agendas through its “selecting the refined and discarding the dross” value judgement inherited from Mao’s time (Ai 2012). As argued by Sofield and Li (1998), the Chinese Communist Party incorporated many beneficial values, including the positive ones in cultural heritage, into its socialist ideology to build a cohesive national identity and to achieve economic modernisation through tourism. At this point, the policies towards cultural heritage protection and tourism development converged together after 1978 so that the relationship between heritage and tourism in China is imbued with political, cultural and economic tensions.

After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government issued the Chinese Law of Protection of Cultural Relics (revised in 2002 and 2007) in 1982 and several government-led activities were initiated, such as the Arts and Crafts Masters program in 1979, the Ten Anthologies of Chinese Traditional and Ethnic Literature and Arts in 1980s and the Project of Safeguarding Chinese Ethnic Culture and Folklore which led to the draft Law on Protecting Chinese Ethnic Traditional Culture and Folklore in 2003. These projects began the process of considering the protection of both tangible and intangible heritage in a systematic and serious way.

Academics were pleased to see that the Chinese government rethought the destruction of traditional ethnic and folk culture during the Cultural Revolution

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37 Official illustration of this program is available on [http://www.chinesefolklore.org.cn/ChinaFolkloreSociety/xscz/040520-bhf.htm](http://www.chinesefolklore.org.cn/ChinaFolkloreSociety/xscz/040520-bhf.htm), retrieved on 6 Dec., 2016.
and that the socialist culture development was not neglected despite the emphasis of the Chinese government on the economy since 1978 (Liu 2004c; Tian 2006; Zhou 2012). When the concept of ICH was introduced into China, the majority of Chinese scholars including many national bureaucratic scholars welcomed the new ICH term (Bamoqubumo 2008; Gao 2007; Liu 2004d, 2006b; Wang 2003; Wang 2006c; Xiang 2004), claiming that what China has been protecting in the name of traditional folk culture and folklore in different disciplines is basically similar to the UNESCO definition of ICH. This even resulted in a consensus that all that needed to be done was just to incorporate previous studies into this new domain and modify some specific contents of the ICHC to suit China’s national situation (Kang 2011; Wang 2006c; Xu 2006). Noticeably, only a few Chinese researchers (Gao 2012; Liu 2006d) pointed out that UNESCO’s notion of ICH did not just mean a new category of heritage but also new philosophies and theories.

When both tangible and intangible heritage can be regarded as traditional culture, it can also be noted from the official discourse that the philosophy of conventional tangible heritage, or, cultural relics (Wenwu)38 conservation, influences current ICH safeguarding in China. Generally cultural heritage is seen as an imported Western term localized to gradually substitute for the existing Chinese term cultural relics in academic and official discourse. Significantly, ICH is nowadays defined largely in the same way as tangible heritage in that both are understood as a “witness of historical development of human society” in national discourses (Li 2002, p. 1; Xin & Huang 2011, p. 193). Even bureaucratic scholars (Yuan & Gu 2013) instructed in an official guidebook that the historical value39 is the most significant one so that originality and rarity, among others, are conditions to assess the values of ICH. In order to justify and sustain the Chinese AHD in both tangible and intangible heritage, which all serve the same ideological function, a continuity of intertextuality is noticed here. Specifically, the concept of authenticity in the LICH can be traced back to the similar expression in its counterpart ten years ago: Article 21 in the Chinese Law of Protection of Cultural

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38 This term is still used in the Chinese Law of Protection of Cultural Relics (adopted in 1982 and revised in 2002 and 2007). In Chinese, “tangible cultural heritage is called cultural relics (Wenwu) in China” (Li 2002, p. 1).
39 Historical value is described in three aspects: values in proving history, verifying history and complementing history (Yuan & Gu 2013, p. 44).
Relics states that the principle of protection concerns keeping the cultural relics in their original status. These authoritative discourses of authenticity are also supported by some scholars as universally applicable for not only tangible, but also intangible heritage (Luo & Zhang 2010; Wang 2006c; Xu 2005; Zhang 2011).

A continuity of intertextuality between tangible and intangible heritage in the official discourse is also reflected in the definition of the value of heritage. While the Chinese Law of Protection of Cultural Relics emphasises the values of history, art, and science, the LICH lists values in history, literature, art and science as the criteria for protection. Among these, the historical witness value is important in China’s official heritage discourse. Bureaucratic expert Li Xiaodong wrote in his theoretical book that the values of heritage, either in tangible or intangible forms, exist objectively, because “they are all congealed general human labour within the historical cultural relics and artefacts” (Li 2002, p. 18). Clearly this argument is reminiscent of Karl Marx’s remarks in Das Kapital (1867) sharing the same materialist conception of history which is deeply reflected in the tangible heritage AHD in China.

Under this stereotypical Chinese static, past-oriented materialist AHD are the salient political, ideological and economic agendas for nationalism and modernisation development. This becomes obvious from a Critical Heritage Studies approach with its focus on revealing the ways in which heritage is deeply embedded in the relationship between politics, culture and economy (Hou & Wu 2013; Smith 2006; Smith, Hou & Xie 2013; Smith & Yujie 2014). Scholars (Ai 2012; Blumenfield & Silverman 2013; Nyíri 2006; Su 2007; Winter 2014; Yan 2012) have pointed out that heritage in China has strong implications for national identity and unity, ethnic national solidarity, socialist civilisation, economic modernisation and international political and cultural agendas. Though these issues are less studied in the ICH field, these agendas can be clearly seen in the preface of the LICH and the works of national bureaucratic scholars (Cai 2011b; Wang 2008a; Zhou 2006). For instance, the Director of the Cultural Department of Yunnan Province wrote that there are two missions to achieve in the long term of Chinese ICH safeguarding: the first is for China’s national cultural continuity, cultural security and cultural sovereignty and the second is for the protection of
the world cultural gene and the cultural diversity of humankind (Huang 2008, p. 2).

When ICH is underscored for domestic nation-building and international cultural soft power⁴⁰ (Cai 2011b) and security, those responsible for shaping the Chinese AHD revised the idea of the cultural diversity of community/inheritors’ ICH into the notion of the “civilisational diversity” of Chinese ICH as a whole in the world. This was implicitly articulated in Chinese President Xi Jinping’s visit to UNESCO headquarters⁴¹ and explicitly in the Chinese Minister of Culture, Cai Wu’s remarks that the safeguarding of ICH is meaningful for “maintaining world cultural diversity and creativity and, pushing forward civilisational progress and sustainable development of human society” (2011b, p. 1). The implication of this nationalistic discourse is that not enough consideration is given to issues of cultural diversity and human cultural rights for the inheritors (Gao 2012; Kang 2012b; Wang 2011a; Zeng 2011; Zhou 2011). Liu Yongming (2006c, 2006d) argued that the ICH enterprise in China is ethnocentric and nationalistic, alienating China from international discourses of development and human rights agendas. Some authors, such as Zeng Ping (2011) asserted that China shouldn’t follow the ICHC’s spirits because the Western notion of protecting cultural diversity poses potential dangers for China and it may undermine the nation’s modernisation plans.

Considering the above agendas, the Chinese ICH AHD reregulates or reframes UNESCO’s ICH definition. Therefore, the traditional culture or folklore can never be recognised by authorities as a heritage unless its values are judged in order to distinguish the “excellent” or positive ones, as the LICH defines them, from the “negative” ones and protect and disseminate the former and only preserve the latter in documentary form. Most Chinese scholars (Tian 2006; Wang 2011a) and top officials (Dai 2011) believe that the LICH gives a more

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positive appraisal to many previously suppressed traditional folk cultures, however, China couldn’t and shouldn’t protect the “negative” or “superstitious” ICH, such as the “shaman dance” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 13). Thus, the Chinese government and a majority of scholars (Dai 2011; Tian 2011; Xu 2006; Zeng 2011; Zhou 2012; Zhu 2012a) claimed that it is imperative to judge the value of ICH in accordance with the Chinese socialist ideology and Article 3 of the LICH which states that: “first, it embodies the excellent Chinese traditional culture and second, it is of historical, literary, artistic or scientific value” (Xin & Huang 2011, pp. 10-3). This is also reflected in Ai’s argument that the disposition of Chinese traditional cultures is a “highly politicised and strategic effort” (2012, p. 129) which reflects contemporary agendas, in line with Mao Zedong’s theory that it was important to “select the refined and discard the dross” (2012, p. 132).

Situated on the established Chinese AHD with its political and ideological agendas and the introduced UNESCO ICH discourse, China tries to accommodate the UNESCO language for its own strategy, as has been shown in the World Heritage campaign (Blumenfield & Silverman 2013; Yan 2012). Several papers (Kang 2012b; Wu 2012a; Zhou 2012) have traced the development of the LICH and concluded that it began in the 1990s and later developed into the draft Law on Protecting Chinese Ethnic Traditional Culture and Folklore in 2003 and finally the LICH in 2011. During this process, bureaucratic scholars (Kang 2012b; Wang 2006c) noted that the LICH just incorporates the terminology and some definitions from the ICHC but its body still largely relies on the Law on Protecting Chinese Ethnic Traditional Culture and Folklore and other relevant regulations existing in China. For example, the word “protection” has been deleted in the title of the LICH because of its positive implication (Dai 2011; Kang 2012b). Also because the English word safeguarding in the ICHC contains a serious intention to ensure the vitality of ICH, and China only safeguards the qualified ICH, “safeguarding” is used in a narrow sense in the Chinese context (Tian 2011; Zhu 2012a; Zhuo 2012). Based on these overarching ideas, a set of fundamental terminology has been adopted to bolster the Chinese ICH official discourse in theory, policy and guidelines. Therefore, certain concepts, such as authenticity and integrity, are used to identify and regulate the officially
recognised values of the heritage. These key concepts are further reviewed in the following sections.

2.2.4 Comparison of Chinese and UNESCO Discourses

Through the above literature review, it is obvious that China’s ICH enterprise is largely built on its existing preservation-led ethnic traditional culture and folklore protection regime and is noticeably influenced by its existing static tangible heritage AHD. This enterprise is then realigned by accommodating UNESCO’s ICH idea and terms after 2001. Therefore I argue that China’s present ICH AHD diverges from that of UNESCO in these ways:

1) Agenda: The Chinese ICH AHD advocates nationalism, economic modernisation and international agendas while UNESCO’s concerns the subjectivities of the inheritors and communities concerned.

2) Criteria: The Chinese ICH AHD applies the authority-dominated recognition and dualistic value judgement while UNESCO encourages self-recognition and proposes human rights, mutual respect and sustainable development as the threshold.

3) Measures: The Chinese ICH AHD exercises dualistic preservation/protection methods while UNESCO calls for safeguarding the viability of ICH in order to protect cultural diversity. Specifically, China upholds the concept of authenticity (also integrity in most cases) for the protection of the officially recognised ICH.

4) Perspective: The Chinese ICH AHD regards ICH, and heritage in general, as static, past-oriented and pre-existing in an objective preservationist-led perspective while UNESCO encourages inheritors/community-oriented, process-oriented and dynamic safeguarding of the sustainability of ICH practice. Considering the above characteristics, I would further argue that the Chinese ICH discourse adopts a top-down etic value judgement, executed by external experts (usually the bureaucratic experts) with their power/knowledge of inheritors’/community’s heritage.
It can be seen from these four aspects that the Chinese ICH AHD has its own characteristics and I will continue to reveal the representations of these characteristics in relation to their implementation in later chapters.

2.2.5 Inheritors-based Emic Perspective

The above critique of the Chinese AHD and the move to establish an inheritors/community ICH discourse from a bottom-up manner are also echoed by the emic perspective in experimental ethnographical methodologies which “give the discourse right back to the culture holder” whose voice has been suppressed (He 2006, p. 51). In the Villagers’ Daily Record project in the early 2000s in Yunnan, China, He Ming created the term “monophonic mode” to illustrate that it is possible to deconstruct the professional discourse held by anthropologists and construct the monophonic narrative described by the culture holders within a community via their emic perspective. Emic, as in opposition to etic, represents a perspective describing the viewpoint of an insider in a culture, so it is central to the expression of subjective feelings and experiences of the cultural custodians. As scholars (Blake 2006; Labadi 2012) encourage the application of a more anthropological approach to heritage issues, this proposed emic perspective will naturally better reveal key issues related to the ICH inheritors themselves.

I am not simply proposing an external-internal, or etic-emic dichotomy but advocating that more concern and discursive space should be given to the cultural custodians and their subjective experiences and practices. In order to include the ICH inheritors’ discourse, this emic perspective will also reveal two divergences in reality. One is the existence of diverse values recognised by inheritors and authorities or the externals within one form of ICH (Blake & Wall 2001) and the other is the ramification of representations of one form of ICH. As Georgina Lloyd noted, “a single form of ICH can have a diversity of different representations or modes that are equally legitimate and contain significance to the bearer” (2012, p. 140). These aspects of ICH will be the subject of my discussion in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

42 For more discussion see Headland, Pike and Harris (1990).
2.3 Rethinking Theoretical Concepts

2.3.1 Authenticity

Authenticity is used in the Chinese official ICH discourse ambiguously as either an aim or a principle (Xin & Huang 2011), and it is advocated by mainstream Chinese scholars for safeguarding ICH (Han 2011a; Liu 2010; Luo & Zhang 2010; Wang 2006c; Wang 2012; Yin & Yu 2008; Yuan 2011; Zhang 2011). I argue that there has been confusion over this term and that there is a danger in simply applying authenticity without further scrutinising its relevance in the ICH domain. However, this is an issue rarely discussed in China.

It needs to be pointed out that the concept of authenticity should be understood in a specific context because it is a “meddled amalgam of philosophical, psychological and spiritual concepts” (Steiner & Reisinger 2006, p. 299) which may “resist definition” (Golomb 1995, p. 7). The ambiguity of this concept not only exists in heritage studies (Stovel 2007) but also in tourism studies (Reisinger & Steiner 2006; Wang 1999). I will firstly review it in heritage studies and then incorporate the discussion in tourism studies.

Compared with intangible heritage, there is an extensive literature on authenticity in tangible heritage (Cameron 2008; Jerome 2008; Jokilehto 2007; Jones 2009; Stovel 2007; Xu 2005; Zhang 2011) as well as in World Heritage with intangible attributes (Labadi 2012; Larsen 1995; Lloyd 2009). Authenticity is a key concept or issue in heritage studies with its roots in Europe (Lowenthal 1995), however, there are many languages in other parts of the world that do not have an equivalent translation, such as Chinese and Japanese (Ito 1995). Originally, the concept of authenticity derives from Greek and Latin terms as a key philosophic concept in the West meaning “authoritative”, “original” (Lowenthal 1995, p. 125), “made by hand” (Bendix 2006, p. 102) and emphasises historical material.

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43 Authenticity is translated by different authors in Chinese as 原真性 (Yuan Zhen Xing, this is used more in tangible heritage issues), 真实性 (Zhen Shi Xing, this is adopted by the ICH law and also used commonly in tourism studies), 本真性 (Ben Zhen Xing, this is used both in the ICH field and folklore issues).
Two discrepancies are noted in past studies on authenticity. The first lies in the opposition between “materialist approaches which see it as inherent in the object” and “constructivist approaches which see it as a cultural construct” (Jones 2009, p. 133). As Sophia Labadi argues, the materialist view focuses on the design, material, workmanship and setting of a tangible heritage, while the constructivist view sees authenticity as “an extrinsic process” that “concerns the negotiations of values between individuals and a specific property” (2012, p. 126). And the second is the dilemma over whether authenticity is a “value in its own right” or, whether it should be applied as “the ability of a property to convey its significance over time” (Stovel 2007, p. 21)

Authenticity was widely acknowledged for the first time in the Venice Charter in 1964 and later became an important concept in UNESCO’s discourse as early as in 1978. Focused on intrinsic static material qualities, this notion of authenticity has been central to the AHD dominated by UNESCO’s and related ICOMOS’s discourses (Smith 2006). Beyond the UNESCO system however, there is no unanimous definition of authenticity in the heritage field worldwide, and it is generally recognised as an essential qualifying factor concerning values in the Nara Conference (WHC 1994) and as a condition for inscription of World Heritage in the Operational Guidelines (OG) in UNESCO (Article 79 UNESCO 2015b).

I agree with Herb Stovel’s view and reiterate in this thesis that authenticity in relation to heritage in the heritage field should not be regarded as an intrinsic value or an absolute qualifier, but as an ability of a heritage to convey its value over time (Stovel 2007). It should be a culturally relative and contextualised concept as the significant Nara Document on Authenticity argued, and it should

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**Footnotes:**

44 The first paragraph of Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964) says “it is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity”.

45 Article 9 says “In addition, the property should meet the test of authenticity in design, materials, workmanship and setting” (UNESCO 1978, p. 4).


47 Article 11 says “All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the
concern a dynamic extrinsic process around the negotiations of heritage value between different stakeholders (Labadi 2012). As admitted internationally (Larsen 1995), it is wrong to treat authenticity as an absolute and static concept, as the ideas behind it have changed over time and across different cultures (Lowenthal 1995). Furthermore, I would like to clarify this key recognition by proposing the function of authenticity as a “necessary but not sufficient condition” in the terminology of logic used in relation to ICH safeguarding. This means that, in order to safeguard an ICH element, ensuring authenticity of ICH is just one necessary condition and this condition alone is not enough for safeguarding. In the first place, the ICH element should have some certain values, then, these values can be conveyed (the condition of authenticity), sustained (the condition of integrity) and recreated (the condition of continuity). A similar explanation is echoed in Stovel’s writing when he argues that “it is meaningless to state that such and such a property is undeniably authentic” (Stovel 2007, p. 30).

Authenticity should be understood as an ability with which the heritage values can be conveyed. Relating to authenticity discourses in documents in Chapter 1, we can see clearly that the AHD is based on the etic objective judgement of authorities (institutes or bureaucratic scholars) who narrate the heritage values in the AHD, in which the values from the inheritors’ understanding are not necessarily included. It is a reasonable proposition, then, to argue that the existing authenticity based on objective judgement is irrelevant to the essence of ICH.

Relatively, acclamation of authenticity in ICH is found far more often in China than in international discourse. There are arguments as to why the concept of authenticity is quickly enshrined in Chinese heritage discourse. The main reason is that this concept constitutes and represents a rational, scientific, systematic and well-theorised “discursive frame” which generates “powerful sensations” (Yan 2012, p. 69). As for ICH, I argue in this review that another two main reasons of the inappropriate usage of authenticity are the domestic stereotype of tangible heritage conservation mindset and the academic discourse that results from the influence of “authenticity illusion” imbedded in folklore studies.

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same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria” (WHC 1994).
The first factor is the philosophy in tangible heritage conservation. As stated previously, the implication of the notion of “historical original” in authenticity is highly emphasised in both intangible and tangible national heritage laws and it is also supported by mainstream Chinese scholars, especially the bureaucratic ones. They defend authenticity by claiming that due to the globalisation and fast economic development in China, ICH will be either threatened in a changing ecological environment, or, alternatively, that it may be over-utilized, over-commodified, trinketized and thus distorted by commercial development such as tourism (Huang 2009b; Jiang & Li 2012; Lin & Li 2007; Liu 2004c; Ma 2011; Wang 2006c; Zeng 2011; Zhuo 2012). These arguments are in line with the LICH and the official document which designates that ICH should be protected according to the authenticity concept so that the “misunderstanding, distortion and misuse” (worded in the Opinions) can be avoided. In this way, the government, assisted by these authenticity advocates, uses the concept of authenticity as a powerful discursive tool to identify, preserve and transmit the officially recognised ICH values.

The issue that authenticity is simplified and universally used in both tangible and intangible heritage, however, is a major problem which is noticed by only a few Chinese researchers. Zhang Chengyu (2011) and Xu Songling (2008) agree that as ICH is always re-created it is necessary to modify the concept into an evolving authenticity (Zhang 2011) so as to accommodate ICH. However, I couldn’t see an explanation of evolving authenticity and on what perspective this authenticity is based. In a sense, a few scholars have noticed the problem of authenticity but they are not sure how this might be overcome. Unfortunately, many scholars (Luo & Zhang 2010; Luo 2008) simply copy the authenticity notion from the World Heritage system for the ICH domain without any discrimination, as we have already seen in Chapter 1. The most noticeable evidence of this may be seen in remarks by Wang, China’s former Vice Minister of Culture. He said that though there are many difficulties when keeping the principle of authenticity in protecting ICH, we still have to because “authenticity is one important principle applied by the World Heritage Committee for the World Cultural Heritage assessment” (2008a, p. 291). Georgina Lloyd (2012), for example, has pointed out
this issue in other Asian countries. But until now, I have only seen one paper written by non-bureaucratic scholars in China (Liu & Li 2012) which notices this marked problem. They pointed out that it is problematic to copy the concept of authenticity from World Heritage into the ICH field without any examination.

The second factor, as Liu Xiaochun (2008) pointed out clearly, is the tradition of romantic nationalism that searches for authenticity in folklore studies. This explanation is reasonable because most of the advocates of authenticity are within the folklore camp. Also, as I argued before, the ICH regulations issued in China are largely based on existing counterparts of traditional and folk culture and folklorists. In the West, Lowenthal (1995) has traced the historical connection between authenticity and folklorists’ views and Regina Bendix (2006) also reveals that authenticity, being an elusive concept, is a basic element, driving force and criteria in Western folklore studies. Gao Bingzhong (2007) is one of the few Chinese authors who thinks authenticity is inappropriate for ICH and he also pointed out that many present folklore practices are actually revitalised after an intermission. Zeng Ping (2011) has also argued that authenticity is similar to “original ecological culture” (explained later) which is actually a false proposition.

Authenticity is not recognised in the 2003 ICHC. Since the concept of ICH was initially formed in the UNESCO’s Masterpieces in 1998, the concept of authenticity was removed in the draft of this program simultaneously (Blake 2009; Schmitt 2008). Consequently, as we can see, authenticity is disposed or shunned (Hafstein 2004) in the ICHC and UNESCO explicitly articulates its attitude towards authenticity in the Yamato Declaration (2004c) by regarding it as not relevant in identifying and safeguarding ICH because ICH is constantly recreated (Jokilehto 2006; UNESCO 2004c). Recently in 2015, UNESCO articulated in Ethical Principles for Safeguarding ICH that “authenticity and exclusivity should not constitute concerns and obstacles in the safeguarding of ICH” (Article 8 UNESCO 2015a). Though spirit and feeling are regarded as components for expressing the designated value of World Heritage, these ICH elements “do not lend themselves easily to practical applications of the conditions of authenticity” (UNESCO 2012, p. 22). This means that authenticity is not applicable to ICH issues in the UNESCO discourse. Ahmed Skounti (2009) strongly argued that
ICH does not have authenticity since “ICH changes, it is fluid, it is never performed identically” (Skounti 2009, p. 78). He concluded that during the process of heritage creation, different agents created the authentic illusion which, at its most extreme, is similar to what Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) described as the invented tradition.

Nevertheless, authenticity indeed appears in the international authoritative ICH related contexts. For example, when ICOMOS revised its Cultural Tourism Charter in 1999, authenticity is adopted to refer to the original creation and evolution of the activity and “living cultural practices (ICOMOS 1999). The Shanghai Charter (ICOM 2002) stipulates that the efforts towards protection of ICH should be in an authentic manner. Recently, the Hoi An Protocols express a worry that cultural tourism and the entailed de-contextualisation will “destroy the authenticity of cultural expression” (UNESCO 2009, p. 14).

This concern that the authenticity of ICH is threatened by tourism is reflected in the UNESCO-led studies on the effects of tourism on World Heritage sites in Asia and the Pacific, such as Hoi An in Vietnam (UNESCO 2008a), Luang Prabang (UNESCO 2004b) and Luang Namtha (Schipani 2008) in Laos and the Ifugao Rice Terraces in the Philippines (SITMo 2008). Within international academia, Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros (2005) argue that de-contextualisation may affect the authenticity of ICH and commodification will reduce authenticity of the ICH that tourists consume. Georgina Lloyd argues that “authenticity is an issue for ICH and the protection of ICH under the (ICH) convention” (2009, p. 128) and she employs local cases to illustrate that authenticity is harmed by touristic utilisation. Federico Lenzerini (2011) appreciates authenticity as one of the constitutive factors of the ICHC, further explaining that authenticity as an attribute of ICH will be lost if authorities and other stakeholders intervene in it with their interests.

In my view, all the different versions of authenticity proposed here are based on an external etic perspective, which diverges from the inheritors-based emic perspective and thus does not allow for the “subjective experience of human experience”.

48 In the Cultural Tourism Charter’s Glossary, ICOMOS defines authenticity thus: “Authenticity describes the relative integrity of a place, an object or an activity in relation to its original creation. In the context of living cultural practices, the context of authenticity responds to the evolution of the traditional practices” (1999, p. 21).
being” in ICH (Ruggles & Silverman 2009b, p. 11). In regard to the *Shanghai Charter*, authenticity actually means the principle of safeguarding, applied by external people, which is similar to the Chinese ICH laws. The authenticity used in the *Hoi An Protocols*, UNESCO’s Impact studies, McKercher and du Cros and Lloyd’s works, in my view, are similar to the conventional discourse of the contradiction between keeping authenticity and developing commodification in which authenticity is usually regarded as the “intrinsic value” of ICH.

Interestingly, though Lenzerini (2011) strongly points out the relationships between ICH, authenticity and the creators and bearers, he hasn’t explained well what authenticity really means in ICH and still worries it will be impaired in some situations, such as authoritative management and tourism.

In a word, authenticity in existing heritage studies, including the Chinese and the majority of the international literature, is constructed in their discourses from an etic judgement, executed by authoritative powers, on the values of other people’s heritage. Theoretically this etic or objective perspective is less relevant to ICH because it ignores the essential and diverse subjectivities of the inheritors in ICH practices and narratives, and it entails never-ending worry for the conflict between authenticity and commodification or change in general. Therefore, authenticity needs to be rethought in ICH and some scholars have suggested UNESCO reconceptualise it (UNESCO 2008c). Specifically in China, it was not until 2013 that a paper was seen on the proposition for reconceptualising authenticity. Chen Zhenyi and Qiu Yunhua (2013, p. 48) argue that “now the connotation of authenticity in ICH is transcending the restraint of tangible immutability and is increasingly concerned with the contemporary human significance which is a transformation from objectivity to subjectivity”. This is the most obvious argument in China for a rethinking on authenticity. However, the paper just promotes a proposition of the subjective approach in the understanding of authenticity with no further argument and evidence-based studies. I argue here that an emic/subjective perspective, in line with the inheritors-based emic perspective, will entail a suitable concept of authenticity relevant to ICH.
In the heritagisation process, uses of heritage, either in government’s management or tourists’ visits of heritage, are forms of heritage and value making practices (Smith 2006). In this research, authenticity is a central concept connecting the fields of heritage and tourism studies. Therefore, it is important to consider how the concept of authenticity is understood in tourism studies. As a Western philosophical term, it is interesting to know that the concept of authenticity in tourism studies initially derives from museology where the professionals judge the value of objects (Trilling 1972), according to a system based on connoisseurship, a similar etic perspective to that in the tangible heritage field. Dean MacCannell (1973, 1976) was the first sociologist to introduce authenticity in sociological tourism studies to explain the motivation and experiences of tourists alienated by modernity. For MacCannell, this alienation resulted in the recognition of authenticity as pertaining only to “the other” who could only ever be found in an exotic destination. Since then, authenticity has become a key issue in tourism studies. Four theoretical schools have been established around this concept (Wang 1999) and new approaches are constantly being developed.

The objective approach is used by modernists/realists/objectivists (Reisinger & Steiner 2006) such as Boorstin (1961) and MacCannell (1973, 1976) who regard object authenticity as the pre-existing, absolute, intrinsic and static attribute of the toured objects that can be tested or assessed by certain standards. In this sense, authenticity is perceived in a similar way to the heritage field in which external professionals are actually “the most fitting prototypes of MacCannell’s tourist” (Cohen 1988, p. 375). I would argue the only difference is that authenticity in the heritage field is applied as one of the “necessary but not sufficient conditions” while object authenticity in the tourism field is the “necessary and sufficient condition” because what people, whether experts or tourists, want to seek is just authenticity.

Authenticity in the constructivist perspective (Bruner 1994; Cohen 1988; Hughes 1995; Olsen 2002) is constructed by stakeholders concerned with their different “points of view, beliefs, perspectives, or powers” (Wang 1999, p. 351). This view shifts the definition of authenticity from a solely object-related one to a more subject-related one which considers both toured object and people’s projection on
Because authenticity is regarded as a status within a “continuum leading from complete authenticity, through various stages of partial authenticity, to complete falseness” (Cohen 1988, p. 378), the oversimplified relationship between it and commodification can therefore be avoided. I argue that after the Nara Conference in 1994, the focus of authenticity in the academic heritage discourse has shifted from object authenticity to constructed authenticity, because this approach regards authenticity not as an inherent (Bruner 1994) “real property or tangible asset, but instead is a judgement or value placed on the setting by the observer” (Moscardo & Pearce 1999, p. 418). Constructed authenticity is negotiable, relative (Cohen 1988), and it depends on context (Salamone 1997), time (Cohen 1988) and ideology (Silver 1993) which were major issues in the Nara Conference (Larsen 1995; WHC 1994). Also, the evidence-based reconstruction (Bruner 1994) and revived ICH (Gao 2007) are acknowledged as relevant to authenticity in terms of emergent authenticity (Cohen 1988). However, this theoretical shift has not been followed by national AHDs until now (Labadi 2012). It is therefore possible to say that object authenticity still dominates the major national AHD since the Venice Charter.

While both objective authenticity and constructed authenticity are classified as object-related authenticity (Wang 1999), the postmodernist approach, though not being a single, unified one, is characterised by a deconstructing of authenticity, which means that inauthenticity is not a problem and authenticity could have nothing to do with the toured object or place (Baudrillard 1983; Eco 1986). In both the objective and the postmodern approach, the so-called authenticity of original or objective authenticity of the marginal ethnic culture is difficult to understand because it is mutable under the influence of globalisation (Wang 1999). Generally, authenticity can be expressed in two senses: one refers to the toured object, place or event, whether in heritage or tourism issues; the other concerns a “human attribute signifying being one’s true self or being true to one’s essential nature” (Steiner & Reisinger 2006, p. 299) which is only emphasised in tourism research. This seems to be the most dominant distinction between the two fields in that object-related authenticity is the focus in the heritage field while an activity-related one is more important in tourism field. Tom Selwyn (1996) noted
that the authentic experience of humans lurked in MacCannell’s statement but only in the existential approach is this subjective authenticity articulated clearly in tourism studies.

Given the ambiguous definitions and usages of object authenticity, scholars even suggest that we need to abandon this concept in tourism discourse (Reisinger & Steiner 2006). However, it has been saved to some extent by the fourth school of thinking which shifts the concept of authenticity towards the subjective approaches especially that of existential authenticity (Cohen 2013). This concept was initially considered by existential philosophers such as Heidegger (1996) and Sartre (2003) before it was adopted into the tourism field by scholars in the 1980s (Turner & Manning 1988). Existential authenticity in philosophy concerns “what it means to be human, what it means to be happy and what it means to be oneself” (Steiner & Reisinger 2006, p. 300). This philosophical tradition is used in the second conception of authenticity to discuss experiential authenticity, to explain the individuals’ experience in which they “feel themselves to be in touch both with a ‘real world’ and with their ‘real’ selves” (Handler & Saxton 1988, p. 243). As an activity-related approach it offers a better explanation of tourist experiences than object-related authenticity (Wang 1999). Existential authenticity is elucidated more clearly in scholarly papers since the 1990s (Bruner 1994; Daniel 1996; Hughes 1995; Steiner & Reisinger 2006; Taylor 2001; Wang 1999) to describe the experience of the tourist (Belhassen, Caton & Stewart 2008; Brown 2013; Kim & Jamal 2007; Richards 2007; Wang 1999), performers of toured events (Daniel 1996) and the host community (Richards 2007; Steiner & Reisinger 2006). Recently, based on the concept of performative speech acts in language (Austin 1975), scholars are also illustrating how performativity authenticity (Cohen & Cohen 2012b) is a concept that can overcome the essentialism of objectivist and constructivist versions of authenticity as well as the relativism of existentialism (Timm Knudsen & Waade 2010). These scholars argue that the notion of performative authenticity can be introduced into tourism to illustrate the transformative process that occurs through the authentication experience through the “ongoing integration between individual agency and the external world” (Zhu 2012b, p. 1498).
I can see differences and similarities of the concept of authenticity between heritage studies and tourism studies. The conventional concept of authenticity in the heritage field can refer to either the intrinsic attribute of heritage or an external condition (e.g. principle) of the protection practice. As I argue in this thesis, authenticity in relation to heritage should be firstly regarded as an ability of heritage and then regarded as a “necessary but not sufficient condition” in relation to safeguarding. In tourism studies, authenticity is mainly regarded as the intrinsic attribute of the toured objects, places and events which hold authenticity and the experiences of tourists who feel authenticity. In my terminology, authenticity could be regarded as the “necessary and sufficient condition” in the tourism field, which means that authenticity is the only condition used to describe the inner attribute in regard to the issues of realness of the toured objects, places, events or the tourists. While authenticity in the heritage field refers to the protection of heritage, in the tourism field, authenticity is more concerned with the intention and experiences of the tourists/viewers. Therefore, other two “necessary but not sufficient conditions” in the heritage field, namely integrity and continuity, however are not used in tourism studies at all. Therefore, I argue that authenticities in heritage and tourism studies are not interchangeable and the use of authenticity should be contextualised.

Authenticity in heritage studies stagnates between object and constructed authenticities while that in tourism studies develops from objective to subjective perspective towards human experiences. In a way, object authenticity in heritage studies becomes problematic because the realism (Reisinger & Steiner 2006) or essentialism (Su 2011; Timm Knudsen & Waade 2010), on which object authenticity rests, is challenged by relativism, postmodernism, post-structuralism and constructivism (Reisinger & Steiner 2006) and because the essences of the notions of originality and genuineness are diminishing (Cohen 2013) with the emergence of modernity (Baudrillard 1983). As ICH also concerns affiliated objects and places, I cannot say object-related authenticity (objective and constructive) is totally irrelevant. However, it is clear that inheritors and their embodied practices are major components of ICH, suggesting that the question of objective authenticity should not be the focus. Given the limited relevance of the
objective authenticity approach, the subjective approach seems to be more conducive in understanding the experience and motivation of the ICH inheritors since it concerns people’s wellbeing which is central to ICH.

Subjective authenticity, especially existential authenticity, could be considered in the ICH field in two senses: Firstly, it concerns people’s wellbeing (e.g. identity, creativity, pride, memory, feeling, belief, sociable needs etc.) (Belhassen, Caton & Stewart 2008; Cole 2007; Daniel 1996; Kim & Jamal 2007; Wang 1999), free choice (Steiner & Reisinger 2006; Wang 1999) and the power in the authentication process (Cohen & Cohen 2012a). Steiner and Reisinger in their pivotal paper argue that “claiming and exercising that freedom is the ultimate expression of existential authenticity” (2006, p. 312), and that therefore, authenticity is always a kind of self-judgement and that this applies to changing traditional cultures in response to changing circumstances. Compared with objective authenticity, existential authenticity can better describe the subjectivities of the cultural practitioners.

Secondly, when ICH changes within a tourism context, the seemingly contradictory relationship between object authenticity and commodification can be transcended in an emic approach which may benefit the local community (Cole 2007; Daniel 1996; Steiner & Reisinger 2006). This is because existential authenticity has “nothing to do with the issue of whether toured objects are real” (Wang 1999, p. 359). Furthermore, “it is no one’s business to decide what constitutes authenticity for a host community except the local residents” (Steiner & Reisinger 2006, p. 311). In the perspective of existential authenticity, the ICH authorities or tourism managers could encourage the ICH inheritors to “appreciate and embrace their own possibilities, to be authentic” (Steiner & Reisinger 2006, p. 308) in the sense of leaping ahead which concerns a way that could enable the inheritors to realise their existential authenticity.

Therefore, in this thesis I will conduct empirical studies to see how subjective authenticity can be adopted in the field of ICH. Nevertheless, I noted difficulties in this review: firstly, existential authenticity, which describes a state of being of people in tourism (Steiner & Reisinger 2006; Wang 1999), is used in the same
way as other authenticities in tourism studies to describe the inner attributes of tourists or hosts. However, it is my argument that authenticity in heritage studies should be regarded as an ability of heritage and a condition of protection. Secondly, existential authenticity is initially used to explain how tourists alienated by modernity seek their authentic selves in a touristic experience that is away from their everyday work and life (Wang 1999). However, the purpose of safeguarding ICH is to maintain people and their culture living a normal life. Thirdly, the existential approach claims that “there is no enduring self like an object, so there cannot be any ‘real’ self to aspire or attain” (Steiner & Reisinger 2006, p. 302). Furthermore, “a person is not authentic or inauthentic all the time” and “one can only momentarily be authentic in different situations” (Steiner & Reisinger 2006, p. 303).

In line with the inheritors-based perspective and my theoretical argument of authenticity, and reflecting on abovementioned issues, I reconceptualise authenticity theoretically in this thesis as following. Firstly, authenticity is regarded as the ability of the ICH practitioners to convey the ICH values through their cultural practices. Secondly, since the “self” of the practitioner is not always “real” and existential authenticity is transient and not durable (Steiner & Reisinger 2006), the practitioners may engage with, or transfer between, different forms of practices in different situations in order to pursue the values that will make them more existentially authentic. As argued in Steiner and Reisinger’s paper, only the host community can decide their authenticity, and “all are free to define themselves, determine their own identity, discover their own meaning and respond to the world in their own way, not as others expect” (2006, p. 312). Therefore, as long as the practitioners are able to utilise their abilities to engage with their ICH according to their free will, authenticity could be regarded as retained.

While emphasising authenticity in the subjective approach in this thesis, object-related authenticity is still pertinent to ICH to some extent, since the making of ICH concerns inheritors, places and objects and other tangible components. It is also noted in recent tourism studies that authenticity concerns the network of objects, people and places across time (Jones 2009) and it concerns the dialogue
among place, belief, action and self (Belhassen, Caton & Stewart 2008). Again, it is necessary to de-centre objective authenticity and propose subjective authenticity in the ICH field but it is unnecessary to oppose objective and subjective authenticities.

2.3.2 Original Ecological Culture

As noted by Liu Xiaochun (2008), Gao Bingzhong (2007) and others, authenticity in Chinese ICH studies has a very close connection with folklore studies which usually relates it with the so-called “original ecological culture” in China. The notion of original ecological culture specifically concerns the traditional ethnic minority culture, or ICH, such as that in Guizhou and Yunnan in the southwest of China.

This magic term became fashionable after 2003 simply because of the fad of ethnic minority traditional singing and dancing performance in the media and in tourist attractions (Li 2011; Peng 2010; Zheng 2011). Though this notion is confusing in academia (Li 2011; Liu, Xu & Wei 2011), many Chinese scholars describe it from these points: original ecological cultural is primitive (Lu 2008b; Wu 2006), original (Li 2011; Lu 2008b; Wu 2006), authentic (Fu 2005; Li 2011), diverse (Zhang 2006a), un-renewable (Zong 2006a), pre-modern (Li 2011), ethnic (Yan & Liao 2008), local (Wu 2006; Yan & Liao 2008) and less commercialised (Wu 2006) and it is rooted in local communities’ everyday life (Li 2011; Wu 2006).

For most people, original ecological culture is treated as a principle of protecting traditional ethnic minority culture and safeguarding ICH. Li Hongxiang (2011) Liu Bingqing, Xu Jieshun and Wei Xiaopeng (2011) point out in their review that most researchers agree on these issues: it is necessary to protect the cultural and affiliated setting (Fu 2005; He 2008a; Lu 2008b; Yin 2009b); to aid the local people, who are the main force of safeguarding, to take care of their cultures (Huang & Yun 2006; Li 2008; Yang, Zhang & Li 2008); and to adopt a development protection method (He 2008a; Huang & Yun 2006; Li & Peng 2009;
Reflecting on the literature about authenticity especially object-related authenticity, the so-called original ecological culture largely derives from the folklore mindset with which external people want to seek and judge the authenticity of other’s culture (Liu 2008). This explanation is also reflected by Wen Naiqun (Zheng 2011) who concludes that original ecological culture is just a constructed label, which reflects the object judgement of main-stream powerful stakeholders for the non-main-stream traditional folk cultures in the context of modern consumerism and the cultural industry. Consumerism (Zheng 2011), especially the request from the cultural tourism industry (Yan 2007), along with nostalgia (Yan 2007) and political appeal, have been attributed as the driving forces for this construction. Considering the large number of literatures on original ecological culture devoted to tourism related issues, it reminds us that objective authenticity is entwined with original ecological culture in heritage tourism. In general, the notion of original ecological culture in China is a synonym of authenticity in the objective approach.

2.3.3 Change and Commodification

I have already more or less touched on the mutability of ICH. As Smith (2006, p. 108) points out, one of the significant changes in the ICH discourse and the whole issue of “intangibility” is the recognition of cultural change. As shown in both Chinese and English literature, this characteristic of ICH is challenging conventional static and past-oriented heritage discourse especially in China’s AHD.

In China, generally no study denies that ICH is different from tangible heritage because of a range of characteristics which mean that we should adopt a living protection or dynamic protection principle rather than a static measure. These characteristics have been articulated in various ways but can be classified as: living (Gao 2007; He 2005; Liu 2004a, 2010; Song 2006; Wang 2007; Wang 2006c), process-based (Song 2006), operational (Song 2008), diverse (Liu 2004a;
Song 2006; Wang 2006c), inheritable (Liu 2004c, 2010; Song 2006; Wang 2006a; Wang 2006c), intangible (Song 2006; Wang 2007), intentional (Wang 2006a), corralational (Wang 2006a; Wang 2006c), ingenious (Wang 2006c), ethnic (Wang 2006c) and local (Wang 2006c). It is clear that the main-stream idea in Chinese academia consents to the idea that ICH is alive, not just because it is practiced by living inheritors, but also because it has many connections with changing society. Similarly, there is almost no doubt in international academia that ICH is living, fluid, mutable, evolving, developing, changing (Aikawa-Faure 2004, 2009; Bedjaoui 2004; Lenzerini 2011; Ruggles & Silverman 2009a; Skounti 2009; van Zanten 2004), recreated as the ICHC defines it and even reinvented (Alivizatou 2012). Consequently, researchers emphasise the importance of living protection (Bedjaoui 2004; Kurin 2004) and the dynamic connection with its context.

It is easier to discern the mutability of ICH than the complicated relationship between authenticity and commodification. The worry about the loss of authenticity of certain ICH due to commodification in tourism originates from the discussion of object authenticity which refers to the pseudo-event (Boorstin 1961) and staged authenticity (MacCannell 1973, 1976). With this etic, absolute and objective perspective, authenticity imbedded in all tangible heritage or toured destinations will decrease with the increasing process of commodification brought in by tourism. Thus, the influences of tourism and accompanied commodification are seen as the external force that will destroy the original meaning of ICH and human relations (Greenwood 1989; Tilley 1997); deprive local people’s interests and benefits (Greenwood 1978); homogenise, standardise (Steiner & Reisinger 2006; Xie & Lane 2006) and routinise the cultural practice (Daniel 1996) and alter traditional culture for tourists (Dyer, Aberdeen & Schuler 2003; Hughes 1995; Joseph & Kavoori 2001). It also entails a tension between cultural function for community and economic purpose for tourists (Bianchini & Parkinson 1993; Halewood & Hannam 2001). Within this framework, it is easy to see why authenticity is perceived as a losing battle when applying the objective approach to assess local people’s commodified ICH.

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49 Most of what we now call ICH was formerly referred to as traditional culture, folklore or host/local culture. In order to avoid confusion, unless indicated, I will use ICH more often. However, we shouldn’t treat ICH as an inclusive term.
This simplified judgment of the negative effects of commodification as an absolute external force on objective authenticity has been criticised with the emergence of a constructive approach with Erick Cohen’s emergent authenticity concept (1988) as well as the concept of existential authenticity with the concepts of “leap ahead” and “practical” in Heideggerian philosophy (Reisinger & Steiner 2006; Steiner & Reisinger 2006). The absolute and static effects of commodification are firstly challenged by the emergent authenticity concept which describes a socially constructed hot authentication process (Cohen & Cohen 2012a) during which “any new-fangled gimmick”, under appropriate conditions, can become recognised as an “authentic manifestation of local culture” (Cohen 1988, p. 380). With this diachronic view, not just tangible objects and places such as Disneyland will be conceived of as an authentic tradition (Cohen 1988), but also invented traditions (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) or revived ICH such as the ethic music in Lijiang (Su 2011; Zeng 2011). Cultural involution (Geertz 1963) is also used to describe how commodified local culture becomes an authentic aboriginal cultural expression (Xie 2003). Thus, tourism, or touristification has blurred the boundary between host community and external tourists (Picard 1997, p. 183) where, according to the situational perspective (Hitchcock 1999), local communities “accommodate the needs of both visitors and the local people” (Xie & Lane 2006, p. 547).

In the case studies in Indonesia (Cole 2007; Picard 1997), Native American (Ettawageshik 1999), Eskimo handicraft (Graburn 1979), Hainan (Xie 2003) and Lijiang (Su 2011; Yang 2012d; Zong 2006b) in China and other parts of the world, tourism and commodification have been recognised for their positive effects for the significance of ICH for local people. Firstly, the most evident benefit is the economic development and employment (Cole 2007; Mason 2004; McKercher & Cros 2002; Picard 1997; Su 2011; Zong 2006b). Secondly, cultural or ethnic identity is enhanced (Chang & Yeoh 1999; Cohen 1988; Finn 2009; Lacy & Douglass 2002; Su 2011; van den Berghe 1995; Xie 2003; Zong 2006b), as well as cultural pride (Cole 2007; Crystal 1978; van den Berghe 1992; Xie 2003), which is central to the significance or value of ICH. Thirdly, certain types of ICH are revived (Dyer, Aberdeen & Schuler 2003; Grünwald 2002; Graburn 1977; Su
2011; Yang 2012d; Zeng 2011; Zong 2006b) and thus extinction is avoided (Cohen 1988; Finn 2009). In addition, creativity, spontaneity and artistic freedom are intensified (Daniel 1996). Also, cultural uniqueness (Ryan 1991; Su 2011), skills and equipment are enhanced (Cohen 1988; McKean 1976) and even traditional techniques remain unchanged (Cohen 1993). Furthermore, new meaning is added to existing expression (Cohen 1988; McKean 1976). Last but not least, a more equitable relationship is formed between the minority and majority community (Cohen 2002; Hultsman 1995), enabling cross-cultural understanding (Dyer, Aberdeen & Schuler 2003) and the possibility for the development of personal narratives (Su 2011). Reflected in cultural diversity, creativity, identity, mutual respect and sustainability highlighted in the ICHC, these key issues are closely related to the positive effects of commodification in tourism. This suggests that commodification can be considered as positive to the safeguarding of ICH, theoretically.

Since ICH, as a living cultural force, is always changing, tourism should not be understood as “a force external to contemporary society” (Picard & Wood 1997, p. X) which necessarily harms the authenticity of ICH during the change, but regarded as a complex adaptive system (Xie & Lane 2006). Similarly, commodification should be seen as an ongoing process in tourism rather than the direct negative results of tourism (Cohen 1988; Su 2011). In this thesis, commodification is regarded as an ongoing process during which the ICH, previously practiced only for local community members, is now performed and produced by the ICH inheritors for wider audiences in the tourist market.

It is in the process of tourism development and commodification that the engagement of the cultural custodians can be analysed. Past studies show that tourism could provide local people/community with incentives and opportunities (Picard & Wood 1997) for building ethnic and place identity, reclaiming heritage, counterbalancing the authoritative heritage and tourism forces (Oakes 1997) and mediating the transnational cultures and capitals (Franklin & Crang 2001). Among these, on the one hand, scholars looked at local resistance and the agency of local people, which are recognised as crucial powers to actively accept, negotiate or resist the exogenous changing dominant social structures in the cases
of Lijiang and Guizhou province in China (Oakes 1993; Su 2007). On the other hand, as research in Yunnan, China shows, in the tourism context, local ICH inheritors are able to actively reconstruct the local culture on one hand and determine the consumption boundary following the local knowledge system on the other hand (Shao & Wu 2016). No matter whether passively or actively, past studies suggest that the ICH inheritors in China are able to exert their agencies in the commodification process in tourism. I will follow these arguments to scrutinise how inheritors’ agencies will act in the less and more commodified ICH making processes and how these agencies could be better described by the reconceptualised concepts of authenticity and integrity in the inheritor-based emic perspective.

2.3.4 Integrity and Context

If ICH is always changing, can we still use integrity to measure its wholeness and intactness? As stipulated in the Chinese national ICH discourse, integrity is another crucial concept for safeguarding ICH. Here I will briefly review its discussion in the tangible heritage domain in the West before examining it in the Chinese context and its position in ICH.

Compared with authenticity, integrity is less discussed though this concept appears in the Venice Charter (Article 14) and the Operational Guidelines (OG) for World Natural Heritage after 1977. As Herb Stovel (2007) and Xu Songling (2005) have noted, there exists confusion between authenticity and integrity which evolve in different trajectories in cultural and natural heritage domains respectively, and even these two people eventually hold distinct opinions: Stovel concludes that integrity is the ability of heritage to sustain or secure the significance while Xu argues that the nature of these two concepts is the same. Initially integrity was mainly used in the natural heritage area (Jokilehto 2006; Xu 2005). However, the confusion occurred in 1998 when UNESCO introduced integrity into the judgement condition of World Cultural Heritage (Stovel 2007). According to the 2015 OG, “integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes” (UNESCO 2015b, p. 18). Based on this concept, not just physical elements and size are
considered, but also the “relationships and dynamic functions present in (…) or other living properties” (UNESCO 2015b, p. 18). This understanding of ICH is reflected in Jukka Jokilehto (2006)’s definition of functional integrity which mainly refers to living heritage sites. Since we understand that integrity in tangible heritage refers to all components—either tangible or intangible—that carry its value (the Outstanding Universal Value in World Heritage specifically), it is still unclear which elements should constitute an ICH, an issue that the ICHC fails to address (Logan 2007).

Integrity was initially introduced in World Natural Heritage conservation in China (Xu 2005, pp. 103-24; Zhang 2003a, 2004) and it was later considered as another principle for ICH protection when scholars illustrated it by temporal and spatial dimensions, advocating a comprehensive and multi-dimensional protection of cultural and natural environments (Kang 2011, pp. 32-6; Liu 2004a; Wang 2006a; Wang 2006c, pp. 326-30). Integrity was firstly officially used in the Project of Safeguarding Chinese Ethnic Culture and Folklore (2004) in which one of the four basic protection methods is to establish Eco-cultural Protection Areas and designate Cultural and Artistic Villages of Ethnic Culture and Folklore so as to protect the complete cultural ecology in a dynamic and sustainable way. At the same time, the concept of integrity was seen in a bureaucratic scholars’ paper (Liu 2004a) and appeared for the first time in the 2005 ICH Opinions and is further explained in the so-called “dynamic integrated protection method” in the LICH specifically for the protection of traditional eco-cultural villages or areas (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 196). In the LICH (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 15) and bureaucratic scholars’ papers (Liu 2004a; Wang 2006c; Yuan & Gu 2013), integrity concerns two dimensions: not only the spatial dimension which resembles the ecological integrity in ICH law but also the temporal dimension which considers all forms of changing ICH that exists today.

Internationally, an expert meeting in UNESCO in 1993 has underlined the risk of extracting ICH from their original contexts which may lead to de-contextualisation and folklorization (UNESCO 1993) and this issue was also

50 Other methods are: investigation, identification, documentation and filing; study, research, publication and preservation in museum; and funding and support for inheritors for transmission.
discussed in subsequent meetings as for the ICHC (Aikawa-Faure 2009). Although integrity is not commonly used in the international discourse to refer to ICH, Western scholars emphasise that the survival of ICH centrally lies in the sustainability of the connection between ICH and the communities, groups or individuals in which this ICH is practiced and transmitted (Stefano, Davis & Corsane 2012). Even the ICHC and the listing system will sometimes overlook the relationship between people and the place and larger context, leading to enumeration and itemisation (Hafstein 2009; Kurin 2004), de-contextualisation (Hafstein 2009; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Stefano 2012), isolation (Stefano 2012), stifling (Smith 2006) or even fossilisation which ultimately renders ICH meaningless (Boylan 2006; Peter J. M. Nas 2002; Stefano 2012). Therefore, many international scholars (Aikawa-Faure 2009; Brown 2005; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006; Kurin 2004) suggest a holistic approach “where ICH is considered as one component of a large ecology of human experience” (Stefano 2012, p. 232).

I agree that it is necessary and reasonable to consider ICH in a context comprising the natural environment, tangible heritage and social connections with other people including functions; however, should we protect everything? Though a minority, there has been opposition amongst Chinese scholars (Liu 2006a; Zeng 2011) who claim that it is unrealistic, idealistic and even impossible to protect the whole changing ecological environment or setting of ICH, otherwise we have to go back to the pre-industry times for the best preservation (Zeng 2011). Noticing the coexistence of the changing and unchanged components of an ICH, some Chinese scholars (Song & Wang 2013) argue that there are usually two states of an ICH element, namely Benshengtai (original state) and Yanshengtai (derivative state). The former describes a holistic state combining the nature of an ICH and its special and temporal environment and this state is comparatively stable so that an ICH element is different from the other. The latter state, on the other hand, describes the changing components derived from the Benshengtai under the use of the practitioner. This state, though being changeable and diverse, belongs to the ICH element and should be treated as complementary to the former state. These concepts give more space to the emergent diverse interpretations of an ICH element and therefore challenge the canonical definition of integrity in the LICH.
As this review shows, ICH is definitely changing with its meanings and functions through its dynamic relations with the outside world, so if we adopt an inheritors-based emic perspective to examine the dynamic process of commodification, the emergent values, relationships and functions may be perceived by inheritors as necessary components in the heritagisation process. However, not all of the changing components are accepted by the official ICH discourse which upholds the conventional concept of integrity and authenticity. For example, bureaucratic scholars Gu and Yuan state that “if an ICH element is changed, either by the inheritors, the government or the academies, it is no longer the original ICH. So that no matter how aesthetic the ICH element will be, it is not qualified to be nominated” (Yuan & Gu 2013, p. 193). As this thesis will discuss further in Chapter 8, the practitioners, officials and scholars hold different understandings of the concept of integrity, as well as the components of an ICH element.

I adopt Stovel’s argument that integrity should be understood as the ability of heritage to sustain or secure the values (2007), and I regard the ICH practitioners as the most crucial component of an ICH element and argue that their subjectivities should be emphasised. In line with the inheritors-based emic perspective, I therefore argue that integrity of ICH should be understood as the ability of the practitioners to recognise, inherit, create and even abandon some of the existing components of their ICH in order to establish an assemblage of relevant components to sustain the ICH values, regardless of the wholeness or intactness of the existing components in the eyes of the officials or scholars. Considering the subjectivity of the practitioners, I term the spontaneously selected, recognised and engaged components as Active Components and the integrity in my proposition as Subjective Integrity. Here, the active components are always in the dynamics of creation, recognition, abandon and re-creation according to practitioners’ self-determination. Therefore, the components of an ICH element, as well as the subjective integrity within the practitioners, are dynamic, contingent and subjective, which is different from the conventional “objective” integrity stipulated in the AHD.
As far as ICH safeguarding is concerned, I propose the Condition of Integrity which describes to what extent the practicing individuals or community\textsuperscript{51} are able to engage with the active components of an ICH element at a certain time. Meanwhile, integrity is regarded as one of the “necessary but not sufficient conditions” for ICH safeguarding.

### 2.3.5 Continuity

When all the components of ICH are changing, we naturally care about the direction of this transformation. Therefore, we should look at this living cultural expression in a diachronic way, examining how authenticity and integrity are continuously embodied in inheritors in different stages, situations and generations. Here I propose continuity as the third “necessary but not sufficient condition” to describe the diachronic continuum of both authenticity (in relation to the ICH values) and integrity (in relation to the ICH components).

Continuity, along with change and truth, has a long history in the discussion of identity among Western philosophers and the most famous debate is about the paradox of the Ship of Theseus\textsuperscript{52} (Jokilehto 2006) in which the question was asked as to whether or not the authenticity of an object resided in the continuity of its fabric. Among the four most valued traits of the past: antiquity, continuity, termination and sequence, David Lowenthal writes that continuity “implies a living past bound up with the present, not exotically different or obsolete” (1985, p. 62). Noticing the link between past and present, Lowenthal relates continuity both to present people and to the present, saying that “the accretive past is appreciated less for its own sake than because it has led to the present” (1985, p. 61). This is the argument Critical Heritage Studies follows in that it too proposes that the meanings and values of heritage are made in and for the present. As an anthropological concept, continuity means the “process of uniting past, present

\textsuperscript{51} Practicing community means those relevant people who create, carry and transmit ICH (Deacon et al. 2004, p. 13; Lloyd 2012, p. 148).

\textsuperscript{52} This is a thought experiment which was recorded in the late first century by Plutarch (46-127). This paradox asks the question as to whether a wooden ship, after being continuously restored by replacing every part, remains the same. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) furthered this paradox by asking that if all the dismantled original parts were used to build another ship, which one would be the original Ship of Theseus.
and future—(which) is very different from conservation, preservation, or traditionalism” (Smith 1982, p. 127). Continuity can be constructed by powerful stakeholders to connect a suitable historic past by a series of tradition invention practices (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) such as, for example the Dongba culture in Lijiang which was prohibited from practicing during the Cultural Revolution and was revived after the early 1980s (Su 2011; Zeng 2011).

Continuity is used in the ICHC to illustrate that ICH provides inheritors with a sense of identity and continuity. In the Chinese UNESCO version of the ICHC, continuity is translated into a Chinese term “Chixu Gan” that is close to the meaning of continuity. However, this term is also translated into another Chinese term which means a sense of history or historicity (Lishi Gan) which is used not only in official documents (Xin & Huang 2011) but is also dominant in Chinese academia. Sometimes, the term continuity is also translated as an adverb or even omitted completely. Until now, no studies in China have scrutinised this nuanced translation and what effect it has on China’s ICH safeguarding. No Chinese authors mention continuity as a concept in ICH safeguarding at the time of writing; nevertheless many have proposed that it is necessary to pay attention to the connection that ICH embodies between the past and the present. For example, Wang Wenzhang (2006c) proposed four principles for ICH safeguarding, one of which is understandability. In using this term, Wang meant to suggest how people can understand historical development, especially embodied spiritual connotations concerning mindset, mentality and values from present ICH. However, Wang’s standpoint is from a folklore preservationist tradition so again it is another objective perspective which actually reflects the object authenticity tradition. Song Junhua (2006) found a stable continuation of value existing in the transmission of ICH because the inheritance body (inheritors) and creation body (practitioners) are the same group of people, which is different from tangible heritage whose creation body is lost. This people-centred value judgement is very meaningful; however, their papers do not consider this issue: what happens when two bodies, both of which are embedded in the same ICH are inconsistent? Or, if their values conflict? Liu Kuili (2010) provided another important paper which draws a life graph of a changing ICH, illustrating that the consistency of ICH lies
in the stability of basic attributes, structure, function and form and the value judgement of the inheritance body. Influenced by the object authenticity illusion, Liu still wants to maintain most of the original elements of ICH and more importantly, he couldn’t tell what exactly constitutes the basic elements of ICH from an external viewpoint.

Internationally, continuity is used in parallel with identity and meaning to refer to the attribute of culture (Jokilehto 2006) and the intrinsic values of traditional culture (Blake 2002, p. 3), to describe the attributes of living tradition (Blake 2002, p. 44) and, to refer to a continuation over an extended period from a pre-invasion or pre-colonial past to the present in regard to some factors (e.g. occupation, ancestry, culture in general, language and residence, etc.) in indigenous communities (United Nations 2009, p. 4). Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett noted that continuity requires attention not just for artefacts, but also to people and the “entire habitus and habitat, understood as their life space and social world” (2004, p. 54). Though this does not use the term continuity, the UNESCO Turin Report states that ICH is continually shaped and continually evolving (2001b). Since tradition and change are two major issues in anthropology, I tend to treat continuity as a mediation between the two extremes, as does M Estellie Smith (1982, p. 135) who concludes that “continuity is that synthesis within which tradition is persistent viability through adaptation and change is the novel manifestation of a durable identity”.

The relationship between continuity and authenticity has not been discussed in the literatures while there are only a few published articles on the relationship between continuity and integrity. Herb Stovel noted the connection between continuity and integrity in the World Heritage field and he proposed a framework of continuity of function and continuity of setting (2007). When the latter is used to describe the aspect of tangible integrity, he coined the term “continuity of function” to assess the continuity of “intangible integrity” over time (2007, p. 32). However, this discussion is mainly for the intangible aspects of the tangible heritage and the discussion is still preliminary. I will further investigate the relationships between continuity and the concepts of authenticity and integrity in Chapter 9.
In my opinion, continuity could describe the continuation of the abilities of the inheritors to convey (in relation to authenticity) and sustain (in relation to integrity) the ICH values in the ICH making practice which is manifested in the form of transmission. Subjective abilities in transmission are crucial to the continuity of a culture, because “culture can only have continuity if people enjoy the conditions to produce and re-create it” (van Zanten 2004, p. 37). As this review shows, there is a close relationship among continuity, integrity and authenticity in ICH heritagisation. Therefore I propose that continuity, subjective authenticity and subjective integrity should act synergistically as three “necessary but not sufficient conditions” for ICH safeguarding, and, accordingly, that the Condition of Continuity acts as the third condition for ICH safeguarding in the temporal dimension.

2.4 Conclusion and Theoretical Proposition

This chapter firstly applied the Critical Discourse Analysis perspective to review the ideas and philosophies underlining the UNESCO and Chinese authorised ICH discourses. While recognising heritage as a cultural practice and discursive practice, it is possible to examine how the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) is constructed at the higher level and reveal any possible dissonant/diverse community/alternative discourses of the cultural practitioners or practicing community at the lower level. In order to do so, I proposed the inheritors-based emic perspective as a theoretical approach to return the discourse rights back to the ICH practitioners, thus enabling them to articulate the subjective understanding of ICH and related concepts, such as authenticity, integrity and continuity. Based on this perspective, this chapter critically reviewed the concepts of authenticity, original ecological culture, commodification, integrity and continuity, and established three “necessary but not sufficient conditions” with two reconceptualised concepts of authenticity and integrity to consider the safeguarding of ICH. The concepts of authenticity and integrity are therefore reconceptualised from an objectivist to a subjectivist perspective which allows the ICH practitioners to recognise their own ICH with their willingness and abilities. In particular, I adopted the existential perspective developed in tourism studies in
the reconceptualisation of authenticity in the ICH field. While ICH is a living and evolving heritage as argued, the concept of continuity is restructured in order to describe the diachronic change of the values and components of ICH in the inheritor-based emic perspective.

In order to illustrate the relationships among these three concepts, I devised a theoretical proposition to integrate them in the ICH making process, or the heritagisation process, as follows. The first stage of ICH making is the recognition of the Active Components by the practitioners themselves, and this process is conditioned with the concept of integrity. In this process, all existing components of ICH, whether in tangible or intangible forms, are selected, used, modified or even disregarded by the practitioners in order to sustain or secure the ICH values. The ability of the practitioner to do this is regarded as the Subjective Integrity. In the second stage, these Active Components are regarded as the vehicle through which diverse Values of ICH can be conveyed. By my definition, Subjective Authenticity concerns practitioners’ ability to convey their subjective ICH values. ICH making is an ongoing, dynamic and iterative process and transmission is the practice of ICH making within one generation and from one generation to the next. The third stage therefore is the recreation process of ICH which describes how the practitioners continuously convey their evolving and diverse values (in relation to Subjective Authenticity) by re-assembling and re-using the existing components and creating new ones (in relation to Subjective Integrity). In the short term, the Condition of Continuity describes to what extent the circular chain can be sustained at present and in the long term, it describes to what extent the ICH making can be continuously engaged in the next generation.

In general, the concepts of authenticity and integrity describe two specific aspects of the abilities the ICH practitioners exert in the ICH making process and the concept of continuity describes the continuation of these two abilities. Furthermore, in regard to the sustainability of the living and reiterative ICH making process, these three concepts can be simultaneously understood as three “necessary but not sufficient conditions” that the safeguarding should suffice. In order to create, recreate and transmit the ICH values to the practitioners and their
descendants, it is necessary to meet the three conditions at the same time in safeguarding.

This theoretical proposition is captured in the following diagram (Figure 2.1) and it will be further discussed with the findings in Chapter 10. In the next chapter, I will turn to the discussion of the links between my theoretical approach and the methodology I used in the fieldwork.
Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates how the research objectives can be achieved by designing the methodology in line with the proposed inheritors-based emic perspective. Firstly, I will establish the methodology based on the interpretative approach which facilitates the inheritors-based emic perspective. Next, I will illustrate how I ascertain and categorise the research populations. Finally, I will illustrate how I select the case and how I design the qualitative and quantitative methods to obtain data in the case. The limitations of this research are indicated at the end.

3.2 Conceptual Approach

As discussed in Chapter 1, the research objective of this thesis is two-fold: the first, based on the Critical Heritage Studies approach, is to find out the diverse understandings of ICH and related concepts among major players\textsuperscript{53} (i.e. officials, experts and the ICH inheritors) in the Lijiang case. The second is to critique and reconceptualise the concepts of authenticity, integrity and continuity in order to describe the understandings of ICH inheritors regarding the safeguarding and commodification of their ICH in the tourism context, based on the inheritors-based emic perspective.

Laurajane Smith argues that the “discourse of logical positivism that stresses objectivity and rationality”, “alongside archaeological claims to professionalism”, constitute the authority of heritage interpretation which then devalues the “authority of Indigenous knowledge” (2004, p. 30). Thus, the positivistic perspective is based on an objective ontology and epistemology which dominate the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) methodology. As I reviewed in

\textsuperscript{53} I prefer to use “player” rather than “stakeholder” to name relevant groups of the research population in this thesis because the former is neutral while the latter can relate to the theory of stakeholder developed by R. Edward Freeman (1984, 2010). However, the term stakeholder is used sometimes in a certain context in this thesis when necessary.
previous chapter, this objective ontology and epistemology form the conventional discourse of authenticity and integrity in the heritage field, particularly in China.

In order to critique this positivistic perspective in relation to heritage and fulfil the objectives of this thesis, it is necessary to design a research methodology that can reveal and privilege the diversity or spectrum of the ICH inheritors’ subjectivities in the heritagisation process that is happening in Lijiang. I therefore proposed the inheritors-based emic perspective in Chapter 2. In regard to methodology in the field of humanities and social sciences, the inheritors-based emic perspective can be established through the interpretative approach. The interpretative approach tends to recognise social reality as “multiple” subjectivities, so as to “understand how individuals make meaning of their social world” which is “reacted through social interactions of individuals with the world around them” (Hesse-Biber 2010, p. 104). In this approach, the complex and diverse subjectivities of the inheritor discourse in the perspective of the ICH inheritors in the heritagisation process can be illustrated.

When I privilege the understandings of the ICH inheritors as the key to the resolution to the research problems, I still need to examine the understandings of officials and experts who constitute the ICH AHD in China. Following the proposition of Critical Heritage Studies, it is necessary to reveal the complexity and dissonance of the understandings of not only the ICH practitioners but also the officials and experts so as to critique the AHD from the outside and from the inside. This thesis, therefore, realising the importance of respondents’ subjective understanding and experience of their ICH practices and everyday lives, applies an interpretative approach in methodology to reveal not only the practitioners’ ICH discourse but also the alternative discourses of officials and experts who dominate the AHD.

Recognising ICH inheritors or practitioners as key players in the ICH making process, according to the inheritor-based emic perspective this thesis argues for, I will highlight their understandings of the key issues in the research. Nevertheless, other individuals and non-governmental organisations which are associated with the ICH practice in the Lijiang local community are also important, because they
are inheritors as well, though many of them are not officially registered, of the ICH element that practiced by the whole community, such as Naxi food making craft and Naxi language. As I will introduce later in this chapter, I conducted questionnaire surveys of a number of local Lijiang people who engage with ICH in various ways though the majority of them are not officially registered as the “ICH representative inheritors”. Furthermore, some local Lijiang people engage with local ICH in a collective ways, such as in the form of private ICH-themed tourism enterprises (such as the Yushuizhai company, see Chapter 6) or non-governmental ICH-related organisations (such as the Dayan Ancient Music Association, see Chapter 6). In these cases, as long as the owners or leaders are local Lijiang people, rather than outside businessmen, I would also regard these organisations as relevant to the ICH inheritors. Therefore, I group these officially registered ICH inheritors/practitioners, relevant local community members, ICH tourism enterprises run by local people and local non-governmental ICH organisations as the community players.

In terms of the official discourse, ICH is discursively produced or practiced by the officials and experts with their administrative power and knowledge. The close relationship between officials in the government and bureaucratic scholars/experts in the institutes has been demonstrated in the forming of the Chinese ICH AHD in Chapters 1 and 2, in particular the concepts of ICH, authenticity and integrity. Recently, a paper also argues that in the Chinese heritage field there exists an “elite-driven policy approach shaped by symbiotic, mutually legitimising government-scholar network” in formulating and implementing the ICH policies (Maags & Holbig 2016, p. 71). Considering this inner connection between the government officials and the bureaucratic experts, I group both of them, as well as the affiliated government agencies and institutes, in the same category as the governmental players.

The community players and the governmental players are central to the research questions so that they are regarded as two research populations that I will specifically study throughout the following chapters. In addition, I will also look at some other relevant people when they relate to the issues being discussed. Tourists are crucial in conventional tourism studies. In this research however,
they are not the focus because theoretically tourists are not the ICH inheritors who create, engage with and inherit local ICH in Lijiang. Nevertheless, tourists are considered as indispensable consumers of the more commodified ICH in the context of tourism. In the case of the less commodified ICH, on the other hand, local people act as the major consumers of the ICH practice, such as in the Dongba culture case. In later chapters, I will discuss the role of the consumers, either performed by outside tourists or local people, in the ICH making process. When in the less commodified situation, I will also use the term “audience” to name the local consumers. This means that a local person can be identified as both an ICH practitioner and a consumer/audience of that ICH simultaneously, such as in the music case.

Concluding the above illustration and reflecting on the research objectives proposed in Chapter 1, I therefore categorise the major research population into two key players: 1) the community players: ICH practitioners, relevant community members (including ordinary local people and local cultural elites) and non-governmental entities (including local people-run ICH tourism enterprises and ICH related associations); 2) the governmental players: officials (and the affiliated government at different levels) and bureaucratic experts/scholars (and the affiliated institutes).

These two players are not equally considered with the same data collection method. Applying an inheritors-based emic perspective, this research privileged the individual ICH practitioners who were granted maximum latitude to construct their ICH discourses within the suggested interpretative research approach. Also, this research equally applied an emic/interpretative perspective to individual officials and experts to examine their understandings of ICH so as to reveal any possible diversity/dissonance within the AHD itself. So I adopted qualitative methods to obtain first-hand data from individuals in terms of local community players (also with quantitative methods), officials and experts. For the collective players such as government and institutes, I mainly obtained the data from their policies and documents, most of which have also been reviewed in Chapters 1 and 2.
3.3 Methods

As for data collection methods, qualitative approaches are the primary method for an interpretative perspective (Oliver 2008), which suffices for my major research objectives because these are concerned with questions related to “process, understandings and beliefs” (Barbour 2008, p. 31) which are the central issues in the subjective understanding of ICH practice. Therefore, I employed qualitative research methods such as case study, interview and observation to collect most of the data of the opinions of different individual players, namely the ICH practitioners, officials and experts. Also, in order to provide a broad picture of the inheritor group or local communities’ perception towards their ICH and commodification in tourism and to “increase the generalizability of a qualitative study” (Hesse-Biber 2010, p. 122), I applied a mixed methods design which incorporated a quantitative survey for local communities. Furthermore, quantitative data not only supplemented the qualitative result, but was also useful in differentiating any possible divergences among the community members. Considering “case studies are the preferred method when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed and the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context” (Yin 2009a, p. 2), this research locates Lijiang in Yunnan, China as the case study. To sum up, this is an interpretative approach based, mixed methods case study.

3.3.1 Case Study

On the one hand, tourism development is mature and stable in Lijiang and the ICH management system in Lijiang is complete and typical (see Chapter 5). On the other hand, a number of literatures provide a research background for further heritage and ethnic tourism studies (such as Guang 2012; Su 2007; Zhu 2013; Zong 2006b). In addition, English anthropological studies on Naxi and Dongba culture in Lijiang are available for my further research (such as Chao 1995; McKhann 1992; Rees 1994). As a window to examine similar problems in China and the world, Lijiang is a typical case to study basic ICH issues in China and the world. Considering the representativeness and the possibility of doing a
longitudinal study, I applied the Single-case (embedded) Designs (Yin 2009a), choosing Lijiang, and other relevant fields nearby in Yunnan Province, southwest of China as the case. Within this case, there are four Embedded Units of Analysis (Yin 2009a) which I will explain below, and the Context is all the data collected external to these Units of Analysis which mainly include the archives and literatures from authorities and experts.

The Spatial Area of this case is Lijiang City54 (see the map in Chapter 5) and the Baidi Naxi Village in Shangri-La Tibetan Autonomous County in the north of Lijiang. In terms of the object of my research, I focused on the ICH practitioners in Lijiang, including local people who are practicing ICH in my selected Units of Analysis (largely in the qualitative research) and those who are related to the ICH but not necessarily engaging with that ICH (largely in the quantitative research). Also, interviews were undertaken for officials and experts/scholars in Lijiang, Kunming (the capital city of Yunnan) and Beijing (the capital of China).

As articulated in Chapter 1, the major aims of this thesis are to reveal the complexity of the understanding of ICH in alternative discourses (Research Objectives 2 and 4) and to reconceptualise the key concepts in ICH theory (Research Objectives 5 and 6). According to initial observation and the literature review, Lijiang is criticised as an over-commercialised tourist attraction and more and more forms of ICH are experiencing commodification in such a tourism context. However, more and more forms of ICH are to be recognised and managed by governments as registered forms of ICH in Lijiang at different levels. So the research questions can be better answered by studying cases which meet the following criteria:

1) Forms of ICH for which interviewees have diverse, divergent, evolving or even conflicting understandings in terms of the value, authenticity, integrity and continuity.

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54 Lijiang City comprises the Gucheng District, Yulong County, Yongsheng County, Huaping County, Ninglang County. Dayan Old Town and Shuhe housing cluster belong to Gucheng District while Baisha housing cluster and other tourist attractions are located in Yulong County.
2) Forms of ICH that are practiced and transmitted by the same inheritor (or an inheritor group) but in diverse and stable situations, preferably in contexts that have observably less and more commodified status. In other words, forms of ICH that experience stable and ongoing change both chronically and synchronically can best answer the research questions.

I have therefore chosen Dongba culture, Naxi traditional music, handicraft and culinary skills as four Units for examination (the background of these four Units are detailed in Chapter 6), because they all meet two of the abovementioned thresholds. Furthermore, these four cases are usually regarded as the representation of Naxi’s ICH on the official side and they are also the most marketable cultural products in tourism on the tourist side. Meanwhile, as will be seen in Chapter 6, they all have been experiencing changes both chronically and synchronically.

In addition, other issues to consider are the comprehensiveness and representativeness of the Units. When illustrating the ICH Making Circle, I argued that ICH is made by people with their abilities in the engagement with the components through which the values are realised. In order to test this argument I examined people’s abilities (in relation to subjective authenticity and integrity), the component of ICH (in relation to subjective integrity), the values realised and how these factors affected the continuation of the making process (in relation to continuity) in two differentiated situations (the less and more commodified status). These four Units are chosen because they provide the chance to observe different aspects of the ICH making process:

1) In terms of integrity, it is possible to compare and contrast the cases of Dongba culture and music which are more focused on the practicing process and the cases of handicraft and food which are more focused on the end products. In addition, Dongba culture, a form of spiritual practice, is chosen as a contrast to the other three secular Units to reveal the differences between them, so that it is possible to compare and contrast the spiritual and the secular attributes of ICH.
2) In terms of value and authenticity, food making is central to the everyday life of the whole community and it provides a contrast to Dongba religious practice which is only owned by a small group of people for a more spiritual purpose, so that a sharp contrast can be made. At a higher level, the exhibition of four cases of ICH elements will better show the diverse value spectrum among different players’ perspectives.

3) In terms of continuity, Dongba culture, handicraft and food making cases were traditionally found in the form of family transmission while the music was transmitted within a troupe. Nowadays, however, new transmissions such as master-apprentice, private-funded organisation and government-funded schools are seen in Dongba culture and music cases. Therefore, traditional and new transmissions can be compared and contrasted. Moreover, senior and young inheritors are found in all four Units, which means that the issue of age can be discussed in the transmission.

In order to compare and contrast diverse interpretations of ICH in the context of tourism, two noticeable situations are recognised and discussed within each of the Units: one concerns the more commodified ICH (usually in the tourism market) and the other concerns the less commodified (usually in the community). But this division is not categorical, because this is the category for the convenience of this research while the inheritors themselves don’t necessarily regard these two situations as distinct from each other.

3.3.2 Archive Studies

An analysis of various forms of archival material was undertaken to trace the production of an ICH discourse embodied in the governmental documents and scholarly literatures, all of which constitute a major part of the AHD in China. This analysis is then used to offer a comparative base from which to identify the differences between official policies and principles on ICH and the way ICH is actually managed in Lijiang. It is important to note that this archival research took place throughout the research period and was not restricted to the fieldwork.
period. As a result there were several forms of archives that were used to inform the arguments in this thesis.

The first archive consists of the published scholarly literatures written by officials and experts, including the bureaucratic scholars. Since it is very difficult to investigate personal opinions of national officials and scholars because of the rigorous bureaucracy in China, their publications become the major source to analyse their understanding of relevant issues. Most of these literatures are reviewed in Chapters 1 and 2 to manifest the AHD in China and in UNESCO, and some will be added in later chapters when the perspectives of national officials and scholars are discussed.

The second archive consists of publicly accessible official documents, including Chinese government laws, opinions, ordinance, regulations and webpages materials as well as documents from UNESCO. Specifically, the ICH discourse in UNESCO and the differences between UNESCO’s discourse and the Chinese one are only analysed through archive studies. It is not the objective of this thesis to investigate the personal understandings of the staff or experts within UNESCO through interviews.

The third concerns the unpublished or informal archive or documents that were collected during the fieldwork in the institutes in Kunming, Lijiang and Beijing, such as Yunnan Department of Culture, Conservation and Management Bureau of the Lijiang Old Town, Culture Bureau of Lijiang, the ICH Protection Centre of Lijiang, Tourism Bureau of Lijiang and the Lijiang Dongba Culture Academy. Archives from non-governmental entities were also analysed, such as unpublished brochures in the Lijiang Dongba Culture Association, Yushuizhai Park, the Dayan Ancient Music Association, and so on.

Some of these unpublished archives are related to the nomination of ICH inheritors or the implementation of national ICH policies in authorities, and some of these archives consist of internal documents of organisations or tourism companies.
3.3.3 Interview

In this research, major data was collected from the interview which is regarded as the “gold standard” (Barbour 2008, p. 113) of qualitative research. In general, interviews were carried out from October 2013 to June 2014 in Lijiang, Kunming, Beijing and Guangzhou for three major groups of interviewees: firstly, the officials in ICH authorities at county, municipal, provincial and national levels; second, the ICH inheritors in the four units in Lijiang; and thirdly, the experts and scholars working with ICH issues in Lijiang, Kunming, Beijing and Guangzhou.

As for the format, I used a set of semi-structured interview questions and also allowed interviewees enough freedom to express any personal opinions, hoping to explore the personal understanding, experience, value and expectations of the interviewees, according to their alternative discourses. The essential issue in interviewing inheritors is that I didn’t presume any prior understanding of the concepts of ICH, authenticity, integrity or continuity or hint at my own understandings of them; instead, I let them tell me their understandings in their own words which may or may not fall into the descriptions of these concepts I have discussed above. In other words, I gave “the interviewee an opportunity to raise any other issues salient to her/him” (Barbour 2008, p. 128) and avoid any possible Reactive Effect (Kumar 2011). Though officials and experts, especially the bureaucratic ones, are all knowledgeable about the ICH doctrines, I still allowed enough space for them to express their alternative understandings of ICH and related concepts. This means that an emic/interpretative perspective is given to all interviewees for them to reveal the dissonance/discrepancy of ICH discourse, including within the AHD itself.

I especially tried to explore the personal understanding from inheritors/community members in Lijiang of these issues: the history of ICH practice, values, significances or meanings of the ICH which they engage with, changes of ICH (both in diachronic and synchronic dimensions), influence of tourism on ICH, discrepancies between more commodified (Situation 1) and less

55 I used traditional Naxi culture and/or Dongba culture in my fieldwork for the community member in most cases, but I still use ICH in this thesis for the continuity of my narrative.
commodified ICH (Situation 2), suggestions for ICH safeguarding and the notion of ICH. Except in the last issue, I used the terms the interviewees are familiar with, such as traditional culture, Naxi culture or Dongba culture, rather than ICH. In the scenario of officials and experts, I explored their personal understandings of these issues: notions of ICH, values, significances or meanings of ICH, changes of ICH (both in diachronic and synchronic dimensions), key concepts related to ICH (authenticity, integrity, original ecological culture, continuity, commodification, etc.), influence of tourism on ICH, suggestions of ICH safeguarding and other existing problems. It has to be pointed out here that only some interviewed officials and experts are able to comment on the issues noted in the four ICH cases in Lijiang, because not all of them have the same level of knowledge about the ICH in Lijiang.

In terms of specific methods in interviewing, depending on the situation, I applied an in-depth interview form for most inheritors with their agreement, and a focus group method if an ICH was practiced by a group of inheritors. In regard to officials and experts, I had an in-depth interview with each of them with their agreement. Primarily, the data was obtained in the form of audio recordings and fieldwork notes in Chinese which were then translated/transcribed into English by me.

3.3.4 Survey

A quantitative research, in the form of questionnaire survey, was conducted along with the interview to produce a general picture of the inheritors and local communities’ attitude towards ICH, commodification and the implications of tourism. This method also ensured that I gathered data beyond respondents of the four Units so that it avoided my qualitative research being narrowed to the selected Units without evaluation of the whole case situation (Yin 2009a).

Two consistent questionnaire surveys were undertaken in 2001 and 2003 in terms of the impact of tourism on the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the local

56 The questionnaire is attached as an appendix to this thesis.
community in Lijiang (Zong 2006b). Hence this survey provides my thesis with a benchmark for a longitudinal study which is a methodology that is “appropriate for measuring the extent of change in phenomenon, situation, problem, attitude, and so on” (Kumar 2011, p. 110). Considering the validity of the longitudinal study, I used some questions from the questionnaire in Zong’s work (2006b) and I devised remaining questions. The aim of Zong’s questionnaire was to measure the attitude of local Naxi residents towards the social and cultural influence of tourism. My research, however, mainly endeavours to measure the attitude of local Lijiang people towards different aspects of their ICH in the context of tourism. Therefore, I arranged statements to measure the respondents’ attitudes towards the issues central to my research questions. The questionnaire survey also has the advantage of complementing the interview questions around issues such as: national identity, willingness of safeguarding, subjective experiences in practice, changes of ICH, transmission, influence of tourism, identity, and commodification of the four Units.

This survey is designed to target local Naxi people, including those practicing designated ICH that I took as case studies, and those practicing other kinds of ICH. Also, non-Naxi local people, such as the Han and Bai people who have indirect connections with the Naxi ICH were included. A Purposive or Snowball Sampling was applied to distinguish potential respondents and send the questionnaires with the help of local officials and the Resident Committees. In order to be consistent with Zong’s work (2006b), I chose the same areas (including the Old Town and the New Town of Lijiang) and a similar sample size. Zong sent 250 copies out and got 209 back for analysis in 2003, and I sent out 500 copies and received 363 back as valid answers (response rate is 72.6%). Among these 363 respondents, there are 276 Naxi people, 32 Han people, one Hui, one Mosuo, one Pumi, one Tibetan and one Yao, and, the ethnic nationalities of the remaining 41 people are unspecified. The measurement of attitude adopts the

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57 Permission from the author has been obtained.
58 This is a mass organisation of self-governance at the grass roots level in China. It is named residents committee in urban (such as the Old Town of Lijiang) and villagers committee in rural areas (such as in the New Town of Lijiang). To some extent, this organisation is becoming bureaucratic and thus affiliated to local government. See http://en.people.cn/92824/92845/6440580.html, retrieved on 6 Dec., 2016.
Likert Scale which is based on a five-category continuum (i.e. absolutely agree, agree, neutral, disagree, and absolutely disagree).

The data from the 363 valid answers was then processed according to the statistical method introduced in Zong’s work (2006b, p. 217). Based on Zong’s method, five different answers are scored as 5 point (absolutely agree), 4 points (agree), 3 points (neutral), 2 points (disagree) and 1 point (absolutely disagree). The average point of the answers for each question is called the Intensity of the answer which can describe the intensity of the respondents’ attitudes towards the statements. For each question, the answers of “absolutely agree” and “agree” are categorized as “positive answer”, while the answers of “disagree” and “absolutely disagree” are grouped as “negative answer”. Based on the point-assessment, the intensity scored above 3 indicates a “positive answer”, the higher the point, the stronger the positive attitude is. Similarly, the intensity scored below 3 indicates a “negative answer”, the lower the point, the stronger the negative attitude is. Point 3, therefore, indicates a “neutral answer”.

3.3.5 Observation

As a “purposeful, systematic and selective way of watching and listening” (Kumar 2011, p. 140) how the practices of ICH are “enacted on a daily basis” (Barbour 2008, p. 17), I spent time on observing the practicing of ICH in two situations. The first was when they were practicing for themselves or local communities and I was observing with their agreement. The other is Participant Observation when I was interviewing and observing the commodified ICH as one of the tourists. In this case, the interviewees were more active in their interaction with outsiders. Data from observation contains audio, video, photograph and fieldwork notes, depending on the situation.

3.3.6 Limitations

1. Since this research is a case study, the generalisation and replication of its findings are restricted to some extent. Also, compared with multiple-case designs, single-case design is usually criticised for its uniqueness (Yin 2009a).
2. Since ICH concerns more categories than the four units I chose, and the change of ICH is not just subject to tourism, my research results are contextualised.

3. This research does not specifically study the tourists, tourism businessmen and non-local people (those from outside Lijiang Municipality) who are practicing ICH in tourism-related scenarios. While these stakeholders are usually studied in the work of those concerned with heritage/ethnic tourism and coming from an anthropological background, my research is focused on the local inheritors (mainly the Naxi people), officials and experts who are critical players in the ICH discourse and practice.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter illustrated how the research objectives can be achieved with the methodology designed according the interpretative approach which can best realise the proposed inheritors-based emic perspective in the fieldwork. In general, this research is a mixed methods case study and I applied both qualitative (major method) and quantitative methods to obtain the data in the Lijiang case. I ascertained local ICH inheritors, government officials and experts as the study population and categorised them into two players (the community players and the governmental players) and I chose four specific types of ICH practice for analysis. In particular, I selected the ICH practices that can be differentiated between the less and more commodified situations so as to compare and contrast them.

In the next chapter, I will turn my attention to the implementation of the Chinese national AHD to see how the ICH system works in reality. While Chapters 1 and 2 introduced the ideas and the philosophy of the Chinese ICH AHD, Chapter 4 will complete the national ICH field by introducing the function of the authoritative agents with their management instruments.
Chapter 4: The Implementation of ICH Safeguarding in China

4.1 Introduction

This chapter delineates how the Chinese Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) is implemented across the national ICH administrative system by the governmental players and the institutes. There are two aims of this chapter: the first is to introduce how the Chinese national ICH policies and theories are implemented into practice at national, provincial and local levels by the governmental players, through the agencies of officials, experts and their affiliated institutes. The second is to reveal the characteristics of the Chinese ICH management system in practice.

While the previous chapters discussed the ideas and philosophies of ICH in China, this chapter is the place to see how the ICH AHD is practiced by these authorised agencies and these practices will then be compared and contrasted with the ICH practices by local ICH inheritors in Lijiang in Chapters 6 to 9.

This chapter is structured in three parts: the administrative system, the instruments and the ICH measures in Yunnan. The role of government administrative agencies, experts, especially the bureaucratic experts and their affiliated institutes, are introduced in the first part. In the second part, practical devices, such as the representative ICH list, representative inheritors and protection measures, are introduced as the instruments deployed by the governmental players for ICH management. The administration of ICH in Yunnan, as a reflection of the influence of the national system, is introduced in part three.

This chapter is generally narrated in two dimensions: the first is the chronological one in which the Chinese system is introduced from its former measures in the “ethnic traditional culture and folklore” tradition to the current standardised measures titled with ICH after the early 2000s. The second dimension is the spatial one in which I situate the management of Yunnan in the national structure.
4.2 ICH Administrative System in China

4.2.1 Authorities and Institutions

As stated in the Notification of the State Council on Strengthening the Protection of Cultural Heritage of China (the State Notification, 2005\textsuperscript{59}), one of the general objectives of Chinese cultural heritage enterprises, including tangible and intangible ones, was to establish a complete cultural heritage protection system by 2015. The roles of government and its agencies in ICH safeguarding have been strengthened in all national documents. Specifically, in the 2005 State Notification, governments at all levels and affiliated administrative agencies are required to work with cultural heritage as a way to be responsible to the nation and its history, and as a duty to enhance national cultural security. In the 2005 Opinions of the General Office of the State Council on Strengthening the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China (the Opinions\textsuperscript{60}), “government-led” has been stipulated as the first requirement of the Working Principles. In the works of bureaucratic scholar Wang Wenzhang, the national government is seen as the most important protection subject, and “from the perspective of property rights, the state is the subject of the ownership of human ICH and it has the rights to own, use, benefit and dispose ICH” (2008a, p. 271). Other Chinese scholars agree that one of the Chinese ICH safeguarding characteristics is that it is a government-led enterprise in which all other powers participate and cooperate with the government (Gao 2012; Han 2011b; Kang 2011). Therefore, it is argued that the government acts as the “constitutor of the regulation”, the “convenor of the resources” and the “operator of the protection measures” (Kang 2011, pp. 24-7) effectively producing a top-down national ICH campaign (Han 2011b).

As I argued in Chapter 2, the Chinese ICH AHD is theoretically derived from the existing protection works of traditional and ethnic culture, which is then realigned

\textsuperscript{59} See the original text on [http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2006/content_185117.htm](http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2006/content_185117.htm), retrieved on 6 Dec., 2016.

\textsuperscript{60} See the original text on [http://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2005-08/15/content_21681.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2005-08/15/content_21681.htm), retrieved on 6 Dec., 2016.
with the UNESCO ICH discourse and influenced by the stereotypical tangible cultural heritage mindset in China. These factors are obviously seen in the administrative system in the official practice. As clearly listed in the *Scheme of the Implementation of the Project of Safeguarding Chinese Ethnic Culture and Folklore* \(^{61}\) issued by the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Finance in 2004, government acknowledged these achievements as the basis to continue on the current ICH safeguarding. These include the continuous investigation of ethnic and folk culture since the 1950s, practical protective measures of the inheritors and heritage places, systematic cultural institutions established at the local level, supportive professional experts and scholars, progression of law making and the international models such as UNESCO’s ICH work. Therefore, the Chinese ICH system, including its institutions, experienced a shift from the former traditional, ethnic and folk culture to the standardised ICH discourse in the 2000s. This shift not only realigns diverse discourses into standardised and scientific ICH AHD, but also allows the AHD, executed by the governmental players, to naturalise pre-existing systems, including the administrative structures, regulations and institutions. Therefore, I argue that the establishment of a standardised, realigned and naturalised official ICH discourse at the national level in China marks the establishment of the ICH AHD in China. Furthermore, this AHD is established as a response to UNESCO ICH discourse and the existing domestic discourses on the protection of traditional, ethnic and folk culture. This issue will be further discussed in the Yunnan case in this chapter.

Scholars in China (Kang 2011) usually regard 2001, the year when Chinese Kunqu Opera was inscribed on the UNESCO’s ICH representative list, as the starting point of China’s ICH movement. Before that year, most of the ICH safeguarding works were undertaken by scholars, non-governmental associations, universities and bureaucratic experts in the name of traditional, ethnic or folk culture. The most influential program among these is the Chinese Folk Cultural Heritage Rescue Project initiated by the bureaucratic scholar Feng Jicai.\(^{62}\)

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\(^{62}\) Feng Jicai is a writer, artist and social activist in China. He is chairman of the Chinese Folk Literature and Art Society and vice-chairman of the government sponsored China Federation of
Chairman of the civil association Chinese Folk Literature and Art Society in 2001. As early as 2003, the folk culture heritage protection campaign was transformed from an academia-led into a government-led era (Kang 2011). This time can be seen as a crucial point in the establishment of the AHD at the national level. The Chinese National Centre for Safeguarding Ethnic Culture and Folklore was launched in the Chinese National Academy of Arts by the Ministry of Culture in 2003 to initiate the Project of Safeguarding Chinese Ethnic Culture and Folklore. With China’s ratification of the ICHC in 2004 and the government’s powerful intervention into ICH safeguarding in 2005 with the influential document, the 2005 Opinions, the establishment of the administrative system and institutions was accelerated.

A decade later after the 2005 Opinions was issued, China had established a well-structured working system based on its former cultural management system to implement its AHD into practice. This government-led administrative system is sustained by three parts: the leading agency is the Joint Meeting of the Inter-ministerial Working Conference System; the managerial agency is the Ministry of Culture and its subordinate cultural administrative agencies at local levels and the executing agency is the ICH Protection Centre (Han 2011b, pp. 164-5). These institutions are introduced below.

In 2005, the State Council issued a notice on the establishment of the Joint Meeting of the Inter-ministerial Working Conference System, the top decision making organ, which operationalises the government-led mechanism in the administration. This system is led by the Ministry of Culture and includes delegates from the National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Education, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Construction, the National Tourism Administration, the State...
Administration for Religious Affairs and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (the SACH). The duties of this system are described as to.\(^{63}\)

1) Draft the principles and policies of Chinese ICH safeguarding and review ICH safeguarding plan; 2) coordinate major events in ICH safeguarding; 3) verify the national ICH representative list and report to the State Council and; 4) undertake other issues related to ICH.

Led by the joint system, routine ICH administrative affairs were coordinated by the Department of Social Culture and Libraries, the Ministry of Culture from 2005 until 2009 when the Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage was launched as a specific agency in the Ministry of Culture to administrate national ICH issues. This agency, as the highest administrative agency, symbolises that a “professional leading institution” of ICH safeguarding has been established and also that the Chinese ICH enterprise has been promoted to a “higher cultural strategic level” (Kang 2011, p. 8). One of the duties of the Ministry of Culture is to “draft ICH safeguarding plan, related laws and regulations, organise and implement ICH safeguarding work and, transmit and popularise splendid ethnic culture.”\(^{64}\) Within its eleven Departments, the Department of ICH directly administrates ICH in China and its duties are to:

1) Draft ICH safeguarding policies and related laws and regulations; 2) draft protection plan for the national ICH representative elements; 3) initiate ICH safeguarding work and implement the application and review of the national ICH representative elements; 4) organise and implement the transmission and popularisation of splendid ethnic culture; and 5) compile the *Qing History*.\(^{65}\)

Activated by the change of the structure within the administrative system of the Ministry of Culture, related institutions in this organisation were also reshaped accordingly, either in the name or in the structure.

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\(^{63}\) The detailed system is on [http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2005/content_63227.htm](http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2005/content_63227.htm), retrieved on 6 Dec., 2016.


The Chinese National Centre for Safeguarding Ethnic Culture and Folklore, which was launched in the Chinese National Academy of Arts in 2003, was renamed as the China ICH Protection Centre in 2006. This is an agency described by the Vice-Minister of Culture, Zhou Heping, as a “national professional working institute of ICH protection” which “symbolises the establishment of the formal national research and protection institute in China” (Wang 2008a, p. 178).

Its duties concern:

1) policy consultation; 2) national ICH census; 3) direction of the implementation of ICH safeguarding; 4) theoretical research on ICH safeguarding; 5) academic and public activities of ICH and 6) professional tenant training. And it also undertakes the application and assessment of Chinese candidates for the UNESCO’s ICH representative list. (Wang 2008a, p. 164)

Following the administrative structure of the Ministry of Culture and its affiliated ICH Protection Centre, 21 out of 34 Provinces (including equivalent Municipality, Autonomous Region, Hong Kong and Macau Special Administrative Regions) in China established their own Division or Section of ICH within the Provincial Department of Culture as of 2016. Meanwhile, 31 Provinces have launched a provincial ICH Protection Centre. Affiliated to the Department of Culture, ICH Protection Centres undertake most of the practical ICH safeguarding works. For example, the duties of the Yunnan ICH Protection Centre are described as:

1) Organise and implement the rescue, protection and transmission of national and provincial ICH representative elements and representative inheritors; 2) collect, compile and store the text, photos audios and videos of the provincial ICH representative elements and representative inheritors and digitalise them; 3) arrange ICH exhibition and 4) undertake works of artistic archives, audio and video files in Yunnan.

The ICH Protection Centre is usually affiliated to the Cultural Centres/Cultural Stations that have been established in China since the early 1950s at provincial,
municipal and county/community levels. A Cultural Centre is a public institution set up to organise and guide public cultural activities according to the governmental cultural policy. After the existing Chinese ethnic culture and folklore protection enterprise was realigned by the ICH discourse, ICH related works become an important component of the duty of Cultural Centres. Furthermore, many ICH Centres in China were established in Cultural Centres where the same staff engage with both the previous public cultural works and current ICH works. It is also reported\(^69\) that there are more than six provinces in China that have launched independent ICH Protection Centres while the remainder still undertake ICH works within the Cultural Centre. Recently, local ICH Centres also emerged in some lower administrative regions, such as county and district where the local government pays attention to the safeguarding of ICH. For example, in Yunnan, it is reported that there were nine individually established ICH Protection Centres at county/district level as of 2016.\(^70\) Among these, ICH Protection Centres were established at municipal and district levels in Lijiang. These local ICH Centres are usually placed in the existing Cultural Centre/Station where extra staffing and funds are allocated by the corresponding level of government.

It should be noted here that although the ICH discourse in China is largely influenced by the tangible cultural heritage discourse, these two kinds of heritage are usually administrated by two parallel systems that sometimes overlap with each other. Under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (the SACH) is the agency to manage tangible cultural heritage in China. Following this structure, there are either Bureaus of Cultural Heritage/Cultural Relics or Divisions of Cultural Heritage/Cultural Relics established under the jurisdiction of the Department of Culture at the
Chinese provincial level to administrate the tangible cultural heritage issues. It is interesting to notice that though the term cultural heritage is adopted sometimes, such as by the SACH, all such agencies for tangible heritage in China still follow the definition of cultural relics in which the objective authenticity-based AHD dominates, as argued in Chapter 1 and 2. This mindset is also seen in the description of the duties of the SACH\(^\text{71}\) where there is no mention of ICH issues.

### 4.2.2 The Committee of Experts and the Academic Institutes

As reflected in the transition of Chinese ICH national movement from traditional and folk culture to ICH, the government gradually took the leadership from academia around 2005. However, as an influential player, academia, along with its professional institutes, are crucial agencies affiliated to the government. The professional discourse, characterised by the logical positivism (Smith 2004, 2006), is described as a feature of the AHD. This is seen in the practice of Chinese experts, especially the bureaucratic scholars, who actually promote and implement the AHD in practice.

The role of experts is pointed out in the 2005 state *Opinions* which states that it is necessary to “extensively include academic institutes, universities, public institution and social organisation in ICH safeguarding”, and, to “thoroughly exert the experts so as to establish the expert consulting mechanism and supervision and inspection institution” (Article 4). In 2006, the Ministry of Culture issued the *Notification of the Establishment of the National Committee of Experts for the Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguarding*\(^\text{72}\) in which a list of national Committee of Experts and its regulations are detailed. The nation-wide implementation for such committee of experts was later stipulated in the LICH in 2011.

According to the illustration of the LICH, “in order to guarantee that the government’s decision (on the ICH list) bears social trustworthiness and that the

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need of ICH safeguarding is met, it is necessary to thoroughly exert the role of experts in the review process of the listing” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 60), so that the “scientific recognition based on the review criteria” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 61) can be undertaken. In this thesis, I call the experts/scholars “bureaucratic experts/scholars” who are directly involved in the governmental ICH administrative system, especially in the Committee of Experts. I note that the government tries to regulate and naturalise national ICH elements into its AHD with the synergy of professional power/knowledge from the bureaucratic experts. This close relationship is also termed as the symbiotic government-scholar network as argued by Western scholars (Maags & Holbig 2016).

At the national level, the Committee of Experts is established as a consulting institute of ICH safeguarding governed by the Office of the Joint Meeting of the Inter-ministerial Working Conference System and its duties are detailed as:73

1) Plan the ICH safeguarding program
2) Plan and implement the ICH census
3) Review the listing of national ICH
4) Recognise the inheritors of national ICH
5) Protect and manage the national ICH list
6) Draft the standards and criteria for ICH safeguarding
7) Other issues

According to the illustration (Xin & Huang 2011) of Article 22 of the LICH, the Committee of Experts operates in two forms within the provincial, municipal and local governments. Based on different expertise in relation to ICH, the designated experts are grouped into different Review Teams of Experts who will assess, authenticate or recognise a specific element of ICH. The result is then deliberated and verified by the Review Committee of Experts which includes not only experts but also the officials from the cultural bureau who govern the Review Team and the Committee of Experts. Compared with the national committee, the committee below the national level acts as the final external judge to assess the quality or

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73 Ibid
value of an element of ICH and decide whether or not it should be considered for further protection. For instance, the authority of the committee is stipulated in Article 9 in the 2013 Yunnan ICH Protection Ordinance which stipulates that “the cultural administrative agencies at county and above level should organise the Review Committee of Experts to review the elements for listing at this or higher ICH level” and all candidate elements for listing “must be reviewed by the committee” (Department of Culture of Yunnan Province 2013, p. 37).

The synergy between officials and experts in ICH recognition can be noted both from the government’s policy and the constitution of the committee. It is stipulated in Article 13 in the Interim Procedures for the National Intangible Cultural Heritage Nomination and Assessment 74 that “the review committee is composed of related officials from national cultural administrative bureaus and experts in related fields” and this committee is directed by “an according official in the national cultural administrative bureau”. Therefore, on the list of the National Committee of Experts announced in 2006, Feng Jicai, Vice-Chairman of China Federation of Literary and Art Circles,75 Chairman of the Chinese Folk Literature and Art Society and councillor to the State Council, is the Director, and Wang Wenzhang, the Vice Minister of Culture, is the Vice-Director. Also, as stated in the regulations of the national committee, one of the qualifications of the experts is a high professional position. Among 68 committee members, 32 are researchers from a national research institute (especially the Chinese Academy of Arts and National Museum), 24 are professors from universities in China and the remaining 12 are from bureaucratic organisations such as the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles.

Under this regime, a similar composition of the Committee of Experts is seen at provincial, municipal and county levels. In Yunnan for example, under the


75 The China Federation of Literary and Art Circles (CFLAC) is not a non-governmental organisation because of its strong political and economic relationship with the Chinese Communist Party since its birth in 1949 when the Party controlled the arts in China by incorporating all nine national organisations of arts into the CFLAC under its cultural guidelines (Dreyer 2006). Nearly all chairmen of the Federation occupied the position of Director of the Ministry of Culture. In China, the federation operates similarly as a government agency which is deeply influenced by the Soviet Union model.
leadership of the Department of Culture, the provincial Committee of Experts acts as an institute providing intellectual support and decision consultation. According to my observation, among its 44 members, 17 are present or past officials in the system of the Department of Culture. Specifically, Xiong Zhengyi, the Deputy Director-General of the Department of Culture, Yunnan, is the Director of the Committee, Cai Yonghui, the Division Head of the Division of ICH at the Department of Culture, Yunnan, is the Vice-Director of the Committee, Yin Jiayu, Director of the Yunnan ICH Protection Centre, is also the Vice-Director of the Committee. Among the remaining members, 13 are researchers from provincial research institutes, nine are professors from universities in Yunnan and the remaining five are from bureaucratic organisations such as the Yunnan Provincial Cultural Centre.76

These committees then, acting at different levels within the government system, are fundamental players in the implementation of the national AHD in practice, so I argue that the committee is the most important agency within the governmental players. The authority of the committee is established synergistically by the officials with their administrative power and the experts with their professional knowledge. With its administrative power to structure and operate the committee, the government selects the qualified experts and reviews the decision of the committee so as to maintain the AHD in practice. This is seen, for example, in the Regulations of the Yunnan Provincial Committee of the Experts77 which states that the experts should abide by the laws and regulations of ICH, should be qualified with sub-senior professional titles (equivalent to associate professor and above) or a divisional administrative position (equivalent to division head within the department of the government and above). When the committee is formed, its authority in authentication and recognition of ICH is verified by the administrative power. This is seen in Article 5 in the Regulations of the Yunnan Provincial Committee of the Experts which states that “in order to maintain the authority of the committee of experts, the recognised or refuted elements voted by the committee should be respected”. Therefore, the recognition of the ICH

77 Ibid
elements for listing is totally decided by the committee while no community players are involved. I would argue, at this point, that the agency of ICH inheritors and the community members is marginalised in the implementation of the AHD at the beginning, while that of the officials and experts is enhanced through their practices with the AHD.

With the exception of the bureaucratic expert/scholars who serve the committee, there are other experts/scholars who are not directly involved in the ICH management system but who influence the development of ICH safeguarding enterprise in China at their academic institutes.

As introduced earlier on in this chapter, academics formerly initiated the protection of traditional and folk culture before 2001. After the concept of ICH was imported in China during the early 2000s, many academic institutes were established with ICH in their names. As documented in Kang’s (2011) report, for instance, ICH Research Centres were established in China Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing and in Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou in 2002. As of 2010, 14 universities in China had established ICH research centres. In addition, many forums and seminars were held after 2003, such as the Chinese ICH-Folk Paper Cutting International Workshop held in Beijing in 2004 and the Chinese ICH Protection-Suzhou Forum held in Suzhou in 2004. As argued in this thesis, Chinese ICH research is largely built on the existing research field which can also be seen in the newly established academic institutes. The ICH Centre in the China Central Academy of Fine Arts is based on its former folk fine arts centre and is now focused on the studies of folk fine arts. The ICH Centre in Sun Yat-sen University developed from its existing traditional opera discipline and changed its name into Traditional Opera and Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre in 2003 and later the Chinese ICH Research Centre (designated by the Ministry of Education) in 2004.

Though academic institutes play a crucial role in the ICH enterprise in China, either in the form of a Committee of Experts or in the form of academic research, they are subject to the Chinese governmental system, so their ability to critique, or resist the national AHD in practice is restricted. During my fieldwork in China,
director KBC\textsuperscript{78} in an ICH institute affiliated to a university complained to me that academia’s influence in the national ICH discourse is limited. This is because, firstly, national ICH discourse is dominated by the regime of the Ministry of Culture and its affiliated institutes, such as the National ICH Protection Centre in Beijing, while universities are administrated by another system, the Ministry of Education. These two systems are parallel to each other. Secondly, even within the same system, conflicts of interest exist between the Federation of Literary and Art Circles, ICH Protection Centre and the Ministry of Culture, etc. These divergences among governmental players and non-governmental players will be further discussed in the Lijiang case.

To conclude this part, the ICH administrative system in China can be captured in the following Figure 4.1. In this diagram, ICH is administrated vertically by the cultural bureaus from national to county level in a top-down manner. Horizontally, the cultural bureau administers the ICH centre which, under the governance of the cultural bureau, convenes the Committee of Experts for the official recognition. It is clear that the committee acts as the external judge who assesses the value of the inheritors’ ICH and authenticates/recognises these forms of cultural heritage. In the following, I will introduce how the committee authenticates and inscribes ICH on the list. No matter whether directly or indirectly, Chinese academics, especially the bureaucratic academics, are accommodated into the national AHD as a crucial agency.

In addition, it should be noted here that Figure 4.1 illustrates how the Chinese ICH AHD is implemented in the administrative system in a broad picture. The understandings of the governmental players within this AHD could be complicated in reality and this situation can only be deeply investigated through personal interview with the governmental players in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

\textsuperscript{78} When interviewees want to be anonymous, I will use aliases to distinguish them.
ICH Administrative System in China

**National Level**
- Department of ICH (at the Ministry of Culture)
- Joint Meeting of the Inter-ministerial Working Conference

**Provincial Level**
- Division of ICH (at the Department of Culture)
- Provincial ICH Protection Centre
- Provincial Committee of Experts

**Municipal Level**
- Office of ICH (at the Bureau of Culture)
- Municipal ICH Protection Centre
- Municipal Committee of Experts

**County Level**
- Office of ICH (at the Bureau of Culture)
- County ICH Protection Centre (or the Cultural Centres/Stations if the ICH Centre is not established)
- County Committee of Experts

**Legend**
- Direction
- Administration

**Figure 4.1 ICH Administrative System in China**
4.3 ICH Instruments in China

4.3.1 The Representative List of ICH

In Article 11 of the ICHC, the State Party is required to “identify and define the various elements of the ICH” and to draw up the inventory to ensure the identification of these elements. In Article 16, it is suggested to establish the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity upon the proposal of the State Party. In China, in the 2005 Opinions, the establishment of a listing system with Chinese characteristics is emphasised. Based on this directive, the national representative list was announced in 2006 (518 elements), 2008 (510 elements), 2011 (191 elements) and 2014 (298 elements). The LICH stipulates the process and administration of the listing system.

Listing is not uncommon for the identification of heritage and the people related to heritage and the most obvious case in ICH is the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity initiated by UNESCO in 2001. But before that, for example in China, the government nominated more than 200 Arts and Crafts Masters from 1979 to 2012. The illustration of the LICH (Xin & Huang 2011) explained the reasons to create the ICH list as follows: 1) China has to select, privilege and protect some qualified ICH, given the fact that China has huge numbers of ICH elements but limited administrative and economic resources for protection. 2) Drawing an ICH list is the requirement of the ICHC, and it is beneficial for increasing the recognition of Chinese ICH in the world, promoting international cultural exchange and maintaining the world cultural diversity and sustainability. The purposes of listing the elements at a national level are detailed in the Interim Procedures for the National Intangible Cultural Heritage Nomination and Assessment (2005):

1) To promote the rescue, protection and transmission of ICH;

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79 The data after the year 2014 was not available as of Jan, 2017.
80 See [http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2005/content_63227.htm](http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2005/content_63227.htm), retrieved on 7 Dec., 2016.
2) to enhance Chinese cultural awareness and cultural identity, and to improve the understanding of the integrity and historical continuity of Chinese culture;

3) to respect and manifest the contributions of the community, groups and individuals concerned to the Chinese culture, and to show the richness of Chinese humanity’s tradition;

4) to encourage citizens, enterprise and public institutions, cultural, educational and academic institutes and other social organisations to take part in the ICH protection; and

5) to fulfil the ICHC, to increase the understanding of the world of Chinese ICH, to promote international cultural exchange and collaboration, and to contribute to human cultural diversity and sustainable development.

It is clearly seen here that the Chinese government would like to list the “qualified” ICH for its nationalist and international cultural agendas. While community, groups and individuals are mentioned, their ICH is not acknowledged for its own values, but for the value for Chinese national culture as a whole. Since one of the characteristics of the AHD is that it favours the static and intrinsic values for its national narrative, the alternative, emergent and ongoing values in the ICH practitioners’ perspective are not likely to be considered with equal importance.

In Chapter 7, I will reveal the differences between the officially recognised values and the values subjectively articulated by the ICH practitioners themselves.

The authentication and recognition process of the elements for inscription and the duties of the Committee of Experts are stipulated in Chapter 3 of the LICH in which Article 18 stipulates two key criteria for the inscription of the ICH list. The first is that an element should manifest “the excellent Chinese traditional culture” and the second is that it is of “historical, literary, artistic or scientific value” (the so-called four values). All listed elements, whatever level they are listed to, should meet these two criteria. According to the first criterion, an element should “belong to the essence of excellent Chinese traditional culture”, it is “in line with the direction of the development of the times” and it is an “advanced culture” that is “beneficial for enhancing Chinese cultural identity”, rather than a “backward and out-dated cultural phenomenon” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 53). The second criterion means that the element should have positive effects for the “research,
creation and appreciation and so on” for the four values (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 53).

In the *Operational Directives of the ICHC (the Directives)* however, the criteria are stipulated in this way:\(^{81}\)

\[\text{R 1: The element constitutes ICH as defined in Article 2 of the Convention.}\]

\[\text{R 2: Inscription of the element will contribute to ensuring visibility and awareness of the significance of the ICH and to encouraging dialogue, thus reflecting cultural diversity worldwide and testifying to human creativity.}\]

\[\text{R 3: Safeguarding measures are elaborated that may protect and promote the element.}\]

\[\text{R 4: The element has been nominated following the widest possible participation of the community, group or, if applicable, individuals concerned and with their free, prior and informed consent.}\]

By comparison, I noted two issues. The first is that while the ICHC *Directives* do not elaborate any definitions of the value of the elements, Chinese LICH selects the candidate element by assessing the values and judging the ideology of these values. Intrinsically, the Chinese criteria are self-contradictory. On the one hand, the Chinese AHD wants to protect the excellent and precious cultures that are not “backward and out-dated”; on the other hand, the listing is set to protect the endangered or disappearing cultures. I argue here that the Chinese ICH recognition and listing process faces a challenging question: is the listing to protect the “strong” or “weak” culture? This intrinsic theoretical contradiction can be mediated in the standardised AHD at the national level, such as in the LICH, but its implementation, or practice of the AHD in the reality, will be a challenging work.

Secondly, while the *Directives* require the widest participation of the inheritors and community in the recognition process, Chinese LICH, as an administrative law, only focuses on the role of governments and their agencies, such as the Committee of Experts. Chinese ICH recognition follows a so-called “lower to

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higher and level by level” recognition process. Article 20 in the LICH stipulates that citizens, enterprises and other organisations could report directly to provincial or national governments if any elements are noticed by these non-governmental agencies. This article, according the illustration of the LICH (Xin & Huang 2011), grants people the suggestion rights which fulfils the requirement of public participation in the ICHC. However, all suggested elements have to be assessed and recognised in the same way as officially nominated ones with the same criteria. As explained in the illustration, public participation will only shorten the listing process and complement the limited governmental investigation results. Therefore, I argue that this article will not truly let the public recognise their ICH based on their inheritors-based emic perspective as I suggested. In fact, the governmental players still dominate the recognition process.

A key document resulting from the meeting of the Committee of Experts and for the inscription of current and higher level of the ICH list is the Application Form. As detailed in the illustration of the Yunnan ICH Ordinance (Department of Culture of Yunnan Province 2013), an Application Form for a certain element is comprised of six sections, namely Brief, Basic Information, Illustration, Assessment, Management and Protection Plan. Among these, the most important part is the Assessment where the committee assesses the element from three aspects. The first is the Major Characteristics which describe the general uniqueness. The second is the Major Values which describe the four values and the significances and meanings for the economy, culture and social development in the region. The third describes the Rarity and its Consequences. When these assessments are made, the committee, usually comprised of at least three experts, has to provide a short statement to justify the necessity and legitimacy of the nomination. It is usually in this process that an ICH element is re-narrated by the committee into the official narrative in line with the AHD.

Within UNESCO’s system, a nomination form is used for the State Parties to nominate their ICH elements for the Representative List of the ICH of Humanity. In this form, Criterion R 1, as stated in the Directives, is used as a guideline to

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complete the part of “Identification and definition of the element” in the form. While it is asked in this part to describe the social functions and cultural meanings of the nominated ICH element for the community concerned, there is no specific elaboration of any certain values or meanings of the nominee. By comparison, while the Chinese Application Form concerns the significances and meanings of the nominated ICH for the community and the nation, the elaboration of the four values is used as an important selection criterion to nominate the ICH elements in the Chinese ICH system.

4.3.2 The Protection Unit and the Representative Inheritors

The protection unit is used for both tangible and intangible heritage management systems in China but they have different meanings. The protection unit system was introduced in the immovable tangible heritage management system as early as 1956 as a way to designate a group of immovable heritage sites (Wang 2011b). Based on the significance of the historical, artistic and scientific values the heritage represents, these heritage places were assessed and designated as the protection units at four levels in China. In terms of ICH, the protection units refer to the units, or organisations that undertake the practical protection and transmission. Chinese scholar Han Xiaobing (2011b) argues that the difference between recognised protection units and the inheritor is only in terminology because the designated rights and duties are the same for both of them, which is seen not only in the LICH, but also other local ordinance of traditional culture and folklore protection.

Depending on the previous management situation, different elements are managed by either public institutes, such as the ICH protection centre or the cultural centre, enterprise or public association (Xu 2014). According to the Interim Procedures for National Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection and Management, when these protection units are nominated by the according governmental agencies, they are reviewed by the Committee of Experts. Once the protection unit is established, it becomes responsible for documentation, organising transmission, undertaking research and interpretation and it is supervised by the government.
Another important duty of the protection unit is to nominate the Representative Inheritor of the ICH that is on the list.

Internationally, the Living Human Treasures program is a good example of listing the representative practitioners of ICH. In 1950, for example, under the *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties*, the Japanese government began designating individuals or groups who practice ICH as Living National Treasures. Many other countries, including China, initiated similar programs to designate and honour the practitioners of certain kinds of ICH. UNESCO too proposed to its State Parties that they establish a national Living Human Treasures program through which the ICH holder can be identified and given official recognition, which is important for the transmission of their knowledge and skills (UNESCO 2004a). China adopted the Japanese Living National treasures program for its own system (Xin & Huang 2011). The Ministry of Culture firstly asked the protection units of ICH to nominate the representative inheritor of ICH in the *Interim Procedures for the National Intangible Cultural Heritage Nomination and Assessment* in 2006 and issued the *Interim Procedures for the Recognition and Management of the Representative Inheritor of the National Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2008. In the LICH, Chapter 4 details the transmission and dissemination of ICH where the regulations of inheritors are the focus.

Since the Chinese ICH system is a government-led one, government and its agencies are regarded as the leader, manager and the subject of the protection. On the other side, the role of inheritor is also emphasised in China. In bureaucratic scholar Wang’s book (2008a), inheritors are regarded as the subjects of transmission who depend on the efforts of government, officials and inheritors themselves. These requirements are worded in the LICH and related regulations.

In terms of the criteria for inscription on the representative inheritor list, most of the content between UNESCO’s Living Human Treasures and the Chinese LICH are the same. What is characteristic in China is that the cultural practice engaged with by the listed inheritor is regarded as an embodiment of authenticity and

integrity (Xin & Huang 2011). It is understandable from the conventional objective perspective that the selected representative inheritor best showcases the concepts of authenticity and integrity in the Chinese AHD. But this notion will inevitably be challenged when other inheritors, in the case of a cultural practice shared by a community, hold diverse and even conflicting understandings of the ICH values. Since the representative inheritor system “does not need to cover all aspects of intangible cultural heritage, nor all the communities nor the whole territory” (UNESCO 2004a, p. 5), Chinese LICH realises that “it is not necessary to recognise the inheritors for every ICH element” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 75) and past lists only covered several domains of ICH, such as folk literature, acrobatics, fine arts, handicraft and traditional medicine. The question of what the representative inheritor of one element means to other elements, or to other community members, however, still remains unresolved. Another issue that I would propose here is that, since the Chinese AHD, and their spokesperson, the Committee of Experts, only privilege the qualified, or the most “authentic” inheritors among a group, other un-recognised inheritors are able to practice their ICH according to their subjective authenticity with less intervention from the government, thus revealing a different picture that can challenge the AHD. The diversity of practices is a central issue this thesis studies in the Lijiang case in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

It is stipulated in Article 30 in the LICH and related regulations that governments support the listed inheritors to undertake transmission and dissemination in ways of providing place and funds, supporting them for participation in public activities and other events, and other measures, such as special entitlements and rewards. Accordingly, the ICH centre, cultural centre or stations at all levels can be used for free by the inheritors for their transmission. The second important measure is to provide funding for the listed inheritors. In Yunnan for example, the standards of annual funding for the representative inheritors are 10,000 RMB (around AU$2,000) for national, 5,000 RMB for provincial, 2,500-3,000 RMB for municipal and 500-1,000 RMB for county/district level. It is also suggested in the Yunnan ICH Ordinance that living allowances should be given to those representative inheritors who are experiencing difficulties in life. This funding
scheme is substantial for many inheritors who cannot sustain their livelihood by practicing their ICH.

4.3.3 Transmission, Dissemination and the Productive Protection

As stated in Article 2 of the ICHC, ICH concerns continuity of the cultural practice, and safeguarding means the measures in “identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement and transmission”. As I reviewed in Chapter 2, the Chinese AHD differentiates between protection and preservation because only the selected qualified elements will be protected in the way of transmission and dissemination while other unrecognised elements, though still seen as ICH, will only be preserved in static ways. In Chapter 4 of the LICH, which is dedicated to the transmission and dissemination of ICH, the first article stipulates that China only transmits and disseminates the ICH that is listed at either national or local levels as the representative elements (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 75). Under this precondition, the AHD acknowledges that transmission is the most crucial content of the safeguarding measures, as transmission represents the “living characteristics” of ICH and transmission is the “soul of the safeguarding works” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 75).

As articulated in the protection principles of the national ICH policy, in addition to authenticity and integrity, the third one is inheritability. According to the illustration of the LICH, inheritability means that “ICH itself is transmitted from one generation to the next within a certain area or certain community, so ‘living transmission’ is an important quality of ICH” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 16). This illustration then explains that inheritability is implemented by listing the representative elements and recognising the representative inheritors so as to ensure the transmission and dissemination of these selected qualified elements. As noted in previous sections, when the listed elements and the related inheritors are regarded as an embodiment of authenticity and integrity, I would say that transmission can be understood as a way to maintain the officially recognised authenticity and integrity which then secure the officially recognised values. This argument will be developed further in Chapter 9.
Transmission is defined in Article 7 in the 2005 *Interim Procedures for the National ICH Nomination and Assessment* as the training of “future inheritors of ICH through social and school education, so that ICH can be inherited and promoted as a living cultural tradition by related community, especially by the young people”. These transmission methods can be categorised as family transmission, master and apprentice transmission, school transmission and other social activities (Kang 2012a).

Kang thinks that the family transmission is a major form of transmission for those forms of ICH that are career-oriented and less intervened in by the government. The master and apprentice transmission develops from a previously secret practice into an open form that is supported by the government (2012a, pp. 38-40). As reviewed in Kang’s book, Chinese scholars discussed the pros and cons of the transmission in the institute beyond its traditional family transmission. Kang concludes that those ICH elements that are taught in the school system are better safeguarded than those transmitted in the family, such as the Peking Opera. On the other side, scholars pointed out that the traditional ICH transmission cannot be replaced by the modernised institutionalised education system because the diverse styles, subtle personal experiences and diverse teaching and learning processes will be harmed by the streamlined mass educational system (Wu 2007).

I would argue that transmission concerns the cultivation of the ICH practitioners through the inheritance of ICH while the dissemination, as used in the Chinese ICH discourse, concerns the cultivation of the audiences, or the consumers of ICH. As argued before, the Chinese government uses cultural heritage for its political, economic and international agendas, so it is necessary to maintain the production of ICH on the one hand, and to activate the general public to engage with the making and consumption of ICH on the other. Therefore, dissemination of the officially recognised ICH through school education, media, cultural industry and other public activities becomes a crucial measure for the government to educate the public, especially the young people, so that the aims to promote Chinese nationality solidarity, cultural identity and economic development can be met. For example, ICH education in school is regarded as important to patriotism in the 2005 *Opinions*. 
Dissemination, according to the illustration of the LICH, includes media publicity, school education and the use of ICH. The use of ICH, which is the focus of this thesis, is detailed in Article 37 of the LICH. As quoted in Chapter 1, the LICH encourages the use of ICH for cultural industry and tourism. The illustration explains that protection and rational use of ICH are not in opposition to each other, and that, conversely, using ICH in a rational way can benefit both the protection of ICH and the steady development of the economy (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 105).

In fact, the balance between protection and use of the traditional and folk culture has long been a consideration in previous regulations. For example, Article 31 in the Protection Ordinance on Yunnan Ethnic Traditional Culture and Folklore in 2000 stipulated that “government at county and above levels should take effective measures to exploit the ethnic and folk traditional cultural program systematically, with the consideration of the local situation.” In the later revised ordinance which is realigned with the concept and terms of ICH, this article is reworded as “(government) should encourage and support the rational development and use of ICH resources”, because the rational use of ICH is “an important measure to transmit and develop ICH” (Department of Culture of Yunnan Province 2013, p. 56). Under these statements it is the concept of productive protection which the Chinese AHD develops as a protection theory with Chinese characteristics.

Productive protection, as either a concept or theory, appeared in the illustration of the LICH and scholarly works. As documented in Kang’s (2012b) book, this concept was initially proposed by bureaucratic scholar Wang Wenzhang in his books as one of the five protection measures which said that “provided that its natural evolving change which is based on its inner rules is not disturbed, and its future development direction is not influenced, it is necessary to find the balanced combination of productive protection and tourism development” (2006c, p. 31; 2008a, p. 23; 2013a, p. 23). Discussion of this method flourished in 2009 when the Forum on the Productive Protection of ICH was held by the Ministry of Culture. In 2010, the Ministry of Culture issued a notice for the establishment of an ICH exemplary productive protection base, and Article 37 in the LICH is also

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illustrated as a requirement of productive protection. According to the illustration of Article 37, productive protection means (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 106):

In the process of production, circulation and trade, ICH and its resources are converted into productive elements and products, therefore the economic benefits are yielded, related industries are developed, ICH is positively protected in the production practice, and the interactive relationship between ICH protection and economic society is sustained in a coordinated manner.

The purposes of productive protection are detailed in the illustration (Xin & Huang 2011) as being on the one hand for national economy development, and on the other hand for the transmission of ICH. However, in order to achieve this balance, two basic requirements have to be met: effective protection and rational use. As reiterated in the AHD, the key principle bolstering these requirements is keeping authenticity and integrity. Authenticity and integrity are also articulated together as one of the six criteria of the nomination of the National ICH Exemplary Productive Protection Base. It can be noted from the illustration of the LICH that in the productive protection process ICH is regarded as a cultural resource, which is expected to be converted and reproduced into economic and new cultural benefits. However, the agency and ability of the inheritors are not seen in this AHD. Therefore, this productive protection is ultimately the best manifestation of the dilemma which is central to the research questions in this thesis. In the conclusion of Kang’s book, he noticed the gap between theory and practice of the productive protection of ICH in China. To be specific, “productive protection requires on the one hand, that authenticity should be kept in ICH; on the other hand, ICH should be accepted by present people as a consumable product. So (productive protection) is a paradox in reality” (2012a, p. 325). This statement then links us back to the research questions that this thesis began with.

4.4 ICH Safeguarding in Yunnan Province

The administrative system of ICH in Yunnan province, where the Lijiang case is located, is part of the national system. As the most ethnically diverse province in China with a rich ethnic traditional culture and folklore owned by the Han

Chinese (accounting 66.43% as of 2015⁸⁶) and 25 other ethnic minorities, Yunnan is generally regarded as one of the first provinces in China to carry out the ICH protection work and is the first province in China to protect ICH with a legal system.⁸⁷ It therefore needs to be noted here that the ICH administrative system in Yunnan experienced two stages: the first was a pro-bottom-up process in which Yunnan governmental players established their own system, embodied in the *Protection Ordinance on Yunnan Ethnic Traditional Culture and Folklore* (the *Yunnan Ordinance*) in 2000, from the academic achievement undertaken in the local communities in Yunnan. Then the second was a top-down process in which this *Yunnan Ordinance* was realigned by the national LICH into the current *Protection Ordinance on Yunnan Intangible Cultural Heritage* (the *Yunnan ICH Ordinance*) in 2013. During these changes, the national ICH discourse gradually assimilated previous local regulations and, inevitably, divergences emerged. As I argued in previous sections in this chapter, the AHD is established during the assimilation of the existing discourses.

Official work on ICH, previously in the name of ethnic and folk culture, began in Yunnan during the 1950s to the 1960s when the local government (including the Department of Culture and the Ethnic Affairs Commission), academic institutes and the Federation of Literary and Art Circles embarked on investigation, documentation and publication (Wang 2005). At this stage, the policy on ethnic traditional culture was bound up with that of ethnic minorities both of which served the aim of enhancing ethnic equality and ethnic unity, improving local economy and developing social undertakings (Ying & Wang 2009). One specific project involving work on ethnic traditional culture during that time was the ethnic identification project from 1949 to 1979 which officially recognised 25 ethnic minorities (Shaoshu Minzu) in Yunnan. The ethnic minorities were identified according to the “extent of sociocultural distance from the Han Chinese” (Oakes 1997, p. 46), so that the result of the identification was not to help protect all of their cultures but to uplift the ethnic minorities and “bring them out of their

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state of relative backwardness and into the progressive socialist fold” (Sofield & Li 1998, p. 372). Nevertheless, the protection work, including investigation, documentation, translation and publication of the intangible heritage and the designation and preservation of the tangible heritage of the ethnic minorities was carried out by the government from 1949 until 1957 (Ying & Wang 2009). Specifically during the early 1960s in Lijiang, Dongba scriptures were investigated, translated and compiled, fieldwork and documentation of Baishaxiyue music were undertaken and folklores were also investigated and documented by professionals (Yang 2012a). Though these preservationist works resemble the pre-1949 folklore studies in China in which the inheritors and their transmission was not the focus, the results are valuable historical documents. Unfortunately, as described in Chapter 2, all traditional Chinese culture, including the ethnic traditional culture, was suppressed during the Cultural Revolution. The ethnic minorities were often “targeted during the political campaigns carried out in post-revolution China, including collectivisation and the Cultural Revolution” (Sofield & Li 1998, p. 372).

After the Cultural Revolution, during the 1980s, Yunnan joined the national campaign of the Ten Anthologies of Chinese Traditional and Ethnic Literature and Arts in which most domains of current ICH elements were investigated, documented and compiled. A prominent initiative in the 1990s in Yunnan is the recognition and listing of the inheritors (in the name of the Folk Artists) in the field of ethnic and folk music, dance, arts, and handicraft. This program, initiated by bureaucratic experts in Yunnan, funded by the Ford Foundation and the US-China Arts Exchange Centre at Columbia University and supported by the Department of Culture from 1997 to 1998 (Zhao 2014), was the first in China to investigate and recognise the inheritors in local community (Wang 2005). Based on this program, more than 10,000 folk artists were investigated and 461 of them were formally designated as folk artists at the provincial level. This program focused unprecedentedly on the grass roots folk inheritors and promoted an

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88 From 1953 to 1956, handicrafts businesses were transferred to collective ownership which were then transferred to state ownership.
academic research program into a social campaign which later drew attention from the provincial officials to the legal status of the inheritors in the draft of the *Yunnan Ordinance* in 2000 (Zhao 2014). In 1998, Zhu Kaixuan, the director of the National Committee of Education, Science, Culture, Health and Sports, visited Yunnan and suggested to the Standing Committee of the Provincial People’s Congress that Yunnan should take the initiative to enact local laws for ethnic and folk cultural protection which could later be set as an example for other provinces and the country as a whole (Li 2000). Afterwards, officials from the Department of Culture, the Committee of Ethnic Affairs and the Tourism Bureau in Yunnan quickly embarked on the drafting of the *Yunnan Ordinance* (Xiong 2010). Based on the Yunnan experiences, seven provinces in China issued their protection regulations on either the ethnic traditional culture and folklore (Guizhou, Fujian and Guangxi) or ICH (Ningxia, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Xinjiang) from 2002 to 2008 (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 210).

In 2003, when the national Project of Safeguarding Chinese Ethnic Culture and Folklore was initiated, Yunnan was selected as the first pilot site. The government, as a result, established the leading team with relevant officials at provincial, municipal and county levels, as well as the committee of experts. Also, this program was written into the blueprint of the provincial cultural development by the Department of Culture who then launched protection measures throughout the province. Afterwards, another round of the investigation of the ethnic traditional culture and folklore was carried out from 2003 to 2005 with 14,834 villages surveyed and 69,187 people interviewed, which is larger than the investigation done in the 1990s (Huang 2008, p. 3).

From then on, with the aim to standardise and scientise (Huang 2009a) the ICH work in Yunnan, the Yunnan government began adjusting its previous *Yunnan Ordinance* and established a system that was more in line with new situations, such as the national ICH campaign and the provincial socio-economic blueprint. Government agencies, such as the Department of Culture and the People’s Congress Standing Committee of Yunnan, realised that on the one hand, the previous *Yunnan Ordinance* needed to be amended to fit with the new situation, new issues and the experience of Yunnan in the last decade, and on the other hand,
since the birth of the LICH in 2011, Yunnan needed to adjust its ordinance to the upper-level law, the LICH.\footnote{See http://www.whyn.gov.cn/doc/public/view.php?cata=art&id=504, retrieved on 7 Dec., 2016.}

The Yunnan government has attached increasing importance to the ICH protection in its future work plan which stated that “protection and inheritance of ethnic cultural heritage should be regarded as important to building Yunnan into a strong ethnic cultural province” (Huang 2009a, p. 7). Indeed, the importance of having ethnic and traditional culture protection has been emphasised by the Yunnan Provincial Government since the late 1990s. The Provincial Party Committee proposed the goal of building Yunnan into a “strong province with ethnic cultural characteristics” in 1996.\footnote{See news report Chronicle of Big Cultural Events in Yunnan on http://culture.people.com.cn/GB/22219/16250674.html, retrieved on 7 Dec., 2016.} The provincial government realized the importance of ethnic culture, including tangible and intangible cultural heritage, in the enterprise of building Yunnan into a “strong province of green economy, ethnic culture and bridgehead connecting Southeast Asia and South Asia”, as worded in the Planning Outline of the Construction of the Strong Ethnic Cultural Province of Yunnan.\footnote{See http://testcnci.cnci.gov.cn/2004/7/29/law-0102010000-15.shtml, retrieved on 7 Dec., 2016.} The Yunnan Ordinance was issued in 2000 as a result. Currently, in the 12th Five-year Plan (2011-2015) Outline of Yunnan (7): Advancing the Construction of the Strong Province of Ethnic Culture,\footnote{See http://yn.xinhuanet.com/gov/2011-07/18/c_13991788_4.htm, retrieved on 7 Dec., 2016.} promotion of ethnic culture and enhancement of cultural soft power are upheld as the theme under which ethnic culture, ICH and tangible heritage are required to be protected and used for cultural industry and tourism if possible.

Scholars in Yunnan (Pu & Shen 2012) conclude that there are three steps which make Yunnan well ahead of other provinces in ICH safeguarding so far: Yunnan is the earliest in China to investigate and nominate the ICH inheritors, to do the ICH survey and to issue an ICH focused ordinance, all of which provide useful experiences for the national ICH enterprise. In addition, it is also noted that the local government collaborated with international and domestic organisations, such
as the folk inheritors investigation in 1997, so that both advanced theories and ample funding were available for Yunnan to undertake these forward-looking works (He 2009). This follows the same trend in China that academic and governmental players collaborated synergistically to promote the ICH campaign forward.

When amended into the *Yunnan ICH Ordinance* in 2013 from the previous *Yunnan Ordinance*, this new local law is regarded as important to promote the standardisation and legislation of the ICH protection in Yunnan, as well as to enhance the scientification and institutionalisation of the protection work in the future.\(^94\) By comparison of these two versions of the ordinance, some issues are noticed which will allow the discussion of the Lijiang cases in later chapters.

The most prominent feature of the 2000 *Yunnan Ordinance* is the consideration given to the folk inheritors who were long neglected without recognition in China (Zhao 2014). Rather than the national Arts and Crafts Masters program which emphasised artistic and aesthetic values, the *Yunnan Ordinance* defined the “ethnic and folk inheritors” in three aspects, one of which was the “representative persons who are acknowledged by the community as knowledgeable of connotation, form and procedures of ethnic and traditional culture and folklore.”\(^95\)

In Article 16 of the *Ordinance*, the inheritors are allowed to nominate themselves or to be recommended by others, though these nominations have to be reviewed by the cultural bureau and ethnic affairs bureau at county level and verified by the government at municipal level. These procedures actually grant more power to the individual and community to decide who can best represent the inheritor group. This positive experience remained in Article 18 of the 2013 *Yunnan ICH Ordinance* which stipulates that “citizens are allowed to nominate themselves as the representative inheritor of an ICH element”. However, it is also explained in the illustration of Article 16 of the *Yunnan ICH Ordinance* that the local government and their cultural agencies are the subject of recognising the representative inheritors (Department of Culture of Yunnan Province 2013).

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Therefore, while the benefits of the Yunnan experience in self-recognition are kept in its regulations, in order to be in line with the LICH, the agencies and power of the community and cultural practitioners in Yunnan have to be transferred to the governmental players.

Another issue is that, though the terms of authenticity and integrity are not seen in the 2000 *Yunnan Ordinance*, the problem of keeping authenticity and allowing change was lurking, and this problem was exacerbated when it was emended in line with the LICH in 2013. It is stipulated in Article 10 of the 2000 *Yunnan Ordinance* that “when engaging with the investigation and studies of the ethnic traditional culture and folklore, attention should be paid to the protection and rescue of the original status of these cultures, and these work should be accurate and scientific.”\(^96\) Also, the dualistic value judgement, as seen explicitly in the LICH, is also noticed in the *Yunnan Ordinance* whose aim is to “inherit and promote excellent ethnic traditional culture” (Article 1). As for the subjects for protection, most of them are “safe” traditional cultures such as minority languages, arts, literature, festivals and related tangible heritage. The folklores, which could be sensitive, are implicitly rejected from this system as it is stipulated that only the folklore that is “civilised, healthy or one of the academic values”\(^97\) should be protected.

When the *Yunnan Ordinance* was transferred into the *Yunnan ICH Ordinance*, the terms of authenticity and integrity were highlighted with the result that it is forbidden to “use ICH in anyways that may distort or belittle the form and connotation of ICH” (Article 4). In the illustration of the *Yunnan ICH Ordinance*, both authenticity and integrity are explained in the same way as they are in the LICH. It is interesting, however, to notice that while the ordinance wants to preserve the “original or authentic ICH”, change is encouraged simultaneously in practice. According to the government reports (Cai & Yang 2009; Huang 2009a) on the achievements of the enforcement of the 2000 *Yunnan Ordinance*, the adaptation, recreation and commodification of the ICH elements, in the forms of performance and handicrafts, for cultural products and tourism programs, are

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\(^96\) See footnote 90.
\(^97\) Ibid
praised and encouraged by the provincial government as best examples which achieved great social and economic benefits. Some cases are praised in these reports, such as commodified ICH: the famous commercial music and dance performance *Dynamic Yunnan*, handicraft business of the black pottery in Shangri-La, Yunnan Nationalities Village theme park and non-commodified ICH: adapted ethnic folk dance in Shangri-La for everyday exercise and adapted performance in the biannual provincial folk music and dance contest. These changing ICH practices, while acknowledged by government, are cases where the divergences between theory and practice are seen. This issue is pointed out by the local scholars in Yunnan. For example, bureaucratic scholar Fan Daogui (2008) argued that the biggest paradox encountered in ICH protection lies in the authentic protection in theory and the implementation in practice, because ICH is a living heritage that is changing with social and personal reasons. This key issue is further discussed later with cases in Lijiang.

Comparing the 2000 *Yunnan Ordinance* and the 2013 *Yunnan ICH Ordinance*, two changes, which are central to the establishment of the AHD, are noticed. The first is that the agency of the ICH inheritors to actively participate in the recognition process, as encouraged in the 2000 *Yunnan Ordinance*, are restricted by the governmental players who implement the national AHD, as seen in the 2013 *Yunnan ICH Ordinance*. The second is that the key concepts of authenticity and integrity, which are central to the national AHD, are accommodated in the current Yunnan system so that the discrepancies between theory and practice of the national AHD in local areas in Yunnan are intensified. In the last decade, the 2000 *Yunnan Ordinance*, which was established largely on its community-based characteristics, has been gradually converted into the 2013 *Yunnan ICH Ordinance*, resulting in the Yunnan local ICH discourse being gradually assimilated into the national ICH AHD. This process, however, is a two-way interaction. On the one hand, the national AHD would like to standardise and naturalise the pre-existing diverse ICH discourses into a national AHD for its national agenda; on the other hand, the Yunnan government would like to standardise and scientise (Huang 2009a) the Yunnan ICH discourse so as to
benefit from the national preferential policies and fund local cultural, social and economic agendas.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter revealed how the Chinese ICH AHD is implemented in the government-dominated administrative system by a series of practical measures. Following the political, economic and international agendas in the official discourse of its ethnic traditional culture and tangible heritage, China accommodated UNESCO ICH discourse and assimilated existing domestic ICH-related discourses, such as the *Yunnan Ordinance* issued in 2000, so as to regulate, scientise and standardise the existing discourses into the current national ICH AHD. In order to practice this discourse, government mobilised its administrative and professional agencies to collaborate in a symbiotic government-scholar network (Maags & Holbig 2016) within which the Department of Culture and its branches, the ICH Protection Centre and the Committee of Experts, are the major governmental players. Specifically, I argue that the Committee of Experts acts as the ultimate external judge during the official recognition process of ICH in which way the government and the professionals together bolster the Chinese national ICH AHD.

I argue in this thesis that, the national ICH AHD was gradually established during the accommodation of UNESCO ICH discourse and the assimilation of diverse domestic ICH-related discourses. Therefore, the national AHD evolves as a response to both international factors and the diverse domestic discourses. However, while the national AHD needs to assimilate the local discourses, the local discourses also need to be naturalised into the AHD, which can be seen in the case of Yunnan. This is a two-way interaction. Yunnan is an accommodated field of regional ICH administration as a result of a compromise between the top-down national and the pro-bottom-up local ICH discourses. It is clear that the current ICH discourse in Yunnan is, on one hand, built on the innovative *Yunnan Ordinance* for ethnic traditional culture and folklore, and on the other hand, assimilated by the national AHD that imposes strong national agendas. Key issues
are noted in this national-regional dynamics, namely the process of recognising ICH elements and related inheritors, who makes value judgements and the problems of authenticity, which will be discussed with cases in Lijiang. The next chapter will describe the ICH administration and cultural tourism in Lijiang as the background for the specific cases.
Chapter 5: ICH and Tourism in Lijiang

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the administration of tangible and intangible heritage and tourism development in Lijiang, Yunnan, China, as the background to the cases in the following chapters. This chapter connects the previous chapter of the national ICH administration and the next chapter delineating specific cases in Lijiang. There are two sections in this chapter.

The first section outlines how the administration of ICH in Lijiang, as a sub-system of the national system, functions. I situate this within the broad cultural heritage system in Lijiang which also contains the tangible cultural heritage system, especially the World Heritage management system. The second section explains how tourism has developed alongside the increasing protection and use of tangible and intangible heritage in the form of cultural industry in Lijiang. My focus is on the ongoing synergy between heritage protection and the tourism industry, both of which are an important force for the social development of Lijiang since the Open Policy reform in 1978. My attention is therefore focused on understanding the agendas of the government to protect and use heritage as a resource.

5.2 Administration of the World Heritage and ICH in Lijiang

5.2.1 Background of the Naxi People and Lijiang Old Town

Lijiang Municipality, including Gucheng District, Yulong Naxi Autonomous County, Yongsheng County, Huaping County and Ninglang Yi Autonomous County, is located in the northwest of China’s southwest Yunnan Province (see

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98 Gucheng means old city. Gucheng district is the political, economic and cultural centre of Lijiang municipality and it is the location of the World Heritage Old Town of Lijiang.
This administrative region borders Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in the north, Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture in the west, Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture in the south and Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture and Panzhihua City, Sichuan in the east (He 2008b, p. 2). This is a place with diverse ethnic minorities and the dominant population are the Yi and Naxi people. According to the 6th National Census in 2010, all ethnic minorities (such as Yi, Naxi, Lisu, Bai, Pumi and Tibetan, etc.) constituted 56.79% of the total population in Lijiang Municipality (1,244,769) and the Naxi ethnic minority, numbering 240,580, constituted 19.33% of the total population as the second biggest group after the Yi ethnic minority.\footnote{See \url{http://www.tjcn.org/rkpcgb/rkpcgb/201112/22683.html}, retrieved on 19 Jun., 2017.} Along with urbanisation and social development, this census also reveals that the urban population, which accounted for 27.8% of the total population, increased by 11.45% compared with the number in 2000. Beyond Lijiang municipality, Naxi people also live in neighbouring regions, such as Sichuan Province, Tibet, and Shangri-La County in the north of Lijiang.

The Naxi people were formed during the fusion of the migration of two groups of people (Li 2007): one is called “Maoniu Yi” (literally means yak Yi people) who initially lived a nomadic life in the area of the Yellow and Huangshui Rivers in
the northwest of China in the pre-Qin period (before 221 B.C.), and the other is called “Sou Ren” (literally means old man) who lived in the current area of Lijiang. The Maoniu Yi migrated towards the south during the social changes of the pre-Qin period and mixed with the Sou Ren in present Lijiang area. Nowadays, the different cultures are seen in different Naxi groups in terms of geography. For example, the majority of those people living in the west of the Yangtze River are named “Naxi” while the people living in the east bank are generally called “Nari” who are officially called “Mosuo”. Also, some Naxi people prefer to be called “Ruanke” or “Bangxi” in the north of Lijiang or neighbouring areas. In the ethnic identification project undertaken in 1954, most of these groups in Yunnan were officially named as Naxi.

Traces of human presence, such as human skulls and stone tools dating back to 50,000 to 100,000 years ago are found in the area known as Lijiang today and one of these fossils is named “Lijiang Man” (Li 2007, p. 15). However, local Lijiang people didn’t change their nomadic lives until around 1,100 A.D. to 1,200 A.D. when the Lijiang area became an important place for regional agriculture and trade. Li Jie (2007) argued in his book that there are two factors behind the fact that Lijiang developed into a political, cultural and economic centre in the northwest of Yunnan. The first is the development of agriculture which adjusts previous culture and cultivates advanced culture in Lijiang, and the second is because of the strategic location of Lijiang which made it into an important entrepot along the route from Han areas in Yunnan to Tibet. The trade of silk, salt and other handicrafts between China (Yunnan, Sichuan and Tibet, etc.) and neighbouring countries (Myanmar, India and Vietnam, etc.) developed during the formation of the Southwest Silk Road in the Western Han Dynasty (202 B.C.-9 A.D.) (Song 1996). Based on this development, the Tea-horse Route was formed between Yunnan and Tibet for the trade of tea produced in Pu’er in the south of Yunnan and horses bred in Tibet in the Tang Dynasty (618 A.D.-907 A.D.) (Chen 2004). Beyond the transportation of daily necessities and trade which made Lijiang into a crucial strategic location and business centre, the forming of the Tea-horse Route also meant the fusion in the Lijiang area between the agricultural culture in Yunnan and the nomadic culture in Tibet. Indeed, this fusion is both an
economic and a cultural phenomenon which can be seen in tangible aspects, such as architecture and handicrafts and in intangible aspects, especially the idea of doing business, living habits and religion (such as Tibetan Buddhism and Bonism) (Li 2007). As Li argues, these “hybrid advantages” finally enabled “a new Naxi culture to evolve during the Ming (1368 A.D.-1644 A.D.) and Qing (1636 A.D.-1912 A.D.) Dynasties” as part of the process which gradually “integrated different groups of people into a unified state” (Li 2007, p. 20).

As argued in Li’s (2007) book, in addition to exchanges among the neighbouring ethnic minorities, the relationship between the Han culture in central China and the Naxi is another major factor behind the development of the Naxi culture. The Naxi community was generally regarded as a weaker power compared with its northern neighbour Tibet (the Tibetan) and its southern neighbour Dali (the Bai) during the Tang (618 A.D.-907 A.D.) and Song (960 A.D.-1279 A.D.) Dynasties. The local Naxi governor at that time had to rely on the superior power, usually the central government, to enhance its governance of Lijiang. Therefore, the Lijiang governor surrendered to Kublai Khan\(^ {100} \) in 1253 at which time Lijiang was subsumed into the territory of the Yuan Dynasty (1271 A.D.-1368 A.D.). Meanwhile, the central government used the power of local Naxi leaders to counterbalance the aggressive power of Tibet. This political conspiracy was intensified during the Ming Dynasty (1368 A.D.-1644 A.D.) when the local Mu governor was heavily supported by the central government to restrict Tibet. The result from these political exchanges is the cultural exchange between the traditional Naxi culture and the Han culture, especially Confucianism. Li (2007) classified the social cultural transformation into two stages in Lijiang. The first happened during the Yuan and Ming period, especially the Ming Dynasty when the Han culture was introduced in a top-down manner, and the second was in the Qing Dynasty when the Han culture/Confucianism dominated the Naxi culture in Lijiang with the result that the “real traditional Naxi culture retreated to the remote areas” (2007, p. 73). The Qing Dynasty is also the time when a large number of Han people, especially businessmen, immigrated into Lijiang (Li 2007).

\(^ {100} \)Kublai Khan, 1215 A.D.-1294 A.D., Mongolian, ounder of Yuan Dynasty (1271 A.D.-1368 A.D.) in China.
Along with the economic, cultural and political development of the Naxi society, Dayan Town, also known as the Old Town of Lijiang in the Gucheng District, emerged in the Yuan and Ming period and thrived during the Qing Dynasty (Li 2007, p. 85). The Old Town of Lijiang, or the Dayan Old Town, is usually said\textsuperscript{101} to be built in the late Song and the early Yuan Dynasty (almost 800 years ago). Dayan Town initially evolved as a regional political centre (Li 2007) which was established by the local ruler as a governance centre in the late Song Dynasty. After 1276 A.D. when it was designated as the administrative centre by the Yuan central government, Dayan Town has been the political centre of Lijiang ever since (Zong 2006b). Given its strategic location, the distribution of the ethnic people and the economic development of the Naxi society (Li 2007), especially the trade business along the Tea-horse Route, Dayan Town has enjoyed almost constant economic prosperity including the period of the second World War when the international transportation line passed Lijiang (Zong 2006b).

Dayan Town covers 3.8 square kilometres and is now populated by 25,000 people.\textsuperscript{102} The layout of Dayan Town is well adapted to the local geography, including the location, landform, direction, orientation, climate, water system and so on (Zong 2006b), so it is regarded as following the traditional principle of conforming to nature. The town, located in the centre of the basin, is embraced by mountains which make it look like a big ink stone. This metaphor can be seen from the good match of the town and the water, which is esteemed as the soul of the town. The Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, the highest point of Lijiang located 20 kilometres to the north of Dayan, and the Black Dragon Pond, a spring beside the Dayan, provide Lijiang with the water resources to support daily life as well as townscape beautification. Compared with other traditional ancient cities in China, such as Pingyao,\textsuperscript{103} Lijiang is special not only because of these characteristics but also for other reasons. The first of these, according to the local

\textsuperscript{102} See \url{http://www.ljgc.gov.cn/ljgc/772.htm}, retrieved on 8 Dec., 2016.
\textsuperscript{103} The Ancient City of Pingyao, founded in the 14th century in central Shanxi Province, China, was inscribed on UNESCO’s World Heritage List in 1997 because of its representation of the Chinese Han people’s cities in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. See \url{http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/812}, 8 Dec., 2016.
government,\textsuperscript{104} is its rich fusion of the ethnic elements of Naxi, Han, Bai, Yi and Tibetan in the town planning, streetscape and individual architecture which resulted in its listing as one of China’s National Famous Historic and Cultural Cities\textsuperscript{105} in 1986. The second is that Dayan does not conform to the rigorous Chinese traditional city planning regulations but was built with no city walls and no regular street layout. The combination of a well-proportionated townscape and ethnic hybrid architectural style is rarely seen in current China and this it is regarded as the achievement of the Naxi people with their understanding of the relationship between humans and nature (see Photo 5.1). Thirdly, the intangible cultural heritage of Naxi and other ethnic peoples, as manifested in the arts, literature and handicraft in the town, adds to its uniqueness.

\textbf{Photo 5.1 The Streetscape of Dayan Town in Lijiang} (the author, 2014)

In addition to Dayan Town, the Baisha and Shuhe clusters are components of the Old Town of Lijiang World Heritage Property. The Baisha buildings cluster is

\textsuperscript{105} According to the \textit{Chinese Law of Protection of Cultural Relics}, a Famous Historic Cultural City means a city which preserves rich cultural heritage (cultural relics) and has significant historic, cultural and revolutionary values. There are 125 such cities as of 2014. See \url{http://www.china.com.cn/zhuanti2005/whmc/node_7004001.htm} retrieved on 8 Dec., 2016.
located 8 kilometres in the north of Dayan. It is the place where the power of the local Mu family emerged and they built Baisha into a political, economic and cultural centre during the Song and Yuan period (10\(^{th}\)—14\(^{th}\) century) before moving their Mu governance into Dayan in the early Ming Dynasty (He 2011). The Shuhe building cluster is situated 4 kilometres in the northwest of Dayan and it used to be a busy trading centre along the Tea-horse Route. Shuhe is larger than Baisha and smaller than Dayan, however, its layout is more like Dayan than Baisha.

5.2.2 The Administration of the World Heritage of Lijiang

This section provides the background of the administration of the tangible heritage, especially the World Heritage of the Old Town of Lijiang, largely based on the internal manual (He 2011) and the official website produced by the World Heritage Old Town of Lijiang Protection and Management Bureau (the LPMB).

Though formal management of the tangible heritage, mainly the Old Town of Lijiang, was undertaken by local administrative agencies, it is the village rules and religious belief system followed by the residents that maintained the infrastructure and environment of the area before 1912. Naxi people believe in the Dongba religion in which the “Shu” god, who governs nature, is a half-blooded brother of a human. Naxi people then, regard humans and nature as having the same origin with the consequence that there is a strong belief that humans should respect nature, and the living environment, as well. The regulations didn’t necessarily concern the cultural aspect of the infrastructure until 1949 when the local county government made a decision to “use the Old Town, and develop a new town” (He 2011, p. 106). Afterwards, the protection regulations on tangible heritage were dominated by the department of planning and construction, such as the first Overall Planning of Lijiang in which the principle of “preserve the Old Town, and develop the New Town” was formally confirmed in 1958 (He 2011, p. 106). From 1982, the local government initiated the application for the National Famous Historic and Cultural City which was granted in 1986. This year is
crucial for Lijiang’s future in that the then Yunnan governor, He Zhiqiang, who was a Naxi, realised the heritage value of Lijiang and issued a document to urge the Lijiang government to protect the Old Town. Therefore, the Conservation Planning of the Famous Historic Cultural City Lijiang was drafted in 1987, and the Interim Procedures for the Protection of the Lijiang Naxi Autonomous County Ancient City was enacted in 1988. In the Tourism Planning of the Northwest of Yunnan Conference held in 1994, Governor He Zhiqiang made the instruction that the government should “accelerate the progress of applying Lijiang Old Town and the Three Parallel Rivers for World Heritage inscription.” Consequently, the nomination was prepared in 1995. In this dossier, the government indicated its holistic protection of Lijiang which included the architectures, roads, water, bridge and other intangible heritages, such as the “history and culture with Naxi characteristics, human landscape and Naxi customs and habits” (He 2011, p. 108). However, a devastating 7.0 magnitude earthquake shook Lijiang on 3 February, 1996 in which 20% of the houses in the Old Town and nearby areas were destroyed and 309 people died. That was a difficult time for Lijiang, but with the effort from the Chinese government, local people and UNESCO, the reconstruction works were undertaken very rapidly and finally Lijiang was nominated as a World Cultural Heritage Property on 3 December, 1997 at the 21st meeting of the World Heritage Committee in Italy.

Lijiang was inscribed on the basis of cultural criteria (ii), (iv) and (v) with which UNESCO describes Lijiang as:

The Old Town of Lijiang, which is perfectly adapted to the uneven topography of this key commercial and strategic site, has retained a historic townscape of high quality and authenticity. Its architecture is noteworthy for the blending of elements from several cultures that have come together over

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106 He Zhiqiang was born in Shuhe Village, Lijiang in 1934 and died in 2007. He was a geological engineer and worked in Yunnan provincial government from 1983 to 1998.  
107 The Three Parallel Rivers of Yunnan Protected Areas was inscribed as World Natural Heritage in 2003.  
109 To be included on the World Heritage List, sites must be of the Outstanding Universal Value and meet at least one of the ten selection criteria which can be found on http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/, retrieved on 8 Dec., 2016.  
many centuries. Lijiang also possesses an ancient water-supply system of great complexity and ingenuity that still functions effectively today.

It is clear here that the Old Town of Lijiang was recognised for its townscape, architecture and special land and water usage while the intangible values, along with other ICH inherited by the community beyond the Old Town of Lijiang, are not equally recognised. This explains why the administrative system of Dayan is subject to the construction and cultural relics departments while the intangible matters are dealt with by another lineage, the Department of Culture, as illustrated in Chapter 4.

Before 2002 the Dayan was administrated by segmented governmental agencies. For instance, the Construction Bureau was established in 1995 for the infrastructure while the Lijiang Cultural Bureau was responsible for the protected tangible heritage. In 1998, Gucheng (Old Town) Management Station was set to administrate the environment, and the Old Town Protection Management Committee was launched in 2000 to coordinate the managerial issues within the Old Town. The administration of Dayan was unified by the establishment of the World Heritage Old Town of Lijiang Protection and Management Committee at the municipal level in 2002. This was later re-organised as the LPMB in 2005, which is now the direct administrator of the Old Town of Lijiang.

The main duties of the LPMB concern:  

1) Management of the Old Town of Lijiang with the enforcement of the UNESCO’s Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), Protection Ordinance on the Old Town of Lijiang of Yunnan Province (2006) and Administrative Measures on the World Cultural Heritage issued by the Ministry of Culture in 2006.

2) Communication with domestic (such as the SACH) and international (such as UNESCO) cultural heritage managerial agencies.

3) Undertaking academic studies and projects on the tangible and intangible heritage (such as the traditional culture)

4) Administration of tourism, business, investment and other infrastructural issues with the granted administrative powers within the Old Town of Lijiang.

In order to carry out these duties, 11 offices were established within the LPMB and some of them execute important functions for heritage issues:

1) The Section of Cultural Protection and Management. It is in charge of research on the tangible and intangible cultural heritage in the Old Town of Lijiang.

2) The Heritage Monitoring Centre. It undertakes protective monitoring of the Old town and produces studies on the technology, policy and planning in the heritage management. In addition, it collaborates closely with the Yunnan Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau in Kunming, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage in Beijing and the World Heritage Centre in Paris.

3) The Lijiang (Naxi) Culture Research Association. It undertakes studies on the ethnic traditional cultures in Lijiang and provides reports for the ethnic cultural industry development. It also promotes the ethnic cultural exchange program and the marketing of Lijiang and Naxi culture.

4) The Section of Protection and Construction. It is in charge of the drafting and implementation of the Conservation Planning of the World Cultural Heritage Old Town of Lijiang.\footnote{This draft was approved in 2014 in principle by the SACH. However, emendations were required as for the value and its evaluation, the buffer zone and the measures for mitigating the over-commercialisation. See the comments on \url{http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2014/7/2/art_1325_92623.html}, retrieved on 8 Dec., 2016.}

5) Consulting Service Centre for the Traditional Architectural Protection of World Cultural Heritage Lijiang Old Town. It provides consultancy and practical services on architectural protection.

It can be seen from the above administration structure that the LPMB mainly undertakes management of the tangible heritage protection whose aim is to ensure the “authenticity and integrity of the Outstanding Universal Value” (He 2011, p. 112). This is the result of both the tangible heritage administration tradition in Lijiang and China generally and the influence of UNESCO on China and the domestic heritage agency, the SACH. For example, in the World Heritage Committee Decisions (32 COM 7B.67),\footnote{See \url{http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/1674}, retrieved on 8 Dec., 2016.} the Chinese government was requested to “strengthen the capacity of the LPMB to implement and coordinate more effectively these planning infinitives” in 2008. Quickly, the Heritage Monitoring Centre was established in the same year to liaise with the World Heritage Centre and implement and strengthen the monitoring and protection requested by the World Heritage Committee (He 2011, p. 113).
However, the ICH located in the Old Town of Lijiang (Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha) is on the LPMB’s agenda. On request of the World Heritage Committee Decisions (32 COM 7B.67) in 2008, Lijiang was required in 2008 to prepare a draft Statement of Outstanding Universal Value which should include the “relationship and social significance between the tangible heritage and intangible heritage values.” Because of this, the LPMB carried out the Research on Outstanding Universal Value of World Cultural Heritage Old Town of Lijiang (He 2011) in which it is recognised that “tangible and intangible cultural heritage are two important components of the Outstanding Universal Value of the Lijiang Old Town” (He 2011, p. 41). In the Retrospective Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, in terms of the criterion (v), it is stated that “being an important and traditional home habitation of Naxi, the Old Town of Lijiang is a syntactic city culture landscape that combines folk buildings, religious culture, traditional customs and residents life”; in terms of authenticity and integrity, “architectures and actual life style of residents in the Old Town have truly witnessed change and development of history, culture and society of Naxi and other ethnic” (He 2011, p. 158).

Restricted to its aim and duties, the LPMB doesn’t fully administrate the ICH in Lijiang. As introduced in Chapter 4, all ICH issues in China are directly administrated by the Department of Culture system, which is different from the SACH system.

5.2.3 The Administration of ICH in Lijiang

This section describes the administration of ICH in Lijiang municipality beyond the agency of the LPMB in the Old Town. As a subsystem of the national ICH administration, ICH is administrated within the Lijiang Cultural Bureau. Restriction on staffing, however, means that there is no independent ICH office at the Lijiang municipal level. Instead, ICH, and tangible heritage are administrated by the Section of Cultural Heritage. Under the direction of this Section, the Lijiang Municipal ICH Protection Centre (the Lijiang ICH Centre) was

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115 Before 2015, this section was named Section of Cultural Relics Management.
established in 2009 with major staff coming from the existing Lijiang Municipal Cultural Centre (the Lijiang Cultural Centre). In 2012, the ICH Protection Centre at county level was established in the Gucheng District and Yulong County while the ICH administration in other regions in Lijiang (Yongsheng, Huaping and Ninglang) is still managed by the staff in the county Cultural Bureau and its affiliated county Cultural Centre. Compared with other regions in China, the ICH administration in Gucheng and Yulong counties, Lijiang is complete in that they have established the four-level ICH administrative agencies, namely national, provincial, municipal and county with an independent institution (the ICH Centre), designated staff and allocated funds. This is also the reason why Lijiang is regarded a good case for study, because the ICH administrative system in Lijiang exemplifies the characteristics of the ICH system in China.

The Lijiang ICH Protection Centre functions as the end of the national ICH administrative system so it implements the ICH discourse at the local level. For example, the duties of the Lijiang ICH Protection Centre are to:

Implement the national, provincial laws and regulations on ICH, plan the ICH protection in Lijiang, organise the investigation, application, assessment and listing of ICH elements, carry out studies and projects of ICH at municipal level, keep the documents of ICH and disseminate ICH to the public.

Also, restricted by tenuous staffing, administrative resources and funds, the ICH Centres in Lijiang at municipal and county levels largely rely on the staff and resources of the Cultural Centre which was established in the 1960s. The ICH Centre is therefore administered by the same leadership of the Cultural Centre. For example, among four designated staff members working in the Lijiang ICH Protection Centre, two staff members are permanent workers in the Lijiang Cultural Centre and the other two were newly recruited in recent years. From the introduction of the staff and my interviews with them, I noticed that three of them are specialists in “arts and ethnic culture studies”, which is similar to the majority of the staff in the Lijiang Cultural Centre, and the other one is a sociology major graduate. A staff member in the Lijiang ICH Centre (interviewee LXY, 2014) told

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116 Publicised post of the Lijiang ICH Protection Centre.
me that in the Cultural Centres in counties, such as Huaping County, Lijiang, where the ICH Centre is not established, staff lack knowledge of ICH so they are unable to write a correct ICH document. These situations are common in China. Firstly, China lacks professional ICH staff, especially at local level, and secondly, the ICH work is largely built on the existing ethnic culture or folklore work. These situations suggest that the governmental agencies at the local level which implement the national AHD are immature and weak.

Therefore, it is understandable to see that in China, the ICH safeguarding work is linked to the ethnic traditional and folk culture protection work. In Lijiang, government protection of ICH dates back to the late 1990s when the US-funded folk artist program was initiated across Yunnan. The ICH Centre at local county level has done most of the investigation for the government. According to the statistics\(^{117}\) of the Lijiang ICH Centre, from 1998 to 2010, 1,547 investigators were sent out to interview as many as 4,014 people in 788 villages, on which the current ICH inventory and list can be established. Lijiang owns rich ICH elements. According to the latest investigation\(^{118}\) as of February, 2015, there were 772 ICH elements listed at the national, provincial, municipal and county levels in Lijiang. According to the latest survey released on the website of the Lijiang Cultural Centre,\(^{119}\) as of February 2015, there were four national listed elements\(^{120}\) (Naxi Dongba Painting, Naxi Remeicuo Dance, Naxi Baishaxiyue Music and Naxi heroic epic *The Black and White War*), 19 provincial listed elements (including Naxi Dongba Dance, the Shu God Worship Custom, Naxi traditional costume, Naxi Traditional Paper-making Craft, Naxi Copper-making Craft and Naxi Dongjing Music), 36 municipal listed elements (including Lijiang Baba Pastry, Naxi Traditional Silver-making Craft, Naxi Jidou Bean Jelly, Dongba Chanting and Naxi Heaven worship Rite), 221 county listed elements (including Naxi Ancient Music, Pottery Making Craft, Sheepskin Sewing and Naxi pictography), six provincial protected zones and eight municipal protected zones. In addition, there were two national listed inheritors (He Xun, Dongba Arts and He Zhenqiang,  

\(^{117}\) Unpublished official data.  
\(^{120}\) English name is translated literally by the author according to the official Chinese name.
traditional dance, all passed away), 45 provincial listed inheritors, 140 municipal listed inheritors and 328 county listed inheritors. The government regards the systematic investigation, documentation, recognition and listing of ICH at four levels as the symbol of the establishment of “planned, scientific and legal management.” In this way, the national ICH AHD has been implemented through its administrative agencies at the local level. But this doesn’t mean that the understandings of the governmental players are unified, and this will be further discussed in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Among these works, the protection of the inheritors is regarded as the “core of the ICH protection.” According to the information of Lijiang ICH Protection Centre, the administration of inheritors includes investigation, bottom-up recommendation and application, review by the Committee of Experts, verification by the cultural and ethnic affairs agencies, and approval and nomination by the government. This process follows the basic procedures of the recognition/authentication of both ICH element and inheritors at the national level. However, one difference we could expect is the different recognition result between local and higher levels, especially the national level. This is because the governmental players involved in these processes in Lijiang, including the officials and experts, are generally part of the community (mainly the Naxi) while their counterparts at higher levels, such as Kunming and Beijing, are not necessarily connected to the Naxi community.

In practice, the Lijiang government enacted *Interim Procedures of the Subsidy for the Lijiang Municipal Representative ICH Inheritors* to subsidise the listed ICH inheritors at Lijiang municipal level, so that these inheritors can receive as much as RMB 2,400 (approximate AUD$ 480) per person per year. According to this interim procedure, this subsidy can only be used by the inheritor for transmission, training, literature studies, interpretation and academic exchange, and the

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121 Drawn from the publicised poster of the Lijiang ICH Protection Centre and was recorded during the fieldwork in April, 2014.
122 Ibid
123 Ibid
124 Ibid
125 At the time of writing, the exchange rate between Chinese RMB and Australian Dollar was around 5:1.
inheritors are required to present their annual review of the transmission to secure the subsidy for the next year. It is also stipulated that those who “engage with business activities” or do not transmit ICH because of physical or other reasons cannot be funded. Therefore, the government only subsidises the practices that are engaged with by the inheritors for the values that are recognised by the above mentioned processes.

The legal ICH protection in Lijiang is noticeable. As boasted in the news report, Lijiang is the first county in China to enact local legal regulations to manage its World Heritage. Early regulations are titled to protect the ethnic traditional culture and folklore, such as the Protection Ordinance on Dongba Culture in Lijiang Naxi Autonomous region of Yunnan Province in 2001, which was later revised as the Protection Ordinance on Naxi Dongba Culture of Yunnan Province in 2006, Protection and Management Measures on the Naxi Folk Music in Lijiang Gucheng District in 2004 and the Protection Ordinance on the Old Town of Lijiang of Yunnan Province in 2006. It can be seen that some forms of ICH in Lijiang, such as Dongba culture and Naxi folk music, are protected simultaneously by legal instruments at international, national, provincial and local levels.

While leaving the specific explanation of these regulations to a later section of this chapter, some issues are pointed out here. The first is that tangible cultural heritage within the Old Town of Lijiang area (i.e. Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha) is administrated by the LPMB according to the Protection Ordinance on the Old Town of Lijiang, while the intangible heritage in Lijiang is generally administrated by the cultural bureaus at according levels. The second issue is that there are tensions, noticed in national and provincial regulations, between safeguarding and economic uses of ICH which also appear in these local regulations. For example, in the Protection Ordinance on Naxi Dongba Culture in 2006, Dongba culture is protected and promoted on the one hand; on the other, Dongba culture is encouraged to develop as part of the cultural industry. In the Protection and Management Measures on the Naxi Folk Music, it is also noticed

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that when the expressions of authenticity and “original form of Naxi folk music” are seen, the use and development of the music for cultural industry is also encouraged. In a word, the tension between authentic protection and commodification of ICH still exists in the local ICH discourse. These issues will be further discussed later in the case studies.

If we compare the LPMB and the Lijiang ICH Protection Centre, we also notice that their administration focuses on different aspects of the cultural heritage in Lijiang. In general, the LPMB, as a local government agency facilitated by the SACH, the Lijiang government and UNESCO, manages the tangible heritage of the Old Town of Lijiang which is central to the Outstanding Universal Value. The Lijiang ICH Centre, however, as a governmental agency at the lowest level directed by the Lijiang Cultural Bureau, manages the ICH of Lijiang municipality, based on its previous protection system of ethnic traditional culture and folklore. The segmentation of tangible and intangible is obvious in the administration of heritage in China, and the officials from both the LPMB and the Lijiang ICH Centre complained that it is not good to divide the protection of heritage into tangible and intangible (interviewees D and L, 2014). Though the LPMB and the Lijiang Culture Bureau are of the same administrative ranks in Lijiang, their professionalism is regarded differently. For example, officials in the LPMB complained that the ICH Centre is more bureaucratic and less professional. One possible reason is that the LPMB is working with the World Heritage Centre and their work is legitimated somehow by the international heritage standard. However, as staff (interviewee L, 2013) in the ICH Centre said, they do not have much knowledge about the international ICH safeguarding work and have no connection with the international organisations, such as UNESCO. The Chinese Cultural Minister Cai Wu (2011a) thought that the previous protection on ethnic, folk and traditional culture was internationalised a decade ago by placing these organisations into the ICH protection system. Whether or not this strategy was successful still needs to be examined, however, in order to understand to what extent the internationalisation of Chinese ICH management proceeds through the national system in a top-down manner.
5.3 Development of Cultural Tourism in Lijiang

5.3.1 Cultural Tourism in Yunnan Province

This section describes the development of cultural tourism in Lijiang which is largely based on its tangible and intangible heritage and introduces some cases that I focused on in the fieldwork. I begin with a review of studies of cultural tourism and tourism policies in Yunnan to set the background.

Cultural tourism is a term that is defined in various ways (McKercher & Cros 2002). In this thesis it is used to define those activities in which tourists engage with a place’s culture, usually the living traditional culture, as opposed to nature. While heritage tourism generally refers to the tourism of tangible heritage sites, and ethnic tourism generally refers to the tourism of exotic cultural experiences (Yang, Wall & Smith 2008), cultural tourism will cover most of the cultural attractions tourists search for, so that both tangible and intangible heritage can be included. In fact, as a province with some of the richest and most diverse cultural and natural resources in China, Yunnan boasts its tourism for the combination of culture and nature.

Tourism studies were initiated by sociological (see MacCannell 1973; MacCannell 1976) and anthropological (see Dennison et al. 1981; Graburn 1983; Smith 1978) scholars in the West. In terms of the relationship between tourism and cultural change in the destination, as Zong (2006b) has argued, early anthropological tourism studies simplified the impact of tourism on local communities as either a negative or a positive result in which the agency of the local people was neglected. This can be seen, for example, in Greenwood’s (1978) paper in which he criticised the negative effect of commodification on objective authenticity of local traditional festivals. Since the 1980s, on the one hand, scholars began measuring the attitudes of the community towards the impact of tourism using quantitative methods (see Lankford & Howard 1994). On the other hand, qualitative anthropological studies began examining cultural change from more comprehensive and holistic perspectives, many of which were seen in the
second edition of *Hosts and Guests* (Smith 1989). During this period of time, scholars also shifted their understandings of the cultural commodification to a constructivist view. A decade later, for example, Greenwood wrote in the epilogue of his previous paper that “some of what we see as destruction is construction (…)” (1989, p. 182). More interdisciplinary and integrated studies were seen in the late 1990s. As noted in *Hosts and Guests*, “tourism is not the major element of cultural change in most societies” (Smith 1989, p. X), therefore scholars tried to situate tourism studies within the broader social context (Wall 1996). In terms of methodology, Wall suggested “both etic and an emic, or external and internal” (1996, p. 213) perspectives were required to examine cultural change. This thesis therefore takes an emic or internal perspective to examine the cultural change in regard to ICH.

Tourism studies in China lagged behind the Western academia. As reviewed by Peng (2005), Chinese tourism studies emerged in the 1980s. In particular, Western anthropology of tourism was introduced into Chinese academia as late as in 1996 (Shen 1996). Studies on the relationship between tourism and cultural change in local communities were seen in the late 1990s when issues of ethnic culture and tourism in Yunnan and southwest of China were discussed. Noticeably, the International Conference on Anthropology, Tourism and Chinese Society was held in Kunming in 1999 which contributed to the birth of anthropological tourism studies in China (Peng 2005). It is partly because of this reason that cultural or ethnic tourism studies in Yunnan always draw international attention.

Yunnan and Guizhou provinces, as an area with rich and unique ethnic cultures in China, have drawn attention from both Western scholars and Chinese scholars trained in the West since the 1990s. Swain (1990, 1993; Walsh & Swain 2004) studied widely on ethnic tourism issues in Yunnan based on the cases of the Sani Yi people, Bai people, Dai people, Naxi and Mosuo people in Luge Lake since the early 1990s. Oakes initiated his research on ethnic tourism related issues in Guizhou in the 1990s (1997; 1998). Ethnic tourism in Xishuangbanna, a Dai populated area in the south of Yunnan, was investigated by Davis (1999), Cable (2006) and Yang (2007b; Yang, Wall & Smith 2008), who then extended her
research to other sites such as Lugu Lake (2012e) and the Yunnan Nationality Park in Kunming (2010b, 2011d). As a noticeable case to observe the change of local ethnic minority peoples’ cultural heritage within the matrix of international, national and local influences, issues generated from the dynamic relationship between tourism and heritage in Lijiang have attracted the attention of scholars from anthropology (Guang 2012; Zhu 2012b, 2013; Zong 2006b), geography (Su 2007; Su & Teo 2009), and architecture and planning (Kong 2008). These studies undertaken in Yunnan examined the issues of commodification, authenticity, ethnicity and modernisation in the interaction between UNESCO (in the case of Lijiang), Chinese government at both national and local levels, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and ethnic minorities with their political, cultural, and economic contemplation in the process of heritage making and consumption.

Traditional culture, especially the ethnic traditional culture, was long treated as an “impediment to modernisation” (Yang, Wall & Smith 2008, p. 761), and many of these cultures were destroyed ruthlessly in the Cultural Revolution during which time tourism was also suppressed and it was only regarded as a “propaganda tool” rather than a proper form of development (Sofield & Li 1998, p. 370). As indicated early in this thesis, the national policy on both the traditional culture and tourism changed radically when the Cultural Revolution was over and the Open Policy reform was initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, when China began to redefine itself as a “modern, multicultural nation” (Walsh & Swain 2004, p. 61). Since then, tourism has acted as a forceful driving power for China’s economic modernisation (Sofield & Li 1998) and likewise, ethnic minorities’ culture has been regarded as beneficial to economic development and national identity. Ethnic tourism is therefore regarded by the state as a crucial industry to develop the ethnic community (Yang, Wall & Smith 2008). Though national policies on cultural heritage and tourism experienced different trajectories, two policies converged after 1978 to protect traditional culture and promote tourism. Furthermore, both the tourists and the community visited by the tourists began achieving their modernity through tourism activities (Oakes 1998; Walsh & Swain 2004).
Deng Xiaoping’s “five talks” on tourism during 1978 to 1979 exerted a profound impact on national policy. Deng explicitly said that “there is much to do with tourism, (so that we have to) develop it strongly and rapidly. Tourism makes lots of money and it’s fast, (…).” As concluded by the then Vice Prime Minister Qian Qichen in 2000, these “five talks” clarified the direction, goal and principle of tourism development in China. Tourism was regarded by Deng as not only an economic industry but also a vehicle for the cultivation of socialist spiritual civilisation, all of which are vital to the socialist modernisation in China.

Directed by Deng’s talk, tourism policies and plans were formed in government agendas. For example, tourism was incorporated into the 7th Five-year Plan of the National Economic and Social Development (1986-1990) and tourism was privileged as the prime industry in the tertiary industries in the 9th Five-year Plan of the National Economic and Social Development and the Outline for the Long-term Goals for the Year 2010 in 1996.

Yunnan is a province with abundant and diverse cultural and natural resources and the rich ethnic minorities’ cultural heritage makes it outstanding in the tourism market in China. Compared with Tibet and Xinjiang, Yunnan has been granted more freedom to develop its own autonomous tourism policy because conflicts between Yunnan and the central authority have been rare (Yang, Wall & Smith 2008). As described by the Director of the Yunnan Provincial Tourism Administration Duan Yueqin (2015), tourism development in Yunnan experienced five stages. Though tourism was initiated in Yunnan as early as 1978 when the Yunnan Provincial Tourism Affairs Bureau was established, tourism only functioned as a reception service during the first stage (1978-1988). From 1989 to 1995, tourism was privileged as an important economic industry by the provincial government. Directed by Deng Xiaoping’s South Inspection Speech

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127 Deng Xiaoping on Tourism, see original talks on the Guangming Daily (31 March, 2000) on [http://www.gmw.cn/01gmr/2000-03/31/GB/03%5E18376%5E5E0%5EGMA1-307.htm](http://www.gmw.cn/01gmr/2000-03/31/GB/03%5E18376%5E5E0%5EGMA1-307.htm), retrieved on 8 Dec., 2016.


(Nanxun Jianghua) in 1992 which accelerated China’s reform, the Yunnan government also accelerated its tourism development. Specifically, the Conference on Tourism Planning of the Northwest of Yunnan chaired by the provincial government was held in 1994 in Dali and Lijiang which opened the door for tourism prosperity in Lijiang. In the third stage (1996-2006), tourism was regarded by the provincial government as one of the four pillar industries in Yunnan and tourism development, along with ethnic cultural industry, was underscored in a series of government plans. From the fourth (2005-2013) to the fifth (2013-2020) stage, the provincial government plans to upgrade Yunnan from a “big tourism province” to a “strong tourism province”. This ambitious tourism policy again converges with the ethnic cultural policy in that the government also plans to promote Yunnan from a “big ethnic cultural province” to a “strong ethnic cultural province” which is articulated in the Implementation Opinion on the Construction of the Strong Ethnic Cultural Province of Yunnan in 2008.\textsuperscript{131}

Nowadays, tourism is seen as a comprehensive industry which concerns politics, culture, society, and ecology, and the relationship between culture and tourism is highlighted in the \textit{Planning Outline of the Tourism and Culture Industry in Yunnan} (2009-2015).\textsuperscript{132} According to the statistics in this \textit{Planning Outline}, in 2008, the value added generated by tourism was RMB 66.3 billion (approximately AUD$ 13.2 billion), accounting for 6.8\% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) while that generated by cultural industry was RMB 30 billion (approximately AUD$ 6 billion) which constituted 5.3\% of the GDP. In addition to the economic growth in Yunnan, benefits of the synergy of culture and tourism are also articulated in this \textit{Planning Outline} on the ground of poverty elimination in the ethnic minority area and socialist spiritual civilisation cultivation. In this sense, cultural protection and tourism development will always be an issue in the process of achieving the goal of building Yunnan into a tourist destination which is first-class in China and famous in the world (Duan 2015).

\textsuperscript{131} See \url{http://www.seac.gov.cn/art/2012/6/1/art_5567_156391.html}, retrieved on 8 Dec., 2016.
5.3.2 Cultural Tourism in Lijiang

Tourism in Lijiang lagged behind that in Xishuangbanna, Dali and Shilin (the Stone Forest in Kunming133) in Yunnan. However, since tourism was initiated in Lijiang in the 1980s, it surpassed its rivals in the late 1990s (Yang 2011b). The interaction between culture and tourism is at the centre of the successful cultural tourism development in Lijiang. As I described in Chapter 1, the win-win combination of cultural heritage protection and tourism development is called the Lijiang Model which has drawn great praise from the Chinese national official media.134 Former Lijiang Municipal leader Yang Guoqing explained several crucial factors which made tourism prosperity possible in Lijiang. These factors include: 1) the unique cultural and natural resources in Lijiang, 2) the prosperity of tourism in the world, 3) national macro policy on economic development since Deng’s Reform, 4) the provincial policy on cultural tourism development in Yunnan and 5) the awareness of local Lijiang leaders who realised that culture can be regarded not only as spiritual achievement but also as material treasures (Yang 2011b, p. 35). The tourism miracle in Lijiang doesn’t merely reflect an economic achievement, it also reflects the dramatic comprehensive transformation of a Chinese county from an “isolated, backward and impoverished” periphery of China into a “famous world-class cultural tourism city”, as Lijiang was highly praised by the Chinese government as one of the “18 successful examples of the economy social development in China since the Open Policy Reform.” 135

At the early stage of the Reform, Lijiang was still an impoverished society with low economic development and living standards and it relied heavily on the traditional agriculture and logging which couldn’t fix the financial deficit (Na & Li 2009). Meanwhile, many people struggled to achieve a living under the slash-

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and-burn cultivation system. As described by Yang (2011b), cultural protection preceded tourism development in Lijiang. Dongba culture studies resumed in 1979, and protection of the physical Old Town of Lijiang began in the 1980s. Among these, once again, the synergy of experts and officials played a crucial role. At the beginning, destruction of the traditional townscape of the Old Town by newly concrete buildings was criticised by architecture Professor Zhu Liangwen at Kunming University of Science and Technology and delegates from Carnegie Mellon University in the US. This criticism drew attention of then Yunnan governor He Zhiqiang, a Naxi, who then asked the Lijiang government to strictly protect the town. Lijiang was opened to international tourists in 1985 from which time the local government realised the prosperous role of tourism.

A milestone in Lijiang tourism history is the Conference on Tourism Planning of the Northwest of Yunnan held in Dali and Lijiang in October 1994 when a blueprint for “Developing Dali, Exploiting Lijiang, Initiating Diqin and Mobilising Nujiang” was proposed for the tourism development in the northwest of Yunnan (Yang 2011b, p. 146). The convenor, Naxi governor He Zhiqiang, encouraged Lijiang to bid for the World Cultural Heritage nomination and the Three Parallel Rivers (part is in Lijiang area) for the World Natural Heritage, and, more measures for the Old Town protection were also suggested. Later in the 1990s, Vice Prime Minister Zhu Rongji and President Jiang Zeming visited Lijiang to encourage the progress of cultural tourism. From the 1980s to the late 1990s, several cultural tourism products appeared and enjoyed increasing economic and social benefits, such as the performance by the Dayan Naxi Ancient Music Association which began in 1987 and the Dongba Cultural and Artistic Festival held in 1999 which accompanied the World Horticultural Exposition in Kunming in 1999. From the beginning of the new millennium, Lijiang set its goal as building itself into a World Boutique Tourism Destination. Indeed, international recognition is highly acknowledged by Lijiang and China. Lijiang officials’ publications (He 2011; Yang 2011b) acknowledge that the listing of Lijiang as the UNESCO World Heritage in 1997 promoted tourism noticeably and that Lijiang had progressed towards an international profile since 2000.
The cultural reform progressed along with the economic reform in Lijiang. Yang attributed part of the tourism success to the innovative awareness of the local officials who realised in the 1990s that “culture is treasure” and “culture is a practical productivity” (2011b, p. 37). This means that culture came to be regarded as something that was not metaphysical, but as a tangible resource; one that the government, entrepreneurs and local people could engage with to generate practical economic and material benefits in the context of the market economy since the Open Policy. The first group of cultural products to appear on the market during the cultural reform were those initiated by private capital, such as the performance of the Dayan Naxi Ancient Music Association led by Xuan Ke in 1987 (see Chapter 6) and many private handicraft businesses in the Old Town. In 2002, the first government sponsored cultural product was initiated between Lijiang and Shenzhen City with the launch of the commercial music and dance performance *Mountain River Show* (Lishui Jinsha) which saved the nearly bankrupted Lijiang Naxi Song and Dance Troupe. Li Changchun, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, praised the cultural industry initiatives during his visit in Lijiang in 2003 and later Lijiang was nominated as one of the pilot areas for a national cultural system reform program. In 2011, Lijiang was recognised by the central government as one of the 12 national advanced areas in terms of the cultural system reform.

The cultural reform is also seen in the governmental structure. For example, the Lijiang Old Town Management Company was established as a subordinate body of the LPMB in 2002. One organ within this Company, the Ethnic Cultural Industry Company, is designated to operate the cultural tourism programs in the Old Town. This means that the government can regulate and use the cultural heritage for the best economic reward (Zhu 2013). Recently, this trend is also noticed from the tourism side. For instance, the Lijiang Tourism Bureau was

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136 This is a state sponsored organisation established in the 1950s under a slightly changed name until the 1990s. Diverse ethnic groups, Han Chinese and Western instruments were involved in organised performances to promote national identity and ethnic unity while recognising the diverse ethnic cultures in Lijiang. This troupe acted as a vehicle for government cultural propaganda (Rees 1995).

reformed as Lijiang Tourism Development Committee in 2015\textsuperscript{138} so as to break through the difficulty in inter-organisational coordination between different sectors, which is observed in the conventional administrative system in Lijiang (Wang & Ap 2013).

Yang (2011b) illustrated how the Lijiang experience succeeded in the cultural system reform. The first is that the government directs the non-profitable cultural undertaking while the market directs the profitable cultural industry. The second is that the government should cultivate a good environment in which the private capital can be invested into both the non-profitable and profitable culture fields. These initiatives were definitely innovative at that time because the formal notification from the central government on the private investment in the cultural field was issued as late as 2012. For example, private capital investment in ICH protection and transmission was confirmed in the *Implementation Opinion of the Ministry of Culture on Encouraging and Guiding Private Capital’s Entry into Cultural Sector*\textsuperscript{139} in 2012.

Lijiang therefore provides a typical example to observe the implications of the Chinese open and reform policy that began in 1978. Lijiang’s achievement can be examined from the aspects of economy, culture, politics, and social life and how these sectors interact with each other under the influence of governments, business, local people, scholars, UNESCO and tourists. The most noticeable success is the economic development which can be seen from a set of statistics. For example, the GDP in Lijiang increased dramatically 50.1 times from RMB 166 million (approximate AUD$33.2 million) in 1978 to 8.48 billion in 2007 (approximate AUD$1.7 billion) at the annual rate of 14.0\% (Na & Li 2009, p. 12). Tourism was a centre of this economy, constituting over 70\% of the revenue (see Figure 5.2). Tourism provided more than 100,000 jobs as of 2007, effectively helping to adjust the economic structure of Lijiang, overcoming the decrease in primary industry (e.g. agriculture and logging) and anchoring the boom in tertiary industry (e.g. tourism and related cultural production) (Na & Li 2009, p. 13).


\textsuperscript{139} See [http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2012-07/09/content_2179327.htm](http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2012-07/09/content_2179327.htm), retrieved on 8 Dec., 2016.
Tourism not only forcefully boosts the local economy but also transforms other aspects of the society. The improvement of local people’s living conditions and social undertakings are pointed out as social achievements that are recognised by the local government (Na & Li 2009). Specifically, compared with 1978 when most of the Lijiang urban residents lived in poverty, 2007 witnessed a dramatic drop of the Engel Coefficient from 70% to 51.4% which means that the urban dwellers enjoy better living conditions (Na & Li 2009, p. 14). Also, medical care, education, public services, welfare and infrastructure developed noticeably. Indeed, tourism plays a crucial role in the progress of modernisation through the elimination of poverty in China’s poor periphery such as Yunnan (Yang, Wall & Smith 2008). Tourism development in ethnic minority areas, therefore, is encouraged by the government as a suitable, or one of the best measures, for social development, as can be seen in the Planning Outline of the Tourism and Culture Industry in Yunnan (2009-2015) and the recent tourism poverty

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140 The Engel Coefficient is an index to indicate the proportion of the individual/family income spent on food. As income increases, this proportion will decrease even if the actual food expenditure rises. According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN, the figure of 59% and above is a sign of poverty.
elimination program jointly sponsored by the Poverty Relief Office of the State Council and the National Tourism Administration since 2009.\textsuperscript{141}

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter described the tangible and intangible heritage administrative systems in Lijiang and how tourism and cultural industry boomed in the 1990s in Lijiang. By comparison, the administration of tangible heritage engaged by the LPMB, which is largely concerned with the World Heritage, is stronger and more professional than that of intangible heritage engaged by the ICH Centre of the Lijiang Culture Bureau. Owing to the insufficient staffing, resources, funds and institutions of the local government, the local ICH agencies to implement the national ICH AHD are immature and weak. This situation will be discussed further in later chapters.

This chapter observes several major factors behind the heritage tourism related transformations of Lijiang after 1978. The most prominent factor was the national policy on cultural heritage protection and tourism after the Cultural Revolution which privileged the actions of governmental players, specifically the Yunnan provincial and Lijiang municipal governments. As I delineated in this chapter, the local government actively made good use of the national and provincial preferential policies to initiate a series of measures to use and protect the heritage resources for local economic and social development. The second was the international recognition from UNESCO and other foreign cultural and political figures who all exerted their influence on the Chinese government and local communities to redefine and rereregulate the cultural heritage. The third concerned the business entrepreneurs who came from both the local community and other developed areas in China to make the best of China’s new market economy. And fourthly the scholars and professionals from home and abroad who promote the preservation and protection of Naxi cultural heritage. The differentiation of these factors is based on the general heritage and tourism picture and it is not categorical. Since the intangible heritage, rather than the tangible-centred World

Heritage, is the focus of this thesis, factors central to ICH heritagisation process in Lijiang will be emphasised in later analysis. The next chapter will describe several Lijiang cases concerning different interpretations of ICH in the context of tourism since 1978.
Chapter 6: Contextualisation of the Cases in Lijiang

6.1 Introduction

The protection of traditional culture and promotion of tourism have developed hand in hand in Lijiang since the late 1980s, providing a constant context within which the traditional ethnic culture, or ICH in current discourse, has evolved continuously since its revival after the Cultural Revolution. As explained in Chapter 3, this thesis uses four typical ICH elements (the Units as termed in Chapter 3). Against the background of cultural protection and tourism in Lijiang, I will introduce cases of Dongba culture, folk music (including Baishaxiyue and Dongjing music), handicrafts and culinary skills by describing the typical practitioners in their specific individual/family contexts.

ICH should be regarded an embodiment of people’s inter-generational transmitted traditional knowledge which is engaged in by the inheritors to actualise their subjective needs in relation to the present social context. As reviewed in Chapter 2, the making process of ICH is more important than the end products. In preparation for a discussion of authenticity, integrity and continuity in the following chapters, this chapter will specifically show where the traditional knowledge of an ICH element comes from and how it is practiced in different interpretations by its contemporary practitioners. In order to analyse the nature of ICH across different forms, two interpretations of the four cases, namely the less and more commodified forms, are described for further discussion in the following chapters. Except if otherwise indicated, personal information of inheritors was obtained during the fieldwork with their permission.

6.2 Dongba Culture Cases

The term Dongba can refer to two concepts nowadays, namely the traditional Naxi religion and the priests who perform the religious activities. In order to avoid misunderstanding, I use the terms Dongba priest, Dongbas and Dongba as
the title of a person to name the practitioner who practices Dongba religious activities. In brief, Dongba traditional religious practices were participated by the majority of the Naxi community before the early 20th century. They then declined dramatically after 1949 and were suppressed ruthlessly during the Cultural Revolution, only allowed to thrive after the 1980s with the new name Dongba culture. In this section, I will describe how Dongba culture is interpreted in various situations in Lijiang at the present moment with cases of the Dongba priests in tourism contexts (e.g. Yushuizhai Park, the Impression of Naxi show and Dongba Gu Park) and in non-tourism contexts (e.g. Baidi Village, Shangri-La County, Yunnan).

The traditional basis of Dongba religion is the belief that there are a multitude of immortal spirits residing in both nature and humans. The focus of Dongba religion, therefore, is to regulate the relationship between these spirits in order to balance the relationship between humans and nature. Based on animism, Naxi people worship the gods of nature, ghosts and ancestors through various ritual practices which are related to almost every aspect of Naxi people’s life, such as sacrifices, marriage, funerals, festivals, divination, healing and so on (Naxizu Jianshi 2008). Naxi people believe that humans and the nature god Shu, as an embodiment of all spirits residing in nature, are brothers from the same mother and different fathers. Therefore, it is one of the characteristics of Naxi cosmology and philosophy that humans and nature have the same origin, so that humans should respect and live in harmony with nature (Yang 2012b). Though Dongba religious practices exist for a long time, it is not regarded as an institutional religion because Dongba religion doesn’t have an established organisation, temple, canon and full-time specialists (Yang & Yang 2010).

Naxi people believe there are good and bad spirits in the world, so from time to time a ritual practice is performed to regulate these spirits and powers in order to benefit people. Dongbas, as the Naxi priests, are the protagonists of the Dongba religion who undertake the ritual mediation between humans and the spirits (Arcones 2012). They also acquired a profound knowledge of Dongba ritual scripts which record many aspects of the Naxi society, thus becoming well-rounded experts in literature, medicine, handicraft, farming, architecture, music
and fine art. During the religious activities, Dongbas make ritualistic handicrafts, chant the Dongba scripts and sometimes dance. Dongba scripts are written in Dongba pictographic characters which are renowned as the only living pictography in the world (Lijiang Prefectural Administration 2002) and the Ancient Naxi Dongba Literature Manuscripts were inscribed as the Memory of the World Register in 2003 by UNESCO. Dongba priests are therefore regarded as important inheritors of Naxi traditional culture. However, except being invited by people to engage with religious practices, Dongbas work as normal farmers like other Naxi. Dongba priests are all male, usually learning Dongba practices from their fathers. In order to direct Dongba rituals independently, traditionally the Dongbas must be conferred with the supernatural powers (rherq in Naxi and Weilin or Weili in Chinese) by senior Dongbas in the Zhizai (rherq zail in Naxi, meaning conferring the power) ceremony so as to be qualified (Yang 2011a). After the Zhizai ceremony, the Dongba practitioners can be formally recognised as Dongba priests by both fellow Dongbas and the Naxi community.

The Bureaucratisation of Native Officers in 1723 intensified the Sinicization in the Lijiang basin with the result that Dongba religious practices were curbed by Han officials as they regarded them as barbarian customs (Xu & Yang 2014). The result was that these practices retreated to the countryside and hilly areas (Yang 2012d) where they continued to develop as late as the 1950s. However, since 1949, political and cultural policies as well as the popularisation of science and education have had a great impact on the Dongba religion (Guo 2010). The height of destruction of Dongba religion happened during the Cultural Revolution during which time Dongba religion was destroyed, because it was seen as being superstitious and concerned with “monsters and demons”. Dongbas were targeted as “anti-revolutionary, backward, and superstitious”, Dongba scripts and apparatus were confiscated and burnt and Naxi people were prohibited from participating in any rituals (Yang 2012a, p. 149).

After 1978, Dongba religion experienced two dramatic changes. In the first instance it was renamed from Dongba religion to Dongba culture in the 1980s. While national policy allowed Dongba religion to resume in the early 1980s, people were still very sensitive to the term “religion”. Therefore, Lijiang officials
and scholars proposed to use the term Dongba culture to replace Dongba religion and this suggestion was seen in the establishment of the Academy of Dongba Culture in Lijiang in 1981 (Zong 2006a). Redefined as the Naxi’s traditional culture, Dongba religion was able to revive in line with the national cultural protection policy. In 1983, the first Dongba symposium was attended by 61 Dongbas whose “cultural status” were recognised by the government for the first time (Guo 2010).

The second change is mainly attributed to tourism. Incorporated in the tourism development in the 1990s, many aspects of Dongba culture, such as painting, pictography, handicrafts (wood and pottery making) and certain religious practices were extracted from its comprehensive religious repertoire and were commodified in the tourism and cultural industry (Guang 2012; Guo 2010; Yang 2012d). Nowadays Dongba culture is defined by the Lijiang government as “the essence of Naxi culture” which is an important ICH element (He 2008b, p. 20). Rather than “monsters and demons”, Dongba culture is reimaged as “traditional, excellent, unique and mysterious” (Zong 2006b, p. 109) which makes it a perfect object for a tourist attraction in the 21st century. Dongba religion used to be a syncretic practice. After the Cultural Revolution however, certain aspects or values of Dongba religion were privileged or contested by artists, scholars, governments, businessmen and local Naxi people, including Dongba themselves for their interests. In this thesis, I chose Dongba religious rites as a typical form of Dongba culture for analysis in later sections.

6.2.1 Yushuizhai Scenic Spot

Yushuizhai Scenic Spot, or the Yushuizhai Park, plays a key role in the protection and commodification of Dongba culture in Lijiang. Yushuizhai in Chinese means a jade water village. It is a Chinese national 4A scenic spot142 invested in by Naxi businessman He Changhong in 1997. It is also a Dongba Cultural Transmission Base named by the Chinese Folk Literature and Art Society in 2006. Located on a grassed slope of the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain in Baisha Village, Yushuizhai

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142 Defined by the China National Tourism Administration, Chinese scenic spot can be assessed by national standards as A, AA, AAA, AAAA, AAAAA from the lowest to the highest.
boasts the combination of natural landscape and traditional Naxi culture. Specifically, Dongba culture is underscored as the key characteristic, and because of this, Yushuizhai calls itself “the holy land of Dongba.” There is a spring in the site of Yushuizhai where Baisha Villagers have worshipped the nature god Shu for a long time. As a Baisha-born Naxi, He Changhong, the CEO and founder of Yushuizhai, realised the cultural importance of this place. Furthermore, motivated by the World Heritage inscription in 1997 and various successful tourism and cultural programs in the middle 1990s, Mr He formed his idea in 1997 to turn the wilderness into the Yushuizhai Scenic Spot which features Dongba and Naxi culture (Yang 2012c).

Mr He and his team, working with the local government, scholars and cultural institutes, have undertaken several noticeable works that are essential to Dongba culture. Firstly, Yushuizhai invested huge funds in the construction of a Dongba landscape in the park. For instance, a new tall gilt bronze figure of the nature god Shu was erected at the spring. A large scale courtyard Heheyuan (meaning harmonious courtyard) was constructed for the practices, interpretation and transmission of Dongba culture. In addition to the Dongba museum, practice ground and furnace, a grand Dongba temple was built where the founder of Dongba religion (Dongbashiluo), the guardian god of Naxi (Sanduo) and other important gods in Naxi history are created for worship for the first time. Secondly, Yushuizhai is active in cultivating and educating Dongba practitioners. With the exception of the Dongbas employed from outside, Yushuizhai had trained more than 38 young Dongbas in its Heheyuan as of 2012 (Yang 2012c). This work is now accompanied with a Dongba transmission school (the Yushuizhai School) funded by Yushuizhai in which eight young students are recruited to learn Dongba culture for 5 years. Thirdly, in 2003, assisted by the Lijiang government, scholars and cultural institutes, Yushuizhai initiated the Lijiang Naxi Dongba Cultural Transmission Association (the Dongba Association) to convene and

144 Except for the citation, this section is largely drawn from Yushuizhai’s internal edited book (Yushuizhai Company 2012) and its official website.
manage all the Dongbas in Lijiang. Significantly, under the organisation of Yushuizhai, a Dongba Degree Evaluation program was initiated in 2011 to evaluate the qualification of the Dongbas. Accordingly, Dongbas can be recognised by the Dongba Association as a Dongba Transmitter (Chuancheng Yuan), a Dongba Master (Fashi) or a Dongba Great Master (Da Fashi) based on a paper test and a practice-based interview conducted by a committee constituted of Naxi scholars, senior Dongbas and relevant government officials (Guo 2012). In addition, an annual Dongba Fahui (meaning Dongba dharma assembly) was inaugurated by Yushuizhai in 2002 to convene Dongbas to come together and practice rituals (see Photo 6.1). Noticeably, two forms of Dongba recognition ceremonies, the traditional Zhizai ceremony, as well as the new Dongba degree awarding ceremony, were held in the Dongba Fahui for the first time in 2013.

Yushuizhai is widely regarded as one of the most successful examples of cultural tourism in Lijiang in terms of its tourist reception, revenue generation and social impact (Yang 2011b; Yang 2012d). Also, Yushuizhai is now the biggest and most influential Dongba religious venue in Naxi populated areas (Yang 2012d). Yushuizhai, as a representative of the emerging influential community player,
actively engages with the authentication process of present Dongba culture in the interaction with the governmental players and tourists. This process has a noticeable impact on Dongbas themselves, both as individuals and as a group. Noticeably, traditional Dongba practices are re-authenticated, family transmission gradually gives way to alternative transmissions in the tourism sector, and Dongbas’ identity changes from part-time religious priests to ICH inheritors, Yushuizhai staff, Dongba cultural brokers and Dongba cultural researchers.

These issues are to be analysed in later chapters with the following interviewees as the case study (Table 6.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age (in 2016)</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Tourism involvement</th>
<th>Dongba engagement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He Xuedong</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>County ICH inheritor (2009, by the Lijiang ICH Centre) and Dongba Master (2013, by the Dongba Association)</td>
<td>Worked in the Dongba Wangguo (Dongba Kingdom, a Dongba themed park[^147]) from 2005 to 2007 and has worked in Yushuizhai since 2007.</td>
<td>Learnt Dongba practice from the Dongba Academy in 2005 and Yushuizhai since 2007. Now he also teaches Dongba practice in the Yushuizhai School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Shunquan</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>He comes from a Dongba family and has studied Dongba in the Yushuizhai School since 2009.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Lixin</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>He was encouraged by his Dongba uncle to study in the Yushuizhai School since 2008.</td>
<td>He was encouraged by his Dongba uncle to study in the Yushuizhai School since 2008.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Wenji</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>Lijiang municipal ICH inheritor (2010,</td>
<td>Yang is the most senior Dongba in Yushuizhai so he acts as the 11th successor in his Dongba family. Yang learnt Dongba culture from 2008.</td>
<td>He is the 11th successor in his Dongba family. Yang learnt Dongba culture from 2008.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^146]: Personal information was obtained from both interviews and the official website of the Dongba Association, [http://dongba.lijiang.com/](http://dongba.lijiang.com/) retrieved on 9 Dec., 2016.

[^147]: Dongba Wangguo is another Dongba themed park which is close to Yushuizhai. But it is not as popular as Yushuizhai and its business is sustained mainly by group tourism. An introduction is on [http://baike.baidu.com/link?url=IiULmmC8luMRRJPDyvFQl3UZXAYrDpIDDyvqiCUa2_9X_9AOULO-FB_p1UHY3tDZxzy3-YTK](http://baike.baidu.com/link?url=IiULmmC8luMRRJPDyvFQl3UZXAYrDpIDDyvqiCUa2_9X_9AOULO-FB_p1UHY3tDZxzy3-YTK), retrieved on 9 Dec., 2016.
He Xuewu is the grandson of senior Dongba Yang Wenji. He knew Dongba culture from his grandfather but only began learning systematically with his grandfather since 2003 in Yushuizhai. He Xuewu is employed in Yushuizhai since 2003.

He Xuewu (2012, by the Dongba Association) as the leader for all Dongba practices there. In addition, he studies Dongba culture in a traditional Naxi cabin where tourists visit and he introduce Dongba culture. He Xuewu is the grandson of senior Dongba Yang Wenji. He knew Dongba culture from his grandfather but only began learning systematically with his grandfather since 2003 in Yushuizhai. He Xuewu is employed in Yushuizhai since 2003.

Table 6.1 Background of the Dongbas Interviewed in Yushuizhai
(Source: author’s interview and the Dongba Association website at http://dongba.lijiang.com/)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He Xuewu</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Dongba Master</td>
<td>Employed in Yushuizhai since 2003. He Xuewu is the grandson of senior Dongba Yang Wenji. He knew Dongba culture from his grandfather but only began learning systematically with his grandfather since 2003 in Yushuizhai. He Xuewu is employed in Yushuizhai since 2003.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.2 Dongba Gu Ethnic Village

Many Dongba-themed tourist programs emerged in the 2000s, but none of them can be seen to be as successful as Yushuizhai. This is also reflected in the slogan in Yushuizhai: “See cultural heritage in the Old Town, see natural landscape in Jade Dragon Snow Mountain and see Dongba culture in Yushuizhai”. Dongba Gu, which means Dongba Valley, is another privately invested tourist attraction launched in 2005 in a northern suburb of Lijiang. It is similar to Yushuizhai in that both of them combine a beautiful landscape, including a backdrop of the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, and the local ethnic cultures.

Four Dongbas were working in the Naxi Dongba Shenyuan (holy courtyard) in Dongba Gu in 2014. This courtyard, as the first attraction encountered by the tourist, is constructed in traditional Naxi style and decorated with all sorts of Dongba cultural elements. Like most of Dongbas in Yushuizhai, the Dongbas here in Dongba Gu also play two roles. The first is as tourism staff who produce
Dongba arts (such as pictography and Dongba painting) as tourist commodities and perform Dongba rituals on request for tourists; the second is as a member of the Dongba community to study Dongba scripts, teach other Dongba apprentices and offer rituals to the Naxi community in the rural areas.

Young Dongba He Guojun (born in 1981) came to Dongba Gu in 2006 to take over his father’s job as a Dongba there. He Guojun is the 11th successor in his Dongba family and he was appointed by his father as Dongba successor at the age of 13. He has learnt widely from his father and other senior Dongbas and was recognised as a Dongba in the Zhizai ceremony at the age of 23 when he became a working professional Dongba in the Naxi community with his father. He was later given the title of the Dongba Master by the Dongba Association in 2013. Because of his ability and reputation, he is often invited to undertake rituals in his hometown in Ninglang County, Lijiang, and to participate in major Dongba activities in Yushuizhai (Photo 6.2), along with Dongba Gu.

Photo 6.2 Dongba He Guojun Performing in the Heheyuan, Yushuizhai
(the author, 2014)
6.2.3 The Impression of Naxi

Many privately funded tourist performances in Lijiang arrange certain Dongba rituals, as well as other Naxi traditional dances and music, into a staged repertoire for tourists. The Impression of Naxi (Naxi Yinxiang), funded by He Shoujiang, a young Naxi tourism businessman, is a typical case. Having worked in tourism for many years, Mr He realised the importance of operating a Naxi tourist performance which is “authentic, traditional, unique, local and ethnic”, in order to stand out, and to share the tourism market which is dominated by non-local businessmen (Interviewee He Shoujiang, 2013 and 2014).

The Impression of Naxi cultural performance made its debut in a traditional Naxi courtyard in the north of Baisha Village in 2011. This is a well decorated tourist attraction with all sorts of Naxi cultural elements where a Naxi dance and music show was performed by amateur ethnic actors from local and neighbouring counties. Among the actors, Dongba He Yaowei (Naxi, born in 1989), in addition to the participation in Muosuo dance and Naxi songs, practiced the Dongba blessing and marriage rituals (Suzhu) for tourists (Photo 6.3). He was recognised by the Dongba Association as a Dongba transmitter in 2013.
He Yaowei learnt Dongba practice from his Dongba grandfather at a very early age, so that he was able to undertake the funeral ritual for his grandmother at the age of 11. At the age of 12 he was recommended by his hometown (Longpan Village, Yulong County) to take an intensive Dongba training course in the Lijiang Museum in 2002. Afterwards, he studied in the Lijiang Dongba Academy and worked in an ethnic theme park in Jinan, Shandong Province. After realising the importance of Dongba culture, he came back to Lijiang where he both continued studying Dongba in the government funded training classes and worked as a Dongba in tourism programs. His career in the *Impression of Naxi* as a Dongba began in 2012. As well as performing on stage for three hours every day, he still learns Dongba knowledge from other Dongbas in various institutes and takes other tourism-related part-time jobs in the Old Town. Beyond tourism engagement in Lijiang, he is also frequently invited by the Naxi community to undertake Dongba rituals in the countryside, especially in his hometown.

Dongbas in Yushuizhai, Dongba Gu and the *Impression of Naxi* represent the major Dongba community in Lijiang where Dongba culture is both protected and commodified by governmental and community players, including Dongbas.
themselves, in the context of tourism. In order to reveal another situation of the Dongba community in a non-tourism context, I chose Baidi Village as the case study.

6.2.4 Baidi Village

Baidi Village is in Shangri-La County, Diqin Tibetan Autonomous Region, Yunnan Province, which is located about 75 km north of Lijiang City. It is a hilly area populated by Naxi, Han and Tibetan people. It is well known by people for its rich Dongba cultural heritage. It is generally believed by Dongbas that Baidi is the birth place of Dongba religion because the patriarch of Dongba religion, Dingbashiluo (also called Dongbashiluo), inaugurated the religion there. Therefore, all Dongbas try to worship and pass their Zhizai ceremony there. Noticeably, an old saying goes among Dongbas that “one who fails to come to Baidi is not a real/great Dongba”. Also, Dongbas refer to Baidi as the “holy land of Dongba religion” (Yang 2012b). Baidi is a Yunnan provincial historic village and is the place where Baishui Tai (where Dingbashiluo preached) and Amingling Dong (a sacred place for the Zhizai ceremony) are located. On the other hand, Baidi is classified as an “absolute poor village,” according to the 2011 Chinese national poverty line which is RMB 6.3 (around USD$1.01) per person per day. The majority of villagers live on agriculture and most young people go to cities to hunt for better jobs. It is therefore interesting to compare and contrast Yushuizhai and Baidi, both of which are called the “holy land of Dongba”, but are characterised by two different scenes. The former is a well-developed tourist attraction with a more commodified Dongba culture while the latter is in an impoverished countryside location with non-commodified Dongba culture.

Dongba religion was practiced by all Naxi people in Baidi, and it was prohibited during the Cultural Revolution and then revived in 1978. Nowadays, Dongba culture in Baidi can be regarded as “the most traditional and authentic” (Interviewee He Shurong, 2014). The fact that there were only three Dongbas


\[\text{\textsuperscript{149}The international poverty line set by the World Bank was USD$1.25 in 2005.}\]
alive in 1997 and the Dongba culture was decreasing urged He Shurong, former principal of Baidi Primary School, to establish a Dongba transmission school in Baidi Village. He, assisted by Dongba He Zhanyuan (passed away in 2009), started the Diqin Prefectural Dongba Transmission School in 1998, a community school which is totally organised and funded by He Shurong and his fellows. In the initial stage, some villagers thought this school restored the “backward” culture and the government wasn’t involved. Gradually, villagers began learning in this school and later in 2009, the government at prefectural levels approved the school officially (He 2013b). As of 2014, He Shurong had established 13 branch schools across neighbouring areas and the main school, the Baidi School, provides one of the case studies in this thesis.

According to an introduction of the Baidi School (He 2013b), 27 apprentices were registered. One of these was He Shukun (Naxi, born in 1984) who has acted as the master/teacher since 2004. He Shukun attended the Baidi School in the first group of apprentices in 1998. He Shukun also learnt from senior Dongba He Zhanyuan who conducted the Zhizai ceremony for Shukun in 2001. He Shukun is regarded as the “youngest Dongba in the Naxi community” (He 2013b, p. 5) in Diqin and is frequently invited by local people to direct Dongba rituals. He Shukun comes from a Dongba family. His grandfather was a Dongba, but this family tradition was interrupted during his father’s time because of the Cultural Revelation. Recently, his father also studied in the Baidi School along with Shukun, though the father does most of the farming so that his son will have more time to engage with Dongba practices in the community. He Shukun is registered as an ICH inheritor at county level in Shangri-La County. During my fieldwork in Baidi in April, 2014, Shukun was teaching seven apprentices every night from 9 pm to 10.30 pm. Information on these apprentices is listed below (See Photo 6.4 and Table 6.2).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age (in 2016)</th>
<th>Title/Occupation</th>
<th>Dongba Engagement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He Yongguang</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Dongba Apprentice/farmer</td>
<td>Knew Dongba knowledge from his Dongba grandfather but has only learnt Dongba systematically in Baidi School since 2006.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Guangcai</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Dongba Apprentice/farmer</td>
<td>Began learning Dongba since 2011 in Baidi School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Jinyan</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Dongba Apprentice/farmer</td>
<td>His grandfather and father were Dongbas but he only began learning Dongba in Baidi School in 2013. He sometimes teaches his son about Dongba culture at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Lishi</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Dongba (passed the Zhizai ceremony)/farmer</td>
<td>He comes from a Dongba family except his father who was interrupted by the Cultural Revolution. He began learning in Baidi School in 2008.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Shuquan</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Dongba (passed the Zhizai ceremony)/farmer</td>
<td>He began learning in Baidi School in 2012.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Jinzhi</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Dongba (passed the Zhizai ceremony)/farmer</td>
<td>He comes from Dongba family and his father acted as Dongba until 1950. He began learning from the Baidi School in 2008.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Hongjun</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Dongba (passed the Zhizai ceremony)/farmer</td>
<td>He has been learning Dongba in Baidi School since 2009.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2 Background of the Dongbas Interviewed in Baidi Village
(Source: author’s interview in 2014)
It is evident from the description of the Dongbas in the tourism context in Lijiang and the community context in Baidi that the traditional transmission of Dongba religion is gradually being replaced by alternative measures, such as those facilitated by community and governmental players. Therefore, Dongba culture develops in diverse interpretations in reaction to a broader economic and social background in which tourism is a major force. Dongbas are not just religious practitioners. Nowadays, the identity of Dongbas is complicated. While they are authenticated as Dongbas by various community and governmental players, their multi-sourced Dongba knowledge is practiced in diverse situations with different implications. These issues are to be analysed in following chapters.

6.3 Music Cases

It is important to note that there are many genres of music in Lijiang (Rees 1995) most of which can be classified as traditional or ICH music. And there is a confusion of the names between Baishaxiyue, Dongjing, Naxi Ancient Music (Naxi Guyue) and others from different heritage discourses of government, businessmen, local cultural elite, scholars and music players who all contest these traditional forms of music for their interests. The introduction written here is mainly based on the mainstream argument of the scholarly works and official documents while leaving for the later chapters the alternative personal understandings of the interviewees, especially the musicians and officials.

6.3.1 Baishaxiyue Music

Baishaxiyue is a form of repertoire which includes instrumental music performance (such as flute, double-reed pipe and lute), singing and dancing that is related to farewell and funerals. Baishaxiyue is a mandarin word which literally means refined music from Baisha (the Baisha Village) and the Naxi name is Bengshixili. The historical origin of Baishaxiyue is disputable and there are three major arguments: 1) this music was brought into Lijiang by Kublai Khan in the early Yuan Dynasty (Yang 2012h); 2) it was developed by Naxi people based

\[150\] Bengshi means the funeral site in Baisha and Xili is an onomatopoeia resembling the instrument.
on their tragic legends (Su & Xu 2013); 3) it was brought into Lijiang by Han Chinese immigrants during the Ming Dynasty (Sun & Fang 2009; Wu 2003). Though the historical origin of Baishaxiyue is not ascertained easily (Rees 1995), it is relatively safe to presume that Baishaxiyue was present during the Ming Dynasty in Lijiang and it experienced three stages of development from that time until the present (Sun & Fang 2009; Yang 2012h). Initially, Baishaxiyue was played by musicians in the family of Mu, the ruler of Lijiang, as a ritual music for ceremonies, especially funerals, because of its sad melody. In the Bureaucratisation of Native Officers political reform in 1723, the magistrate Mu family was demoted and Lijiang began to be governed by non-native officers appointed by the central government in Beijing. Because of this, the Baishaxiyue troupe was dismissed by the Mu family and the music was secularised in the Naxi community for the funerals of local people. Since then, Baishaxiyue declined and was “already dying out in the first half of the twentieth century” (Rees 1995, p. 76). Attention to the study and protection of Baishaxiyue by professionals began between 1956 and 1962 (Yang 2012a) and an amateur troupe was created to learn this music for a folk festival held in Kunming in 1956. The performance of Baishaxiyue was interrupted during the Cultural Revolution and was resumed in the late 1970s by the Lijiang Song and Dance Troupe. The third stage of Baishaxiyue development is the result of the cultural tourism that has occurred since the late 1990s.

According to official documents (Lijiang Gucheng District ICH Protection Centre 2009) and the work of scholars such as Zong (2006b), Baishaxiyue survived in the hands of a few elderly players in Lijiang before the Cultural Revolution. He Xidian (1906-1989) who lived in Changshui Village was one of them. He Xidian then taught Baishaxiyue to his son He Shijun and his fellow villager He Maogeng who then taught his son He Linyi. It is reported that He Maogeng was one of the few players who could perform the whole repertoire in the early 2000s (Sun & Fang 2009; Yang 2012f). He Maogeng initiated his family troupe in the early 1990s (interviewee He Linyi, 2013) in Changshui Village, and his family troupe (He Maogeng and his sons He Linyi and He Juyi) later performed in Yushuizhai 151

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151 See footnote 124 for details.
Park in the late 1990s. He’s family troupe was credentialed by the Gucheng District Cultural Bureau as the recognised transmission organisation of Baishaxiyue and He Maogeng was recognised as the only existing inheritor in 2004 (Lijiang Gucheng District ICH Protection Centre 2009). After He Maogeng’s death in 2006, his sons and other He’s family members performed in the Yuhe Plaza in the Old Town for three years as buskers, before they were driven away by the government who criticised He’s troupe as “stray artists who disgrace the image of Lijiang” (Interviewee He Linyi, 2013). He Linyi and his younger brother He Juyi were nominated as the representative inheritors of Baishaxiyue at provincial and county level in 2010 and 2013 respectively, and this music was inscribed on the national ICH list in 2010. Later in 2013, with personal connections (Guanxi) to local businessmen and officials in the Gucheng District ICH Centre, He’s troupe collaborated with the Guanyinxia tourist attraction which provides a courtyard for his performance for free. In this way, He sustains his three-generation family troupe on tourist donations and CD sales (Interview 2013) (Photo 6.5).

Photo 6.5 He’s Family Troupe Performing Baishaxiyue Music in Guanyinxia
(the author, 2014)

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152 This is a newly developed tourist attraction that boasts the combination of beautiful natural scenery and cultural elements, such as the reconstructed Naxi folk village, sections of the Tea-horse Route, Dongba culture and the Baishaxiyue.
He Linyi and his brother He Juyi learnt Baishaxiyue from their father in the 1980s and both of them are major players of flute which is a key instrument in Baishaxiyue. Now He’s family troupe is comprised of eight members, including He Linyi’s son (playing Huqin, the bowed lute), He Juyi’s son (host and playing instrument) and female family members who were rarely seen in the past. The constitution of the troupe member varies depending on the farming shift at home in Changshui Village, so the members don’t regard performance here as the only occupation. This is the same as in the past when Baishaxiyue players were farmers who loved music but they only played music when the troupe was called up by the community for a funeral (Yang 2012f). It can be noted from the interview with the He brothers that they are content with the income generated from tourism and the government subsidy from the Gucheng District ICH Centre which is around RMB 20,000-30,000 (approximate AUD$ 4,000-6,000) per year.

Baishaxiyue is still practiced and transmitted in He’s family, but clearly they have changed the location, function, audience and arrangement of the music performance which is now in a tourism context. However, the He brothers don’t worry about the “authenticity” and transmission of their Baishaxiyue music. Comparing the performance in their village where audience and appreciation are declining, they regard their performance in Guanyinxia as “the best situation for the moment” (Interviewee He Linyi, 2013).

The issues around He’s family troupe are further analysed in the following chapters. The next section introduces the background of another genre of local music, Dongjing Music, which is always confused with Baishaxiyue and the Naxi Ancient Music.

6.3.2 Dongjing Music

Dongjing music is largely defined as a Han Chinese religious ritual music played by the literati who practice this music at religious ceremonies to honour the deities in Taoist, Confucian and Buddhist religions. The name Dongjing is the abbreviation of the scripture Yuqingwujizongzhen Wenchang Dadongxianjing (Transcendent Scripture of the Great Grotto of Wenchang) in which the
Wenchang, patron of literati, was worshiped. It is generally recognised by scholars and in official documents that Dongjing music was brought into Yunnan by the Han Chinese from central China during the Ming and Qing Dynasties (Rees 1995; Su & Xu 2013; Yang 2012g; Zong 2006b). Dongjing music is played not only by the Naxi people in areas of Lijiang with a high degree of sinicization, such as the Dayan Town (Rees 1995), but also played by Han Chinese in Kunming, the Bai ethnic minority in Dali, and even overseas Chinese in Myanmar and Thailand (Wu 1999; Wu 2003). As a whole, major schools of Dongjing music are collectively nominated on the Yunnan provincial ICH list in 2013 and the Naxi Dongjing music is one of them.

Dongjing music experienced similar ups and downs as other forms of traditional culture with transformation in the political, social and economic situation in the past hundred years. Scholars (Yang 2012d; Yang 2002; Zong 2006b) generally delineated the trajectory of Dongjing music in Lijiang in these stages. During the first stage, Dongjing music was played by the local literati from its appearance in Lijiang until the early years of the Republic of China (1912-1949) when Dongjing was exclusive to the elites and literati who practiced religious ceremonies to the deity (Yang 2002). As argued by Li (2007), Naxi people, particularly those living in the Old Town, developed a strong favour for Han culture during the sinicization process from the Ming to the Qing Dynasties. As a result, Han culture overwhelmed local Naxi culture and Confucianism was regarded as a “norm” in the Old Town (Li 2007, p. 73). As a form of Han high culture, Dongjing music was widely played by Naxi well-to-do literati and elite who despised Baishaxiyue music, which was regarded as vulgar grass roots music (Yang 2002, 2012f). Playing Dongjing music, along with other Han cultural activities, therefore, represented a high social status for Naxi males (Li 2007).

1911 was a turning point for Dongjing music as it was banned by the Republican government as superstitious (Yang 2002). Though political revolution and cultural modernisation processes in China at that time destabilised the religious and ritual functions of Dongjing, this music and other Han culture were deeply embedded in the minds and hearts of the Naxi people. Therefore, while the secularisation of Dongjing music occurred during the Republican period (before
1949), both religious ritual practice (played only by the literati and elites) and recreational practice (music lovers from all classes) co-existed until the Cultural Revolution.

The third stage of Dongjing music refers to its last revival after 1978. Because of Naxi people’s predilection for Dongjing music, people resumed Dongjing performance stealthily on a small scale. After 1979 it thrived as a recreational practice (Zong 2006b). When Lijiang opened up to foreign tourism in 1986, it triggered the commodification of Dongjing music in 1988 from which year both recreational and commodified Dongjing music have co-existed ever since (Yang 2002). The commodification of Dongjing music in Lijiang was marked by the first commercial performance of the Dayan Naxi Ancient Music Association (the Dayan Association) directed by Xuan Ke in July 1988 (See Photo 6.6). His use of older musicians, instruments and music within a traditional courtyard led to English-speaking foreigners, who were the largest group of tourists in Lijiang in the early 1990s, to praise these performances as “traditional, genuine, the real thing and frequently, authentic” (Rees 1998, p. 138). Xuan Ke, a former Naxi English teacher in Lijiang, is one of the key organisers of the commodification of Dongjing music. According to my observations during 2013 to 2014, the performance of the Dayan Association is popular among tourists due in part to Xuan Ke’s excellent English and his charming personality.

Photo 6.6 The Dayan Naxi Ancient Music Association Performance
(the author, 2013)
Given the increasing economic and social benefits yielded from commodification, Dongjing and Baishaxiyue music were contested by different people for their interests. The Dayan Association is an example. Around the year 1995, Xuan Ke coined the name “Naxi Guyue” (literally means Naxi ancient music) to promote the performance in the Dayan Association which is an assemblage of both Dongjing and Baishaxiyue music. Xuan Ke even boasted that Naxi Ancient Music in Lijiang maintains the “authentic” music from the Tang and Song Dynasties which is only found in Lijiang (Wu 1999; Wu 2003; Xuan 2013; Zong & Bao 2005).

As the earliest and the most profitable form of tourism practice in Lijiang, Dongjing music, as performed by the Dayan Association, still functions well in the Old Town. There are usually 33 members in this troupe including Xuan Ke who hosts and plays stringed instruments. Xuan Ke prefers to recruit elderly players (half of the troupe members are over 80 years old and the oldest is 90 in 2013\textsuperscript{153}) with grey hair and long beards so as to constitute the “four olds” (namely old musician, old music, old instrument and old town) of the concert which can be understood as an attempt to produce an objective authenticity for tourists. In the performance I attended on 18 February, 2013, there were two young Guzhen players (a young girl and a young boy) and two middle aged female players among the total 30 players. The majority of the troupe members have other occupations during the daytime. Importantly, they belong to different local Dongjing troupes and are called up to perform in the Dayan Association at 8 pm every night. Wang Liwei (born in 1971, Naxi) and his father Wang Yaojun (born in 1941, Naxi) are reputable players in this troupe and they usually practice music, including Baishaxiyue and Dongjing, in the Wenlin Village Troupe in the Old Town which convenes local music lovers to practice regularly every month.

Beyond the commodified performance on stage, there are a large number of local troupes where local music amateurs practice together regularly for recreational purposes, which is a common situation since the secularisation that began in the 1910s. The troupes are usually found in the New Town which embraces the Old

Town of Lijiang. In addition to the Dayan Association, many players in the local troupes also perform in other commercial shows, such as the *Mountain River Show* (Lishui Jinsha), the Yushuizhai Park and the *Impression of Naxi* (Yinxiang Naxi). A brief background of typical music players whom I will examine in this case study is provided in the table below (Table 6.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age (in 2016)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Troupe</th>
<th>Music genre</th>
<th>Tourism Performance</th>
<th>Music engagement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chang Hong</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Qinghegong Troupe, Zhaihou Village</td>
<td>Dongjing</td>
<td>Mountain River Show since 2012</td>
<td>Learnt from senior players in the troupe since 2005.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Yinxian (female)</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Qinghegong Troupe, Zhaihou Village</td>
<td>Dongjing</td>
<td>Mountain River Show since 2008</td>
<td>Learnt from senior players in the troupe since 2003.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Linyi</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Provincial ICH Inheritor (2010)</td>
<td>Family troupe (as leader)</td>
<td>Baishaxiyue</td>
<td>Guanyinxia Scenic Spot</td>
<td>Learnt from his father (He Maogeng) in the 1980s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Juyi</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>County ICH Inheritor (2013)</td>
<td>Family troupe</td>
<td>Baishaxiyue</td>
<td>Guanyinxia Scenic Spot</td>
<td>Learnt from his father (He Maogeng) in the 1980s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Shiwei</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Wenlin Village troupe (as instructor)</td>
<td>Dongjing</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Learnt traditional music from Lijiang Music and Dance Troupe and worked as composer in the Dongbagong music performance program (1998-2011).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both Baishaxiyue and Dongjing music went through changes of transmission, function, and audience during the last century. In the case of Baishaxiyue, initially the music was transmitted exclusively within the Mu family troupe and then it was transmitted within local families after 1723. Nowadays, with the assistance of government, the transmission of Baishaxiyue, along with Dongjing music, is encouraged among local troupes again. Though Baishaxiyue is still used in some occasions as funeral music, it is largely practiced for both tourism and recreational purposes. In the case of Dongjing music, though traditional organisational transmission within a troupe is well maintained, other forms such as family transmission and inter-troupe transmission are also noticed. Compared with its ritual function in the past, nowadays Dongjing music is practiced for tourists and for players’ personal spiritual enjoyment.
6.4 Handicrafts Case

The case study on handicrafts concerns the local secular handicrafts (e.g. wood carving, leather, copperware, silverware making crafts) that thrived during the Ming and Qing Dynasties for everyday use and inter-province trade in Lijiang. Many of these crafts are now commodified for the tourism industry. An important fact of Lijiang is that nowadays most of the handicrafts are made by non-local craftsmen in Lijiang or are simply made by machine and imported from coastal provinces. An official (Interviewee YXC, 2014) who is in charge of tourism business in Lijiang Old Town said that there were 70-80 handicrafts shops run by Naxi in 1990s and that this number decreased dramatically into just a few in recent years. Therefore, I only study the cases in which the local Naxi craftsmen make the handicrafts to serve the local community and tourists.

In 2007 the LPMB implemented a special plan of the business development in the Old Town according to which Wuyi Street was designated as an area to showcase ethnic traditional Lijiang culture (World Cultural Heritage Old Town of Lijiang Protection and Management Bureau 2013). Most of the handicraft cases in this thesis are located in Wuyi Street and they are registered by the LPMB with the title Lijiang Ancient City Licensed Shop for Minority Featured Goods (the Licensed Shop) to indicate that these shops are run by the Naxi people who produce authentic Naxi goods (usually handicrafts and food). As a result, these licensed shops are assisted by the LPMB in many ways, including the rental concession policy. I have therefore targeted those handicrafts that are designed, produced and sold by the Naxi people in the Licensed Shop. Most of the owners are recognised by government as the ICH inheritors.

6.4.1 Wood Carving

As late as during the Ming Dynasty (1368 A.D.-1644 A.D.), craftsmen from central China were invited by the Mu family to work in Lijiang. Handicraft later thrived in the Naxi community during the Qing Dynasty (1636 A.D.-1912 A.D.) when handicraft developed as a major industry in Dayan Town which became a
handicraft centre in Lijiang. The handicraft industry boomed during the 1940s (Guo 2010; Zong 2006b). After 1949, however, the making of handicrafts went through a dramatic transformation from individual workshops into collective farms during the Collectivisation period. Consequently, most self-owned family handicraft businesses were forced to merge into the state-owned factory or collective farm, the free handicraft market was suppressed and some unique Naxi handicrafts decreased (Naxizu Jianshi 2008). Regulated by the Collectivisation reform, some handicrafts were standardised, mechanised and incorporated into state-owned factories, and some others experienced ups and downs and later thrived in the tourism market.

Che Fuming, a Naxi born in 1972, is an ICH inheritor of traditional handicraft listed at Lijiang municipal level in 2010. His father embarked on wood craft when he was 17 and then worked in a collective factory where he used turning lathes to carve wooden daily utensils, such as Maqiu Zhu (a bead used in saddles), handles and other round-shaped architectural parts. Che Fuming developed his interest in wood carving during the days with his father in the factory in the 1980s. Also during the 1980s, Che’s father opened their family workshop in the current place in Wuyi Street and Che became an apprentice. Their family business for making wooden daily utensils went down as the social demand decreased. However, thanks to the tourism boom, Che and his father and brother began using their turning lathe carving techniques to make round-shaped tourist art, such as the wooden wishing bell, which is now the flagship product of Che’s shop (see Photo 6.7). In addition, Che also learnt Dongba arts which he applies to the bell and other hand carved wooden tourist handicrafts.
In the last 20 years, a trend has been observed in the wood handicraft in the tourism market in Lijiang. Some early Naxi artists embarked on wood carving for economic benefits in the 1990s (Yamamura 2005). Later, when the market became gradually dominated by non-local businessmen with their cheap copies, many Naxi artists moved out of the Old Town to pursue a purer art space. He Jinping, a Naxi wood artist born in 1978, is one of these. He is regarded as the “first engraver in the Old Town” and was listed as ICH inheritor of traditional fine art at county level in 2011. He had a strong interest in carving and learnt widely from, but not limited to, the art works in Yunnan and China at an early age. In addition, he also learnt from the tourist art displayed in the Old Town and the contemporary Dongba arts in the early 1990s. Later, he opened his own shop to engage with contemporary Naxi tourist arts for the tourists in 1998. Rather than copying the latest work of others to earn money, he always tried to create his own style to set a model for the market. However, he felt sad that the wood art market is “terrible” nowadays in Lijiang (Interview 2013), so he moved to his own studio in the New Town to pursue his aesthetic arts while his wife looks after his shop in

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the Old Town. He Jinping doesn’t care about the title of ICH inheritor, neither does he think his wood art can be called ICH which, according to his understanding, means traditional culture. He describes his wood carving as a fusion between being ethnic and being international.

6.4.2 Copper Smithing

Copper is a plentiful resource in Lijiang (Guo 2010). During the Ming Dynasty, the Mu family invited copper craftsmen Yang’s family from Sichuan to work in Lijiang and this stimulated the copper smithing in Lijiang. Copperwares are treasured by not only Naxi people who use them as domestic utensils but also by Tibetan people who use them in religious places. Baisha Village has long been regarded as the historical centre for copper smithing (Guo 2010). However, this was interrupted by the national industry policies of the 1950s and the Cultural Revolution. Copper smithing revived in the 1970s but only a few craftsmen existed in the 1980s and He Jikuan was one of them (Zong 2006b).

He Jikuan learnt his copper smithing craft from the workshop run by the successors of the Yang family at the age of 14. When national policy allowed individuals to operate handicraft business in the 1980s, He Jikuan convened existing local craftsmen to revive copper smithing. He Jikuan was named the Folk Artist of Yunnan in 1999. After his death in 2005, his sons He Shanjun and He Shanyi inherited this family tradition. Now He Shanjun runs the family workshop in Baisha Village while his older brother He Shanyi continues with the licensed copper shop in the Old Town. In 2013, the Naxi copper smithing craft was listed as a Yunnan provincial ICH element.

He Shanjun, a Naxi born in 1970, learnt from his father at the age of 17. He claims himself to be the 6th successor to copper smithing in He’s family and now is the “last copper smith” in Lijiang (He 2013a). As a handicraft ICH inheritor at the Lijiang municipal level in 2010, he operates his workshop to sustain his family in Baisha Village (see Photo 6.8). His business thrives along with the tourism development in Baisha and he acquired a large mansion in Baisha in January, 2014, to expand his business. Generally speaking he makes copperwares
for Naxi people who purchase daily utensils such as hot pots and fire baskets, as well as for tourists who prefer portable and fancy copperware, such as tea-pots and censers. Nowadays, the increasing demand of both visiting tourists and remote buyers for contemporary Naxi style copperware takes a larger share of the market than the needs of local Naxi people.

His older brother He Shanyi, a Naxi born in 1962, learnt the copper smithing craft in the 1990s and worked for his copper shops in Baisha, Shuhe before he was invited by the LPMB to open a licensed shop in Dayan in 2004. He was listed as a handicraft ICH inheritor at county level in 2006. Shanyi remembered that his family shop in Baisha served mainly for local Naxi people from 1988 to 1993 and then the demand of tourists overtook that of locals in 1996. Shanyi told me that the tourists consumed as much as 70% of his products since he moved into Dayan Town (Interview 2014). The two brothers make similar copperware in two separate shops and enjoy a good business and their family skill is maintained and developed in their hands.
6.4.3 Silverware Making

Silverware making craft was listed as the Lijiang municipal ICH element in 2013. It thrived in the Ming Dynasty leading to the naming of a lane in the Old Town as the Silversmith Lane (Yunnan CPPCC 2010). Before 1949, the categories of silverwares made in Lijiang included secular and religious silverwares of Naxi, Tibetan and Bai and other ethnic minorities’ styles (Zong 2006b). Though silver making, like other handicrafts, went through ups and downs after 1949, it enjoys a comparatively better support nowadays in the Old Town (Zong 2006b). However, as observed in my fieldwork and documented in Zong’s work (2006b), many non-local silversmiths just pretend to make the silverware on the site while actually most of the silverwares are machine made elsewhere.

Nowadays there are only a few Naxi-run silver workshops in Lijiang and Zhu Xing’s is the most famous one. Zhu Xing, a Naxi born in 1969, is a successful silversmith who enjoys several titles, including the handicraft ICH inheritor at county level in 2013, Metallic Craft Master of Yunnan in 2013 and others. It is interesting to notice during my fieldwork that Zhu Xing learnt his silver making crafts not from his family but from a silversmith from Fujian province who worked in Kunming. As a farmer at the age of 17 in the suburb of Lijiang, Zhu wanted to change his poor life by learning the silver making craft for the tourism market in Lijiang in 1996. However, the silversmiths in Lijiang would not teach him as they wanted to have a monopoly on their expertise. Therefore, Zhu travelled to Kunming and learnt from Fujian craftsmen and then came back to Lijiang to initiate his business in 1996. Zhu’s silverware, which combines his personal craft with Naxi and Donga cultural elements, has won him a huge reputation in Lijiang. It is interesting to notice that, although Zhu Xing regards his craft as a traditional craft and an ICH element, he does not claim his craft as a Naxi traditional craft (Interview 2013), because the silver making craft is not restricted to the Naxi community.

6.4.4 Leather Making

Compared with the silver making crafts that can be found in many other areas in China as Zhu Xing said (Interview 2013), the leather making craft is a characteristic Naxi craft. It forms part of the Naxi costume making craft which was listed as the Yunnan provincial ICH element in 2009. Early Naxi people wore leather cloth in their nomadic life and many can sew. Since the Yuan and Ming Dynasties, Dayan Town and Shuhe Village in Lijiang have been leather making centres where many Naxi worked with leather as their occupations (Yunnan CPPCC 2010). After the political reform in 1723, Naxi costume changed gradually with the influence from Han and other neighbouring ethnic minorities with the formation of two major styles. Naxi women’s costume is characterised by the sheepskin Qixing (seven stars) shawl. It is patterned with seven round patches which represent the big dipper. As for men, they usually wear a sheepskin vest. Since the Qing Dynasty there has been a long tradition that women in Naxi families shoulder most of the labour, both domestic chores and outside the home, while men learn the Han culture at home. The big dipper pattern symbolises the industrious quality of Naxi women (Su & Xu 2013).

Leather making used to be a major industry in Shuhe Village, but with the industrialisation and mechanisation after the 1950s in China, traditional leather handicraft decreased dramatically. Nowadays, it is said that no Naxi leather making by hand still exists in Shuhe (Interviewee Li Renjiang, 2013) and most of the leather making workshops, though in very small numbers, can only be found in Dayan Town. Generally speaking, the leather workshops in Dayan Town survive in two situations. The first is those better-off shops who serve both local Naxi with daily costumes and tourists with stylish leather and fur products. The shops which only cater for the needs of local Naxi people still struggle with their business and thus belong to the second situation.

Li Jinfeng (Naxi, born in 1941) is a representative figure of the leatherworker in Lijiang. His ancestors are said to be royal leatherworkers from central China who came to Shuhe to continue their leather making in the early Ming Dynasty (Su & Xu 2013). Li Jinfeng learnt his craft from masters in Judian, Lijiang and Dali.
where he also learnt from a Shanghai master. Later, Li opened his leather workshop in Wuyi Street in Dayan Town. His family participated in the production of traditional Naxi sheepskin costumes with him in the 1980s. Li Jinfeng was listed as handicraft ICH inheritor at Lijiang municipal level in 2010, however, because of his weakening eyesight, their family shop is now managed by his son, Li Renjiang and daughter Li Runliang. In the early years, their shop mainly served Naxi people with both traditional leather products and contemporary fur clothing. In the late 1990s, tourists became the major buyers. They wanted to buy fashionable fur scarves, leather hats, gloves and bags, and they now constitute over 60% of the consumption (Interviewee Li Renjiang, 2013). Li Runliang and Li Renjiang, both in their 40s, learnt the crafts from their father in the shop in 1980s. Their shop now is licensed and protected by the LPMB so that part of the high rental is covered and their business can be sustained.

Compared with the successful business of Li’s shop, the shops run by local female leatherworkers Xie Pingzhen and Li Runlan, however, see another situation. Xie Pingzhen, a Han born in Lijiang in 1954, learnt leather making at the age of 15 from a master at a collective workshop for 15 years before she opened the current shop in Dayan Town with her colleagues to raise her family. Xie has been making traditional Naxi leather costumes for local Naxi people for 30 years and is highly acknowledged by local people. However, she faces the pressure of rising rents, given the fact that though the majority of her time is spent in producing traditional leathers for the limited needs of the locals, it is the sale of the imported tourist’s commodities that actually sustains her shop economically.

The same picture is seen in the case of Li Runlan, a Naxi female leatherworker, born in 1949, who was listed as handicraft ICH inheritor at Lijiang municipal level in 2010. As most female Naxi, she learnt the craft from her mother and worked in her family workshop in Wuyi Street since the 1980s. Her shop is highly accepted by local people and she has a group of regular customers who value her quality traditional Naxi leather clothes. However, she is seldom involved in the tourism business. As a consequence, she is thinking about giving up her business
in Dayan Town because of her meagre income, soaring rental prices, the labour-consuming work and the decreasing local needs.

As can be seen in the description of these handicrafts in Lijiang, the source of knowledge of handicraft making is complicated. In some cases, the handicraft skill is transmitted within a family as the family business; in other cases, the practitioners learnt their skills from other sources for their own benefits. It is also found in these latter cases that practitioners cannot easily judge their cultural practices as traditional/authentic or not. In some cases, they tend to describe the values of making craft and the products in different ways and these understandings change over time. When handicraft is considered as a consumable product, the sustainability of the consumption becomes crucial for the survival of the making skills. Nevertheless, in the field of ICH studies, the ways in which practitioners understand their making skills is important and this issue will be analysed in following chapters.

**6.5 Culinary Skill Cases**

Literature (He, Yang & Li 2010; Naxizu Jianshi 2008) on Naxi customs documents that the eating habits of the Naxi changed along with socio-economic transformation. Naxi people’s nomadic eating habits shifted during the Yuan and Ming Dynasties when Naxi society experienced the change from husbandry to agriculture. This was intensified during the Ming and Qing Dynasties with the increasing influence of Han food production and Han recipes. The difference between recipes belonging to the Naxi people in the Lijiang Old Town area and Han people is very small, with the exception of the traditional food prepared during Naxi festivals (Naxizu Jianshi 2008). Compared with Dongba religion, ethnic music and handicraft, Naxi traditional food was not influenced by political disturbances but rather by broad socio-economic and cultural factors. For example, it is observed in my fieldwork and reported in the interview that the farming land in Lijiang basin is decreasing while the land for real estate, tourism, and infrastructure is expanding. The result, therefore, is that the traditional food production is limited, such as the growth of Jidou beans for making Jidou Bean
Jelly. Though many of the cases in the following are nominated as ICH elements by government, it is not easy to appoint the representative inheritor. Therefore, my interviewees were chosen according to the recommendation of the locals.

6.5.1 Lijiang Baba Pastry

Lijiang Baba is a kind of wheaten pastry which can be made with either a savoury or a sweet taste. It is consumed traditionally by Naxi people as one of their staple foods for their breakfast and lunch (He, Yang & Li 2010). The word Baba in the Yunnan Han dialect means a round pastry. Because Lijiang Baba is made from rich lard, sugar and ham which make it easy to store for a long time, it was largely carried as a provision on the Tea-horse Route. With the decrease of horse transportation, the diversification of Naxi people’s diet and greater awareness of health issues—Lijiang Baba is rich in oil and sugar—local people don’t eat it very often now. Conversely, Lijiang Baba is privileged by tourists as a must eat. The making skill of Lijiang Baba was listed as the Lijiang municipal ICH in 2013, and I interviewed cooks who were widely recognised by local people as professional Lijiang Baba makers.

There are many kinds of Lijiang Baba sold in Lijiang and most tourists cannot tell the difference. However, guided by local Naxi people, I know that usually “authentic” or “traditional” Lijiang Baba refers to those pastries made through a complicated traditional method by an experienced Naxi cook who has done this for many years. I therefore tracked three family workshops which still make the traditional Lijiang Baba for the touristic market.

Bainian Laodian Lijiang Baba Shop (means a hundred-year-old Lijiang Baba shop) is located in a prime location in the Old Town where Chang Qing and her mother Lyu Guijin worked from the 1990s until 2010. They moved into the New Town in 2010 to continue their Lijiang Baba business. This workshop is still a major provider for over 60 retailers in the Old Town where the pastry is usually consumed by tourists. Lyu Guijin initially learnt the skill from her mother and relatives in her early years, and her daughter, Chang Qing, learnt this skill from Lyu about ten years ago. The Lijiang Baba they make is widely regarded by local
people as traditional or “Zhengzong” which means authentic. They tried to innovate with new ingredients and modern efficient cooking methods such as electric baking pans, but the taste was not accepted by the locals so they returned to the traditional firewood frying method.

Zhang Xiangfang, a female Naxi born in 1972, runs a Naxi restaurant, Naxi Baba, in the Old Town where she cooks many traditional Naxi foods, including Lijiang Baba, Jidou Bean Jelly and others. She developed her culinary skill by learning from her parents at the age of 12. She began making Lijiang Baba to support her family in 2003 with her sister in a Lijiang food company and then rented the current shop in 2007 to operate her family business (see Photo 6.9). She boasts her cooking method, in which the pastry is baked on a stone in fire, as the “only traditional firing cooking method in the Old Town” (Interviewee Zhang Xiangfang, 2014). Her shop, attended by her husband and daughter, is visited largely by local Naxi and by tourists who flock in peak seasons. However, restricted by the fire code in the Old Town and pressured by increasing rental costs, their business, according to my observation, is not as successful as that of Chang Qing’s workshop.
Li Dongling, a Naxi in his 40s, cooks traditional firewood frying Lijiang Baba in Wuyi Street with his wife. Li learnt his skill in 1984 from his mother who made pastry in the Lijiang food company. Li, his wife and his mother started their family business in the centre of the Old Town in 1984 to serve local people. However, rental prices surged along with tourism so they moved their shop in 2002 to several places in the Old Town and finally settled in their house in Wuyi Street. Stimulated by real estate development and tourism projects in the Wuyi Street-Wenlin Village area, most local residents have let their houses, including Li’s house. Like many other local landlords, they have a very decent rental income, but they choose to keep one room as a shop to continue making Lijiang Baba and selling them to both tourists and locals. Still, the business just breaks even.

6.5.2 Jidou Bean Jelly

Jidou Bean Jelly is a tofu like snack made from jidou, a chick pea that is a widely grown plant in Lijiang. Turning beans into a jelly is a skill developed by the Han (Su & Xu 2013). In the past jidou was a wild common plant in the Lijiang basin. However, the decreasing availability of farming land has meant that jidou is usually bought from other remote places such as Yongsheng County (Interviewee Asanshu, 2014). However, compared with Lijiang Baba, Jidou Bean Jelly is popularly consumed by both locals and tourists because it is cheap, healthy and can be cooked in various ways. For example, it can be made into soup, salad, stir-fried, deep-fried and dried jelly (Su & Xu 2013). Before 1949, Jidou Bean Jelly was a common culinary skill mastered by most Naxi women (Su & Xu 2013), but nowadays, most housewives would like to buy it in the market even though many of them can still make by themselves. The skill associated with making Jidou Bean Jelly was listed as a Lijiang municipal ICH element in 2013.

Compared with Lijiang Baba, Jidou Bean Jelly stalls are much more common in Lijiang. Since many vendors just cook but do not necessarily make the bean jelly, I interviewed two family workshops which have continuously made, cooked and sold Jidou Bean Jelly over many years.
The 88 Restaurant, run by a Naxi family since the early 1980s in Wuyi Street, is advertised as “the only restaurant managed by Naxi in the Old Town at present” (88 Restaurant 2014). It is a successful Naxi catering business and their economic, social and cultural benefits have been reported in Chinese media.\textsuperscript{156} This restaurant was started by Hedama and her husband Asanshu after they were laid off. Initially, they sold Jidou Bean Jelly and rice noodles for locals and later also served other home style dishes. When tourists gradually overtook local guests and the rental prices kept rising, the 88 Restaurant was protected by the LPMB as a licensed shop which gave it protection from rising rents. Since the making process takes more than three hours, in order to serve the guests on time, Asanshu has to make the Jidou Bean Jelly before dawn every day. The making process, as seen in my fieldwork, is traditional, or “Zhengzong” in the locals’ language. However, making and selling the basic bean jelly could not sustain their restaurant. So He’s son, He Zhiming, began experimenting with new cooking methods with the traditional made bean jelly as material. Nowadays, they serve more than ten new styles of Jidou Bean Jelly most of which are welcomed by both tourists and locals.

There is another similar family restaurant in the Old Town, Amayi, which also began its business as a food stall and then developed into a famous restaurant after several generations. Xiao Jun names himself as the 4\textsuperscript{th} successor of this family business which was initiated by his great grandmother. It is interesting to notice that Xiao’s great grandmother came to Lijiang from Sichuan Province, and Xiao said that Lijiang home style dishes are influenced greatly by the Sichuan cuisine (Interview 2013). Xiao’s Amayi restaurant now serves all kinds of local foods, including Jidou Bean Jelly. In addition, he also creates new Naxi dishes to cater for the increasing tourist market. Therefore, his family culinary tradition has to negotiate with new and diverse appetites of both tourists and local people, which seems difficult for him.

Another picture of the Jidou Bean Jelly business is reflected in those unknown food stalls spreading across Lijiang and the itinerant vendor Aunt He is one of them. Fuhui Market is a big farmers’ market in the New Town where I was told

\textsuperscript{156} 88 Restaurant used to have its own website on http://www.88eat.com/ but it’s not accessible as of 9 Dec., 2016
by the locals that Aunt He’s Jidou Bean Jelly is the most Zhengzong (authentic). Like many Naxi women, Aunt He learnt her culinary skill from her parents at the age of 15 in order to be a good housewife. Her former home, which was located nearby Fuhui Market, was demolished for real estate development. Therefore, she gave up former agricultural work at home and became a full-time food vendor in Fuihui Market to sustain her family. She makes the bean jelly in a traditional process and cooks it in basic styles which are consumed by regular local guests. Aunt He seems content with her small business which actually is quite laborious and not as profitable as the cases mentioned above.

The cases of culinary skills in Lijiang demonstrate that the food making craft used to be a family transmitted skill common to the Naxi community, especially for Naxi women, either for sustaining a family or running a family business. Nowadays, the making of traditional Naxi food in the Naxi household is decreasing though the traditional family transmission is still the major measure for those who do food business. Due to changes in people’s eating habits and the arrivals of tourists with their diverse appetites, some food making crafts have had to adapt and create new styles. In this process, the question of authenticity and integrity becomes complicated.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter sets the context for the inheritors-based emic perspective by situating the practice of each ICH case in the social context of the inheritors themselves. As revealed in this chapter, since the ICH practice is closely embodied in part of the personal economic, cultural, religious or everyday life, every practice transforms along with the practitioner and the relationship between them and the society. The practitioner, as the community player, interacts with other community players and the governmental players, leading to the dynamics of the practitioner and, consequently, the embodied ICH interpretations. In general, the cases are largely influenced by, but not limited to, the development of tourism in Lijiang since the 1980s.
Four ICH cases, each in two situations (more commodified and less commodified), are described in their personal/family contexts so as to differentiate between diverse transmissions, engagements and interpretations of the ICH. It can be seen from these cases that before 1949, the transmission of ICH mainly relied on family (the Dongba, handicrafts and food cases) and organisations (the music case). Furthermore, ICH served specific personal or community functions. Nowadays however, ICH, along with the traditional knowledge and crafts transmitted from the past, is actively re-constructed by the practitioners for evolving personal values in the interaction with other community and governmental players. These changes will definitely lead to the issues of authenticity, integrity and continuity. From the next chapter, I will analyse how the issues of authenticity, integrity, continuity and commodification play out in the abovementioned cases from different perspectives.
Chapter 7: Value and Authenticity

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyse the data from both the interviews and questionnaires in the case studies to reveal the diversity of the understandings of the values and authenticity of ICH as the first finding of this thesis. As I discussed in Chapter 2, authenticity is not the value of a heritage, but it should be understood as an ability of a heritage to convey its values over time (Stovel 2007). Authenticity and value, therefore, should be understood as two different concepts. Since heritage, from the Critical Heritage Studies approach, should be understood as “the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings” (Smith 2006, p. 11), I will firstly examine the diverse understandings of the governmental and community players of the values of ICH so as to detect how they understand ICH. Then, I will look at how the concept of authenticity is perceived according to these contexts.

Based on the proposed inheritors-based emic perspective, the focus of the research is on the inheritors in Lijiang’s Naxi community, especially the practitioners described in Chapter 6. I will reveal the diversity of the ICH values and the problem of authenticity in the understanding of the ICH practitioners. This chapter will also show local officials and scholars in Lijiang share more mutual understanding with the ICH practitioners than the non-local counterparts. As a result, this research reveals, firstly, the complexity rather than the simple distinction between the governmental players and the ICH inheritors and secondly, the diversity and complexity of the Chinese ICH Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) at the local levels in China.

There are four major sections in this chapter. The governmental players play the most influential role in the ICH discourse in China so I will investigate their perspectives first. The first section reveals the understanding of the officials across the hierarchical Chinese ICH administrative system. The second section
demonstrates the understanding of representative experts and scholars at local (Lijiang and Kunming, Yunnan) and non-local levels. After that, I will study the understanding of the inheritors and other community members in the third section. The fourth section summarises the findings of the three perspectives. The following chapters 8 and 9 are also structured in the same way.

7.2 The Official Perspective

As described in Chapter 4, the Chinese ICH administration is a rigorous hierarchical system that is managed by the agencies of the Ministry of Culture. Nevertheless, the officials within this system can be seen as “individual players” who also shape and influence the national system of ICH administration in which the subsystems of Yunnan and Lijiang are situated. While the mainstream opinions of both the national officials and bureaucratic scholars were reviewed in Chapters 1 and 2 based on documentary sources, this section will further develop these based on interview data and give more sense of their personal understandings, which may differ from the official discourse in the texts.

7.2.1 National Officials

Though it is very difficult to interview high-ranking officials working within China’s highly bureaucratic system, I did manage to interview official Y who works for the Ministry of Culture in Beijing. In general, official Y is cautious in expressing his personal view, saying that his understandings of the value of ICH and the concepts of authenticity, integrity and others are in line with the national laws and documents, such as the LICH and the State Opinions on ICH in 2005, as well as the mainstream publications by the former Chinese Vice-Minister of Culture Wang Wenzhang and national scholars such as Liu Kiuli and Wu Bing’an. These bureaucratic experts are Vice-Director Members of the National Committee of Experts. Therefore, it can be seen from his way of answering that the national official discourse on ICH in China is bolstered by standardised official documents and certain bureaucratic scholars’ work while personal alternative understandings are excluded.
According to official Y, the work of ICH in China derived from the existing work of traditional culture and folklore which was then adjusted according to UNESCO’s ICHC after 2004. Comparatively speaking, the adjustment of the terminology from traditional culture and folklore to ICH is larger than the upgrading of the understanding of ICH (Interviewee official Y, 2014). His statement confirms my argument in Chapter 2 that the Chinese official discourse on ICH is largely built on the existing domestic discourse. This explains why I was instructed by official Y to refer to the Chinese documents and scholars’ work for the official understanding of ICH.

Official Y admits that “there are diverse academic discussions on the issues around ICH in China” (Interview 2014), however, he only asks me to refer to the official documents and a few publications, such as Wang Wenzhang’s books (2006c, 2008a, 2013a). In Chapter 2 I argued that the work of a handful of bureaucratic scholars was selected and adopted into the official discourse. This is the case with Wang’s work, which adopts other favourable opinions of scholars and experts to argue for the official standpoint which is then reflected in the government documents. As official Y describes, “Wang Wenzhang’s book is a half official document” (Interview 2014). Therefore, it can be argued that while the bureaucratic scholars’ arguments are adopted to bolster the AHD, other scholars are excluded.

As I reviewed in Chapters 1 and 2, the values of ICH are perceived differently from ICHC’s and Chinese LICH’s perspectives. Chinese official ICH discourse applies a dualistic value judgement to recognise, assess and protect the ICH elements. According to Article 3 of the LICH, the recognised values should meet two criteria: “first, it embodies the excellent Chinese traditional culture and second, it is of historical, literary, artistic or scientific value” (Xin & Huang 2011, pp. 10-3). Therefore, only the positive four values (historical, literary, artistic and scientific) can be officially recognised by the government. On the other hand, however, ICH practices are officially regarded as “important resources for cultural industries and tourism” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 106) so that the economic value is emphasised implicitly in the LICH as well. Based on these facts I raised two major problems in Chapter 1. The first one concerns the discrepancy between
the ICHC which proposes the values for the community and individual and the LICH which emphasises the four values and the economic value. The second one points to the contradiction between preserving the four values in an “authentic way” and encouraging the use of ICH for economic value in the LICH system.

Since Wang Wenzhang’s argument is built on the argument of other bureaucratic scholars, here I will only summarise Wang’s work, leaving the opinion of the bureaucratic scholars and experts to a later section. Wang categorises eight values of ICH into three categories: the diachronic values (historical, cultural and spiritual values); the synchronic values (scientific, social and aesthetic values) and the contemporary values (educational and economic values). The diachronic values are described as the “most basic, universal, deep and central values” (Wang 2008a, p. 70) of ICH which underscore the intrinsic and past-oriented historical value. As I argued in Chapter 2, this is a materialist conception of history based on Karl Marx’s philosophy which is deeply reflected in the AHD of tangible heritage in China. Actually, this conception, along with a strong political agenda with regard to national identity, nationality solidarity and cultural sovereignty, dominate the understanding and explanation of all the eight values. Typically, the spiritual and social values can be seen as a discourse that the state uses to socialise people into the mainstream socialist value system, in which the alternative meanings that the individual and community associate with ICH are not mentioned. Therefore, the social value is used as the synonym for the harmony value, which resonates well with the current political agenda of the Chinese Communist Party on the construction of a harmonious society. 157 Therefore, Wang argues as follows:

   The core of a harmonious society is the harmony between the people and the society, and it mainly concerns how the people identify with the values of the society. In this regard, ICH is advantageous to harmonise the people and the society by promoting the value identification process. (Wang 2008a, p. 84)

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Here, Wang tends to use the diachronic values to articulate the continuity of the excellent Chinese traditional culture, synchronic values to accommodate the current political and cultural agendas, and, finally, contemporary values to legitimate the current use of ICH for dissemination and commodification so as to cultivate a receptive audience for the diachronic and synchronic values. However, those values are articulated in the perspective of the state for its national agendas while the current, alternative, dynamic community/personal values are not mentioned.

I have reviewed and critiqued the official discourse on authenticity in Chapter 2 based on Wang’s work (2006c, 2008a, 2013a) and the illustration of the LICH (Xin & Huang 2011). In summary, authenticity is understood in the objective perspective so as to protect the officially recognised values, namely the four values, against any distortion or transformation. As seen from official Y’s interview, the conventional authenticity definition bolstered by bureaucratic scholars and stipulated in the LICH is unquestionable, so official Y wouldn’t comment on it. However, this unquestionable official discourse is the place where the inappropriateness of authenticity originates from. The resulting tension between theory and implementation will be further revealed at the lower governmental levels.

7.2.2 Provincial Officials

In the fieldwork, I interviewed Cai Yonghui, the Head, Dong Yanling, the Vice Head of the ICH Division at the Department of Culture, Yunnan Province, and Yin Jiayu, the Director of the Yunnan ICH Protection Centre. The data for analysis was collected from the interviews with them in the fieldwork. This is the same as in the following sections in Chapters 8 and 9.

The interviews with the provincial officials confirmed that the official ICH discourse in Yunnan has largely been regulated by the national ICH discourse. Dong Yanling says that “the 2013 Yunnan ICH Ordinance is actually a revised version of the previous version in 2000, which was revised a lot, because the previous one didn’t mesh well with the LICH, it didn’t meet the current
requirements for ICH safeguarding” (Interview 2014). This revision is a top-down assimilation process of Yunnan’s ICH discourse involving the training of the staff at provincial and lower government levels and the ICH centres who then impart the policy of ICH to the local inheritors. Officials think that “the local inheritors have very little understanding of the concept of ICH” so that they have to be told the definition and values of ICH, which the inheritors “find very difficult to articulate themselves” (Interviewee Yin Jiayu, 2014). This individual official understanding clearly demonstrates that the concept of ICH is framed within the national ICH AHD and that other interpretations, such as those of the inheritors, are not considered as the correct definition of ICH.

Although the interviewed officials didn’t specify what should be regarded as the “correct” values of ICH in their official discourse, however, it is possible for me to know these values from the application form they prepare for the nomination of the representative ICH elements at the provincial level. According to the latest government notice on the nomination of the Yunnan provincial ICH elements, the very first prerequisite of the nominees is that the ICH elements should “have outstanding historical, literary, artistic and scientific values” (Department of Culture of Yunnan Province 2016, p. 1). Clearly, this definition of the ICH values repeats the four values that the national AHD underscores. In line with these official definitions of the ICH values, it is undoubtable that the government would predominately recognise the four values of the nominated ICH elements. For example, in the nomination application form of the national ICH element Baishaxiyue music, the government concludes in the section of “major values” that “Baishaxiyue music became an ethnic ‘living fossil’ of the Naxi nationality because of its antiquity (Gulao Xing) and its artistic rarity” (Lijiang Gucheng District ICH Protection Centre 2009, p. 11). This official value statement clearly highlights the historical (antiquity) and artistic values of Baishaxiyue music from the official perspective. In later sections, nevertheless, I will reveal the subjective and alternative values of Baishaxiyue music, as well as three other types of ICH cases in Lijiang, from the perspectives of the ICH practitioners.

While seeing the influence of the national AHD on the provincial officials’ discourse, I would specifically reveal the dissonant personal understanding of the
interviewed officials. Through the interview, I identified the following characteristics in the Yunnan provincial official ICH discourse in relation to the values of ICH. The first is that ICH in Yunnan is regarded as important for the identity of the Yunnan people as a whole. ICH is described as “something traditional and unique that has been inherited from the past and something that signals our unique identity” (Interviewee Yin Jiayu, 2014). Yin points out that, in contrast with the Han ICH in central China, ICH in Yunnan mainly refers to the ethnic minorities’ traditional culture, which, she argues, brings pride and confidence to the Yunnan people. The second value in Yin’s interview considers the value for community members. For example, Yin says that “ICH is not only meaningful for the ethnic minority, but also for the individuals, such as the Dongbas in Lijiang, whose prestige in the community is restored now” (Interviewee Yin Jiayu, 2014). This means that the individual connection with ICH is considered in the official discourse at the provincial level.

The complexity and problem of the concept of authenticity, and its synonym “original ecological culture”, emerge at the provincial level. Unsurprisingly, all officials answer that authenticity is a crucial issue in ICH safeguarding work, and it is vaguely regarded as either the intrinsic attribute (such as Dong Yanling) of ICH or the principle of safeguarding (such as Cai Yonghui and Yin Jiayu) in the conventional etic/objective perspective in line with the national discourse. For example, Dong says that “the judgement of authenticity is mainly undertaken by experts with administrative power where community is rarely involved” (Interviewee Dong Yanling, 2014). Inevitably, authenticity is generally understood as object authenticity: it concerns genealogy and its history (longer than 100 years158), locality, venue, ethnicity and the way it was in the past (Interviewee Dong Yanling, 2014) and it means to “authentically protect the authentic culture with no adaptation” (Interviewee Yin Jiayu, 2014). Because of this conventional perspective, the conflict between keeping authenticity and allowing change becomes an unanswered question for them. As Dong admits, it is difficult to keep the principle of authenticity while allowing the community members to pursue modern lives in reality. Dong is tolerant of the fact that the

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158 The Chinese official theory book or guidelines for those bureaucrats working in the ICH bureaucracy states that ICH should be older than 100 years (Yuan & Gu 2013, p. 4).
former function of an ICH element is extended to a tourism-related function; however, Dong is not sure whether authenticity still exists when He Linyi’s family Baishaxiyue troupe is only performing in the Guanyinxia tourist attraction (see Chapter 6). Consequently, Dong realises that “it is not easy to identify whether He Linyi’s staged performance for tourists is ‘ICH’ or not. This is a confusion, a new situation, and a new problem” (Interview 2014). Here, we can see that the seemingly unquestionable national official discourse of authenticity encounters practical problems in the implementation at the provincial level.

While provincial officials are struggling with the implementation of objective authenticity in reality, nevertheless, new understandings of authenticity from subjective and constructivist perspectives are possible to identify. For example, the consideration of the subjective feelings of the practitioners is pointed out. Noticeably, Yin Jiayu thinks that the judgement of authenticity by the experts is not as good as the self-judgement by the practitioners themselves. By assessing the feelings, location, measures and functions, the inheritors themselves can use their own criteria to decide whether their practices are authentic or not (Interviewee Yin Jiayu, 2014). Similarly, Cai Yonghui (Interview 2014) says that, in regard to the change of ICH, attention should be paid to the sense of belonging, identity and inner happiness of the inheritors. On the other hand, Yin says that the judgement of a practice by the experts is based on a certain temporal situation of the practitioner during his life. However, “changing cultural practices can also be recognised gradually by the community as authentic” (Interview 2014). Yin’s remark can be seen as a good example of both the emergent authenticity concept (Cohen 1988) and the hot authentication process (Cohen & Cohen 2012a) in the constructivist perspective on authenticity. Reflecting on my theoretical proposition in Chapters 1 and 2, it should be possible to establish potential communication between the middle official discourse and the local inheritor discourse in relation to authenticity as sympathy of the officials is noted at the provincial level.
7.2.3 Local Officials

Diverse understandings of the value of ICH and the difficulties of authenticity are noticed at the provincial level and these issues are manifested more clearly at the municipal and county levels in Lijiang. Interviewed officials in Lijiang include the Director Xu Qing and an anonymous staff member L at the Lijiang Municipal ICH Protection Centre, the Director Li Zhidian and staff member Li Guang at the Gucheng County ICH Protection Centre and an anonymous official D from the LPMB. All five interviewees are local Lijiang people and some are Naxi. The data for analysis was collected from the interviews with these officials in the fieldwork. This is the same as in the following sections in Chapters 8 and 9.

The value of ICH is understood among Lijiang officials in diverse ways in which both the national official discourse and the alternative discourses are shown. Rather than upholding the value of nationality solidarity in China, officials in Lijiang underscore the value of ICH for the whole Naxi community. As members of the local community, officials express their ethnic awareness and pride in their ICH discourses. For example, official Li Zhidian, and staff members Li Guang and L relate the Naxi ethnicity closely to ICH. Specifically, Li Zhidian says that “ICH decides the life and death of the Naxi community” (Interview 2014) and staff member L stresses that “ICH differentiates one ethnic group from the other” (Interview 2014). In addition, some of the four values are mentioned, such as the historical value, which “records the trajectory of the ethnic history and cultural change” (Interviewee L, 2014) and “enables the future generations to understand the Naxi history” (Interviewee Li Guang, 2014).

It is noticeable that Director Xu Qing points out that there is a gap between the understandings of the ICH value between the governmental players and the community players. Current value articulation, Xu argues, is “superficial” and it “talks more about the ethnic values”. By comparison, “the community’s understanding is simple and it concerns the values from the point of practicality, use, personal values, and ethnic pride” (Interviewee Xu Qing, 2014). The value for the individual is articulated in the clearest way in official D’s argument that “ICH embodies the humanity, the inner pure feelings of humankind and it is
concerned more with the intimacy, spiritual satisfaction and memory of a person’s experiences” (Interview 2014). We can see here that, down from the national to the local levels, the local officials in Lijiang are able to share their sympathetic understandings with the ICH inheritors.

While the subjective feelings and values for the inheritors are recognised by the officials, they also consider how the national ICH theory can better describe these realities. In his interview, director Xu notes that several gaps need to be bridged in the localisation of the concept of ICH from national to local level. Xu says that though the concept of ICH was introduced into China in the early 2000s, it is still regarded as a new concept which needs more study. To be specific, Xu thinks that the value of ICH still has room for argument and he points out that the theory needs to be developed and tested in practice so that the local communities’ understanding of value can be guided and theorised.

Similar to the understanding of the value, the understanding of the concept of authenticity, as well as the original ecological culture, reveals diversity at Lijiang’s local level. Though officials and staff welcome the use of authenticity in the safeguarding of ICH, they are actually trying to mediate the conventional definition of authenticity in the national discourse with their personal understandings from the practical implementation. It is noticeable, therefore, to find that, though objective authenticity still exists, alternative perspectives on authenticity are articulated by these officials at the local level.

Since all interviewed officials agree that ICH is changing in Lijiang, it is difficult, if not impossible, for them to keep ICH as “it was like in the past” as the Chinese LICH stipulates (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 14). Many officials regard authenticity in a pro-constructivist perspective. In the context of tourism for example, a cultural practice is not judged as either authentic or inauthentic but as authentic to some degree (Interviewee Xu Qing, 2014). In the form of ICH, authenticity is more concerned with the spiritual aspect of a practice, such as the Dongba rites, and less so in the product-oriented practices, such as the handicraft making skills (Interviewees Xu Qing, L and Li Guang, 2014). This means that, even though authenticity is seen as an attribute of a cultural practice, it can be seen as a relative
quality in a synchronic way to describe which forms of ICH are “more traditional” than the others (Interviewee Li Guang, 2014). Also, it can be seen as a relative quality in a diachronic way to describe the decrease of authenticity in ICH, because “it is only possible to maintain authenticity during a period of time” (Interviewee Xu Qing, 2014). It is interesting to know that, since authenticity can be read as an evolving concept, the concept of “original ecological”, however, explicitly implies the meaning of the static original, so that some officials doubt whether “original ecological culture” really exists (Interviewees Xu Qing, Li Guang and official D, 2014).

Alongside the constructivist perspective, the subjective perspective on authenticity also emerges in what these officials had to say. Since “all ICH concerns the state of mind (Xinjing) of the practitioners” (Interviewee L, 2014), many local officials argue that the authenticity of the Dongba ritual will be harmed once it is staged for tourists because the state of mind, or the feelings of the Dongbas will change along with the change of location, function and audience. However, the subjective feelings of the practitioners of handicraft are not, according to them, as vulnerable to commodification through tourism and so the authenticity of handicraft practices will remain relatively constant (Interviewees Xu Qing, L and Li Guang, 2014). These subjectivities that underpin authenticity, according to these officials, are related closely to the function, aim or purpose of ICH, so that the change of the use, function or purpose of ICH will necessarily harm the state of mind of the practitioners with the result that the ICH is harmed. These official remarks, while shedding light on the new understanding of authenticity in a constructivist and existential perspective, simultaneously ignore the agencies of the practitioners who do not necessarily differentiate the distortion or change of the state of mind, or their personal feelings. These will be further exemplified in the section of the inheritor perspective.

Another positive point the officials make is that they realise it is authoritative and simplistic to recognise an ICH element by the Committee of Experts according to the description in the nomination dossier, rather than through an investigation of the actual practice in the field (Interviewee L, 2014). Therefore, official D says that while locals can easily tell the traditional from the modern, some experts
simply don’t understand that culture. That’s why staff member L asks for better official recognition, one that mainly considers the subjective feelings of the inheritors.

7.2.4 Summary

It is seen from this section that the understandings of officials of the value and the concept of authenticity across the hierarchy reveals diversity and complexity. Generally speaking, the higher the officials’ administrative level is, the more likely they are to be constrained by the national official ICH discourse.

In terms of the value of ICH, national officials tend to articulate a macro-level of the collective values, such as the national identity, nationality, solidarity and cultural sovereignty with a result that the community groups and individuals’ values are ignored. At the provincial level, on the one hand, the middle-level of the collective values, such as the cultural identity of all Yunnan nationalities is emphasised. On the other hand, officials show their sympathetic understanding of the values for the Lijiang community. This trend is manifested most clearly at the Lijiang local levels where officials highlight the value for the local Naxi and Lijiang community. Meanwhile, subjective feelings and the value for the individual practitioners are personally acknowledged by the officials.

In regard to the concept of authenticity, national officials’ understanding is in line with the objective national discourse which is objectified in the LICH. The derivative state of this is noticed at provincial and local levels where officials have noticed the difficulty in applying the concept of authenticity in reality. Therefore, on the one hand, they are constrained by the national discourse on authenticity; on the other hand, their personal understanding is adjusted by the practical implementation so that they are mediating the gap between the policy and the practice. Specifically, constructivist and subjective perspectives on authenticity emerged in Yunnan and Lijiang officials’ understanding of this concept. Scholars and experts are important facilitators of the official’s discourse, so their perspective on the value and authenticity is described in the next section.
7.3 The Expert Perspective

Some experts and scholars play an important role in the construction of the AHD in two ways: the first is that their knowledge is selectively adopted by the officials for policy making; the second is that they personally participate in the Committee of Experts to execute the policy. Therefore, I refer to these experts and scholars who contribute to the AHD as the bureaucratic scholars. While the mainstream knowledge of these experts and scholars was reviewed in Chapter 2, I will investigate the unsaid personal understanding from interviewed experts at two levels: the non-local and local experts. The local experts are those Naxi people who work locally or have close affiliation with the Naxi community in Lijiang. The remaining scholars are therefore grouped as non-local.

7.3.1 Non-local Experts

The understanding of non-local experts is drawn from two sources, firstly, the literature part of which was reviewed in Chapter 2, and secondly the interviews conducted with scholars working in national institutes (Table 7.1). This is the same as in the following sections in Chapters 8 and 9.

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<td>China ICH Research Centre, Sun Yat-sen University</td>
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<td>National Research Centre for the Studies of the Ethnic Minorities of China’s South-western Borderland, Yunnan University</td>
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Table 7.1 Background of the Interviewed Non-local Scholars  
(Source: author’s interview)

It can be clearly noticed from Wang Wenzhang’s work (2006c, 2008a, 2013a) that his argument underpins the majority of official positions on ICH. As official Y says, “Wang’s work is half-official and half-academic” (Interview 2014). My
argument that the Chinese ICH AHD is constructed by the bureaucratic scholars and officials is also confirmed by scholar N who observes from reality that the national policy and document are drafted by certain scholars under the arrangement of the government. Generally, scholar N concludes that the Chinese ICH research circle is relatively closed with little communication with the outside world (Interview 2014). This description illustrates again a symbiotic government-scholar network (Maags & Holbig 2016).

In the discussion of the ICH value among scholars’ work, in addition to Wang’s (2006c, 2008a, 2013a) contribution, a distinction between the universal and the unique value of ICH is identified by other scholars (Song & Wang 2013; Xiang 2013). In the discourse of these scholars, the universal value refers to historical, artistic, social, and national identity values. It is in this concept that Chinese scholars and officials again borrowed and accommodated from the UNESCO World Heritage discourse on the Outstanding Universal Value. There are no items concerning the value criterion in the ICHC, however, many mainstream scholars surprisingly argue that UNESCO defines ICH from the values in history, aesthetics, literature, anthropology and so on (Liu 2004a; Xiang 2013, p. 42). This international justification is then incorporated into the Chinese national value building process, which can be seen in the harmony value in Wang’s (2006c, 2008a, 2013a) argument and, for example, in the augment for the social value of ICH in Yuan and Gu’s (2013, p. 50) work published for the ICH bureaucrats:

Firstly, ICH is a nation’s symbolic culture; secondly, it is the result of the national collective identity; thirdly, it maintains the social order and establishes the public morality and finally, it is an important source of moral construction in contemporary China.

This definition differs from the definition of social value in Western heritage discourse which advocates people’s active construction of the value of a heritage (such as Johnston 1992). This different explanation of the social value, as noted here, demonstrates that the values associated between inheritors and heritage are not recognised in the mainstream national ICH discourse.
Nevertheless, an argument for the unique value and the value for local community and individuals is expressed by some scholars. For example, He Ming (Interview 2014) thinks the value of ICH lies in the uniqueness inherent in the wisdom, knowledge and crafts of an ethnic group in a certain area, as well as in the understanding, creativity and spiritual experience of a person. Song and Wang (2013, p. 89) appropriately argue that UNESCO and the national and regional governments use the universal value to justify their ICH work, while the unique value felt by the inheritors, is the inner driving force for them to actively transmit and create their ICH.

The emphasis on the so-called unique value, or the diverse values felt by individual and community is still weak in non-local scholars’ arguments, and this situation influences their understanding of authenticity. As discussed in Chapter 2, authenticity is advocated in both mainstream scholarly and the official’s work, as a result of the influence from the conventional heritage philosophy and the folklore studies mindset. Therefore, authenticity is adopted in the official discourse in an etic way to preserve the recognised values of ICH in the currently changing China. However, alternative perspectives on authenticity are also noted. Scholars X, B, and Song Junhua, for example, think that authenticity shouldn’t be understood as a static concept since cultural practices always change (Interview 2014). Though some national bureaucratic scholars still stick to the official explanation of authenticity as “keeping ICH as it was in the past” (Interviewee W, 2014), most interviewed scholars understand authenticity in ICH from a constructivist perspective. This is because “authenticity is a dynamic concept” (Interviewee X, 2014), it is a continuum (Interviewee He Ming, 2014), it is contextualised (Interviewee B, 2014), and, “it should be looked at in relation to time and place” (Interviewee Song Junhua, 2014). Because of these reasons, the concept of original ecological culture is thus considered as a problematic concept that is in conflict with the dynamic nature of ICH. As He Ming puts it, “original ecological culture is a pseudo-proposition, it was initially used as a label in the performance Dynamic Yunnan for advertisement” (Interview 2014).

In a similar way to some local officials in Yunnan, some scholars argue that the authenticity of ICH should be understood from the perspective of the practitioners.
For example, scholar X holds the same view as official Yin Jiayu in Yunnan that, “the key point in assessing authenticity is whether the locals acknowledge it or not. Something is authentic when the locals think so” (Interview 2014). Nevertheless, scholars couldn’t agree on the concept of subjective authenticity which is totally articulated by the practitioners themselves, because “it is too causal”, so that “authenticity should be ascertained by the community with the assistance of the experts”, otherwise, “the community may despise their ICH” (Interviewee Song Junhua, 2014). It can be noticed here that the scholars still hold their proposition in ICH safeguarding and the concept of authenticity is their theoretical weapon.

7.3.2 Local Experts

The view of experts and scholars is complicated by the fact that in most cases they are also community members in Lijiang. However, as I shall argue, this situation also enables diverse understandings to emerge. I categorise those Naxi experts who are closely affiliated to the institutes in Kunming and Lijiang as local experts (Table 7.2). This is the same as in the following sections in Chapters 8 and 9.

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<td>Yang Guoqing</td>
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<td>Naxi scholar and a retired Lijiang leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mu Chen</td>
<td>Lijiang Museum</td>
<td>Naxi scholar and a Dongba</td>
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Table 7.2 Background of the Interviewed Local Scholars
(Source: author’s interview)

The traits of mainstream local scholars’ arguments are reflected among these Naxi scholars in that they prioritise the so-called universal values of ICH which are acknowledged in the forms of historical, cultural, philosophical and aesthetic values (Interviewees He Limin and He Pinzheng, 2014). On the other hand, local experts regard the value for the Naxi or Lijiang community as an important unique value. This phenomenon is similar to the local officials who justify the ICH value more in relation to their community, rather than the whole country.
Many Dongba culture experts in Lijiang articulate the important value of Dongba culture for the whole Naxi community. Specifically, the value of Dongba culture is described as equal to the value of the Naxi community (Interviewee He Pinzheng, 2014), because the “value of ICH is important in forming a nation or community’s value, belief, spirit, ethnicity, character and so on” (Interviewee Yang Fuquan, 2014). Furthermore, the value of Naxi culture is also praised as not only significant to Lijiang but also to the world, because “the essence of Naxi culture, the Dongba culture, promotes a universal value which promotes the harmony between peoples, as well as between people and nature” (Interviewee Yang Guoqing, 2014).

In addition to the community value, importantly, the personal values of ICH are noticed in He Limin’s interview when he argues that “the value of Dongba culture should be articulated from the heart of the individual, as well as from the reality, rather than from the official document” (Interview 2014). Being a Dongba, he relates his understanding of Dongba culture to his spiritual practice. This is also the case for other local experts who are also cultural practitioners engaging with ICH. Contemporary Dongba artist He Pinzheng emphasises the growing contemporary value of Dongba culture, saying that “contemporary Dongba culture serves the contemporary society”. For him, “real/authentic Dongba culture, which mainly served the religion, is dead. All Dongba culture practiced by contemporary people is new, and it serves the contemporary life” (Interview 2014).

In regard to the understanding of authenticity, local scholars are not generally knowledgeable about the theory of authenticity to the same level as the non-local scholars, except those scholars who are affiliated to the government. Examples can be found in the interview with Yang Fuquan, a high profile Naxi scholar in China who works with the Yunnan Provincial Government, and scholar Mu Chen who works with the Lijiang ICH Centre. Yang regards authenticity as a measure to control and regulate the change of ICH in commodification so that “the authenticity of ICH couldn’t be changed by people optionally” (Interview 2014). Mu Chen’s voice also resonates with official perspectives that “the government should pay attention to authenticity in the transmission of ICH” (Interview 2014).
All the interviewed local scholars, regardless of whether the word authenticity is used or not, tend to understand authenticity from a pro-constructivist perspective, rather than the conventional objective one. Yang Guoqing (Interview 2014) for example, argues that “it is extremely hard to preserve Naxi culture in an original ecological way. In fact, Naxi culture should evolve along with time and shouldn’t stay in the Yuanzhiyuanwei\textsuperscript{159} status”. Yang further argues that though the forms of Naxi culture are changing, the essence of Naxi culture, which refers to the key philosophy and ideas such as harmony between humans and nature, remains Yuanzhiyuanwei (Interview 2014). This understanding is also noted in He Pinzheng’s argument that “contemporary Dongba culture is not Yuanzhiyuanwei, or traditional, but it is not fake either, because it still connects with the traditional Dongba culture as its root” (Interview 2014). These considerations reveal that the notion of authenticity is not useful for local scholars to describe the cultural practices they observe and engage with so that they also face the ambiguity of authenticity. In this sense, these scholars are in the same position as the ICH practitioners.

\textbf{7.3.3 Summary}

This section investigated the understandings of both local and non-local scholars of the value and authenticity of ICH. In general, their understandings are dependent on their affiliation to the institutes, social and academic status and the educational background, and, importantly, their personal association with the ICH practice, or the practicing community concerned.

Both local and non-local scholars argue for the so-called universal values which concern the canonical intrinsic values such as historical, artistic and cultural values (historical and artistic values are officially recognised as two of the four values). However, this is more common in the non-local scholars under the influence of the Chinese ICH AHD, World Heritage discourse and their academic background, than the local scholars. As for the local scholars, they are inclined to

\textsuperscript{159} In Chinese Yuanzhiyuanwei literally means “original juice and original flavour” and this word is commonly used by the general public to describe something that is authentic (in a pro-objective perspective) or original.
regard the value for the Naxi or Lijiang community as a unique value. Moreover, it is more common to see that local scholars mention the unique value, or the diverse values felt by individuals and the local community.

The understanding of authenticity also showed diversity among both non-local and local scholars and most of them argue for a pro-constructivist perspective of authenticity, rather than the rigorous objective one. Compared with non-local scholars who are familiar with authenticity theoretically, local scholars conceive authenticity from their own understandings, personal observation and engagement of the ICH in reality. Local scholars tend to be more tolerant of the contemporary use of ICH and they realised the inappropriateness of the conventional objective authenticity as they formed their understandings from both scholarly discourse and personal cultural practice.

7.4 The Inheritor Perspective

The understanding of the inheritors of ICH is the centre of this thesis. The inheritors here mainly concern the cultural practitioners introduced in Chapter 6. Other community members are also considered though they are not officially recognised, or, it is difficult to select them, such as in the case of Naxi traditional food making. The majority of the data here, as well as that in Chapters 8 and 9, was collected from qualitative interviews and the quantitative questionnaire survey.

7.4.1 Diversity of the Values

As I argued in Chapter 2, values, as well as meanings, understandings, and identities, are crucial to the understanding of heritage. I used the terms value, significances, meanings and importance with the ICH practitioners in the fieldwork, however, in order to present a concise narrative, I would like to use the term value more frequently in this thesis.

In the following part of the thesis, I use the term synchronic values to describe all the current values articulated by the interviewees across all situations in the four
cases. In another dimension, I will use the term diachronic values to describe the changing values along with time within a specific case. Ten major aspects of the synchronic values are described by the interviewed inheritors in related cases. I categorised these aspects of values into five types according to the ways by which a certain aspect of the value is embodied between the inheritor and other people in their personal lives (Table 7.3). In the following tables, Y indicates yes which means that the value is claimed by at least one of the inheritors in that case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Embodiment of the values</th>
<th>Aspects of the Values</th>
<th>Dongba case</th>
<th>Music case</th>
<th>Handicraft case</th>
<th>Food case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inside the inheritors themselves</td>
<td>Personal actualisation</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal spiritual needs</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic value</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the inheritors and their families</td>
<td>Family value</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the inheritors and the audiences</td>
<td>Acceptance, appreciation and trust</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural dissemination</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the inheritors and the community</td>
<td>Ethnic value</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside the ICH practice per se</td>
<td>Historical value</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artistic value</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.3 Synchronic Values Perceived by the Interviewed Practitioners
(Source: author’s interview data, 2013-2014)

The synchronic values indicated in Table 7.3 manifest the spread or diversity of the personal understanding of the values of the ICH they are engaging with. The differences between less and more commodified practices are not emphasised here but will be described in the following chapter. Since some of these synchronic values are related to the commodification in tourism, I will illustrate how they are affected by tourism when necessary. During my interview, the maximum latitude was given to the interviewees so that they could freely tell me any values, or the significances, meanings and reasons that they think are important to their ICH practices.

In general, it can be clearly seen that the spectrum of the ICH values described by the local practitioners is much wider and more complex than the four categorical
intrinsic values, namely the historical, literary, artistic and scientific values which are upheld in the Chinese ICH AHD. Specifically, the values of ICH are perceived by the inheritors from three dimensions: firstly, their intrapersonal significances; secondly, the interpersonal significances which are embodied between themselves and their families, the audiences (either locals or outside tourists), and the community; thirdly, the significances residing inside the ICH practice per se which are frequently recognised by the governmental players. In comparing these with those of the governmental players, we can see that the majority of the values are subjectively attributed to the ICH practitioners and their associations with the family, audience and community whereas only two aspects of the officially recognised intrinsic values are noticed by the ICH practitioner.

These synchronic values are the lens through which I interrogate and rethink the notion of ICH and the meaning of authenticity from the perspective of the practitioners according to the inheritors-based emic perspective. As I argued in Chapter 2, subjective authenticity in the ICH field concerns people’s abilities to convey the values through either interpersonal or intrapersonal ways. My study reveals clearly here that the inheritors do demonstrate substantial subjective values through both intrapersonal and interpersonal ways. By comparison, the objective values (i.e. historical and artistic values), which are central to objective authenticity, represent a more minor part of their account.

I will illustrate how the values are described by the inheritors from top to bottom in Table 7.3. Firstly, the intrapersonal values embodied in the practitioners themselves constitute a major part of the ICH values. Under the category of “inside the inheritors themselves”, four major aspects of the values are frequently indicated by the interviewees, namely personal actualisation, personal spiritual needs, economic value and creativity.

As described in Chapter 6, practitioners in Lijiang try to make the best of the development of tourism in order to improve their living conditions. This is commonly observed in all commodified situations of all four cases. In the cases of Dongba culture and ethnic music, economic value is a new synchronic value that emerged along with the development of tourism and related cultural tourism.
industry in the 1990s (see Chapter 6). In regard to the Dongba case, Dongbas working in Yushuizhai Park (Interviewees He Xuewu and Yang Wenji, 2014), the *Impression of Naxi* (Interviewee He Yaowei, 2014) and Dongba Gu Park (Interviewee He Guojun, 2014) positively say that tourism development provides economic support for both Dongba culture transmission and their practices. The economic value not only means good income for a Dongba (Interviewee He Guojun, 2014), but also means a sound career opportunity for many young Dongba students (Interviewees He Shunquan and Yang Lixin, 2014). In the case of ethnic music, Baishaxiyue inheritors He Linyi and He Juyi and Dongjing music player He Shiwei all agree that the Naxi music performance in Lijiang has to be sustained by the economic benefit generated in tourism and many young learners now can make their livings with stable income (Interview 2013). As for the products-related cases, such as the handicraft and food making skills, the economic benefit is always important and commodification is always essential, because the practices are a means of livelihood that sustains their families (Interviewees He Ayi, Zhang Xiangfang, Chang Qing, He Dama and Li Dongling, 2014). For some artisans, the economic benefit generated from the tourism market not only subsidises them in their early career years (Interviewee He Jinping, 2014), but also guarantees the livelihoods of most craftsmen who otherwise would withdraw their practices (Interviewee Che Fumin, 2014). Furthermore, opportunities in the tourism market attract young people who would like to develop careers in craftsmanship (Interviewee He Shanjun, 2014).

While the economic benefit is triggered and maintained in the tourism context, it should be noticed that other intrapersonal values, such as personal actualisation, personal spiritual needs and creativity are expressed more frequently. I found through these interviews that, since the majority of the inheritors learnt their practices from their parents or teachers at an early age, they embarked on these practices initially because of personal interests and talents, but not economic interest. These reasons are commonly found in the cases of music, handicraft and Dongba cases in which the young practitioners develop their artistic and creative talents and abilities along with their ICH. Therefore, the majority of practitioners articulate that their personal values, interest, talents and abilities in a certain field
are actualised in the continuous ICH practice. Specifically, these spiritual rewards are diversely described as ethics, morality, world view and personal virtue in the Dongba case (Interviewees Yang Lixin, He Lishi, Yang Jinzhi and He Guojun, 2014), as happiness, enrichment, fulfilment, amusement, and joyfulness in the music case (Interviewees He Shiwei, Wang Liwei, Yang Yinxian and Wang Yaojun, 2014), as being gratified, acknowledged and happy in the handicraft making case (Interviewees He Shanyi and He Shanjun, 2013-2014) and as being proud, happy and satisfied in the food making case (Interviewee He Dama, 2014). Though described in various words, these practitioners could realise their diverse spiritual requirements on which they could build their personal identities as a Dongba, music player, artisan or a cook.

In regard to the cases of handicraft and food making, value in the aspect of creativity is described as an emergent value with the development of tourism. Craftsmen claim that their creativity is enhanced in touristic engagement, in particular in the case of copperware making (Interviewees He Shanjun and He Shanyi, 2014). In the food making context, the creation of new dishes happened before the arrival of tourists. As Xiao Jun remembers, “the development of Naxi food is a continuous process of creation from past to present” (Interview 2013). However, as exemplified in the invention of new Jidou Bean Jelly in the 88 Restaurant and the new Lijiang Baba in Lyu Guijin’s Bainian Laodian shop, the tourism market is the best arena for the cook to explore their new ideas.

Moving down to the second category of value, the interpersonal values embodied between the practitioners and their elderly family members, especially their parents, are commonly found in all four cases. In general, ICH is regarded as a family treasure inherited across the generations. This is noticeably claimed in the Dongba case because the lineage of a Dongba family usually legitimates the continuation of the Dongba practice. So, engaging with the Dongba practice is important to their Dongba families (Interviewees Yang Wenji, He Yaowei, He Yongguang and He Shukun, 2014). I have noticed in all four cases that engaging with ICH is a way for the practitioners to connect, recall and commemorate their passed elderly family members. Therefore, practicing ICH is a way for those inheritors to enhance their family identity. For example, He Linyi says
sentimentally that “whenever I play this (Baishaxiyue) music, or hear this music, very often, my brother and I will think of our father” (Interview 2014). However, in some personal cases where the practitioner didn’t learn from their family member, this “family connection” is not mentioned, such as in the case of Zhu Xing’s silverware and He Jinping’s wood carving case.

Beyond the family, the interpersonal values are also embodied in the aspect of, firstly, the acceptance, appreciation and trust, and secondly, the cultural dissemination in the embodiment between the inheritor and the audiences. The values in the aspects of “acceptance, appreciation and trust” are established in two scenarios. In the first scenario, the audiences have to be local people in order to understand, accept and appreciate the practices. This is revealed clearly by comparing the commodified and non-commodified situations in the Dongba case. For instance, Dongba He Yaowei says that “villagers will understand my ritual practices in the community. However, the tourists don’t understand, even though I am performing the traditional rituals on the stage. No resonation” (Interview 2014). The implications of the presence of tourists in the commodified Dongba will be further discussed in Chapter 8. In the second scenario, the audience can be either locals or tourists. This is found commonly in the product-oriented case, namely the handicraft and food making cases in which both locals and tourists are regarded as important consumers (Interviewees Xie Pinzhen, Zhang Xiangfang and He Dama 2014). Interestingly this scenario is also found in the case of music playing. As described in Chapter 6, the secularised Naxi music is usually played by the inheritors themselves for their recreational purposes, so that the audiences are not strictly restricted to local people. Or, in the situation of non-commodified playing, one player could be seen as an audience for other players. That’s why Baishaxiyue player He Juyi says that “as long as our troupe members are playing together, we have the same ‘feel’, the joy” (Interview 2014).

Furthermore, when investigating the practitioners who engage with both non-commodified and commodified performances, practitioners in the cases of music and handicraft positively articulate that the presence of tourists is likely to generate the values in the aspects of acceptance, appreciation, trust and happiness. In the case of music performance, when compared with the performance only for
self-entertainment in the local band, players in the tourism context articulate new values in terms of “acceptance, appreciation and trust” and “cultural dissemination”. Taking the Baishaxiyue band led by He Linyi and He Juyi brothers for example, they notice that their ethnic identity and pride, personal pride and cultural confidence are boosted, as well as their cultural awareness of the profound Naxi culture when their music is enjoyed and appreciated by tourists, thus, they feel accepted and heard by the audiences (Interview 2013). Also, players in the Dongjing music case observe that they feel a sense of achievement when performing for tourists (Interviewees Li Yueshou and Wang Yaojun, 2014). In regard to the handicraft case, in addition to the basic feelings of “being trusted, needed and acknowledged” when serving the locals (Interviewees Che Fumin, Xie Pinzhen, Li Runlan, Li Renjiang and He Shan Jun, 2014), craftsmen can experience an extra feeling of being acknowledged and happy in the interaction with tourists (Interviewees He Shanyi and He Shanjun, 2014).

The value between the inheritors and the audiences in the aspect of “culture dissemination” is predominately reported in all four cases in the situation of touristic commodification, and the realisation of this value is also linked to some aspects of the intrapersonal values. In the Dongba culture case, most interviewed Dongbas in the tourism industry claim that tourism helps to disseminate their Dongba culture to the outside world (Interviewees Yang Xun, Yang Wenji, He Yaowei and He Guojun, 2014), which then stimulates the sustainability of Dongba culture (Interviewees Yang Xun and He Guojun, 2014). In the case of music performance, music is regarded as a media for intercultural exchange between the Naxi and other outside tourists. In the performance of Baishaxiyue music, He Linyi and He Juyi report that their minds are broadened, their musical skills are enhanced and their musical comprehensive ability is developed as well (Interview 2013). Also in the performance of Dongjing music, Wang Liwei and Yang Yinxian agree that their playing abilities are maintained or improved with audience listening (Interview 2013). As answered by the interviewees, the outcome is firstly the result from the interaction between the players and the audiences in the touristic performance when the players have to play more seriously, carefully and frequently (Interviewees Yang Yinxian, Wang Liwei and
He Juyi, 2013). The second reason is that the interaction and collaboration among different players enable them to learn from each other when they are performing together on stage (Interviewees Yang Zenlie and Wang Liwei, 2013). In the handicraft case, artisans believe that the interaction with tourists promotes their pride (Interviewee Xie Pinzheng, 2014), passion and interests in continuing the practice (Interviewee He Shanjun, 2014), and it also broadens their minds and improves their thinking and learning of the craftsmanship (Interviewees He Shanyi and Li Renjiang, 2014). In terms of the food making case, along with the increase of the interaction between food makers and tourists, cultural dissemination is established with the food as the vehicle. Xiao Jun’s Amayi and He Zhiming’s 88 Restaurant, as two licensed restaurants in Wuyi Street in Lijiang, are quite popular among not only tourists but also local people. Both Xiao and He regard “authentic” Naxi food as the local specialty that can promote and deliver the Naxi culture to the outside world via tourists’ tasting and sharing it (Interview 2014).

The values embodied in ethnic identity are obviously demonstrated by the local officials and scholars, and these are also described by the individual inheritors from their subjective perspectives. According to the results of the questionnaire survey (Table 7.4), Naxi people160 regard their traditional Naxi culture, including Dongba culture, as important for both their national and Naxi ethnic identity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Intensity of the attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The traditional Naxi culture belongs to the Chinese excellent traditional culture.</td>
<td>74.93% of “absolutely agree” and “agree”</td>
<td>3.56 (positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel proud to be a local person when I practice the traditional Naxi culture.</td>
<td>72.45% of “absolutely agree” and “agree”</td>
<td>3.46 (positive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.4 Naxi People’s Attitude towards the Ethnic Values
(Source: author’s questionnaire survey, 2013-2014)

In the interview however, it is interesting to notice that the Naxi ethnic identity is foregrounded while the national identity is eclipsed. Many interviewees in all four cases actively associate the values of their cultural practices to the whole Naxi community. Most obviously, for example, Dongba He Guojun proudly expresses

160 I only analysed the responses of 278 Naxi respondents out of the total 363 respondents in Table 7.4.
that “Dongba culture is the soul of the Naxi, and it is the symbol of the Naxi identity” (Interview 2014). Therefore, inheritors think their cultural practices are contributing to the benefit of the whole Naxi community. This perception is noticed in all four cases, even in the situation of commodified practices. Examples are found in the Dongba culture transmission in Yushuizhai theme park (Interviewees Yang Xun, He Xuedong, He Xuewu and Yang Wenji, 2014), music performance in He Linyi and Xuan Ke’s cases (Interview 2013-2014), handicraft cases with He Shanyi (Interview 2014) and in food making cases (Interviewees Hedama and Li Dongling, 2014). Interestingly in the cases of food making crafts, some cooks claim that it is more likely in the context of tourism where they could experience the sense of ethnic pride and identity. Asanshu and Hedama, He Zhiming’s parents in the 88 Restaurant, which is very popular among the tourists, regard Naxi food as “the soul of Lijiang and the spirit of the Naxi people” so that it is a feature of the Lijiang culture. Therefore, they are proud that they are protecting the traditional Naxi culture by continuously making the Naxi food and serving it to their customers (Interview 2014).

In Table 7.3, in addition to the above intrapersonal and interpersonal values, object-related values are also described by the interviewees as intrinsic in the ICH practice per se, such as historical and artistic values. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 and in this chapter, the so-called four values (historical, artistic, literary and scientific) are stipulated as major values of ICH in the AHD, and it is also used as a criterion to select the candidate ICH element in the official ICH discourse. Noticeably here, only two of these four values are articulated by the ICH inheritors and they constitute a comparatively small proportion of the synchronic values.

Significantly, the values articulated by the practitioners in the category of “inside the ICH practice per se” can be contrasted sharply with the four values highlighted in the government documents. Interviewees in the cases of Dongba culture and food making crafts didn’t articulate any aspects of the four values. Nevertheless, historical value, for example, is emphasised in the official introduction of the Shu god worship rite in Dongba culture. The introduction describes that this rite teaches Naxi people to “love life, protect the nature, protect
the environment, therefore, the continuous Naxi Shu god worship rite continues a historical value, practical value and an eternal ideology.” 161 Then, the practical value is explained as the ethics which “effectively restricts human’s acts of the destruction of nature”. 162 Furthermore, this document also praises the artistic values embodied in Dongba culture, pointing out that “the Dongba painting is the most characteristic Naxi artistic heritage” and that “it maintains many writing features of the pictography so that Dongba painting is a ‘living fossil’ for studying the primitive human art of drawing”. 163 In the official introduction of the Lijiang Baba pastry making crafts, the historical value is described as the only value of the making craft. It is, therefore, an obvious contrast here that when the interviewed cooks articulate seven aspects of the ICH values (Table 7.3) the government concludes the values into just one simple sentence that “Lijiang Baba is a unique snack which has a long history”. 164

In Table 7.3, practitioners in the cases of music and handicrafts talked about the values inside the ICH practice per se. One possible reason why the historic value is only mentioned in the music case could be that the historic value is an issue in the music case. Considering that there has been a heated debate on the history and authenticity of the “Naxi Ancient Music” in Lijiang since 2003 (see Chapter 6), the notion of historic value among the music players can be seen as a consequence of that debate. This consequence is clearly noticed in the interview with Xuan Ke and Yang Zenlie who hold different views on the origin and authenticity of Dongjing music. While Xuan Ke regards Dongjing Music as maintaining the “authenticity” of the music during the Tang and Song Dynasties, Yang Zenlie argues that this music was introduced in Lijiang by Han Chinese during the Ming Dynasty (Interview 2013-2014). Other music players, such as Wang Yaojun who plays music in Xuan Ke’s troupe, also appreciate the historical value of Dongjing music (Interview 2014).

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162 See footnote No 160.
The artistic value is obviously described by the artisans in the case of handicraft. Che Fumin, who uses the traditional making technique to produce tourist souvenirs with patterns and Dongba script decoration, emphasises the new evolving artistic value he puts into the products he makes for the tourism market (Interview 2014). As a wood carving artist, He Jinping reflects that, compared with his early works which were simple and rough, he has gradually developed his personal iconic style which creates an artefact that is more aesthetic, exquisite and technical in the context of tourism (Interview 2013). Even though the artistic value is described as inside the product itself, it is not the value that pre-exists there, but the value that the practitioners produce and attribute to the product. Ultimately, the value lies between the producer and the product.

This section displayed the diversity and spectrum of the subjectively perceived values from the inheritor perspective. In general, when the ICH values are designated in the national official discourse as categorical, selective and nationalistic, practitioners on the ground view the values in relation to their personal lives and social relations. The four values, which are upheld in the official ICH discourse, are quite limited and cannot describe the rich and subtle subjective values perceived by the practitioners. This result shows that ICH is understood as diverse “heritages” to different inheritors. Furthermore, not only is the engagement of ICH in the community a way of heritage value making process, but also the use and reuse of ICH in the context of tourism. Most new values emerge because of the positive effects of tourism development. Discussion of the implications of tourism on different aspects of ICH will continue in the following chapters.

7.4.2 Diversity in Authenticity

In the first place, it needs to be pointed out that the concept of authenticity is after all a theoretical concept in the national official discourse in China and that the general public do not necessarily have an equivalent understanding. Therefore, the inheritors usually use a set of colloquial words to express their thoughts (Table 7.5). In the following discussion, whenever necessary, I will use their original colloquial words to describe different aspects of authenticity.
In order to convey and realise the diverse values the practitioners feel, experience and expect, they inherit, practice and transmit their ICH in diverse ways as I described in Chapter 6. My research reveals that it is not always essential for them to use the concept of authenticity to differentiate diverse interpretations of their ICH as either authentic or inauthentic, unless they have to justify the values of their own ICH. Therefore, as explained in Chapter 3, I didn’t use the term authenticity in the interview and questionnaire, unless the respondents initially use authenticity or other words in Table 7.5 to argue their understandings. Accordingly, Table 7.5 reflects the fact that some inheritors do use the term authenticity and others use other words. Furthermore, they perceive authenticity differently from different aspects of the ICH. In general, authenticity is understood by the interviewed inheritors from diverse aspects of the ICH (Table 7.6) and the term authenticity is understood ambiguously. Even within a certain kind of case, different inheritors describe the authenticity of their ICH from different perspectives. Y (yes) in Table 7.6 indicates that this information is claimed by at least one respondent in that case. In the following section, I will illustrate how authenticity is articulated by the ICH practitioners case by case.
It can be seen from Table 7.6 that authenticity in the Dongba culture case concerns a majority of the aspects. During the interview, when discussing different interpretations of Dongba culture, the interviewed Dongbas usually raised the issue of authenticity. The contestation of authenticity is clearly seen in a comparison between the Dongbas in Baidi Village who work in a non-commodified context and other Dongbas working in the commodified context of Lijiang, such as Yushuizhai, Dongba Gu and the Impression of Naxi. For instance, He Shurong, the head of the Baidi Dongba School, proudly announces that the Dongba culture in Baidi is “the most traditional and authentic” form, and Baidi is “the real holy land of Dongba culture”, because they abide by the classic Dongba manuscript, follow the ancestral procedures and use traditional instruments and costumes (Interview 2014). As a famous Dongba in Baidi, He Shukun is critical of the Dongba practices in Yushuizhai, saying that “they are for tourists, are
adapted by cultural boss, are just performance, are selling the soul, are without belief, so they are ‘tourist Dongba’ who are ‘not real Dongba’ (Interview 2014). By comparison, the interpersonal value is highly esteemed in Baidi, so that the Dongbas in Baidi are concerned with the relationship between Dongba practitioners, their practice, audience, function and community acceptance, all of which are regarded as important. For example, when talking about the Dongba transmission in Yushuizhai, He Shukun says “no, no, tourist attractions cannot do that. Dongba culture should be practiced in the village for the villagers, rather than for the tourists. If it is served for tourists, it is not real Dongba culture” (Interview 2014).

On the other side, however, Dongbas in Yushuizhai think that they are engaging with the “authentic” Dongba culture (Interviewees Yang Xun, He Xuewu and Yang Wenji, 2014). In general, Dongba culture practiced in Yushuizhai is praised as “very good”, because it is not focused on performance (Interviewees Yang Xun, He Xuedong, He Xuewu, Yang Wenji, 2014). Though tourists are welcomed to observe the Dongba practices, the Dongba in Yushuizhai don’t have to perform for the tourists (Interviewee Yang Wenji, 2014). Noticeably, Yushuizhai is regarded by senior Dongba Yang Wenji as “the place where Dongba culture transmission is protected to the best in the world” (Interview 2014). Even Dongba He Guojun from Dongba Gu Park praises Yushuizhai because “it is a traditional Dongba religious place which has higher status than Baidi Village” (Interview 2014).

Another salient issue in the Dongba case is the understanding of the authenticity of a Dongba—the identity of Dongba. It is found that the credential or personal experience is assessed by Dongbas to judge whether or not another Dongba is real. As described in Chapter 6, traditionally the identity of a Dongba is authenticated during the Zhizai ceremony and then can be accepted by fellow Dongbas and the community. The Dongbas in Baidi still follow these procedures. In Yushuizhai and Dongba Gu however, the Dongba Degree Evaluation conducted by the Dongba Association is gradually regarded by some Dongbas as more important, reputable and better than the Zhizai ceremony (Interviewees He Guojun and He
Rui, 2014). It is also significant to notice in this aspect that authenticity of a Dongba practitioner can be detached from authenticity of the practice. This is found in the case of Dongba He Yaowei in the *Impression of Naxi* performance. He says that “I am a Dongba as long as I wear my Dongba costume and hold my instruments, even though I am performing on the stage for the tourists” (Interview 2014). This claim not only complicates the recognition of authenticity but also triggers the issue of integrity of ICH which I will discuss in Chapter 8. Comparing the two conflicting views on the authenticity of Dongba culture, I would conclude that the Dongbas in Baidi hold a pro-objective perspective on Dongba culture while the Dongbas in commodified cases in Lijiang adopt a pro-constructivist perspective (e.g. He Guojun case) and existential perspective (e.g. He Yaowei case).

The understanding of authenticity of Naxi music is also attributed to the commodification of the music performance. As I introduced in Chapter 6, the Dayan Association led by Xuan Ke boasted objective authenticity of old musician (practitioner), old music (knowledge), old instrument (object) and old town (locality), as the “four olds”, to stimulate its business during the tourism development. On the other side, He Linyi’s Baishaxiyue family troupe, which is performing for tourists regularly, also boasts its authenticity from aspects of practice (learning method), continuity, locality and interpretation (flavour). He Linyi says that “the earliest and most authentic (Zhengzong) transmission (of Baishaxiyue music) is through the traditional oral teaching learning method between father and sons. This method is the most traditional and authentic (Zhengzong)” (Interview 2013). Furthermore, He Linyi says that “this music is closely connected to this land in terms of soul and blood and this connection is an inherited lineage” (Interview 2013). Flavour (Yunwei) is another important aspect of authenticity only seen in the music case. According to Yang Zenlie, a musician and scholar, the flavour concerns traditional learning methods based on the traditional Gongchepu notation165 which gives the players enough space for personal comprehension and artistic expression (Interview 2013). Therefore, by

165 This is a traditional musical notation method which uses Chinese characters to represent the musical notes. It was widely used in China in the past. According to the author’s fieldwork in Lijiang, Gongchepu is rarely used and most traditional music is taught with the numbered musical notation.
learning the Gongchepu from their father, He Linyi’s family troupe has formed their own flavour which enables them to defend their own authenticity. Specifically, He Juyi argues that “authenticity concerns the flavour” (Interview 2013). He Linyi criticises the Baishaxiyue played in Xuan Ke’s Dayan Association as “distorted, because they concentrate on skills, on modern style, and they are academism” (Interview 2013). This explains why He Juyi thinks the Baishaxiyue played in Xuan Ke’s troupe “doesn’t have flavour, the Naxi folk flavour” (Interview 2013). Therefore, Xuan Ke’s objective authenticity is challenged by He Linyi and He Juyi’s pro-constructivist and existential perspective.

Compared with the Dongba culture and music cases which are a process-based ICH practice, the handicraft and food making cases are a product-based practice. Therefore, the relationship between the tangible, the end-products, and the intangible, the making practice, becomes an interesting point when considering authenticity from the practitioners’ perspective.

I notice in this research that the practitioners do have different understandings of the authenticity of the end-products-based ICH from the aspects of the objects, practice and knowledge (Table 7.6). In the cases of handicraft and food making, the authenticity of the making processes isn’t necessarily the same as the authenticity of the products. In the case of Che Fumin’s wood carving for example, he justifies his handicraft as an ICH element by saying that “the ICH is mainly embodied in the carving techniques. The carving technique is more important, it is traditional” (Interview 2013). By comparison, he describes the products as “creative”, rather than “traditional”. A similar description is noticed in the case of He Jinping who thinks the wood carving craft itself is traditional, but his art work is personal and even international which means “expressing the Naxi culture in a personal and international way” (Interview 2013).

Some of the issues around authenticity in the case of handicraft are also noticed in the food making case, especially the relationship between the objects (ingredient and quality of the food), the practice (making processes), the audience (local acceptance) and the practitioner (ethnicity) (Table 7.6). In general, most cooks in
the food case assess the authenticity of their cooking from these three aspects. In regard to the objects, they prioritise the taste (Interviewees He Dama, Li Dongling, 2014), ingredients (Interviewee Chang Qing, He Ayi, 2014), and texture (Interviewee Li Dongling, 2014) as an important quality to describe the authenticity of the food. They realise the quality of the food is decided by the making processes, so that authenticity is also attributed to the traditional cooking processes, such as the fire-wood firing method in Lijiang Baba making (Interviewees Zhang Xiangfang, Li Dongling, 2014) and the sophisticated cooking method in Jidou Bean Jelly making (Interviewees He Dama, He Ayi, 2014). In addition to the object and practice, it is interesting to find in the food case that the participation of local people also contributes to authenticity. Firstly, the identity of the cook decides the authenticity of the food in terms of the practitioner. As Xiao Jun says, “in order to be called traditional Naxi cuisine, at least the cook has to be a local person” (Interview 2013). Secondly, local consumers’ acceptance of the food is crucial. It is interesting to know that though nearly all interviewed cooks serve the tourists, some of them still hold that only the local people, especially the elderly, can tell whether the food is authentic (Zhengzong) or not (Interviewees Chang Qing and Xiao Jun, 2013-2014), even though local people’s eating habits are changing.

This section illustrated how different aspects of the authenticity of ICH are indicated by different practitioners in different situations to justify the ICH they engage with. In general, authenticity is an ambiguous concept that implies different understandings in people’s discourse which leads to diverse perspectives on authenticity. I noticed that authenticity is not commonly used by practitioners to describe their ICH unless the ICH is contested, challenged or questioned. I also found that authenticity, and its synonyms in Chinese, can be used to indicate different aspects of ICH and that different practitioners have different understandings. This is in contrast to the standardised and theorised concept of authenticity enshrined in the official discourse.
7.4.3 Summary

This section revealed diverse understandings of the values and authenticity of ICH from the inheritor perspective. In general, both values and authenticity are understood diversely and subjectively. The inheritors mainly describe the values of their ICH practices from intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects and these subjective values are the basis on which they then could justify their ICH with a set of synonymous words for authenticity. These results therefore indicate that an ICH practice can be understood as different “heritages” to different inheritors.

In terms of synchronic values, though some of these values concern practitioners’ material needs, such as economic benefits, the majority of the descriptions of the values consider personal spiritual needs and the values embodied between themselves and the family, audience and the community. This is in strong contrast to the official discourses on ICH values. Furthermore, some of the values emerged along with the development of tourism so that tourism is involved in the actualisation of the values and the heritage making process.

Authenticity is a highly theorised concept not commonly used in the inheritors’ discourse. However, they use a set of colloquial words to describe different aspects of the authenticity of their ICH in order to justify certain values. It is noticed that the contestation of authenticity is intensified when a certain ICH’s value is claimed, challenged or questioned, especially in a commodification process. By comparison, while the national official discourse upholds authenticity to claim and protect the canonical four values of ICH, the practitioners use authenticity, or other synonyms, to claim and contest their recognised subjective values.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter described the understanding of the values and the concept of authenticity in the perspectives of the officials, experts and inheritors. This is done by analysing the data from both interviews and questionnaires to illustrate
diverse personal understandings in reality so as to compare and contrast different ICH discourses in regard to the value and authenticity.

As argued in previous chapters, a national official ICH discourse exists in Chinese administration system as an Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006) which is established by officials and the bureaucratic scholars. By investigating actual understandings of the governmental players, the officials and experts from national, provincial and local levels, I found that these players don’t always understand the value and authenticity as standardised and articulated in the national ICH AHD which is embodied in the LICH. Instead, the closer the officials and experts are to the ICH practitioners in Lijiang, the more likely it is that they express a sympathetic understanding that is closer to that of the local ICH practitioners. In general, with the exception of the national officials’ argument for the nationalistic values and undisputable authenticity, alternative understandings are identified in other officials, experts and of course, the inheritors’ perspectives. Therefore, this research not only shows the deviation of the ICH values and authenticity between the policy making and the implementation within the AHD but also the diversity and complexity of the AHD itself at the local levels. These results demonstrate that though the AHD is well established at the top level, it is not a monolithic discourse across the whole national hierarchy as the stratification is revealed at the middle and local levels in reality.

While the Chinese government tries to streamline the definition of value and authenticity in its standardised AHD, the diversity and dissonance of these understandings are revealed in reality in this chapter, and the inadequacy of the categorical four values and the inappropriateness of authenticity are displayed as well. Specifically, local officials and experts noticed the divergences between the national ICH theory/policy and the implementation in the Lijiang case so that they are accommodating the gaps. On the other side, the practitioners in the Lijiang case are free from the constraint of the AHD in relation to the categorical values or authenticity so that they understand their ICH as a “cultural practice” (Smith 2006, p. 11) situated in their personal and social relations. Therefore, the values, or the meanings of ICH produced and described by the practitioners are more
diverse and complex than that stipulated in the official and expert perspectives. Meanwhile, some of the values emerge along with the development of tourism and therefore tourism is involved in the heritage making process. Authenticity is found to be an ambiguous and polemical concept for them and it is only useful when their ICH values are contested or questioned, especially in the commodification in tourism.

Reflecting on the literature review and the theoretical proposition in Chapter 2 and considering the results in this chapter, it is evident that the perspective with which the governmental players define and authenticate the ICH element is challenged in reality. In order to resolve this problem, it is better for the governmental players to make spaces for the inheritor-based emic perspective which favours the inheritors’ subjective understandings. I revealed that diverse and dynamic intrapersonal and interpersonal values perceived subjectively by the practitioners, rather than the objective values as stipulated in the LICH, constitute the majority of the ICH values. While I claim that these ICH values should be recognised equally with no discrimination, I argue that we should safeguard the ability with which the practitioners can generate and convey these values according to their self-determination. As I proposed in Chapter 2, this ability is understood as subjective authenticity of the practitioners. This reconceptualisation is also because of the practical problems I demonstrated in this chapter: the conventional concept of authenticity posed difficulties in reality and it is an ambiguous and polemical concept in the inheritors’ perspective. The new subjective authenticity, which is built on existential authenticity in tourism studies, therefore could overcome the theoretical and practical problems caused by the conventional authenticity. Further discussion will continue in Chapter 10. In the next chapter, I will describe the changing diachronic values and the contingent components of ICH by analysing the issues around commodification and integrity.
Chapter 8: Commodification and Integrity

8.1 Introduction

Following the analysis of issues around value and authenticity, this chapter will continue to describe and analyse the understanding of commodification and its implications on ICH in the context of tourism and how commodification affects integrity. It is understood in this thesis that integrity concerns the ability of the ICH practitioners to recognise, create, recreate and even abandon the components of their ICH in order to sustain the values they want to convey. As argued in Chapter 2, commodification should not be regarded as either an absolute external force or the direct result of tourism; rather, it should be seen as a process during which the practitioners, and other players, use ICH for tourists, which then entails changing the original function. In the process of commodification, new aspects of the values of ICH, such as economic value and the value generated in intercultural dissemination (see Table 7.3) of the ICH practice, may emerge while other values, such as the religious value in the Dongjing music case, may decline.

Structured in the same way as Chapter 7, this chapter will reveal different understandings of these issues from the perspectives of officials, experts and inheritors. I will firstly demonstrate the perspective of officials and experts on the commodification of ICH, the change to ICH and consequently, the understanding of integrity of ICH. Since most of the ICH practitioners are not familiar with the term integrity, I will reveal the diversity of the changes to ICH, as well as how the more commodified and the less commodified forms of ICH are perceived from the perspective of the ICH inheritors.

Following on from Chapter 7, I will continue to discuss my findings that there is an actual discrepancy of the understanding of commodification and integrity between the theory/policy and the implementation of the Chinese ICH Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). This chapter will gradually show that, firstly, the understandings in the perspectives of officials, experts and inheritors are
complicated and contextualised; secondly, the diversity and complexity of the Chinese ICH AHD are manifested again at the local levels in China.

8.2 The Official Perspective

As an administrative body of ICH in China, the system led by the Ministry of Culture manages all the processes in the management, the recognition, the protection and the use of ICH. In this section I will investigate the understanding of the officials at national, provincial, municipal and county levels in China towards the commodification of ICH and, consequently, its impact on the concept of integrity. When necessary, data from interviews with relevant officials who work for business or tourism sectors within the government will be included.

8.2.1 National Officials

Official Y is the only national official interviewed in this research. In contrast to his cautious and limited expression of the value of ICH and concepts of authenticity and integrity, official Y spontaneously talked more about the issues around commodification and ICH protection in the context of tourism.

In line with the national policy, official Y underscores in the first place that the “protection of ICH is more important to tourism development. No matter what the protection or development measures are, we have to assess whether the outcome is beneficial for the ICH protection or not” (Interview 2014). Under this precondition, tourism itself is not regarded as either good or bad. Instead, “we have to discuss the tourism in a certain context to see whether the outcome is good or bad” (Interviewee official Y, 2014). With this approach, official Y, like many other mainstream commentators in China, as reviewed in Chapters 1 and 2, differentiates the effects of tourism into good and bad ones. For the former, official Y thinks “tourism could be one of the protection measures and it is a use of the cultural resources” (Interview 2014). For the latter, official Y points out that Lijiang is one of the cases to see the long-term drawbacks of tourism. Like many critiques discussed in Chapter 1, official Y criticises tourism development and related processes of commodification of ICH in Lijiang because “local
people’s lives are substantially influenced by the impact of the outside culture and the local culture is homogenised” (Interview 2014). Because of this, he questions the benefits of the so-called Lijiang Model, saying that “the initial outcome of the Lijiang Model maybe good, but the results in the long term maybe not” (Interview 2014). According to him, the outcome does not just harm the local culture, but also lessens the attraction of Lijiang for future tourism development. Official Y’s argument here reflects the two contradictory mainstream arguments in China, indicated in Chapter 1, that tourism development, or commodification of ICH, does not always fit well with ICH protection so that the government’s expectations of both economic development and cultural protection may not be achieved at the same time.

Like the concept of authenticity, integrity is a concept that official Y thinks should be understood with reference to the mainstream official and bureaucratic scholars’ works. It is then unsurprising to find that the understanding of integrity is as unified and standardised in the LICH and other national policy as is the concept of authenticity. However, the diversity of the meaning of integrity is noted in both national official and bureaucratic scholars’ works. On one hand, it is obvious that the same explanation of the concept of integrity is found in both the national policy, such as the LICH and its illustration and national officials’ work (such as Wang 2008a) and bureaucratic scholars’ work (such as Liu 2004a). In particular, integrity is advocated as a principle to maintain all the components of a certain ICH element and the whole ecological environment where ICH and its practitioners exist (Liu 2004a, 2004b; Wang 2008a; Xin & Huang 2011, p. 15; Yuan & Gu 2013). These arguments tend to emphasise the large-scale protection of all the components of cultural heritage, including tangible and intangible ones and the natural environment, in an “authentic” way, for the “Chinese culture as a whole” (Wang 2008a, p. 311). As with the concept of authenticity, I argue that the concept of integrity in the LICH can also be regarded as a concept to preserve the recognised value for the sake of the whole nation in the objective perspective of the governmental players.

On the other hand, I also notice divergences within the arguments made in national official Wang Wenzhang and other national bureaucratic scholars’ works.
As reviewed in Chapter 2, Liu Kuili, a national bureaucratic scholar, questions the possibility of protecting all components of ICH, especially the ecological environment (2006a). It is interesting that, in making this argument, national official Wang also quoted many of Liu’s arguments in his semi-official document (2008a). For example, Wang argues “ICH lives in past, present and future and it lives in ever-lasting regeneration and creation” (2008a, p. 293). Therefore, both Liu and Wang agree that “we should accept the development and change of ICH, rather than fossilising ICH” (2008a, p. 293). The consequence, however, is a tension between preserving the components of ICH in an authentic way and accepting changes to various components and their contexts in the present, a consequence that is present in Wang’s book (2008a). This tension, then, exists not only in the understanding of integrity between the national policy and the governmental players’ understanding, but also in the understandings of integrity among the governmental players. These dilemmas are further revealed at lower levels of government where the policy is implemented in the administration process.

8.2.2 Provincial Officials

As with Chapter 7, I conducted interviews with officials in the ICH Division at the Department of Culture, Yunnan and the Yunnan ICH Protection Centre. The economic value of ICH, referred to as the “commercial aspect”, or the “tourism aspect of ICH” (Interviewee Cai Yonghui, 2013), is recognised by the officials as acceptable in the ICH management. Like official Y in Beijing, provincial officials don’t presume tourism or commodification as either good or bad, instead, they consider that “tourism and ICH protection is mutually correlated; mutually interactive, and they follow the so-called Law of Unity of Opposites” (Interviewee Dong Yanling, 2014). Therefore, the officials try to balance the positive and negative effects of tourism. As Cai Yonghui, the Head of the ICH Division, said, “we don’t oppose tourism development, we don’t advocate over-use of ICH for tourism development, and we don’t advocate zoo-like protection either” (Interview 2013).
A harmonious relationship between tourism and ICH protection is the optimal goal for the government. The positive benefits of ICH tourism for society are equally emphasised by both national official Y and provincial officials. For instance, Dong Yanling says that “tourism development brings attention, capital, visits and opportunities which are good for the dissemination of ICH”, and she points out the Dongba culture transmission in Yushuizhai Park as a good example (Interview 2014). Cai Yonghui says that “with suitable tourism, some ICH elements could be revitalized and even become good cultural industries, generating values and uses for the society” (Interview 2014). What is significant in the view of provincial officials is that, in addition to these social benefits, they are also concerned with the benefits of tourism for the ICH practitioners. For example, Cai Yonghui underscores that “the ICH holders should be rewarded with the largest benefit of tourism” (Interview 2013). Also, Yin Jiayu appraises the new values generated by tourism for the individual, saying that “tourism brings the increase of self-identity, pride, stable income and the realisation of personal values” (Interview 2014).

Nevertheless, officials are aware of the negative effects of tourism on ICH. Theoretically, as Dong Yanling summarises, “tourism and ICH protection are at odds, because tourism pursues the (economic) profits to the maximum, it turns resources into capital. However, ICH protection is for the public good and it pursues social benefit” (Interview 2014). Therefore, over-use or uncontrolled commodification will distort and even destroy ICH (Interviewee Cai Yonghui, 2013). Both Dong and Cai use the over development of tourism in Lijiang as an example of these dangers. Generally, these criticisms concern the negative impact on local people’s living environment, the replacement of local inhabitants with non-locals, the destruction of the cultural environment and the unfairly distributed economic benefits among the local people (Interviewees Cai Yonghui and Dong Yanling, 2013-2014). These remarks reflect the similar criticism (demonstrated in Chapter 1) that commodification brought by tourism is harming ICH in Lijiang.

Though these provincial officials reiterate that the principles of authenticity, integrity and inheritability act as guidelines for the administration, they feel it is not easy to implement them in reality. In particular, they have difficulty with the
implementation of integrity in Yunnan. In terms of different interpretations of cultural integrity, Director Yin Jiayu in the Yunnan ICH Centre expresses her confusion that “compared with the non-tourism form of ICH, it is hard to define the commodified form of ICH. If you ask me whether the latter is still an ICH or not, I would say yes and no” (Interview 2014). In terms of ecological integrity, Dong Yanling expresses her confusion that:

We have to abide by the principles of authenticity, integrity and inheritability in the LICH in the traditional cultural protection zone. However, along with the change of time, local people will have expectations for the modern life. If we ask them to stay unchanged in the way they used to live and work, it is a contradiction, it is a practical problem. (Interview 2014)

These practical problems demonstrate my argument in Chapter 1 that, to some extent, the current concept of integrity is inappropriate in reality. This is mainly because the provincial officials understand the definition of integrity in line with the national discourse which shows the gap between theory and practice. The interview shows that the term integrity is understood in the same way as the national policy and as embodied in the LICH. In particular, officials realise that the “integrity of ICH concerns the inherited living and working patterns and that ICH is embodied in local people’s everyday lives”, and, “integrity concerns the cultural space, the surrounding environment, such as the Ethnic Cultural Protection Zone” (Interviewee Dong Yanling, 2014). However, when recognising that ICH is closely embodied in local people’s lives and the environment, provincial officials admit that ICH changes along with local people’s idea of their living environment (Interviewee Dong Yanling, 2014) because “all living things in people’s lives change” (Interviewee Yin Jiayu, 2014). Therefore, the crux of the inappropriateness of integrity is that it is difficult to preserve all components of ICH and the whole environment in a dynamic context, as the LICH would envisage.

In order to accommodate the gap between the concept of integrity and the actual administration, the officials have to rely on their experiences of what works in practice. As Dong Yanling admits herself, “there are no standards as certain as for the tangible heritage”, so that “it is important to find the balance in the
commodification in tourism and this requires experience, expertise, comprehension of the local culture and the affiliation of the viewer to the local community” (Interview 2014). It is in this encounter between the national policy and the practical implementation that the differentiation between different components of an ICH element is seen. The most obvious differentiation is that the provincial officials tend to recognise the non-commodified interpretation as ICH that requires protection while they are not so sure as to the case with the commodified, or somewhat commodified interpretation of that ICH.

This vacillation around whether or not commodified ICH is a candidate for protection can be seen in the officials’ engagement with tourism. While the Yunnan officials don’t restrict the practitioners’ engagement with tourism, they still have a sense of what is traditional and therefore authentic. Yin Jiayu says that “we don’t have any restriction on the correlation between ICH practice and tourism”, and that “the listed inheritors can engage with the commodified forms of ICH if they wish, as long as they still engage with the traditional form of ICH by which they still transmit this traditional form to apprentices” (Interview 2014). Passing on traditional practices then, rather than commodified ones is key, reflecting that “the recognition of ICH concerns both the practitioner and the practice per se” (Interviewee Dong Yanling, 2014). Therefore, during the official authentication process, the “Committee of Experts tend to recognise the traditional and authentic (Yuanzhiyuanwei) form as an ICH element, rather than the commodified form” (Interviewee Yin Jiayu, 2014). While the form of commodified ICH is acknowledged as inevitable and sometimes positive, if it meets the government agenda, usually only the non-commodified form of ICH is likely to be recognised as the listed ICH.

As will be shown in next section, officials from national, provincial and local levels all expressed their acceptance of the changing forms of ICH. However, within the national ICH discourse of authenticity, the provincial officials feel confused and tend to only recognise the non-commodified interpretation of an ICH to be on the safe side. This, nevertheless, challenges the official definition of integrity these officials would firstly abide by.
8.2.3 Local Officials

As with Chapter 7, I interviewed local officials at the Lijiang Municipal ICH Protection Centre, the Gucheng County ICH Protection Centre and the LPMB. It is widely acknowledged by these local officials that all ICH elements experience change in some ways along with time. This change is attributed to both the macro socio-economic environment and the agency of the practitioners. For instance, Xu Qing says that “ICH changes with the livelihood and development of the Naxi so as to adapt to people’s life” (Interview 2014). Staff member L also stresses that “the biggest trait of ICH is its practicality which is closely related to the economic, cultural and spiritual needs of the Naxi people” (Interview 2014). It is therefore not surprising that Li Zhidian is an advocate for the “positive active change” which is initiated by the practitioners who would like to express their personal ICH in order to adapt to the social change going on around them (Interview 2014).

Compared with non-local officials, Lijiang local officials inevitably contextualise changes in ICH as responses to the local tourism. In general, local officials are more optimistic about the impact of touristic commodification of ICH than the non-local officials. Firstly, “tourism can promote the development and transmission of ICH, because some previous natural transmission becomes difficult in a changing social environment” (Interviewee Xu Qing, 2014). In this process, many young people are attracted to participate in the transmission (Interviewee Xu Qing, 2014). Secondly, they consider that certain aspects of the value of ICH are enhanced in tourism. In this regard, two situations are noticed. The first, as also articulated by the practitioners in Chapter 7, is that some forms of ICH are commercial practices, such as the handicrafts and food making, so that “these ICH need both the recognition of the government and the market” (Interviewee Xu Qing, 2014). The second is that “most ICH can realise the economic and social values in tourism development, and the commodification brings benefits to local people” (Interviewee Li Zhidian, 2014). Indeed, new emerging values from the commodified ICH are positively recognised by the local officials (Interviewee Li Zhidian and staff D, 2014). For example, Li Zhidian says that “the historical value is seen in the folk transmission in the community, while
the social value and economic values are seen in the commodification in the market, and both of these two forms of values are very important” (Interview 2014). In the view of local officials, commodification is also an important approach to disseminate local ICH to the world. Because of this, Li Zhidian plans to “adapt and commodify the whole Naxi classical music, including Baishaxiyue, into a symphony so as to integrate with the world (Yu Guoji Jiegui)” (Interview 2014). If we look back to how the local ICH practitioners regard tourism as benefiting their ICH in terms of the values in Chapter 7, we would immediately realise that the abovementioned reasons are also held by the practitioners. Therefore, this again reveals the sympathy of local officials for local ICH inheritors.

On the other side, local officials admit there are negative effects of commodification. Some of their concerns reflect the mainstream criticisms reviewed in the literature review and in national official’s comments, such as cultural homogenisation of the customs and Naxi language (Interviewee Li Zhidian and Li Guang, 2014). Some other concerns reflect their conventional understanding of authenticity and commodification. For instance, Xu Qing worries that “along with the commodification, people will have to change their ICH for the market, and thus a purposeful alteration happens. If the extent of this alteration is too large, ICH may change into another thing and this is harmful” (Interview 2014). However, the opposite opinion is also heard. Official D argues that “the negative effect from tourism on ICH is not huge, and ICH is generally safeguarded well in Lijiang. Though some ICH is changed in terms of the forms, its essence is still unchanged” (Interview 2014).

In fact, the implications of commodification in tourism are not as simple as positive and negative. Local officials comment on the complicated relationship between tourism and ICH and perceive tourism development as a “double edged sword” (Interviewees Xu Qing and L, 2014). The implication depends on “the perspective the issue is examined from” (Interviewee staff member L, 2014) and the case needs to be analysed in a specific context (Interviewee Li Guang, 2014). In addition, positive benefits may evolve into negative consequences in the long term. For instance, staff member L worries that, though Yushuizhai works
positively for the Dongba culture transmission nowadays, “in the long term it is not good to raise the Dongbas in Yushuizhai as pandas in the zoo, and it’s better to send them back to the community” (Interview 2014). It thus seems that the local officials are able to assess the implications of commodification on a form of ICH in a specific context rather than simply describing the relationship between tourism and ICH protection in either negative or positive terms.

These interviews clearly show that local officials distinguish the commodification of ICH into two situations: the spiritual or religious ICH practices, such as Dongba cultural practices, should not be commodified (Interviewee Li Guang, 2014); on the other hand, secular practices such as handicraft and food making can be commodified without any harm to their integrity (Interviewees Li Guang and Official D, 2014). The commodification of Naxi music, such as Baishaxiyue, which used to be performed for religious purposes, is advocated by officials as a necessary and positive complement to the non-commodified performance in the villages (Interviewees Lizhidian and Li Guang, 2014).

The above opinions reveal that officials are able to examine the commodification of a specific form of ICH in a specific context and they are able to recognise diverse interpretations of ICH in tourism contexts. Consequently, these opinions affect the way they recognise different components of ICH and the concept of integrity.

The concept of integrity, however, is largely understood in line with the national ICH discourse. Officials at municipal and county levels agree with the concept of ecological integrity: that all ICH elements should be protected as a whole in a certain place (Interviewee Li Zhidian, Official D and Staff member L, 2014); as well as the concept of cultural integrity: that all related ICH practices should be protected as one ICH element, such as the Dongba culture (Interviewee Staff member L, 2014). This similarity, however, is not extended to the ways in which the concepts of cultural and ecological integrity are implemented by local officials. One reason for this is that the administration requires a segmentation of the ICH element. This means that one traditional cultural practice may be separated into several ICH elements and that these can be listed as official ICH in different
categories. This method, ironically, challenges the initial concept of cultural integrity in the official discourse. For example, though staff member L advocates protecting all Dongba cultural practices as one Dongba ICH element, he admits that it is difficult to achieve this in practice:

We initially nominated Dongba culture as one ICH element, but this was declined, because of the academic dispute that Dongba culture is too broad and vague to be ascertained. When segmented, Dongba culture can be better assessed and managed. Also, segmentation allows individual sub-elements to be reviewed case by case by the right experts and community members. (Interview 2014)

Another reason is that the concept of integrity held by the local officials is challenged when an ICH element is interpreted through diverse forms in the context of tourism. This issue is manifested in the understanding of the role of practitioner and practice, both of which are components of an ICH element. In the first place, local officials hold similar views to provincial officials in that they allow the ICH inheritors to participate in tourism with no restrictions. As Xu Qing says, “inheritors’ behaviours are diverse, so we couldn’t divide a person into two parts, one part is authentic and the other is inauthentic. Instead, we recognise the ICH inheritors according to their contribution to the transmission in the community” (Interview 2014). In the implementation however, as seen at the provincial level, officials are confused about whether the commodified practice can still be recognised as ICH and consequently, whether the practitioner is still qualified. This issue can be seen in a case of Dongba inheritors reported by staff member L (Interview 2014). Yang Wenji (working in Yushuizhai Park) and He Shixian (working in Lijiang Dongba Museum) are two well-acknowledged senior Dongba masters in Lijiang. “Though they are similarly knowledgeable of Dongba culture, it is controversial for us to nominate both of them as the representative inheritors, because one (Yang) is working in the tourism industry while the other (He) is working in the community”, staff member L told me (Interview 2014).

According to my observations however, He Shixian has been working in the Dongba Museum for several years, and his work is similar to the work the Dongbas do in other Dongba-themed tourism attractions. Interestingly, Yang and He were finally listed as Lijiang municipal ICH representative inheritors in 2010 and 2012 respectively. This means that the local officials tend to consider that the
knowledge and experience of the practitioner are more important than the practices in the process of authentication.

Therefore, compared with officials at higher levels, most local officials express a greater acceptance of the commodified form of ICH practice. It was clear through their interviews that local officials regard both the commodified form of ICH in the tourism industry and the non-commodified form in the community as equally important (Interviewees Li Zhidian, Li Guang and Official D, 2014). In particular, Li Zhidian argues that “the commodified form is less authentic, but both the commodified and non-commodified forms are seen as ICH elements. ICH needs to be used and developed, so both forms are necessary” (Interview 2014). Staff member L explains that “whether an ICH element is still an ICH element depends on the ICH element itself, rather than whether the ICH is served for tourism” (Interview 2014). The components constituting an ICH element, according to staff member L, depend on “the key making procedures in the handicraft case; the timing, purpose, procedures and audience in the Dongba rite case and the melody in the music case” (Interview 2014). In order to accommodate diverse interpretations of ICH, staff member L’s description does not follow the canonical definition of integrity in the LICH which tries to preserve all the components. Still, the agency of the practitioners to subjectively recognise and practice the components is not emphasised here and this issue will be discussed later.

Though local officials are similar to their counterparts at the provincial level to some extent, new understandings are discerned. In relation to commodification, new values of ICH emerging from tourism are actively acknowledged and promoted. In terms of the concept of integrity, local officials do not always follow the national official discourse so that they could regard some commodified forms of ICH in some situations as acceptable. One of the reasons is that they tend to authenticate an ICH element from the knowledge and skill of a practitioner and their participation in the transmission, rather than whether the practitioner engages with tourism. In the end, practices in the community and the tourism market are regarded as equally important for ICH protection.
8.2.4 Summary

I revealed in this section that the officials’ understandings of commodification, tourism and the concept of integrity could be different from the AHD objectified in the documents such as the LICH. Officials at higher levels are more prone to repeat the national discourse while the local officials are more likely to rely on their personal understanding and experience in dealing with the tensions experienced by the practitioners of the ICH in question.

Tourism and the accompanying commodification of ICH are not seen as simply good or bad. While the higher-level officials tend to assess the implication of commodification from the macro level in terms of the socio-economic environment, the local officials are more likely to contextualise the commodified ICH and make comments case-by-case. As we have seen, religious and secular ICH practices are understood as needing to have different relations to commodification. Compared to those at the upper levels of the administrative system, local officials are more accepting of the process of commodification and regard it as an indispensable measure for ICH transmission.

In general, though the definition of integrity is articulated by most of the officials in their language as stipulated in the AHD, discrepancies are noted in both the national and local officials’ understandings. While integrity is envisioned by the LICH as the means to preserve all components of ICH, officials at all levels are aware that changes to ICH elements are inevitable. A salient issue is how the role of practitioner and the practice should be perceived when the ICH is situated in tourism. Comparatively, local officials tend to regard the knowledge and skill of the ICH practitioner as essential to the authentication. Furthermore, they tend to give more space to the commodified forms of ICH and are able to recognise some of these forms as part of the ICH element.

8.3 The Expert Perspective

As noted in the section on the national officials’ perspectives, the work of bureaucratic scholars is incorporated into the national officials’ understanding. In
this section, I will investigate the personal understanding of interviewed experts at two levels: the non-local and local experts.

8.3.1 Non-local Experts

As with as Chapter 7, the understanding of the non-local experts is drawn from two sources: firstly, the literature reviewed in Chapter 2; and secondly the interviews conducted with scholars working in the national institutes (Table 7.1). As I discussed in Chapter 2, ICH is widely regarded by scholars in China and abroad as a living and changing cultural heritage so that a dynamic protection is needed. While this mutability is not stated in the LICH, many national bureaucratic scholars argue for the changing nature of ICH and ask for dynamic and diachronic perspectives (Liu 2004b; Wang 2006c, 2008a). These remarks are also clearly found among the interviewed experts. For example, scholar B argues that “ICH is closely related to people’s lives so that when people’s lives change, ICH changes accordingly” (Interview 2014). The issue of change of ICH is not as important as the issue of how and why ICH changes. Thus, Song Junhua thinks that “whether the change happens because of internal or external influences is of importance” (Interview 2014). This remark reveals that non-local experts realise that when the change is inevitable, it is more significant to analyse the dynamics of the change as well as who the main agencies of the change are.

Changes to ICH are highlighted in the commodification of ICH in tourism. In general, commodification of ICH is not regarded as either good or bad, and all interviewed scholars hold comparatively positive perceptions of the commodification of ICH (Interviewees Scholar W, Song Junhua, Scholar B and He Ming, 2014). However, experts have their own understandings of how the commodification is applicable to the specific ICH element. Two distinct opinions are noted. The first opinion is that some interviewed non-local experts hold similar views to the national bureaucratic scholars (Yuan & Gu 2013) that spiritual and religious ICH elements should not be commodified in tourism (Interviewees Scholar W, Scholar X, Scholar B and He Ming, 2014). This is because the spiritual component is the essence of the ICH and this ICH will be secularised when its function is changed, such as in the case of staged Dongba
practice (Interviewees Scholar B and He Ming, 2014). Therefore, scholars propose “three principles” separating the commodification from the transmission of ICH, which means that the ICH practitioners are not encouraged to engage with the commodified practice directly (Yuan & Gu 2013, p. 304). However, the second opinion is that scholars allow more autonomy of ICH inheritors in the engagement with the commodification process. This view is represented by Song Junhua who describes various interpretations of an ICH element into Benshengtai (the original state) and Yanshengtai (the derivative state) (Song & Wang 2013, pp. 110-2) as I reviewed in Chapter 2. This is what Song has to say on the commodification of Dongba culture in Lijiang:

The practice in the community is Benshengtai and that in the tourism is Yanshengtai, but both of them are reasonable at this moment. In the future, under the influence of the outside culture, the former could evolve into the latter, so that Yanshengtai becomes Benshengtai. Therefore, I never regard these two states as opposite to each other in ICH. (Interview 2014)

What is significant in his comments is that he prioritises the agency of the practitioners in the transformation of these two states. Song continues to say that:

What matters is whether the derivative state is initiated willingly by the practitioner or not. If a Dongba would like to do this for the sake of the tourists, this is his choice. This choice may not be seen as good today, but it may be regarded as a workable choice in the long term. Who directs the choice is the key. (Interview 2014)

This remark demonstrates that non-local scholars can realise the importance of agency and subjective feelings of the ICH practitioners, who, they recognise, should be privileged in the commodification process.

The concept of integrity understood by the non-local experts is largely similar to that illustrated in Chapter 2 and described in the section on the national officials in this chapter. In a word, there is a discrepancy among the governmental players about whether all the components of ICH should be preserved, and if so, to what extent the change should be managed. As I discussed, the key issue is how the role of the practitioner and his/her diverse cultural practices are understood. As shown above, non-local experts actually form two distinct views towards the engagement of the practitioners in the commodification. The first view, largely
constituting the national ICH discourse, tends to discourage and regulate the commercial practice of the ICH, while the second view allows a pro-inheritor and constructivist perspective on the practice in commodification.

### 8.3.2 Local Experts

The backgrounds of five interviewed local Naxi experts are illustrated in Table 7.2. As with their counterparts, changes to ICH are widely accepted as inevitable and reasonable by Naxi experts. At the macro level, Yang Fuquan states that “the (rate of) change in ICH is huge in the context of modernisation so that changes to ICH should be situated in the transformation of the whole society” (Interview 2014). At the local level, Dongba scholar He Liming, taking Dongba culture as an example, observes that the belief and sacredness of Dongba religion is decreasing, as well as the social demand for Dongba rites (Interview 2014). However, most interviewed local experts hold positive perceptions on the change of ICH in Lijiang. In particular, bureaucratic scholar Yang Guoqing reflects on the change of ICH in a positive way. He says:

> The essence of traditional Naxi culture, the Dongba culture, remains today. From past to present, the system and idea of Dongba culture is the same, though the practice or the interpretation may be different. The present Naxi culture therefore is still a “traditional culture”, because its essence is the same, though its form is changed. (Interview 2014)

Their understandings of change are further manifested in the relationship between commodification and protection of ICH in Lijiang. In general, local Naxi experts are optimistic about the impact of tourism development on ICH in Lijiang. They report that tourism is beneficial to ICH protection because, firstly, social awareness and enthusiasm are aroused and this helps the transmission (Interviewees Yang Fuquan, Mu Chen, He Pingzheng and He Liming, 2014). Secondly, local people benefit from tourism, particularly from the economic rewards (Interviewees Yang Fuquan, Mu Chen and He Pingzheng, 2014). Thirdly, previously suppressed values associated with these forms of ICH are now recognised (Interviewees Yang Fuquan, He Pingzheng and He Liming, 2014). In addition to these benefits, new values of ICH are realised, especially in the cultural industries (Interviewees He Pingzheng and Yang Guoqing, 2014) and
funds, techniques, policies and programs on ICH are brought out by tourism (Interviewee Yang Guoqing, 2014). On the other hand, Yang Fuquan worries that commodification for tourism will make spiritual practices staged and secularised (Interview 2014). Similarly, Mu Chen and He Liming are concerned that Dongba culture may be misused and mis-interpreted in the market (Interview 2014).

While Naxi experts hold relatively positive views towards commodification of ICH in tourism development, the interview also reveals that they differentiate between contexts. On the one side, Naxi experts are open to the commodification of secular ICH elements, such as Dongjing music performed in Xuan Ke’s concert, and the handicrafts produced in the tourism market for tourists. For instance, the commodification of Naxi music for a wider audience through staged musical performances can popularise this form of ICH (Interviewee Yang Fuquan, 2014). The handicraft, which is also regarded as part of the traditional Naxi culture, or ICH, is also not regarded as being harmed by commodification (Interviewee Yang Guoqing, 2014). On the other side, commodified Dongba culture is regarded as possessing different values from that which is performed within the community context. For example, Yang Fuquan commented that “the staged Dongba cultural practice is a form of dissemination, it is embodied with some aspects of the ICH but it has no religious function” (Interview 2014). Yang Guoqing argues that “the staged Dongba culture is a cultural symbol and an artistic creation” (Interview 2014). While these two different forms of practice are regarded differently, staged Dongba practice is regarded as neither harmful nor negative for the whole Dongba culture and these two states of Dongba cultural expression are seen as connected to each other. It is meaningful to note that Yang Guoqing, in the interview, applies what I would call a constructivist perspective to look at the emerging commodified form of Dongba culture. He says that “tradition is comparative, so maybe 100 years later, the staged form of Dongba culture will become traditional” (Interview 2014).

8.3.3 Summary

Both non-local and local experts unreservedly agree that ICH is changing along with the whole society and they hold comparatively positive and sympathetic
views towards tourism development of ICH in Lijiang. As for the commodification of ICH in Lijiang, they have similar opinions that the spiritual and religious practices, such as the Dongba rites, should not be commodified in tourism. On the other hand, they have different opinions on the components of ICH as a result of commodification. Thus, the non-local experts are concerned with both the practitioner and practice of the ICH but disagree on whether the practitioners should personally engage with the commodification. The local Naxi experts, nevertheless, focus on the diversity of the ICH practices. The interviews show that Naxi experts hold positive perceptions of the commodification of ICH in the tourism development while they also make distinctions between spiritual and secular ICH elements. Furthermore, many local scholars connect the commodified ICH in the market with the transmission of traditional Naxi culture in the community which indicates that the concept of integrity can be understood in relation to the concept of continuity which will be discussed in the next chapter.

8.4 The Inheritor Perspective

As indicated in Chapter 7, the inheritors here mainly concern the cultural practitioners introduced in Chapter 6. The term integrity is not used in the investigation of the practitioners because they are generally not knowledgeable about this theoretical concept. As I argued in Chapter 2, practitioners engage with the existing components of ICH dynamically so as to recognise and sustain some of these components as the active components, and I regard the ability with which the practitioners do this as subjective integrity. Therefore, I will investigate the active components in this section. I propose that the active components of an ICH element can be detected from the changed/changing components in two dimensions: the diachronic dimension from the past to the present and the synchronic dimension between the less and the more-commodified forms of the same ICH element. This is because, firstly, practitioners are likely to spontaneously notice the changed/changing components that are meaningful to them; secondly, the ability to engage and deal with the active components (in the sense of subjective integrity) is likely to be embodied in the changed/changing components. Therefore, the understandings of components, integrity, and the
implications of commodification on different aspects of the components, are described and analysed from these two dimensions in the following sections.

### 8.4.1 The Diachronic Changes

According to the survey (Table 8.1), diachronic changes in ICH are widely recognised by the local community, who largely hold positive attitudes towards these changes which bring beneficial values to the ICH elements. Nevertheless, it is interesting to simultaneously note that these respondents also anticipate that ICH remains unchanged in some ways from the past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Intensity of the attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Naxi culture is always changing with time.</td>
<td>63.36% of “absolutely agree” and “agree”</td>
<td>3.61 (positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes to traditional Naxi culture result in beneficial content and positive meaning.</td>
<td>73.28% of “absolutely agree” and “agree”</td>
<td>3.91 (positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Naxi culture should be like it was in the past.</td>
<td>73.28% of “absolutely agree” and “agree”</td>
<td>3.99 (positive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1 Surveyed Local People’s Attitude towards the Change of ICH  
(Source: author’s questionnaire survey, 2013-2014)

This result implies that there exist diverse understandings of different aspects of the diachronic change of ICH and not each aspect is regarded as equally the same to every practitioner. Table 8.2 below further illustrates the spread of the changed aspects of the components the interviewed practitioners consider as important for their ICH across four cases in the diachronic dimension. I will illustrate the seven changed components in the following part of this chapter. Meanwhile, implications of commodification in relation to the aspects of the changed components are described according to the interviewed practitioners’ understandings. Y in Table 8.2 indicates that a specific change of that aspect of the component has been spontaneously articulated by at least one interviewed practitioner in that case.
The first component concerns the practitioners themselves. Three changed aspects concerning the item of “practitioner” are observed by the interviewed practitioners. The most obvious issue is that some practitioners change their personal attitudes or expectations in their ICH practice over time. For instance, Dongjing music player Wang Liwei (interview 2014) says that “players used to hold solemn and serious attitudes during the performance in the past, but nowadays people play music as a self-amusement”. As discussed in Chapter 6, both Dongjing and Baishaxiyue music underwent dramatic change in relation to their functions. Therefore, except for spiritual rewards from playing music as spiritual edification and amusement, musicians also expect to gain economic benefit from the tourism market (Interviewee He Linyi, 2014). This changed aspect which emerges from the subjectivity of the practitioners, leads to other changed aspects in the identity of the practitioners in terms of occupation and age. Dongbas in the Yushuizhai Park note that they have gradually transformed from unpaid part-time religious practitioners into the full-time employed staff in the park. For example, Dongba Yang Xun in Yushuizhai says that “most Dongbas in
Lijiang are paid for their work” (Interview 2014). Dongbas, therefore, and other practitioners, will develop diversified identities when their engagement with community is extended and diversified in tourism. In addition to the change of occupation, the age of the practitioners change when many young interested learners participate in ICH tourism. This issue is noted by players in the music case. As shown in Chapter 6, Naxi music players changed from senior elites to general music enthusiasts and then, more recently, to tourism practitioners (Interviewee Yang Zenlie, 2014). Nowadays, young players usually perform better and they value economic reward, while the elderly players perform for personal amusement (Interviewee He Shiwei, 2014). Implications of commodification on the subjectivity of the practitioners in relation to continuity will continue to be analysed in Chapter 9.

The second changed component noted by some practitioners concerns the practice per se. In regard to the item of “practice”, changes in interpretations are widely observed, such as procedures, content and processes in Dongba rites, handicrafts and food making, and the change of ingredients in the food case. For example, Dongba practitioner and scholar He Limin notes that nowadays “the time consuming and complicated procedures need to be shortened and simplified so as to suit current Naxi people’s life in Lijiang”, and, “new content in Dongba culture, such as the worship for the God of Wealth and the ceremony of housewarming, needs to be adapted and invented to suit modern society” (Interview 2014). As reported by craftsmen, most handicraft products produced in the pre-tourism times were focused on practicality (Interviewees Che Fumin and He Shanjun, 2013-2014). Along with tourism development in late 1990s, handicrafts developed new artistic values (Interviewees Che Fumin, He Pinzheng, He Shanyi, Li Renjiang, and He Shanjun, 2013-2014), diverse interpretations (Interviewees Che Fumin, He Shanyi and Li Renjiang, 2013-2014) and became miniaturised and fancy to suit the tourism market (Interviewees He Shanjun, 2014). In the food making case, He Zhiming from the 88 Restaurant said that he created new styles of Jidou Jelly not only for tourists but also for local Naxi people (Interview 2014). Zhang Xiangfang, the cook of Lijiang Baba, explained that the traditional recipe needed to be modified in order to meet a healthier diet with less sugar and fat
(Interview 2014). Because of changed materials and techniques in making these crafts, the end-product is also changed in terms of the physical characteristics as reported by craftsmen and cooks in the item of “object” in Table 8.2.

Other changed aspects of the item “practice” concerns the ways in which Dongbas regard the spiritual value of the Dongba practice. Dongbas working in the Dongba Academy and Dongba themed park in Lijiang city (such as Yushuizhai and Dongba Gu) observed that the popularity of Dongba religion is now decreasing, as well as the sacredness and solemnity of the Dongba practice (Interviewees He Limin, He Guojun and He Xuedong, 2014).

Music provides an example for the final two changed aspects of the item “practice”: the personal expression and the new learning method. Yang Zenlie, a Naxi musician and scholar, believes that “change is absolute and stability is relative” (Interview 2013) when he describes the personal and nuanced performance by different folk musicians. Also, as Yang concluded, one of the major characteristics of the folk Naxi music is that the players will have to embellish or improvise (Jiahua in Chinese) their music according to the basic melody. Traditionally, the folk music was learnt through oral teaching and learning methods based on the Gongchepu notation pedagogy. Nowadays however, the traditional learning methods, which usually took decades for a student to master, have given way to the standardised numbered musical notation method, only costing a young learner a few years (Interviewee Wang Liwei, 2014).

The third changed component concerns the object, or the materials either used or produced in the ICH practice. There are two changed aspects relating to the item “object” which can be exemplified in three cases. In the case of handicrafts, it is widely reported that the materials and equipment have gradually changed to a certain extent (Interviewees Xie Pinzhen, Li Renjiang, and Che Fumin, 2013-2014). For example, Che replaced the traditional manual turning lathe with the electronic one. In the Lijiang Baba pastry-making case, the cooking method changed from the traditional stone and firewood firing methods to the gas firing method or electronic pan baking, especially for those living in the Old Town
where the fire code is strict and the efficiency of production is important (Interviewees Chang Qing and Lyu Guijin, 2014). In the case of music, standardised numbered notation notes have widely substituted the traditional Gongchepu notation notes, as reported by the players (Interviewees He Juyi, He Shiwei, Yang Zenlie, Wang Liwei and Wang Yaojun, 2014).

When practitioner, practice and object are components directly pertinent to the ICH per se, other components which facilitate the making of ICH are also noticed by the interviewed practitioners, namely the place, the context and the consumer. It is in these three components that the implications of commodification in tourism are widely observed by the practitioners.

The change of place is directly related to the displacement of the practitioners. According to previous investigations (Su 2012; Zong 2006b), my observation in the fieldwork and news reports in China, the majority of indigenous local residents have moved out of the Old Town. However, the exact number of the displacement is not available at the time of writing. According to Chen Shijie, the secretary of Dayan Community Office of the Lijiang Government, indigenous residents moved out of the Old Town usually because of these following reasons (Interview 2013). Firstly, by letting their house to businessmen, indigenous residents can earn a high rental income with which they can improve their living standards. Secondly, the Old Town is filled with tourists who not only make lots of noise but also make the neighbourhood strange or uncomfortable to the residents. Thirdly, strict tangible heritage protection regulations restrict residents’ everyday life inside the Old Town. However, the change of place, or the locality of the practice, is only raised as an issue by some food practitioners. For example, Lijiang Baba makers Lyu Guijin, Li Dongling and Zhang Xiangfang complain about the soaring rental in the Old Town which gradually drives them out of the Old Town with their business affected (Interview 2014).

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166 The data of indigenous residents in the Old Town is yet to be investigated, however, relevant reports can be found, for example, on http://news.ifeng.com/mainland/detail_2010_09/20/2562228_0.shtml and http://epaper.ccdy.cn/html/2013-10/24/content_109795.html retrieved on 10 Dec., 2016.

167 A staff member in the LPMB told me that this number is not available, or it might only be available from the local police station.
Context, or the social environment, is used by the practitioner to describe the complicated economic, cultural, political and social relations between their ICH practices and the society. The change of context is acknowledged by the practitioners in all four cases. The most frequently complaint in terms of the context is the cultural impact on the local Naxi culture which can be seen as the negative effect of commodification in Lijiang. In general, the degradation of the context is described at the macro level. Interviewees in the case of Dongba culture, Naxi music and food making explicitly claim that it is because of the outside culture brought in by the tourists that their indigenous Naxi culture, especially the ICH they are engaging with, is affected (Interviewees Yang Xun, He Guojun, Wang Liwei, He Linyi and Xiao Jun, 2013-2014). As discussed in Chapter 5, however, the Naxi culture has always been under the influence of the Han culture since the Ming Dynasty so that the cultural impact can be intensified by, but not only attributed to, the development of tourism. Dongba culture is the case where tourism is not the only cause. Dongbas themselves notice that the popularity of Dongba religion in the whole society is decreasing (Interviewees He Guojun, He Limin and He Xuedong, 2014). By comparison, Dongba He Xuedong points out “nowadays, most people in Lijiang municipal area dislike Dongba religion, because they still treat it as a superstition” (Interview 2014).

The change of the consumer connects to the change of context. In the cases of Dongba culture and music, it is noticeable that the consumer is not regarded by the practitioners as changed. Meanwhile in the product-oriented handicraft and food making cases, the change of the consumer is of great importance. As observed by craftsmen, local people used to be the major consumers of the handicrafts before the middle of the 1990s, but later tourists gradually became the predominant consumers (Interviewees Che Fumin, Li Runlan, Zhu Xing, He Shanyi, He Shanjun and Li Renjiang, 2014). The impact of this change can be clearly seen in, for example, Che Fumin’s wood carving and He Shanjun’s copper smithing cases as I described in Chapter 6. The Naxi food is consumed by both local people and the tourists. As admitted by restaurant managers (Interviewees Chen Jie, He Dama and Xiao Jun, 2014), local restaurants will consider the appetites of the tourists more than that of the local people, so the arrival of
tourists matters. On the other hand, the eating habits of the local people have changed. This change can be seen from the survey result that 77.69% of the respondents (the intensity of the attitude is 3.88 which means positive) said that their eating habits have changed.

All the above mentioned changes to the components lead inevitably to the conclusion that the original function of the ICH elements change. Though usually the change of function is criticised as a negative effect of the commodification, the data from the interview indicates that the change of original function is only explicitly claimed in the case of music performance. It is also noticeable that there is no report from Dongbas that the original religious function of Dongba culture has changed.

In the Dongjing music for example, players articulate that the function has changed from original religious and educative purposes in the past to current personal amusement (non-commodified situation) and tourist performance (commodified situation) (Interviewees He Shiwei, Yang Zenlie and Wang Liwei, 2013). As I illustrated in Chapters 6 and 7, the spirituality of the music had already declined before the development of tourism, indicating that this change has compensated for the decrease of the original function of the music performance. Music players observe that the social environment in which the music was played for religious functions has been replaced by a tourism economy which is now sustaining most of the music performances (Interviewees He Shiwei, Yang Zenlie and Wang Liwei, 2013). In the case of handicrafts and food making cases, the practitioners consider the consumption of either local people or tourists the same so that they do not necessarily differentiate the customers. Significantly, the decreasing original function of handicraft is compensated by the rising touristic consumption. Artisans observe that, while the market for Naxi people shrinks, increasing tourists’ purchase sustains the production of traditional handicraft (Interviewees Che Fumin, Xie Pinzhen, Zhu Xing, He Shanyi, He Shanjun and Li Renjiang, 2014). This is also realised by restaurant managers who benefit from the enlarged opportunities and an extended market brought about by tourism (Interviewee Xiao Jun, 2013).
Practitioners’ personal feelings and experiences in diversified practices of the ICH elements are important to their perceptions of commodification and integrity. I will further discuss these issues in the following section.

8.4.2 The Synchronic Changes

As I illustrated in Chapter 3, two situations, namely the more commodified and the less commodified, are differentiated in this research so as to ascertain different understandings of the influence of commodification on ICH, as well as the constituting components of an ICH element. The previous section showed the diachronic change of the ICH elements. In this section, I will compare and contrast different interpretations of the two situations in order to examine the relationship between commodification and the change of the ICH components along the synchronic dimension. Specifically, nuanced personal feelings and experiences of the practitioners will be emphasised.

The practitioners who engage with both community-based and tourism-related practices in Lijiang were interviewed for their personal observation and understanding of the similarities and differences of diverse interpretations of their ICH practices in the two situations. The results are summarised in Table 8.3, and the answers referring to whether they thought the ICH practices remained similar or different are abbreviated as S and D respectively in this table.
It can be concluded from this table that the results drawn from the Dongba case are more complicated than the others in that the Dongbas tend to indicate more differences and ambiguity between the two situations. Therefore, I will firstly analyse the Dongba case with two typical figures Dongba He Yaowei and Dongba He Guojun who both perform in tourism and serve the Naxi community as introduced in Chapter 6.

In relation to the attitude of a Dongba practitioner practicing in the two situations, He Yaowei clearly differentiates his practices as that “in the village, I am doing the rite and I am communicating with the people, the gods and the ghosts. On the stage (in the Naxi Impression) however, I am doing a performance” (Interview 2014).

It is clear that Dongbas experience differentiated personal feelings when practicing their Dongba rites in the two situations. The first issue is that whether or not the Dongba practice is performed on the stage for the tourists will affect the feelings and experiences of the Dongba practitioner. He Yaowei reflects that “In the village, there are sacred, solemn and serious feelings in my heart, and my whole heart is given to the gods. On the stage, I feel less of these feelings and there is something different” (Interview 2014). He Guojun says that “in the village, my heart was thinking about the gods who can help me. My heart is

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Table 8.3 Comparison and Contrast of Diverse Interpretations of the Case in the Two Situations by the Interviewed Practitioners (Source: author’s interview data, 2013-2014)
sincere and I have the faith which is the most important. On the stage however, these feelings are faint” (Interview 2014). There are exceptions however. It is noticeable that under some circumstances a Dongba could not differentiate his feelings or experiences in some rites between the two situations as long as the rites, though practiced in the theme park, are not particularly staged for the spectating tourists. I found this interesting result in He Guojun’s interview. When asked about the differences between the community and the Dongba Gu Theme Park as for the seasonal worship for gods, He Guojun says that “there is no difference for me because I have belief and my inner feelings are the same. Wherever I do the worship for god, it is the same” (Interview 2014). Furthermore, he also says that “maybe my practice is seen as a performance in other people’s eyes (in the park), but my heart is sincere (in the practice)” (Interview 2014). Similar comments are also heard from Dongbas working in Yushuizhai Park who think they are engaging with authentic Dongba culture as opposed to other Dongbas in other tourism industry sites (Interviewees Yang Xun, Yang Wenji and He Xuewu, 2014).

For the staged Dongba practices on the other hand, Dongbas can differentiate the extent to which their personal feelings fluctuate. He Yaowei describes that “on the stage, I feel like doing a performance and it is less sacred, solemn and serious. Doing rites is different from doing performance and the feeling is different in my heart” (Interview 2014). Nevertheless, He Yaowei explains that the fluctuation of these feelings is dependent on the nature and the function of the rite. There are two types of rite He Yaowei practices on the stage of the Impression of Naxi, namely the Suzhu ceremony for the new couple and the blessing ceremony for all the tourists. He Yaowei says that “the property or the connotation of the Suzhu ceremony, which is to appeal for the blessing from the god and send it to the new couple, is the same in both the village and in the Impression of Naxi show” (Interview 2014). However, because of the presence of tourists who lack mutual understanding of the Naxi language and culture, as well as the simplification and adaptation of the Suzhu ceremony procedures for the repertoire, He Yaowei notes that “the original function or effect of the Suzhu ceremony is reduced, and the nature of the ceremony decreases to some extent, so that the ceremony is less
traditional and less authentic (Yuanzhiyuanwei) and it is just a simplified Dongba rite” (Interview 2014). By comparison with the Suzhu ceremony, He Yaowei thinks that the decrease of the personal feelings in the blessing ceremony is larger, because “the blessing ceremony is a concluding part of another complicated Dongba rite in the village, and it is not practiced alone as one ceremony as I do in the Impression of Naxi. In this sense, the connotation of the blessing ceremony is the same but its nature is different” (Interview 2014).

In addition to the differentiated attitude and feelings between the two situations, it is also significant to find that Dongbas report they perceive some areas of similarity. He Yaowei proudly claims that “I am a Dongba as long as I wear my Dongba costume and hold my instruments, even though I am performing on the stage for the tourists” (Interview 2014). I therefore note that Dongbas’ personal perception of the identity of being an “authentic” Dongba priest can be detached from the perception of other components, such as practice, place, function and consumer. Furthermore, the notion of “authentic self” in the sense of existential authenticity emerges as important for the Dongba practitioner.

I can conclude from the above discussion that commodification can affect the components of a Dongba practice in many ways, but the implications are diverse and they are contingent on the practitioner and the situation. This means that it is better to investigate different components of an ICH element rather than the ICH element as a whole in the commodification process.

With the exception of the Dongba case, the majority of similarities are seen in the other three cases practiced in the two situations. In the following, I will analyse these remaining three cases in Table 8.3.

In regard to the item “practitioner”, no interviewees in the case of music, handicraft and food making differentiate their attitudes and identities in the two situations. In terms of the feelings and experiences, those interviewees explicitly consider their practices in the two situations as the same or unchanged. For instance, in the music case, most players regard the music playing as a recreational activity so they say the personal feelings in the practice, either in
community band or in staged performance, remains the same (Interviewees Chang Hong, He Linyi, He Juyi, Yang Zenlie, Yang Yinxian, Li Yueshou and Wang Liwei, 2013-2014). This is the same as in the food making case where cooks claim that there are no different feelings in serving Naxi people in the community or serving the tourists in the Old Town (Interviewees Zhang Xiangfang and He Dama, 2014). In the handicraft case, practitioners express that their interests, motivation and experiences in the making practices in the two situations are the same (Interviewees Che Fumin, He Shanyi and He Shanjun, 2014).

In regard to the item “practice”, the most widely acknowledged issue is that all interviewed practitioners of the cases of music, handicraft and food consider their practices in the two situations as equally important for them. Music players Wang Liwei and Wang Yaojun say that their playing on stage in Xuan Ke’s music band and in community in Wenlin Village are equally important for them (Interview 2013). These similar reflections are commonly heard from the craftsmen (Interviewees Che Fumin, He Shanyi and Li Renjiang, 2014) and cooks serving both the community and tourists (Interviewees Zhang Xiangfang and He Dama, 2014). Related to these understandings is another finding that the practitioners in handicraft and food making do not differentiate the source of consumers, so that both local people and tourists are crucial to sustain their product making process.

Another noticeable issue in the item “practice” is that music players and craftsmen find that the quality of their ICH skills is different between the two situations because they positively notice that the quality is actually improved in the context of tourism. In the music case for instance, because players have to practice regularly, seriously and carefully (Interviewees Yang Yinxian, Wang Liwei and Wang Yaojun, 2013) and they have more time to play than in the village (Interviewee He Juyi, 2013), their ability to practice can be enhanced (Interviewees He Juyi, Yang Yinxian and Wang Liwei, 2013). In the case of handicraft making, Che Fumin and Li Renjiang agree that the tourism market requires high quality products so they have to improve their skills (Interview 2013).
Though the constitution of consumers of the handicraft and food making crafts changed along with the arrival of tourists, the quality of the product and the importance of the consumer are not differentiated by the craftsmen and cooks. Artisans sell the same quality products to both the local people and the tourists (Interviewees Che Fumin, He Shanjun and Li Renjiang, 2013) and cooks claim they prepare the same traditional food for all customers (Interviewees He Ayi, He Dama, Chang Qing and Li Dongling, 2014).

8.4.3 Summary

This section investigated the perception and attitude of the ICH inheritors towards the components and related attributes of their ICH practices in terms of the changes and the diversified interpretations in the two situations, namely the more commodified and the less commodified contexts. I have identified several characteristics from the analysis. Firstly, in general, most inheritors hold positive attitudes towards the commodification of ICH in the context of tourism, but their understandings of the changed and unchanged components and related attributes of the ICH are diverse. Importantly, I have identified seven components which the interviewees regard as significant to them, namely practitioner, practice, object, place, context, consumer and function. However, each component is not regarded by the practitioners as equally important. I would say this is because, at a certain time, only some of these seven components will be prioritised as the active components. Secondly, I found that all ICH practitioners can notice the similarities and differences between diverse interpretations in the two situations in terms of the practitioner, practice, product, consumer and functions of their ICH. Among these, the Dongba culture case is distinctive from the other three cases because the perception of Dongbas is more complicated and contingent. In comparing the different practitioners, Dongbas tend to indicate more differences and ambiguity between the two situations while practitioners in the other three cases tend to perceive more similarities. In addition, it is interesting to notice in the research that a Dongbas’ personal perception of being an “authentic” practitioner can be detached from the perception of other components, such as the context of the practice, function and consumer. Finally, by examining the
components in two dimensions, I can see that five components are essential to an ICH element (i.e. practitioner, practice, object, consumer and function) because they are simultaneously articulated in the two dimensions.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated and analysed the understandings of the concept of integrity, commodification and how commodification of ICH affects integrity from the perspectives of officials, experts and the local practitioners in four ICH cases in Lijiang. In general, the diversity and complexity of the AHD in relation to the understandings of the governmental players are demonstrated again. Furthermore, blurred understandings between the governmental players and the community practitioners are clearly noticed.

In regard to commodification, in general most interviewed officials and experts hold the perception that spiritual or religious ICH elements, such as the Dongba culture in Lijiang, should not be commodified for tourists, while the secular ICH elements, such as handicrafts and food making crafts, can be commodified in tourism. This main-stream opinion is also reflected in the perspectives of the ICH inheritors. However, I found in this chapter that Dongba practitioners hold more complicated and contingent personal understandings of their diversified practices, both diachronically (from past to present) and synchronically (between commodified and non-commodified). For other three ICH cases, on the other hand, while many components of their ICH are changing diachronically, many similarities of the components are indicated between the two situations.

In relation to integrity, a key concept in the AHD, difficulty was clearly noticed both in the understanding and the implementation of the concept in the perspectives of officials and experts. The crux of the problem lies in the dissonant views on the involvement of ICH practitioner in the commodification and how the components, especially the practitioner, practice and the function, should be looked at. These results demonstrate the discrepancies between the theory/policy and the implementation of the AHD, as well as the standardised AHD as embodied in the LICH and the diverse understandings of the governmental
players in reality. In regard to the local discourse, practitioners described a large spread of components of their ICH and illustrated that they do not treat each component in an equal way. Among the diverse aspects of the components of ICH, the subjective aspects, such as feelings and experiences, are important components which are inevitably overlooked in the perspectives of officials and experts.

Based on the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2, the results of ICH value and the concept of authenticity in Chapter 7 and the findings in this chapter, I can see that the practitioners would dynamically recognise and engage with different components diachronically (from past to present) and synchronically (between less and more commodified situations) according to their expectations. This means that it is impossible, as the AHD would envisage, to preserve all components with the same weight and to treat integrity as a measure to assess the wholeness and intactness of all existing components. The objective integrity notion in the AHD is challenged in reality. Therefore, I suggest we need to pay attention to the active components that are regarded as significant to the practitioner, such as the five aspects (i.e. practitioner, practice, object, consumer and function) that have been indicated by the practitioners simultaneously in Table 8.2 and Table 8.3.

Since not every component is described as equally important in the diachronic dimension and, not every component is changed in the same way in the synchronic dimension, it means that the practitioners are able to recognise and engage with the active components. Therefore, I propose that the concept of integrity should be reconceptualised as an ability of the practitioners to spontaneously recognise and engage with some of the seven identified components to sustain the ICH values at a certain time. For those cases where the practitioners articulated that most components of the ICH element are maintained or even enhanced, such as in the cases of Naxi music, handicraft and food making skills in the two situations, the subjective integrity is retained at a relatively high level. In the next chapter, I will examine how the values and the components of ICH are sustained in relation to continuity in the context of tourism.
Chapter 9: Continuity and Transmission

9.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyse the understandings of the officials, experts and ICH inheritors of the concepts of continuity and transmission, as well as the relationship between these two concepts and tourism. Importantly, the focus of this chapter is to reveal whether the values and components of ICH that are subjectively perceived by the practitioners can be continuously sustained and transmitted in the context of tourism and if so, what tourism or the commodification process does to the continuity of ICH in the transmission.

Again, the emphasis of analysis is on the ICH practitioners’ understandings. I have illustrated in Chapter 6 that, as for each of the four cases, one form of ICH practice can be engaged by the same practitioner in two different situations, namely the less commodified and more commodified context. In Chapter 7 I then revealed that there are diverse values residing in both of the two interpretations in the two situations and, as I continued to demonstrate in Chapter 8 there are similarities and differences between the two interpretations in terms of different components of ICH. Following this thread, in the third part of this chapter, then, I will analyse the understanding of continuity and transmission from the perspective of the ICH practitioners at two stages. Firstly, I will analyse whether or not the continuity of the values and components described by the practitioners can be maintained in the less-commodified and more-commodified interpretations and what tourism does to continuity. Secondly, I will analyse what forms of transmission exist in the context of tourism and what the problems are.

This chapter will continue to reveal the complexity and diversity of the Chinese ICH Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) through examination of the diverse understandings of the officials and experts of the concepts of continuity and transmission. Furthermore, this chapter will reveal how the canonical concepts of authenticity and integrity upheld in the Chinese ICH AHD influence the understandings of the governmental players.
9.2 The Official Perspective

This section, which is based on both interview and literature studies, analyses the understanding of the concepts of continuity and transmission and the influence of tourism on the safeguarding of ICH from the perspective of officials at national, provincial and local levels. As discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of continuity is not commonly talked about by either officials or scholars in China; therefore, I will not specifically use the term continuity to detect their understandings unless the interviewees articulate it first. Whenever necessary, relevant national documents and scholarly publications are used for analysis, in addition to the personal interviews.

9.2.1 National Officials

As indicated in previous chapters, official Y is the only interviewee at the national level in this study. Since official Y directs his understanding of continuity, in the same way as the concepts of authenticity and integrity, to the discourse of the key national figures who are crucial in drafting the national ICH documents, the data therefore was mainly drawn from the national ICH law (the LICH) and the publications edited by Wang Wenzhang, the former Vice-Minister of Culture in China.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the term continuity in the ICHC is, on the one hand, translated as “a sense of history” or “historicity” (Lishi Gan) in Chinese official documents (Xin & Huang 2011), and on the other hand, translated as an adverb or even omitted completely. Though no explanation or discussion of continuity is observed in the officials’ discourse in China, there is discussion of “understandability” (Kejiedu Xing). This concept concerns the connection and maintenance of ICH from past to present and is thus the nearest available term to continuity. Understandability, as Wang Wenzhang illustrates (2013a, p. 311), means that “we can discern and understand the historical information, the rule of change, and especially the inner spiritual implications of the cultural heritage left in history”. It can be noted from this statement that firstly, heritage is regarded as
an existing entity embodied with intrinsic historical and spiritual values formed in the past and secondly, that understandability means that these existing values should be recognised and safeguarded for the present purpose. The connection and correlation between the past and the present is then seen in another of Wang’s statements as: “we have to protect ICH and investigate and study the inner spiritual implications seriously and scientifically so as to ascertain the elements which connect to our present lifestyles, thinking patterns and emotion and have important continuous values and effects at present” (2013b, p. 46). These statements in Wang’s narrative are an important principle for ICH safeguarding, pointing out the importance of safeguarding the continuity of some certain values (in the term of spiritual implications) from past to present; however, these values are confined to the officially recognised values in the national documents. For example, Wang Wenzhang explains that the “spiritual implications” refer to the “original status of the cultural identity, the primitive lifestyles and ethics and the thinking patterns, philosophies and values of a nationality” (2013a, p. 311). What is important here is the maintenance of the officially recognised values from past to present in line with the notion of authenticity and integrity in the Chinese AHD.

Undoubtedly the government would like to maintain the recognised values from past to the future so that transmission is important. Transmission is defined in the LICH as a series of measures in which “the government subsidizes the inheritors to teach disciples, transmit the skills, carry out the exchange and cultivate the future practitioners” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 12). It is stipulated in the LICH that transmission and dissemination are regarded as measures of safeguarding ICH. While transmission is usually regarded as a governmental measure to ensure the continuity of ICH with political and financial assistance, the use of ICH is regarded as dissemination which concerns “media dissemination, school education and use and development” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 77). It is stated in the LICH that “ICH is an important resource for cultural industry and tourism”, and “the productive protection is an important measure of transmitting and developing ICH” (Xin & Huang 2011, p. 106). As I reviewed in Chapters 1 and 2, protection and utilisation of ICH are equally emphasised in the official ICH discourse. Since transmission is crucial to ICH safeguarding, reconciliation of protection and
utilisation is seen here. For example, Wang Wenzhang argues that “two important rules of transmission are ‘constancy’ and ‘living change’” (Wang 2013b, p. 9). Wang further argues for the so-called “positive safeguarding principle” which means that “on the premise that the inner natural evolving process is not altered and the future developing direction is not affected, (we should) try the best way to facilitate a positive interaction between the productive protection and tourism development” (Wang 2013a, p. 23). These official discourses permit the commodification of ICH in the sense of safeguarding. However, because the official discourse upholds the conventional concepts of authenticity and integrity of the officially recognised values, the commodified ICH practices may be seen as different from the non-commodified ones in the official perspective and this is where the research questions derive from.

9.2.2 Provincial Officials

Interviewed provincial officials, like their counterparts at the national level, are not familiar with the term continuity. For instance, both Dong Yanling at the ICH Division and Yin Jiayu at the ICH Centre clearly say they do not understand this concept. Nevertheless, they are knowledgeable about the concept of transmission. They know that transmission is stipulated as one of the three principles\(^{168}\) concerning ICH safeguarding in the LICH, as well as one of the four working guidelines\(^{169}\) in the 2005 state Opinions. They also understand the concept of transmission from practical aspects based in lived reality which is not seen in the national document.

The first aspect is that transmission concerns whether or not an ICH element has reached an appropriate temporal threshold. Since it is easier to date a tangible heritage than intangible heritage, the duration of transmission is considered a measure to date an ICH practice. For instance, Dong Yanling explains that “ICH needs to be transmitted by people and there must be predecessors and successors, the transmission duration should be at least three generations which equals 100

\(^{168}\) The other two are authenticity and integrity.

\(^{169}\) The “working guidelines” of the 2005 Opinions say: “protection prioritised, rescue first, rational use and transmission and development”.
years” (Interview 2014). This understanding means that the officials use transmission as a criterion to authenticate an ICH element and this criterion is also clearly stated and implemented at the Lijiang local level.

The second aspect of transmission, according to Yin Jiayu, concerns how ICH should be safeguarded. Yin says that transmission concerns two practical measures, the first is the “strong governmental behaviour which includes training classes and transmission funds allocation” and the second is the “inheritors’ self-awareness which requires the inheritors to have strong responsibility in transmission” (Interview 2014). For the inheritors, Yin emphasises that inheritors must take disciples and they should cooperate with the government. It can be seen from these remarks that the transmission, in the sense of practical implementation, has more to do with the dictates of the government than the agency of the inheritors. On the other hand, however, realising that the inheritors should be considered more seriously, Yin Jiayu emphasises that “we need to consider the living environment, living condition, remuneration, pride and confidence of the inheritors. We need to care for the inheritors materially and mentally” (Interview 2014). Similar remarks are also heard in her understanding of authenticity; therefore, I argue that the consideration of the agencies and willingness of the ICH inheritors emerges at the provincial level. This sympathetic understanding with the inheritors indicates that, though the AHD exists strongly in the national documents, officials can still construct their own understandings using their own experiences, knowledge and cultural practices.

9.2.3 Local Officials

As with Chapter 7, I interviewed local officials at the Lijiang Municipal ICH Protection Centre, the Gucheng County ICH Protection Centre and the LPMB. There are two distinct perspectives in the local officials’ expression of their understandings of continuity. The first perspective, as articulated by Li Guang at the county level, resonates well with the inheritors-based emic perspective proposed in this thesis. Li Guang illustrates that:
During the ICH practicing process, the practitioner could understand the living status, spiritual status, material culture status and the environment of the time when their predecessors lived. During this process, the practitioner could understand the spiritual status, and even the thinking of the predecessors in making the same handicraft and singing the same song. The practitioner will understand why (the predecessor did this). This interprets continuity and it is a communication between the present people and the people in the past. (Interview 2014)

Li Guang’s remarks indicate clearly that local officials can develop an understanding of the subjective feelings ICH inheritors have for their connection to their predecessors, indicating that they can develop an emic perspective.

However, Li Zhidian, a senior official at the county level, explains continuity from another perspective as “maintaining and transmitting the authenticity of ICH” (Interview 2014). By comparison, Li Zhidian’s understanding of continuity maintains the conventional understanding of authenticity which means maintaining what ICH was like before. This can be seen as one of the implications of the concepts of authenticity and integrity in the Chinese AHD.

Transmission is another concept which is impacted upon by personal knowledge and experience. As far as the form of transmission is concerned, Li Zhidian indicates that three forms exist in Lijiang. The first is “authentic (Yuanzhiyuanwei) transmission in the community”, the second is the “commodified ICH which is creative, adapted and this ICH is made pleasant for the tourists to watch and listen, such as Xuan Ke’s Naxi music and the Impression of Naxi show” (Interview 2014). The third form, according to Li Zhidian, refers to an even more commodified form of ICH targeting the international cultural market. Li Zhidian proposes to adapt the Baishaxiyue music into an internationalised symphony which could “connect to the world” (Interview 2014). Li Zhidian argues ICH can be transmitted in all these three forms because “the commodified form of ICH (in the second or third form) is still an ICH, because its authenticity still exists in the community (in the first form). ICH needs to be used and developed so all three forms are acceptable and they are beneficial to the protection, dissemination and use of ICH” (Interview 2014). The notion that transmission can exist in the commodified form of ICH practice is also articulated
in the remarks of official D from the LPMB who claims that “transmission is not just about masters teaching the disciples, it can also be done by market, schools and the institutes” (Interview 2014). Xu Qing from the Lijiang Municipal ICH Protection Centre explains that:

It is undoubted that tourism can foster the development and transmission of ICH. This is because the natural transmission becomes difficult when the society develops, the modern living patterns evolve and the whole social environment changes. However, traditional culture can be promoted and protected in tourism and the inheritors can be rewarded. Therefore, ICH can be transmitted in tourism. (Interview 2014)

These comments indicate that local officials hold the opinion that the commodified form of ICH can be equally regarded as a form of transmission and the positive effects of commodification and tourism are acknowledged by the local officials.

Though the abovementioned local officials accept the transmission in the commodified form of ICH, it is inevitable for them to encounter a dilemma which is similar to the issue of authenticity and integrity seen in Chapters 7 and 8 because of the restrictions imposed by the national AHD. For example, Li Guang admits that “intense contradiction exists between maintaining authenticity and commodification”, because “on one hand we should try the best to transmit ICH, on the other hand, the original function, aim and interpretations of ICH should be protected and continued to the best” (Interview 2014). As for the governmental assistance, Xu Qing comments that “the identification of an ICH element only depends on the contribution the practitioner makes to the transmission in the community. We do not oppose the commodification; however we should not assist or fund the commodified forms of ICH” (Interview 2014). These comments, then, indicate a similar problem to that seen in the understandings of authenticity and integrity in previous chapters. Local officials experience a tension between the restrictive understandings of the national ICH AHD on the notions of continuity and transmission and their own more liberal understanding based on their insight into the local practitioners’ perspectives.
9.2.4 Summary

In this section I analysed the understandings of the concepts of continuity and transmission among the officials at different levels in the government. Data from the interviews demonstrated that officials at the higher and middle levels (i.e. national and provincial) do not have knowledge of the concept of continuity while local officials (i.e. municipal and county) can actively articulate the concept of continuity from their personal understandings. In particular, it is significant that one local official described continuity from the inheritors-based emic perspective that this thesis argues for. Compared with the concepts of authenticity and integrity, continuity is an unfamiliar theoretical notion to officials at all levels; however, they are able to argue for the idea that continuity should be manifested in the form of transmission.

Research in this section demonstrated that the government would like to maintain the continuity of the officially recognised values of ICH in line with the notion of authenticity and integrity that they are already familiar with. In this sense, the discourse on authenticity and integrity in the national AHD constitutes an impediment to their free understandings of continuity and transmission. Transmission is usually stipulated as a series of measures for safeguarding ICH. Because of the national ICH AHD, all officials emphasise the importance of keeping authenticity, and sometimes integrity, in the process of transmission. On the other hand, the officials allow space for commodification and the commodified form of ICH is seen as one of the transmission measures, especially at the local levels. Nevertheless, the dilemma of the natural transmission in community and the commodified form of transmission in tourism is unavoidable from the officials’ perspective and this problem is entwined with the existing problems of authenticity and integrity as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

9.3 The Expert Perspective

As I illustrated in previous chapters, experts and scholars, especially the eminent ones employed in the Committee of Experts, exert significant influence on the
national ICH discourse. In this section, I will reveal the personal understanding of interviewed experts at two levels: the non-local and local experts.

9.3.1 Non-local Experts

The understanding of non-local experts is drawn from two sources: firstly, the literature reviewed in Chapter 2; and secondly the interviews conducted with scholars working in the national institutes (Table 7.1). Since the comments of Wang Wenzhang are analysed in the previous national officials’ perspective, I will examine other experts in this section.

As I have already observed in Chapter 2, the concept of continuity in ICH is not discussed in Chinese ICH literature. However, interviewed experts are able to articulate their personal understandings of continuity. Song Junhua describes his understanding as following:

"Continuity relates to the concept of Benshengtai (original state). In the process of transmission, we have to figure out what to transmit, so we have to ascertain the quality of ICH. As for this, the unchanged things, stable things, or the less-changed things mean continuity. Continuity stipulates the existence of the quality of ICH. The less changed things within an ICH element are something I call Benshengtai. Among many components that constitute an ICH element, the stable things can best stipulate the quality of an ICH element, and these things are related to Benshengtai. (Interview 2014)"

The term continuity in Chinese documents is sometimes translated as historicity (Li Shi Gan) (Xin & Huang 2011). Historicity is understood by Song Junhua as “something maintained and inherited from the ancestors” (Interview 2014). Once again, Song emphasises that “the priority in ICH protection is to know what to protect, and what we need to protect is something relatively unchanged” (Interview 2014).

Song Junhua’s understanding demonstrates that the concept of continuity is closely related to the concepts of authenticity and integrity. To a large extent, Song holds the same understanding as the notion in the Chinese AHD that continuity concerns the unchanged values and components, in line with the
objective perspective of authenticity and integrity, the governmental players would like to maintain across generations.

However, interviewed experts also argued that the changing aspects of ICH should also be allowed in order to understand continuity, as long as the unchanged aspect is maintained well. For instance, scholar B claims that “continuity concerns the inheritance and development of the history, it means continuation, and it also means change. Continuity relates to a living transmission” (Interview 2014).

The understanding of transmission demonstrates how continuity of ICH should be safeguarded. On the one hand, as shown above, experts associate continuity with the idea that objective authenticity and integrity of ICH should be maintained. This understanding is also reflected in, for example, the guidebook for ICH bureaucrats which claims that “the aim (of ICH protection) is to establish a gene pool of the traditional culture in order to preserve ICH with original characteristics in the form of living status before the coming of grand development” (Yuan & Gu 2013, p. 112). Furthermore, Gu and Yuan argue that one of the criteria for recognising the ICH inheritor is to see “whether the ICH practiced by the practitioner is authentic (Yuanzhiyuanwei) or not, and whether enough traditional cultural genes are maintained” (Yuan & Gu 2013, p. 129).

Different forms of transmission are acknowledged by experts. For example, Liu Xicheng listed group transmission, family transmission, social transmission and God-given (Shen Shou) transmission (in Wang 2006b, p. 35). In particular to the Lijiang case, He Ming points out that “nowadays the protection or transmission is largely connected to tourism which becomes a major channel for transmission” (Interview 2014). In addition, the importance of the inheritors and their willingness for transmission are emphasised. Scholar B notes that:

It is crucial to protect the inheritor because they are the subject of transmission. I think protection of the inheritors means that they should have the awareness of transmission and they know how to transmit. They should not only have the skills, but also have the willingness of transmitting the skills to the next generation. (Interview 2014)
### 9.3.2 Local Experts

The background of five interviewed local Naxi experts are illustrated in Table 7.2. Unlike non-local experts, local experts do not express much theoretical understandings of continuity. Nevertheless, their understandings can be seen from their comments on the specific case in Lijiang. These understandings are noticeably reflected in their views on the relationship between tourism and Dongba culture.

While no one denies all ICH elements are changing to some extent, local experts believe some aspects of ICH remain constant across generations. For example, Naxi scholar He Pinzheng claims that “contemporary Dongba culture is not authentic (Yuanzhiyuanwei), or traditional, but it is not fake either, because it still connects with the traditional Dongba culture at its root” (Interview 2014). This indicates that He Pinzheng does not care for the concept of authenticity but emphasises the notion of continuity which concerns the unchanged components of Dongba culture. The connection between contemporary and traditional Dongba culture relies in the fact that “both of these cultures are based on the same thing” (Interviewee He Pinzheng, 2014). This is further explained in Naxi scholar Yang Guoqing’s argument that “as the essence of Naxi culture, Dongba culture still remains, because its system and ideas remain the same”, and he believes that “the present Naxi culture is still a ‘traditional’ culture, because the essence is the same though its interpretation may change” (Interview 2014). These understandings of the unchanged essence of the Naxi and Dongba culture demonstrate that local experts hold a relatively positive opinion on the continuity of the ICH in Lijiang.

These positive understandings lead to a wide acceptance of different forms of transmission. Considering that “there is no such thing as a universal pattern of protecting and developing all kinds of ICH”, Naxi scholar Yang Fuquan thinks that “multiple measures should be taken to protect ICH” (Interview 2014). In addition to the governmental protection measures, Yang believes that company protection in Yushuizhai Park, civil protection in the Impression of Naxi performance and family protection should be encouraged (Interview 2014). As I have argued in previous chapters, the ICH protection in Lijiang is characterised
by the participation of the tourism industry and it is known as the Lijiang Model. It is not surprising, therefore, that the positive effects of tourism on the ICH transmission are widely observed in the interviews. Yang Guoqing, former leader of Lijiang, is a salient advocator for transmission through tourism. Yang praises the Lijiang Model in which culture is combined with tourism as a “successful model” because “on one hand, the culture and ecology are protected; on the other hand, the tourism economy is activated. So Lijiang is a good example of sustainable and scientific development” (Interview 2014).

Nevertheless, no current forms of transmission go without criticisms. In regard to the commodified form of transmission, for example, Dongba He Limin made the point that by promoting and funding the Dongba transmission, Yushuizhai Park has an ambition to monopolise the Dongba resources, indicating that this would reduce the function of Dongba culture to Yushuizhai’s tourism purpose. A further problem, according to He Limin, is that because diverse Dongba culture exists in the rural areas, the monopoly of Yushuizhai’s Dongba training could restrict this cultural diversity (Interview 2014).

However, it would be wrong to conclude that transmission through tourism is hopeless in the long term and that it should be done in a non-commodified way, because local scholars also criticise the way in which government funds the transmission of Dongba culture at the Dongba Academy and a Dongba training base in a rural area. Both He Pinzheng and He Limin criticise the Dongba Academy. He Limin, a Dongba scholar at the Dongba Academy, complains that “the Dongbas working in the Dongba Academy do not transmit Dongba culture properly” (Interview 2014). This is because the Dongba Academy is a research institute but not a transmission body so that the administrators are not concerned with transmission. Since not all Dongbas have a permanent position in the academy and they live on meagre stipends funded by Non-governmental Organisations and the government, they cannot transmit Dongba culture well (Interviewees He Pinzheng and He Limin, 2014). These problems are also noted by He Pinzheng (Interview 2014) in relation to a community-based Dongba cultural transmission base in a rural area funded by the Lijiang Municipal ICH Centre. Owing to the facts that, firstly, the base is not sufficiently funded by the
ICH Centre and secondly, most young learners would like to work and live in the Lijiang city rather than studying in the base, this transmission base encounters difficulty in sustaining its transmission. I can therefore conclude from the local experts’ opinions that the current forms of transmission are not perfect, whether operated by the government or private companies.

9.3.3 Summary

My analysis has shown that diversity can clearly be seen in experts’ understandings of the concept of continuity. While the understanding of non-local experts is likely to be influenced by the objective perspective of the national ICH discourse, local experts’ views are drawn from their personal observations and work in the Lijiang case. Nevertheless, both of them agree that continuity concerns something that remains constant, stable or less-changed across the transmission. By comparison, I can see that non-local experts easily relate continuity to unchanged values and components, in line with the objective perspective of authenticity and integrity in the AHD, while local experts attribute the continuity of Naxi culture to the unchanged philosophy and ideology of Dongba culture which is the essence of Naxi culture.

In terms of transmission, a wide acceptance of different forms of transmission is observed in all experts’ understandings. Specifically, the majority of them regard tourism commodification as an acceptable or even indispensible measure of transmitting ICH in Lijiang. It is significant to notice in the comments of local experts that neither government-led nor tourism company-led ICH transmission is perfect in Lijiang. Therefore, I argue that multiple forms of transmissions are needed to support the differing abilities and agencies of the inheritors in different situations.

9.4 The Inheritor Perspective

As I argued in Chapter 2, heritage concerns the recognition, protection and use of a set of values, meanings, identities and understandings of cultural practice. Since the term continuity is not familiar to the inheritors, their understandings of
continuity can be detected from their understandings of different aspects of an ICH element, especially values, meanings and personal identities (in relation to the concepts of value and authenticity in Chapter 7) and components (in relation to integrity in Chapter 8) of ICH. Therefore, the following analysis of continuity is generally built on previous analyses in Chapters 7 and 8. The analysis of the understanding of the inheritors will be contextualised in the four cases so that the differences can be seen more clearly.

9.4.1 Dongba Culture Case

I illustrated in Chapter 7 that diverse values, meanings, or significances are generated in the engagement of Dongba cultural practices. Table 7.3 detailed a spread of these values as articulated by Dongbas who engage with both community-based and tourism-related Dongba practices, as well as Dongbas who only practice in the community context (See Chapter 6 for the background). Based on Table 7.3, further analysis of the data, as revealed in Table 9.1, shows that among eight aspects of the value articulated by the interviewed Dongbas, six aspects are shared by the Dongba practitioners in both community and tourism situations while two aspects are described as unique in only one situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Embodiment of the values</th>
<th>Aspects of the Values</th>
<th>Situations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inside the Dongbas themselves</td>
<td>Personal actualisation (artistic talents)</td>
<td>Both&lt;sup&gt;170&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal spiritual needs (pride, spiritual and moral edification, spiritual reward and Naxi cultural learning)</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic value</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the Dongbas and their families</td>
<td>Family value</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the Dongbas and the audiences</td>
<td>Acceptance, appreciation and trust</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural dissemination</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the Dongbas and the community</td>
<td>Ethnic value (ethnic identity)</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside the ICH per se</td>
<td>Artistic and philosophical values</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.1 Comparison of the Values Perceived by the Interviewed Dongbas between the Community and the Tourism Situations (Source: author’s interview, 2014)

<sup>170</sup> “Both” in the table means this aspect of value exists in both tourism and community situations. The same applies to the tables in Chapter 9.
In terms of the value embodied “between the Dongbas and the audiences”, the value embodied in the aspect of “acceptance, appreciation and trust” is only found in the less commodified situation, the community situation, as exemplified in the Baidi Village case. For example, Dongbas feel that they are accepted and acknowledged when they are practicing the Dongba rites for the local people, and they refer to this as “serving the community” (Interviewees He Shukun, He Yongguang, Yang Guangcai and others, 2014). Conversely, the value embodied in the aspect of “cultural dissemination” is articulated only in the more commodified situation, the tourism context, such as in the Yushuizhai case.

Chapter 7 has revealed the advantageous benefits of tourism development on the promotion of Dongba culture to the non-Naxi people. Consequently, the willingness of the Dongbas to continue engaging with their practices is stimulated (Interviewees Yang Xun and He Guojun, 2014). These results therefore reveal that, with the exception of the value embodied between the Dongbas and the audiences, continuity of the value of Dongba culture exists in most aspects in both the community and tourism situations.

Table 8.3 in Chapter 8 illustrated the differences and similarities of Dongba cultural practice in the two situations. Table 8.3 shows that continuity can also exist in terms of practitioner (e.g. feelings or experiences and identity) and function in the two situations. Firstly, in relation to the practitioner, the most significant finding is that the interviewed Dongbas regard their identities of being a Dongba the same, regardless of the commodification of the practice. The continuity of personal identity is exemplified in the case of He Yaowei who engages with both touristic performance and community practice. Another finding in terms of the feelings or experiences is that some interviewed Dongbas claim that their subjective feelings and experiences are similar in the two situations. As analysed in the case of He Guojun, he does not see any experiential differences as long as his Dongba practices are not performed specifically for the tourists. Secondly, in regard to the function of their ICH practice, some interviewed Dongbas regard the religious and spiritual functions of Dongba practices as remaining the same in both situations. The most obvious case is in the Yushuizhai Park where the majority of Dongbas agree that they are practicing “authentic”
Dongba culture which is not necessarily for the tourists (Interviewees Yang Xun, Yang Wenji and He Xuewu, 2014). Description of the identical function is also seen in Dongba He Guojun’s remarks on his seasonal worship for gods in the Dongba Gu Park. He Guojun claims that it is because of the same personal belief and feelings that he regards the function as identical (Interview 2014). I can therefore conclude from these findings that firstly, the continuity of the identity of being a Dongba remains in both the community and tourism situations. Secondly, the continuity of a Dongba’s feelings and experiences, as well as the continuity of the function of the Dongba rites, can remain in both situations, as long as tourists are not the major audience.

Drawing from the results in Chapters 7 and 8 in abovementioned section, I argue that, on the condition that the tourists are not the major audiences for the Dongba cultural practices, continuity of Dongba cultural practices exist in both less and more commercialised situations. In particular, continuity is manifested in terms of the subjectively perceived values, feelings or experiences, the identity of being a Dongba, and the functions of the Dongba practices. In the following section, I will reveal how Dongbas understand the transmission of Dongba culture, especially in the context of tourism.

Transmission concerns short term and long term continuation of the cultural practice. When the former means continuous learning and practicing of ICH during one generation, the latter concerns this continuation in future generations. The willingness of Dongbas in continuously practicing and transmitting their Dongba culture during the current generation is indicated in Table 9.2.
The attitudes of the surveyed Dongba respondents towards the three statements above are generally very positive. It is shown from the first statement that current Dongba practitioners enjoy greater freedom in their religious practice which was severely suppressed before the 1980s. The response indicates that Dongba practitioners have engaged with either community-based or tourism-oriented Dongba cultural practices with little restriction, a fact that has also been noted by local officials. The second statement reveals that the engagement with Dongba culture generates values, meanings or significances to their personal needs and, according to the third statement, these personal needs are generally sufficient because the Dongba feels content. These three statements also echo with the analysis in Chapter 7 that the subjectively perceived personal values can be sustained in either less or more commodified situations.

The long term or cross-generation transmission can be examined from both the willingness of the Dongba inheritors who transmit their ICH and the willingness of the young Dongba apprentices who learn the Dongba practice. The survey shows that 100% of the interviewed Dongbas agree that Dongba culture, along with other Naxi culture, should be handed down to the young people. The Intensity of the Attitude for this statement is 4.57 which is dramatically positive. This situation is markedly different from that during the Cultural Revolution when all Dongba cultural transmission was banned. When agreeing that Dongba culture needs transmission to the next generation, Dongbas hold two distinctive opinions as to whether transmission can be sustained in the tourism context.

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171 Though the term traditional Naxi culture is used in all questionnaires, it specifically concerns the Dongba culture when the questionnaire was delivered to the Dongba respondents with the author’s oral introduction. The same introduction was also given in other cases.
Dongba practitioners, in particular those who engage with both tourism-based and community-based practice, claim that transmission in the tourism context is feasible. According to the survey, 80.95% of the Dongbas working and studying in Yushuizhai Park answered that tourism is beneficial to Dongba culture and the Intensity of the Attitude of this answer is 3.9 which means their opinions are positive. Furthermore, except for Yang Wenji, the oldest “senior Dongba” in Lijiang (born in 1933), the average age of the 12 surveyed Dongbas in Yushuizhai was 42 and the youngest was just 26 (in 2014). This figure indicates that young Dongbas constitute a majority of the Dongba population in the tourism industry.

Several reasons are given to support their positive opinions of tourism. The most frequently mentioned reason is that Dongbas working for tourism companies can concentrate on the learning, studying and practicing of Dongba culture without economic burden (Interviewees Yang Xun, He Xuewu, Yang Wenji, He Guojun, He Yaowei, He Xuedong 2014). As I previously indicated in Chapter 8, Dongbas used to be part-time priests in the past. When they are employed by the company, they become full-time practitioners or researchers of Dongba culture (Interviewees Yang Xun, He Yaowei, He Guojun and He Xuedong, 2014). Indeed, employment matters for the Dongba inheritors. Local expert He Pinzheng (Interview 2014) points out that economic deficiency and lack of employment resulted in the failure of the governmental transmission programme in rural areas. In the tourism industry, however, these problems are solved. “Dongbas only do things Dongba should do and they are not asked to do things they should not do” (Interview 2014), says He Wensong, a staff member in the Yushuizhai Dongba Association. The employed Dongbas had to interact with tourists in Yushuizhai before 2014; however, these Dongbas no longer have to do business with tourists (Interviewee He Wensong, 2014). The change of this regulation affects a large population of Dongbas in Lijiang. He Rui, the secretary of the Yushuizhai Dongba Association, estimates that around 70% of Dongbas in Lijiang area are employed in the tourism industry among which Yushuizhai is the biggest employer (Interview 2014). Furthermore, Yushuizhai pays attention to the Dongba transmission in the long term. A Dongba training class was initiated in

Yushuizhai as early as 1997 and a Dongba transmission school was established by Yushuizhai in 2009 with eight teenagers now enrolled in this school for the five-year full-time learning program (see Chapter 6).

Nevertheless, tourism as an approach for transmission is criticised by Dongbas in Baidi Village, which is less-commodified than Yushuizhai. As I revealed in Chapter 7, Dongba He Shukun and He Shurong, the head of Baidi Dongba Transmission School, strongly condemn the transmission models used in Yushuizhai and Dongba Gu Parks. The crux of the problem, as pointed out by He Shukun, is that “Dongba culture can only serve Naxi people but not the tourists, so the practice and transmission should be in the village” (Interview 2014). Reflecting on the characteristics of the continuity of Dongba culture in the previous sections, Baidi Dongbas’ opinions make sense. The practice of Dongba culture in Baidi Village is only performed for the local community and therefore the transmission, as exemplified in the Baidi Dongba School, is only for their successive inheritors who are portrayed in Table 6.3. Hence, transmission of the continuity of the values of Dongba culture in Baidi Village could be harmed if non-Naxi tourists substitute Naxi people as the main audience.

However, the reality is not as black and white. As He Yaowei and He Guojun, two Dongbas who practice in both commodified and non-commodified situations argue, both the “traditional transmission mode” in the village and the “new transmission in tourism” are needed. It is a fact that Dongbas in Lijiang areas are more likely to engage with relatively simplified Dongba cultural practices in the tourism-related transmission (Interviewee He Yaowei, 2014) while Dongbas living in the rural areas, such as in Baidi Village, are more likely to transmit their Dongba culture in a more traditional way (Interviewee He Guojun, 2014).

When tourism is seen as a promising platform for the transmission of Dongba culture, I believe an advantageous tourism context is needed to protect Dongbas’ cultural and economic rights and the willingness to engage with tourism. Many Dongbas interviewed for this project complained that there are disadvantageous implications of tourism on their engagements. Specifically, since Dongba culture is regarded as a flag in cultural tourism in Lijiang, the appropriation of Dongba
culture is a common problem. Some companies or businessmen inappropriately use, misuse or abuse Dongba culture to make money so that the real cultural custodians feel disadvantaged. For example, Dongba He Guojun complains that “many fake Dongbas in Lijiang misuse the Dongba scripts; they just invent the scripts in their mind. Also, there are some non-Naxi people who use the name Dongba to do advertisements for hotel, tobacco and even dog meat! It’s very bad” (Interview 2014). That’s why many Dongbas are concerned that the misuse of Dongba culture by the outside businessmen will mislead tourists and blacken the image of Dongba (Interviewees Yang Wenji, He Guojun and He Xuedong, 2014).

Undoubtedly, the transmission of Dongba culture entails a multiple participation of different players, especially the government (Interviewees Yang Xun, Yang Wenji, He Yaowei and He Xuedong, 2014). Encouraged by the economic and cultural benefits generated by the use of Dongba culture in tourism, the government pays increasing attention to the protection and use of Dongba culture in the approach of the Lijiang Model. Meanwhile, Dongbas involved in the context of tourism become more active in the participation and transmission of their Dongba culture in the non-governmental approach, such as seen in the Yushuizhai case.

9.4.2 Naxi Music Case

Music players articulate diverse values, meanings or significances in the two situations. Among eight aspects of the values described by the interviewed players (see Table 7.3), three of them are described as unique to the tourism situation while the remaining five aspects are not clearly differentiated between the two situations. Based on Table 7.3, these results can be displayed in Table 9.3 as follow.
The most apparent aspect of the value in the tourism situation lies between the players and the audiences. Players in the tourism situation articulate new values in terms of “acceptance, appreciation and trust” and “cultural dissemination” which can be seen in the case of the Baishaxiyue band led by He Linyi and He Juyi brothers who claim their ethnic identity and pride, personal pride and cultural confidence are boosted. It is interesting to note here that the value “acceptance, appreciation and trust” in the music case is only sustained in the tourism situation while the similar value in other three cases is often sustained in the community situation. Music players in the tourism situation also frequently articulate the value in terms of “cultural dissemination” while music is regarded as a medium for intercultural exchange. Furthermore, music players, such as He Linyi and He Juyi in the Baishaxiyue case and Wang Liwei in the Dongjing music case, report that their minds are broadened, their musical skills are enhanced and their musical comprehension ability is developed as well. The third aspect of the value that is more commonly reported in the tourism context is the economic value. Though the economic value is not necessary for most music players who only play for recreational purposes, it sustains those players who work for the tourism industry. The latter can be seen clearly in the cases of He Linyi’s family band in Guanyinxia Park and the Dayan Ancient Music Association led by Xuan Ke (see Chapter 6). Understandably, many young learners now make their living by playing the music on stage for a stable income (Interviewee He Shiwei, 2014).
This comparison reveals that, while tourism triggers and sustains the emergent value “between the players and the audiences” and the “economic value”, continuity of the remaining five aspects of the ICH values is maintained in the two situations. Furthermore, tourism sustains the continuity of the emergent values embodied between the music players and the audiences, as well as among the players themselves (in terms of the economic value), and these values actually benefit the continuity of other aspects of the ICH values.

Table 8.3 illustrates the differences and similarities of the music playing between the two situations. As analysed in Chapter 8, most music players do not differentiate the two forms of practices clearly, though they point out continuity could exist in terms of “feelings or experiences” and the “importance” of the practice to them. Since the spiritual function of Naxi music has declined, the music has been secularised and the players all experience the feelings of happiness, enrichment, fulfilment, amusement and joyfulness, regardless of the playing situations (Interviewees Chang Hong, He Linyi, He Juyi, Yang Yinxian, Li Yueshou and Wang Liwei, 2013). In particular, the continuity of the mental connection between the music playing and the memory of their dead father is well maintained wherever and whenever He Linyi and He Juyi play the Baishaxiyue music (Interview 2013). In terms of the “importance” of the cultural practice, music players hold the opinion that the performance in both community and tourism contexts are equally important to them (Interviewees Wang Liwei and Wang Yaojun, 2013).

Based on the analyses in Chapters 7 and 8 and the comparison in this section, I argue that, except the economic benefits, continuity in terms of subjectively perceived values and components can generally be maintained in the two situations. And, the presence of tourists enhances some aspects of the continuity of the values, such as the emergent values generated between the players and the audiences. The following section will continue to analyse how tourism will influence the continuation of the music practice in both the short and long terms.

The willingness of the music players in continuously engaging with their music at present can be demonstrated from the survey in Table 9.4.
The above table indicates that the willingness of the music players in continuously playing their music, either for recreational performance or for tourists, is quite positive. The interviews show that the emergent values residing between the inheritors and the audiences could be enhanced. These three statements, along with the analysis of subjective authenticity in Chapter 7, all suggest that the subjectively perceived values can be actualised and sustained in either less or more commodified situations.

Cross-generation transmission concerns both the willingness of current players to transmit and that of the young players to learn. The survey data shows that, statistically, 94.34% of all studied music players agree that the traditional Naxi culture, including their musical heritage, should be passed on to the young generation. The high Intensity of the Attitude 4.51 for this opinion clearly shows that their expectations are very positive, which contrasts with the prohibition of music performance during the Cultural Revolution.

Table 8.2 indicates a “change of the age” of the music players. Music player and scholar Yang Zenlie concludes that the players have changed from elites in the past to present music enthusiasts and tourism practitioners (Interview 2013). Among these latter two groups, according to music player He Shiwei’s observation, the elderly dominate the music performance and they mainly perform for personal amusement in either local bands or on the stage (Interview 2014). According to my questionnaire survey of 51 music players in Lijiang from 2013 to 2014, the average age was 65.71. Furthermore, only six players were aged below 50 and the youngest was aged 37 which means that 88.2% of the players in

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Intensity of the Attitude</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I can engage with the traditional Naxi culture freely.</td>
<td>81.13% of “absolutely agree” and “agree” of all music players</td>
<td>4.09 (positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to engage with the Traditional Naxi Culture.</td>
<td>94.34% of “absolutely agree” and “agree” of all music players</td>
<td>4.38 (very positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel content when I engage with the Traditional Naxi Culture.</td>
<td>92.45% of “absolutely agree” and “agree” of all music players</td>
<td>4.36 (very positive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 9.4 Surveyed Music Players’ Attitudes towards Being Willing to Practice Their ICH (Source: author’s questionnaire survey, 2013-2014)
the research were older than 50. The shortage of young music inheritors is a potential problem in the long term transmission.

I have interviewed several typical music players aged below 50, such as Baishaxiyue music players He Linyi (48) and He Juyi (43), and Dongjing music players Wang Liwei (44) and Chang Hong (40). He Linyi and He Juyi brothers learnt the music because of the influence of their father, the same as Wang Liwei who developed his interest in music thanks to his father and grandfather. Chang Hong, though, was not born in a music family and regards his interest as a major reason for learning (Interview 2013). No one explicitly claimed that they learnt the music because they would like to participate in tourism. Chang Hong and Wang Liwei do not earn their livings through performance and therefore they don’t play for money. However, tourism significantly sustains brother He’s family band economically. Otherwise, they could not play and teach their young family members as much as they do.

Tourism is generally regarded as positive to the transmission of music. In addition to the previous analysis, this understanding can also be seen in the survey results that 88.68% of the surveyed music players respond that the development of tourism is beneficial to the traditional Naxi music and the Intensity of the Attitude is 4.26 which is quite positive. The reasons for this become clear if we analyse the interview data.

As pointed out by young players Chang Hong, Wang Liwei and He Linyi, young people nowadays are generally not interested in the Naxi music (Interview 2013). Therefore, most music players believe that more young people can be attracted, recruited and trained in tourism-related performances (Interviewees He Shiwei, Yang Zenlie, Wang Liwei and Li Yushe, 2013). However, interviewed music players also complain about the disadvantageous effects of commodification on their musical tourism practice. The most obvious issue is the fierce competition from other non-Naxi music performances in which the Naxi music inheritors are discriminated against. In order to capture the limited market, local cultural elites and businessman believe it is crucial that the local Lijiang people should take the initiative in the commodification. The best case is Xuan Ke’s Dayan Ancient
Music Association which can be regarded as the most successful commercial Naxi music performance in Lijiang. In the case of the commercial show *Impression of Naxi*, Naxi director He Shoujiang is confident that his show is the most “authentic” in Lijiang and that it will win the market sooner or later, because this show is funded, arranged, directed and performed all by the local people (Interview 2013).

As I introduced in Chapter 6, Dongjing music can be regarded as the first successfully commercialised cultural tourism product in Lijiang. However, not many young people are involved on the stage. In the Dayan Ancient Music Association for instance, as Wang Liwei notices, young players are not placed on stage as Xuan Ke wants to keep the band as old as possible in order to maintain the “authenticity” of the show. Wang Liwei and He Linyi all agree that folk music should be learnt at young age and it becomes difficult for an adult. I observed that there are two typical transmissions cases targeting the young people in terms of Dongjing music. The first is a training class initiated by Xuan Ke in his Dayan Ancient Music Association in the year 2007. This is a free intensive workshop held for one month during the summer vacation for local interested primary and junior middle school students and usually the class size is between 40 to 200 students. (Interviewee Xuan Ke, 2013). The second one which is held in Wenlin Village of Dayan Town is also in the form of a short-term summer class for local young students. The Wenlin class began in 2013 and it usually takes roughly 20 students each time (Interviewee Wang Fuxing, 2013). These two transmission workshops are all organised and funded by the non-governmental Dongjing bands and the main aim is for simulating and cultivating local children’s interest in Naxi music.

Compared with Dongjing music, Baishaxiyue music does not enjoy a prosperous tourism market. As the only representative of Baishaxiyue music, He Linyi’s family band struggles with economic sustainability. Though brothers He regard playing in the Guanyinxia Park is better than in their local community because of the economic benefits, tourists’ resonation, and wide intercultural communication opportunities, etc., they still consider returning back to their village in the future as an ultimate goal of transmission. They envisage that there should be an
advantageous environment established in their hometown to transmit their music to the future generation, provided that the funding, resources and preferential policy are all guaranteed (Interviewees He Linyi and He Juyi, 2013). Obviously, brothers He can only suffice part of their expectation in the Guanyinxia Park now.

While most music practitioners agree the traditional oral teaching and learning method is the basis of both Baishaxiyue and Dongjing music transmission, the debate about whether the simplified and intensive training in school or the formal musicological education in college could be a better way is never settled. Definitely the collaboration between the government, private tourism companies and other parties is central to a sustainable transmission. However, this cooperation is yet to be well established and the transmission among young people remains a major problem.

### 9.4.3 Handicraft Case

Based on the results in Table 7.3, I will further analyse the perceived values in terms of serving the local customers in the community situation and the tourists in the tourism situation in the case of handicraft in Table 9.5. As I explained in Chapters 6 and 7, handicrafts, such as copperware, leather and wood products, are always regarded as commodities for trade, no matter in the community or in the tourism market. Therefore, commodification is essential to the workmanship.

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<th>Aspects of the Values</th>
<th>Situations</th>
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<tr>
<td>Inside the craftsmen themselves</td>
<td>Actualisation of personal talents</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal spiritual edification</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic value</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creativity, pride, passion, interests and knowledge</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the craftsmen and their families</td>
<td>Family pride and identity</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the craftsmen and the audiences</td>
<td>Acceptance, appreciation and trust by the local people</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acknowledgement and happiness</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural dissemination</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serve the customers</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the craftsmen and the community</td>
<td>Ethnic pride and ethnicity making</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside the ICH per se</td>
<td>Artistic value</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.5 Comparison of the Values Perceived by the Interviewed Craftsmen between the Community and the Tourism Situations (Source: author’s interview, 2014)
As shown in Table 9.5, in regard to the values “inside the craftsmen themselves”, on the one side, interviewed craftsmen do not differentiate the values in the category of “actualisation of personal talents” and “personal spiritual edification” between the two situations. Furthermore, the economic value is regarded as an important source of income for many craftsmen in the two situations, especially the young, to start, continue and sustain their handcraft business. On the other side, craftsmen claim that their creativity, pride, passion, interests and knowledge of the practice are enhanced in the tourism situation. These enhancements can be seen in copper smithing in the cases of He Shanjun and He Shanyi and the leather making in the case of Li Renjiang. In addition, the “artistic value” of the handicrafts is also highlighted in the tourism situation which is exemplified in the wood carving of Che Fumin and He Jinping and the copper smithing of He Shanjun and He Shanyi (Interviews 2014).

In terms of the values “between the craftsmen and the audiences”, generally craftsmen do not experience any different feelings when serving either local customers or outside tourists. For instance, carpenter Che Fumin, coppersmith He Shanjun and leather maker Li Renjiang, do not discern the origin of customers. However, a subtle difference is noticed because some artisans feel acknowledged and happy in their interaction with tourists and it is only in the tourism context that the cultural dissemination of handicrafts can be realised (Interviewees He Shanyi and He Shanjun, 2014). On the other hand, the feelings of being accepted, appreciated and trusted are only experienced when the craftsmen are serving the local people, especially the regular customers (Interviewees Che Fumin, Xie Pinzhen, Li Runlan, Li Renjiang, He Shanjun, 2014).

As demonstrated in Table 9.5, among 11 aspects of the values articulated by the craftsmen, the continuity of six aspects of the values can be sustained in both community-based and tourism-based situations. Noticeably, four out of the 11 aspects of the values, such as creativity (and pride, passion, interests and knowledge), acknowledgement, cultural dissemination and the artistic skills, can only be realised and sustained in the tourism situation. Compared with the process-centred ICH cases, namely the Dongba culture and music performance, it is clear to see that commodification in tourism is more important to the continuity
of the subjective articulated values in the product-centred ICH cases, such as the handicrafts in this section and the food making craft in the next section.

The continuity of the constituting components in the sense of integrity is indicated in Table 8.3. I have shown in Chapter 8 that no obvious differences are clearly indicated by the craftsmen in the two situations. Nevertheless, they articulate that the emerging tourism market not only requires that they improve their making skills, but also compensates the declining local market. The new touristic consumption, then, can sustain the development of their handicrafts (Interviewees Che Fumin, Xie Pinzhen, He Shanjun and Li Renjiang, 2014). Therefore, I conclude that the continuity of the components of the handicraft is maintained in the two situations while the shrinking original function of the handicraft is compensated by the tourism market.

The tourism market positively influences the continuity in relation to the value and the components of the handicraft ICH as discussed above. In general, the attitude of craftsmen towards tourism and its influence on the sustainability of their handicraft can be indicated from the survey questions in Table 9.6 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Intensity of the Attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The development of tourism is beneficial to the traditional Naxi culture.</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
<td>4.22 (very positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a positive utilization to use Dongba scripts and painting for making touristic artworks.</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
<td>4.19 (very positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is beneficial to the development of the crafts of traditional Naxi pottery making, wood carving, copper smithing and leather making when these crafts are used for making touristic artworks.</td>
<td>86.11%</td>
<td>4.31 (very positive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.6 Surveyed Craftsmen’s Attitudes towards the Influence of Tourism on Their ICH (Source: author’s questionnaire survey, 2013-2014)

The above three statements, supported by very positive attitudes of the craftsmen, echo the interview results that tourism is beneficial to the sustainability of handicrafts. Table 9.7 below then detects how strong the willingness is among the makers to continuously engage with their making crafts at present.
Data in Table 9.7 shows a positive trend that the surveyed artisans are willing to continue on their craftsmanship at present in the market for either local people or outside tourists. 34 of the investigated 36 craftsmen answered their age and the average age was 37.8 (in 2014). Compared with the average age of 65.71 in the music case, the craftsmen population is relatively young and this means that the young inheritors are the backbone force of learning and transmitting the skills. Furthermore, according to the questionnaire, 86.11% of the surveyed craftsmen answer that “the traditional Naxi culture should be handed down to the young generation” (the Intensity of the Attitude is 4.3 which suggests quite positive). These results, therefore, indicate that when young people are engaging with the crafts in both the community and the tourism market, they are also actively willing to transmit it to the younger or next generation. However, many craftsmen are still worried about the lack of young inheritors because of the harsh working environment, time consuming and labour consuming working requirements (Interviewees Che Fumin, Li Runlan, Zhu Xing and He Shanjun, 2014).

The craftsmen studied here are more or less involved in tourism in Lijiang, especially those who run their own shop in Wuyi Street in Dayan Old Town (see Chapter 6). Transmission in tourism is regarded as feasible for the handicraft, so craftsmen would like to make the best of tourism development to enhance the creativity of the products so as to diversity the functions of their handicrafts in contemporary society (Interviewees Che Fumin, Zhu Xing, He Shanyi, He Shanjun and Li Renjiang, 2014). Nevertheless, craftsmen also express their great concern about the disadvantageous implications the tourism development exerts on them. Since Naxi handicraft is very popular among the tourists, the handicraft

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Intensity of the Attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I can engage with the traditional Naxi culture freely.</td>
<td>75% of “absolutely agree” and “agree” of all craftsmen</td>
<td>3.95 (positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to engage with the Traditional Naxi Culture.</td>
<td>55.56% of “absolutely agree” and “agree” of all craftsmen</td>
<td>3.72 (positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel content when I engage with the Traditional Naxi Culture.</td>
<td>77.78% of “absolutely agree” and “agree” of all craftsmen</td>
<td>4.08 (positive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.7 Surveyed Craftsmen’s Attitudes towards Being Willing to Practice Their ICH
(Source: author’s questionnaire survey, 2013-2014)
market is extremely competitive. The most direct pressure on the craftsmen is the popularity of machine-made pseudo Naxi artefacts and fake handicrafts imported from other provinces because of the low price and fashionable appearance (Interviewees Zhu Xing and He Pinzheng, 2014). As explained by the craftsmen themselves, the main reason behind this phenomenon is because of the “low taste” of the massive domestic tourists who would like to buy cheap souvenirs and a large number of dishonest non-local businessmen who are good at marketing (Interviewees He Jinping and He Pinzheng, 2014). Since genuine hand-made artefacts can hardly compete with the machine-made fake handicraft in terms of the price, except those who are under the shelter of the licensed shop in Wuyi Street, the majority of craftsmen have been driven out of the Old Town by the market. Therefore, craftsmen ask for a better and fair business context where their cultural rights, economic rights and willingness of practice can be safeguarded.

Some artisans who have benefited economically and culturally from tourism also expect to leave the competitive market in the Old Town and take initiative to establish their own cultural tourism programs according to their own will. He Shanjun, the coppersmith working in Baisha Village, is planning to renovate his old house into a copper smithing exhibition hall where he could showcase his real-time making craft, display the copperware culture in Baisha, teach young disciples and exhibit the history of his father, the passed famous coppersmith He Jikuan. According to He Shanjun, “the connection of the exhibition of the traditional copper smithing craft and the customers’ order in reality means the transmission of the copperware culture” (Interview 2014). However, he is still bothered by the shortage of qualified young disciples who should be concerned with the craftsmanship, rather than with making money.

### 9.4.4 Culinary Skill Case

Culinary skill is another type of product-centred ICH which is similar to the handicrafts. As far as the costumers are concerned, two kinds of commodification can be differentiated, namely the production and trade for the local people and for the tourists respectively. Based on Table 7.3 and further analysis of the interview
data, comparisons of the values perceived in the two situations can be concluded in Table 9.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Embodiment of the values</th>
<th>Aspects of the Values</th>
<th>Situations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inside the cooks themselves</td>
<td>Personal spiritual needs (meaning of life, attachment to the work and psychological comfort)</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic value/livelihood/family enterprise</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the cooks and their families</td>
<td>Family pride, identity, responsibility and morality</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the cooks and the audiences</td>
<td>Pride, happiness and satisfaction</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural dissemination</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between the cooks and the community</td>
<td>Ethnic identity</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.8 Comparison of the Values Perceived by the Interviewed Cooks between the Community and the Tourism Situations (Source: author’s interview, 2014)

Table 9.8 shows that the continuity of the values in the category of “creativity”, “cultural dissemination” and “ethnic identity” are indicated more often in the situation of the tourism market while the continuity of the values in the category of “trust” is more likely in the situation of community trade. Except for these four aspects, the continuity of other aspects of the value perceived by the cooks is regarded as more or less the same between the two situations. The majority of cooks interviewed articulate that they could not differentiate their subjective feelings or experiences in making the food to serve either local people or tourists, a fact that is similar to the case of handicrafts (see Table 8.3).

Tourism is acknowledged as advantageous to the creativity of the food making crafts. Xiao Jun, owner of Amayi Restaurant and He Zhiming, owner of the 88 Restaurant both mention the importance of creating new dishes based on the traditional ones inherited from their parents. The tourism market, therefore, is regarded by the owners of many local-run restaurants as the best arena for the cooks to explore the new ideas. Because of the cultural dissemination established in the interaction between Naxi cooks and tourists, food makers and restaurant owners’ ethnic identity is enhanced and they feel proud that they are contributing to the promotion and protection of traditional Naxi culture. By comparison, the food making craft case is similar to the handicrafts case in that the commodification in tourism triggers and sustains some of the values inside the
practitioners (e.g. creativity), not just the values between the practitioners and the audiences (e.g. cultural dissemination).

On the other side, some values are more likely to be observed in the community trade. Li Dongling, a Lijiang Baba maker in Wuyi Street, for example, says that, compared with serving the tourists, he would like to serve the local people who can appreciate the traditional food more deeply, and then he can feel a sense of being trusted in the service (Interview 2014). Also, some cooks think that the food processed in the traditional way can only be recognised by the local people while the food specifically made for tourists could be prepared in an “inauthentic” way (Interviewee Lyu Guijin 2014).

In general, three out of the eight aspects of the values perceived by the cooks are triggered and sustained in the tourism situation. While this percentage (37.5%) is similar to that in the cases of music performance (37.5%) and handicrafts (36.4%), it is higher than that in the Dongba culture case (12.5%). This comparison again demonstrates that the secular ICH cases, namely music performance, handicrafts and food making skills, are more commodified than the spiritual ICH practice in Lijiang. In other words, tourism is involved more closely in the actualisation of the ICH values in the secular ICH cases.

Characteristics of the continuity of the components of the food making practice can be seen in Table 8.3. Among all aspects of the components of the food making practice, the interviewed cooks did not report any obvious difference between the two situations while only indicating that more similarities are noticed in terms of “feelings or experiences”, “procedures and ingredient”, “importance” of the practice, “quality” of the product and the “importance” of the consumer. This result shows that, generally, culinary practitioners treat their food making and products the same in the two situations.

Tourism is widely regarded as beneficial to the culinary skills. Statistically, the survey shows that 79.06% of the food inheritors agree that the development of tourism is beneficial to the traditional Naxi food making crafts and the Intensity of Attitude is 4.06 which is positive. In addition to the positive effects of tourism
on the continuity of values and components of the food making crafts as discussed above, interviewees notice that tourism promotes willingness of the cooks in continuously practicing their culinary skills. Noticeably, many cooks or owners of the restaurants in Lijiang think that the development of tourism, along with the increase of tourists visits, benefit their food industry so that the consumption is extended (Interviewees Xiao Jun, Zhang Xiangfang, Chang Qing, 88 Restaurant and Lyu Guijin, 2014). As a result, food makers feel encouraged in continuously engaging with their food business (Interviewee Zhang Xiangfang, 2014).

The willingness of the food inheritors in practicing at present can also be seen in Table 9.9 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Intensity of the Attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I can engage with the traditional Naxi culture freely.</td>
<td>75.76% of “absolutely agree” and “agree” of all food inheritors</td>
<td>3.95 (positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to engage with the Traditional Naxi Culture.</td>
<td>75.48% of “absolutely agree” and “agree” of all food inheritors</td>
<td>4.07 (positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel content when I engage with the Traditional Naxi Culture.</td>
<td>87.33% of “absolutely agree” and “agree” of all food inheritors</td>
<td>4.25 (very positive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.9 reflects that the interviewed food inheritors are willing to continue their food making crafts at present. In regard to the inter-generational transmission, their attitude can be detected from the survey that 90.91% of the food inheritors answer that “the traditional Naxi culture should be handed down to the young generation” (the Intensity of the Attitude is 4.43 which suggests quite positive). This figure indicates that food inheritors are willing to transmit their skills to the younger generation.

The transmission of Naxi food making crafts can be classified into two forms according to the origin of customers. According to my observation and the interview with the owners, the restaurants where Naxi food is delicately prepared with various tastes for the tourists in the Old Town are more popular than the food stalls where Naxi food is only prepared in the “traditional” ways for the local people.
The first form of Naxi food production can be found in the case of the 88 Restaurant, Amayi Restaurant and the Bainian Laodian Lijiang Baba Shop (see Chapter 6 for details). I noticed in the fieldwork that these three restaurants are all run as a family business and the current owners are all young people who inherited the food making crafts from their parents, specifically their mothers. For instance, He Zhiming is in his early 30s and he returned from Shanghai to Lijiang a few years ago to take charge of the 88 Restaurant; Xiao Jun is in his 40s and now expanding his family enterprise into a successful business in Lijiang; and Chang Qing, a daughter aged in her 30s, now works with her mother Lyu Guijin to make their workshop one of the biggest production centre of Lijiang Baba. All these restaurants pay great attention to the tourists in addition to the local consumers and they are experimenting with the “tradition based innovation” (Interviewee Xiao Jun, 2013). On the one hand, Lyu Guijin and the 88 Restaurant know that, if tradition is not inherited, the food is not Naxi flavoured food (Interview 2014); on the other hand, if they stagnate in the tradition and do not create new cooking methods and products, their business will lose the market (Interviews with the 88 Restaurant and Chang Qing, 2014).

All these three restaurants are popular in the Old Town; however, they are unable to compete with their non-Naxi rivals in the Old Town if their restaurants are not registered as the licensed shop. As with the handicraft case, the business competition in the Old Town is extremely intense. Research shows that, because of the fast-rising rental and the increasing expense of genuine ingredients for the traditional food, these restaurants can barely make a profit without the governmental subsidy and the preferential policy.

The second form of the food production is exemplified in the case of the Naxi Baba Shop run by Zhang Xiangfang, Li Dongling’s Lijiang Baba shop and Aunt He who runs Jidou Bean Jelly in a local market. These food inheritors are aged below 50 and they engage with this low-profit food business to support their families. By comparison, their food products are prepared simply and traditionally with more consideration of local people’s tastes. Because of the limited profit and high rental, they are unable to compete with other food providers in the Old Town so that they are located in the periphery of the Old Town or in the local market.
No matter what form the food business is in, all food makers are concerned about the lack of young inheritors, because they describe traditional Naxi food making craft as a “time and labour consuming and tedious work” (Interviewees Aunt He, Zhang Xiangfang, 88 Restaurant and Li Dongling, 2014). Also, they ask for the government to lower their rent, supervise the quality of Naxi food and allow more preferential policy for their food business.

9.4.5 Summary

In this section I investigated the understandings of the ICH practitioners of continuity in relation to the subjectively perceived values and the components of the four ICH cases. In general, continuity in regard to the values and the components exists in both community-based and tourism-oriented situations. However, commodification of ICH in tourism influences the realisation of the values of the four cases. On the one side, the introduction of tourists in the ICH making process destabilises the continuity of the values embodied between the practitioners and the audiences/consumers to some extent, especially in the case of Dongba cultural practices. In this case, nevertheless, it is important to find that, as long as the tourists are not the major audiences, continuity of values and components is maintained in the two situations. On the other side, in the secular ICH cases, namely the cases of music, handicraft and food making practices, emergent interpersonal values and some intrapersonal values are triggered and sustained only in the commodification process in the tourism situation.

The survey shows that the willingness of practitioners to practice and transmit their ICH is positive and they regard transmission in the context of tourism as a beneficial approach which supplements other transmission methods. Though debates still exist as to whether or not Dongba cultural practice can be transmitted and safeguarded in the context of tourism, inheritors can take advantage of tourism to actualise their subjective values in the engagement. By comparison, those practitioners who can take initiative in the collaboration with tourism can sustain their practices better than those who lose in the collaboration. In this sense, I argue that those practitioners who can sustain their ICH better in the tourism context are embodied with relatively high levels of subjective authenticity and
subjective integrity. As reviewed in Chapter 2, existential authenticity is regarded as transient and not durable (Steiner & Reisinger 2006). This means that the intrapersonal and interpersonal ICH values an ICH practitioner experiences couldn’t always be constant and durable. The results in this chapter, therefore, illustrate that the practitioners have to engage with different forms of ICH between the two situations from time to time to maintain, or to pursue their evolving “authentic self”. Therefore, I argue that it is necessary for the practitioners to engage with different forms of ICH practice in order to realise their dynamic and evolving subjective ICH values.

9.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the understandings of officials, experts and inheritors of the concepts of continuity and transmission, as well as the relationship between these two notions and tourism. Firstly, continuity is found to be a new theoretical concept that the higher and middle level officials have no knowledge of. Nevertheless, local officials (at municipal and county levels), experts and the ICH inheritors can articulate their diverse understandings of continuity based on their knowledge, personal observations or experience related to the ICH elements. These results show the complexity and diversity of both the Chinese ICH AHD and the inheritors’ ICH discourses. By comparison, local governmental players share more similarities with the local practitioners in expressing their personal understandings of continuity.

Secondly, officials and non-local experts’ understandings of continuity are likely to be influenced by objective authenticity and integrity upheld in the Chinese ICH AHD, so that these governmental players tend to maintain the continuity of the officially recognised values of ICH in transmission. Nevertheless, when continuity is understood in the sense of subjective values and the components of ICH, I found in the inheritors’ perspective that most of the subjective perceived values and the components can be maintained in both community-based and tourism-oriented situations. Where the implications of tourism are concerned, on the one side, the introduction of commodification in which a new relationship
between ICH practitioners and tourists is established can destabilise existing values and components, especially in the spiritual Dongba culture case. On the other side, commodification is closely connected to the actualisation and continuation of the emergent interpersonal values and some intrapersonal values of ICH, in particular the secular ICH cases.

Thirdly, the majority of officials and experts regard tourism as one of the acceptable or even indispensible contexts of transmission though some of them still hold an ambivalent attitude towards transmission between community and tourism, which is a dilemma related to the problems of the conventional concepts of authenticity and integrity. Inheritors also show a positive attitude towards tourism when the emergent values of ICH are triggered and sustained. When research indicates that inheritors’ autonomous engagement with tourism can promote the sustainability of the ICH elements, tourism alone is still not enough to facilitate long-term transmission.

Based on the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2, the results of ICH value and authenticity in Chapter 7, the results of integrity in Chapter 8, and the results of continuity in this chapter, I argue that the concept of continuity is significant in ICH safeguarding and it needs to be theorised and emphasised. In line with the inheritor-based emic perspective, I propose that continuity could be understood as a condition to describe to what extent the values and the components of an ICH element can be sustained and transmitted diachronically during one generation (in the short term) and to the next generation (in the long term). As I showed in this chapter, with the benefits of tourism, most practitioners can sustain their ICH better so that they are embodied with a relatively high level of subjective authenticity and subjective integrity. However, as I theoretically argued in Chapter 2, subjective authenticity and subjective integrity only indicate that the practitioners can sustain their ICH at a certain time and in a certain situation, and it does not guarantee the ICH can be sustained in the future. Therefore, the concept of continuity should be emphasised to encourage the practitioners to continuously activate their subjective authenticity and subjective integrity in the long term. In the next chapter, I will synthesise the discussions of the concepts of
authenticity, integrity and continuity so as to better theorise how we might develop the practice of ICH safeguarding in China.
Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The aim of this concluding chapter is to synthesise the discussion across the thesis in relation to four major findings that make a contribution to existing knowledge. Firstly, I will discuss the innovative inheritors-based emic perspective which I proposed and applied to this research. Secondly, I will discuss the findings in relation to the complexity, diversity and stratification of the Chinese ICH Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). Thirdly, I will discuss the findings in relation to the diversity and subjectivity of the inheritors’ discourse produced by the local ICH practitioners so as to reconceptualise the key concepts in ICH safeguarding. Finally, I will synthesise the discussion and conclusions to illustrate the findings in relation to the relationship between ICH safeguarding and tourism development. This chapter ends with suggestions for future research.

10.2 Findings and Implications

10.2.1 Establishing the Inheritors-based Emic Perspective

The first innovative contribution this thesis has made is the establishment and application of the inheritors-based emic perspective in the research design, data collection and theorisation in the field of heritage studies. Theoretically, this draws from the Critical Heritage Studies approach and the emic perspective in experimental ethnography, and it is methodologically based on the interpretative approach. In general, this perspective allows me to privilege the subjective understandings, experiences and feelings of the ICH practitioners which are normally marginalised in the official heritagisation and authentication processes. While this perspective aims to grant the maximum latitude to the ICH inheritors to construct their diverse ICH discourses, it also helps to reveal the diversity and complexity of the governmental players within the AHD itself.
In Chapter 1, I unpacked the issues and problems noted on the ground in Lijiang in terms of contested opinions towards the “changes to ICH” due to the influences of tourism. Then, I pointed out that these issues should be considered as within two gaps: the one between the Chinese official ICH discourse and UNESCO ICH discourse, and the other between these AHDs and the “cultural practice” (Smith 2006, p. 11) engaged in by ICH practitioners. At that point, I specifically argued that the ICH practitioners’ understanding, which is missing within the AHD, is central to the resolution of the tension between safeguarding and use of ICH. By reviewing and comparing the Chinese and UNESCO discourses on ICH in Chapters 1 and 2, I noted that the Chinese ICH AHD, as objectified in the *Law on Intangible Cultural Heritage of the People’s Republic of China* (the LICH), diverges from UNESCO’s *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (the ICHC) in regard to the notion of ICH, the value of ICH and the concept of authenticity. In particular, I noticed that the crux of the tension originates from the restricted understanding of the ICH values and the inappropriateness of authenticity and integrity in the conventional objective perspective which is upheld in the Chinese AHD.

According to the literature review in Chapter 2, I concluded that the perspective of the Chinese ICH AHD is static, past-oriented, pre-existing and preservationist-led. Also, I argued that the Chinese ICH AHD adopts a top-down etic value judgement. Importantly, I found that this AHD, as well as the perspective embodied, is collectively constructed by the government officials and the bureaucratic experts. In Chapter 4, I illustrated the existence of a symbiotic government-scholar network (Maags & Holbig 2016) in the ICH administrative system in China. Importantly, I revealed that the Committee of Experts, which is constituted by the bureaucratic experts and directed by the government officials, acts as the ultimate external judge during the official recognition process of ICH. These results indicate that the research questions need to be examined, on the one hand, from the marginalised perspective of the ICH inheritors who are outside the AHD and, on the other hand, from the dominant perspectives of the officials and experts who are within the AHD.
Traditionally, tourists and tourism enterprises are regarded as important stakeholders in tourism management and marketing studies in the field of tourism studies. In this thesis however, they are not emphasised as they are not central to the research questions. Consequently, I ascertained government officials and experts as the study population and categorised them into two players who are central to the ICH discourse and practice in China: the community players (mainly the ICH practitioners) and the governmental players (including the officials and bureaucratic experts). During my research design and data analysis processes, the community players were privileged according to the inheritors-based emic perspective.

With the inheritors-based emic perspective, I found in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 that the community players hold alternative perspectives on ICH and related notions in reality, compared with the governmental players. Meanwhile, a significant finding was that local governmental players are likely to share similar perspectives with the community players. These findings demonstrate that the inheritors-based emic perspective is useful to reveal not only the alternative discourse from the perspective of the ICH practitioners, but also the complexity and dissonance of the AHD from the perspective of the individual governmental players. Therefore, I actually critiqued the Chinese ICH AHD from two perspectives: the one outside the AHD from the understanding of the ICH practitioners and the other within the AHD from the understanding of the individual officials and experts.

With this innovative perspective, which privileges personal multiple subjectivities, the AHD, which, as Smith (2004, p. 30) argues is characterised by a “discourse of logical positivism that stresses objectivity and rationality”, can be critiqued and the inheritors’ discourse can be established. This is because the inheritors-based emic perspective advocates a bottom-up knowledge flow which critiques the existing top-down knowledge flow that dominates the AHD. The inheritors-based emic perspective is therefore significant in not only investigating ICH in this research but also studying all forms of heritage. This is because the nature of heritage concerns relevant inheritors’ subjective and diverse discourses and practices which are usually suppressed by a standardised, accommodated and authoritative AHD.
10.2.2 Revealing the ICH Authorised Heritage Discourse in China

Following the Critical Heritage Studies approach, the notion of ICH should be regarded as a discourse and a “cultural practice” (Smith 2006, p. 11). Therefore, it is necessary to examine how the basic notions and concepts are understood in different heritage discourses before discussing the situation in Lijiang. In this thesis, I analysed the key ideas and philosophies bolstering Chinese and UNESCO’s ICH discourses in Chapter 2, and then delineated how the Chinese ICH AHD is established and implemented across the national ICH administrative system by the governmental players in Chapter 4. I then demonstrated the complexity and diversity of the AHD at the middle and local administrative levels in relation to the governmental players in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. In conclusion, I discovered that though a hegemonic AHD exists at the top level of the Chinese ICH administrative system, it is obvious that complexity and diversity exist at the middle and local levels. Furthermore, the national level and the local level interact with each other in a dynamic way. These results demonstrate that the AHD in the Chinese ICH field is not a homogenous and monolithic discourse; rather, it is complex, stratified and dynamic.

The Chinese ICH AHD can be understood from different aspects. In Chapter 2, I deliberately analysed, compared and contrasted the key ideas and philosophies bolstering the UNESCO and the Chinese AHD, noting that the present Chinese ICH AHD diverges from that of UNESCO in terms of agenda, criteria, measures and perspectives. Importantly, I argued that the Chinese ICH AHD functions as a top-down etic value judgement which is executed by external experts (usually in the form of the Committee of Experts) in an objective preservationist-led perspective. Nevertheless, China has also adopted and accommodated UNESCO’s discourse, for both the ICH and the World Heritage Conventions, in order to establish its national ICH AHD for domestic and international agendas. Among these, the concept of authenticity is the best example. In addition to authenticity, the definition of the four values of ICH and the concept of integrity are also explicitly upheld in the objectified Chinese AHD, such as the LICH, and these key notions lie at the centre of the problems identified in the Lijiang case.
In Chapter 4, I further delineated how the Chinese ICH AHD is practiced in the governmental ICH administrative system in reality. While I displayed the constitution of a well-structured hierarchical system across the country, I also revealed how this system is formed as a dynamic compromise between the national and local ICH systems. In Chapter 4, I examined the conversion of the Protection Ordinance on Yunnan Ethnic Traditional Culture and Folklore (the Yunnan Ordinance) in 2000 into the current Protection Ordinance on Yunnan Intangible Cultural Heritage (the Yunnan ICH Ordinance) in 2013, revealing that the national AHD needs to assimilate the local discourses, and that the local discourses need to be naturalised into the singular AHD system. This suggests that there exists a dynamic between the higher and the lower levels within the seemingly authoritarian AHD. I illustrated how a well-structured and standardized ICH administrative system exploits the synergetic agencies of the symbiotic government-scholar network (Maags & Holbig 2016) to practice the AHD in a top-down manner. Specifically, I argued that the Committee of Experts acts as the ultimate external judge during the official heritagisation and authentication processes.

The complexity and diversity of the Chinese ICH AHD, as well as the divergence between the theory/policy and implementation of the AHD, is demonstrated more clearly through the analysis of the personal understandings of the governmental players at the national, provincial, municipal and county levels in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. In general, I discovered the diversity and stratification of the AHD: the closer the governmental players are to the local ICH practitioners, the more likely it is that they express a sympathetic understanding that is closer to that of the local ICH practitioners. By comparison, the understanding of the officials at the national level is highly restricted by a strong national AHD, as well as awareness of UNESCO’s AHD. The officials at the provincial level, however, are able to articulate their diverse understandings which are related to their personal observations, experiences and cultural practices. It is therefore at the middle level that the discrepancies are displayed between the theory/policy and the practical implementation of the AHD in relation to the values of ICH, and the concepts of authenticity and integrity. This trend is manifested most clearly at the Lijiang
local (including municipal and county) levels where, although the restriction of the AHD still exists, most of the governmental players hold sympathetic understandings with the ICH practitioners with the result that sometimes the boundary between local officials, experts and practitioners is blurred. As I noted across Chapters 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9, the reasons behind this heterogeneity are these: firstly, the restriction of the AHD at the local levels is weak; secondly, the institutions and relevant resources of the local governmental sectors is underdeveloped; thirdly, the local government knows how to accommodate the higher-level policy to serve local agendas. In addition, all interviewed governmental players at the local levels are local people who are embodied with at least two identities: an inheritor of the local culture in the community and an official/expert in the governmental agencies.

Though I captured the Chinese ICH administrative system as a hierarchical, rigorous and top-down one in Figure 4.1, my fieldwork and consequent analysis have revealed that this diagram does not necessarily define every aspect of the Chinese ICH AHD. As the above discussion indicates, there is complexity, diversity and stratification of the AHD within the Chinese national ICH discourse. Importantly, while the governmental players collectively construct the AHD, their personal understandings in the form of alternative discourses also de-construct the AHD. The closer they are to the local community, the more likely it is that they draw from their cultural practices, in the same way as the ICH practitioners, to construct the “AHD” in their reality. I therefore conclude this finding in adapting my original diagram (Figure 4.1) in Figure 10.1 below.
By analysing the complexity, diversity and stratification of the Chinese ICH AHD, I revealed two crucial issues that are central to the problems in the Lijiang case. The first is the divergence between the theory/policy and the practical implementation of the AHD in relation to the values of ICH and the concepts of authenticity and integrity. Specifically, I demonstrated the restriction of the officially defined four values of ICH, the inappropriateness of the concepts of authenticity and integrity in ICH safeguarding, and the ignorance of the concept of continuity at higher and middle levels of government. The second is that some of the officials at the middle level and most of the officials at the local levels articulate sympathetic understandings with the ICH practitioners in relation to the values of ICH, the concepts of authenticity, integrity and continuity, and other related issues. The detailed findings in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 show how this is the case.
Chapter 7 analysed the values of ICH. In general, the officials at the national level and the non-local experts are likely to advocate the streamlined definition of the ICH values in accordance with the AHD. In regard to the national officials, they claim a macro-level of the collective values, such as the national identity, nationality solidarity and cultural sovereignty with a result that the community groups’ and individuals’ values are ignored. From the provincial and below levels, though the collective community values are emphasised, subjective feelings and the values for the individual practitioners are personally acknowledged. In terms of the experts, the non-local experts are more likely to emphasise the so-called universal values which concern the canonical intrinsic values such as historical, artistic and cultural values (historical and artistic values are officially recognised as two of the four values). As expected, it is common to note that local experts actively articulate the diverse values pertinent to the individuals and communities in Lijiang.

Chapter 7 also discussed the concept of authenticity. Compared with the experts, officials are more likely to be influenced by the theory of authenticity in the AHD which tries to preserve the officially recognised four values against any alteration. In relation to the national officials, their understanding is in line with the objective national discourse which is objectified in the LICH. Nevertheless, the difficulty in applying this “unquestioned concept of authenticity” in reality is noticed by officials at the provincial and local levels with the result that they are mediating the gap between policy and practice. Significantly, constructivist and subjective perspectives on authenticity emerged in provincial and local officials’ understandings. In regard to the experts, non-local experts are familiar with the national discourse on authenticity, while local experts understand authenticity from their personal observations and engagements of the culture in reality. The inappropriateness of objective authenticity is also noticed by the local experts.

Chapter 8 discussed the concept of integrity and the issues related to commodification in tourism. In general, though integrity is articulated by most of the officials in a similar way as stipulated in the AHD, officials at all levels are aware that it is impossible to preserve all components of ICH, and they all agree that changes to ICH elements are inevitable. Comparatively, local officials tend to
give more space to the commodified forms of ICH and are able to recognise some of these forms as part of the ICH elements. All experts hold the same understanding as the officials that ICH is changing along with the whole society so they hold comparatively positive and sympathetic views about the tourism development of ICH in Lijiang. Nevertheless, both officials and experts are uncertain about whether the practitioners should personally engage with the commodification of ICH and whether the commodified form of a practice can still be defined as an ICH practice.

Chapter 9 investigated the concept of continuity and the measures of transmission. In general, though I found that continuity is a concept that most of the officials and experts are not familiar with, they are able to articulate their personal understandings of the concept, especially the local officials and experts who share sympathetic understandings with the ICH practitioners. However, I noted that the majority of the officials’ and experts’ understandings are significantly influenced by the concepts of authenticity and integrity in the national AHD that they know well. In regard to the transmission of ICH, though both officials and experts accept diverse forms of transmission that include the commodified forms of ICH practice, officials are more likely to be restricted by the concepts of authenticity and integrity in the AHD.

These results clearly show that the concepts of authenticity and integrity are powerful “discursive tools” in the Chinese ICH AHD which is used to advocate a preservation of the officially recognised values in a materialistic, static, past-oriented and preservationist-led objective perspective. I pointed out in Chapter 1 that the crux of the research questions lies in the concepts of authenticity and integrity in the AHD. Then, I reviewed and critiqued authenticity, integrity, continuity and other relevant concepts at the theoretical level in Chapter 2. I finally revealed the inappropriateness of authenticity and integrity and the importance of continuity in practice through Chapters 7, 8 and 9. These findings not only reveal the causes of the problems noted in Lijiang but also suggest the resolution to those problems: the need to understand the values and related concepts of ICH as articulated by the practitioners themselves.
10.2.3 Theorising the Understandings of the ICH Practitioners

When I de-constructed the Chinese ICH AHD on the values of ICH, by critically engaging with the concepts of authenticity and integrity, I simultaneously re-constructed these notions in the inheritors-based emic perspective. I did so by revealing the understandings of the ICH practitioners of their ICH values and the concepts of authenticity, integrity and continuity (paraphrased in their plain language in the fieldwork) and other related issues in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. Specifically, I identified three key findings: firstly, the values of ICH are understood as a series of diverse, subjective and dynamic meanings in relation to the practitioners themselves and among their social relations; secondly, the existing concepts of authenticity and integrity in the AHD are challenged by practitioners’ understandings and practices; thirdly, new concepts of authenticity, integrity and continuity in a subjective perspective can be theoretically established from the discourses and practices of the ICH practitioners. I did this by reconceptualising the conventional concepts of authenticity and integrity, arguing that they needed to be understood instead as subjective abilities of the ICH practitioners to convey and sustain their ICH values. In addition, I reconstructed the concept of continuity so as to theorise the safeguarding of ICH. By proposing the concept of active components of ICH, I argued that continuity should be regarded as a concept to describe to what extent the active components of ICH are engaged with by the ICH practitioners to convey and sustain their ICH values.

I discovered five forms of embodiment of the ICH values which can be further dissected into ten aspects of the ICH values in Chapter 7 (Table 7.3). The majority of these practitioner-articulated values concern personal spiritual needs (intrapersonal values) and the values embodied between themselves and the family, audience and the community (interpersonal values) (Table 7.3). These values explain the basic intentions and needs of the practitioners’ engagement with ICH as the cultural practice. I demonstrated that these values are so diverse, personal and contingent that the categorical four values stipulated in the AHD cannot describe them.
In tourism studies, scholars argued that the self of the practitioner is not always real and existential authenticity is transient and not durable (Steiner & Reisinger 2006). In the field of heritage studies, Georgina Lloyd argues that the diverse representations of a single type of ICH should be regarded as equally legitimate (2012). Based on the results in the research, I therefore argued that two forms of ICH which are practiced in the less and more commodified situations respectively, as well as all the diverse and emerging practitioner-articulated values embodied in these two forms, should be considered as legitimate within certain contexts. The practitioners, as a result, have to engage with, or transfer between, two forms of their ICH in the two situations in order to convey and sustain the dynamic and evolving ICH values. It is in this continuous cultural process that the ICH inheritors are able to pursue their “authentic selves” in any given period of time. In most scenarios, most of the values and the components of ICH between the two forms are not clearly differentiated in the understanding of the ICH practitioners (discussed in Chapters 7 and 8). For example, research revealed that a Dongba practitioner (He Yaowei, see Chapter 8) clearly articulated that his identity of being a “real” Dongba is well sustained, regardless of either less or more commodified situations. In some other scenarios, some values can only be realised and sustained in particular contexts (discussed in Chapter 9). For instance, the interpersonal value of “cultural dissemination” in all four cases can only be realised in the commodified form of the ICH in the tourism situation.

As critical heritage studies scholars have argued, heritage values are made contemporarily relevant to people during the heritagisation process (Harrison 2013; Smith 2006). This is true in the making of ICH. ICH is continuously made during the ICH heritagisation process in which the practitioners engage with different forms of their ICH practices in order to generate, maintain, use and transmit the values that are central to their lives. As I proposed in Chapter 2 and outlined in Figure 2.1, in order to convey the diverse and contingent values of ICH, the practitioners have to actually engage with an assemblage of active components which the practitioners recognise, maintain, create or even abandon from the existing components of an ICH element.
Integrity in relation to ICH, as well as the constituting components of ICH, is rarely discussed in the international academic literature. Meanwhile, it is still unclear which elements should constitute ICH, which is an issue that the ICHC fails to address (Logan 2007). In my proposition in Figure 2.1, active components should be dynamically recognised and engaged. In Chapter 8, I proposed that the active components of an ICH element can be detected from the changed/changing components in two dimensions: the diachronic dimension from the past to the present and the synchronic dimension between the less and the more-commodified forms of the same ICH element. Based on the empirical data, I have identified seven components of ICH (Table 8.2) and I noticed that these components are recognised and engaged dynamically by the practitioners with differentiated attention in the diachronic dimension (Table 8.2) and the synchronic dimension (Table 8.3). For instance, in relation to the component of “consumer”, the presence of local Naxi people is significant in the Dongba culture case while the presence of tourists, rather than local audiences, is important in the Naxi music case. These results demonstrate that the active components of ICH can be discerned in reality and I consequently term the practitioner-engaged components as active components which the practitioners engage with in order to sustain their ICH values at a certain time in a certain situation.

I argued in Chapter 2 that the practitioners, by engaging with the active components, actualise the ICH values with two crucial abilities. The first concerns the ability of practitioners to recognise and engage with the components. In line with Herb Stovel’s definition of integrity (2007), I reconceptualised integrity, as seen in the AHD, into the subjective perspective as the ability of the practitioners to recognise and engage with the active components. This engagement enables them to sustain the ICH values according to their free will. For example, as I indicated in Table 7.3, the value “cultural dissemination” and the value “being accepted and trusted” largely constitute the ICH value “between the practitioners and the audiences”. I found in Chapter 9 that, in order to sustain this interpersonal value which is “between the practitioners and the audience”, the practitioners have to interact with the local community members for the value “being accepted and trusted” and with the tourists for the value “cultural dissemination”. Here,
community members are the active components to sustain the value “being accepted and trusted”, and tourists are the active components to sustain the value “cultural dissemination”. If either community performance or tourism operation is prohibited by external force, the practitioners cannot sustain the interpersonal ICH value and accordingly the ability as subjective integrity is harmed.

The second ability concerns how the practitioners convey the values through their engagement with the active components of ICH. I have already demonstrated the inappropriateness of the conventional concept of authenticity at the theoretical level in Chapter 2 and at the practical level in Chapter 7. In Chapter 2, I drew on existential authenticity in tourism studies (Steiner & Reisinger 2006; Wang 1999) and Stovel’s definition of authenticity in heritage studies (2007), and proposed that authenticity in the ICH field should be reconceptualised as the ability of the practitioners to convey the subjective values according to their wills so as to be “existentially authentic” during the engagement with the active components. I demonstrated in Chapter 7 that the values of ICH in the inheritors’ perspective are diverse, subjective and contingent. It is therefore reasonable, I argued, to allow all these dynamic subjective values and meanings to be conveyed. For example, in the case of the Dongbas in Baidi Village who only practice for the community and the Dongbas in the Yushuizhai Park who largely practice in the tourism context, they both claim they are “real” Dongba practitioners and they are practicing the “authentic” Dongba rites (see Chapters 6 and 7). According to my argument, they are both embodied with similar subjective authenticity because they can convey the ICH values in a certain situation. In fact, as I indicated in Chapter 9, though practitioners engage with their ICH in either community or tourism situations, most of the ICH values are similarly conveyed in all four cases. As long as they are able to actively engage with whatever forms of ICH practice in order to convey the ICH values, they are embodied with similar subjective authenticity. Statistically, the questionnaire surveys indicated that the practitioners in all four cases showed positive attitudes towards being willing to practice their ICH in the present (Table 9.2, 9.4, 9.7 and 9.9). These results therefore indicate that most of the studied practitioners are embodied with
relatively high levels of subjective authenticity, especially those who perform well in the tourism market.

The nature of ICH implies that it is a form of heritage that should be dynamically recognised, practiced and transmitted across generations. In a certain sense, ICH is an ongoing and reiterative cultural process. As discussed earlier, the reconceptualised authenticity and integrity can only describe the abilities of the practitioner at a certain time in a certain situation. For this reason, the continuity of ICH should be emphasised. In my proposition, continuity should be re-structured as a condition in ICH safeguarding to describe to what extent the practitioners can continuously sustain and convey the ICH values over time. In this sense, continuity concerns the continuation of the values and components of ICH. I discovered in Chapter 9 that continuity of the values and the components of the secular ICH cases (e.g. music, handicrafts and culinary skill) could generally exist in both less and more commodified situations while in the spiritual ICH case (e.g. Dongba cultural practice), as long as the tourists are not the major audiences, continuity of values and components could be maintained in the two situations. Furthermore, I found in Chapter 9 that ICH practitioners positively regard transmission in tourism as a beneficial measure with which they could alternatively maintain or pursue their dynamic and contingent intrapersonal and interpersonal values. In this sense, I argued that, those practitioners who can sustain the values and components of their ICH better in the tourism context are embodied with relatively high levels of subjective authenticity and subjective integrity. Typical examples can be found in all four cases, such as the Dongbas in Yushuizhai, Xuan Ke’s music troupe, He Shanjun’s copper smithing and the food making in the 88 Restaurant.

Ideally, the ICH practitioners will engage with available components to recognise and practice the active components in order to convey and sustain the values according to their expectations, intentions and needs. Thus, the ICH making process becomes a circular, dynamic and reiterative circle (Figure 2.1) and consequently the practitioners become the inheritors who not only practice but also inherit and transmit ICH across time.
As I explained in this section, each of the concepts of authenticity, integrity and continuity can describe a specific aspect of an ICH element. However, when the safeguarding measures of an ICH element are concerned, as I argued in Chapter 2, all three concepts should be considered simultaneously. In this way, three concepts should be regarded as three “necessary but not sufficient conditions” that the safeguarding work should meet. This means that when an ICH element is recognised, registered, practiced and transmitted, the safeguarding measures should aim at both enhancing the inheritors’ abilities, which are described by subjective authenticity and subjective integrity, and continuing these two abilities. Only when these three conditions are met can the ICH making circle proceed continuously. Ultimately, my argument echoes Aikawa-Faure’s proposition that ICH safeguarding should emphasise valuing the cultural processes (2004) and Blake’s argument that “(practitioners’) continued practice depends wholly on the ability and willingness of the cultural group and/or community concerned” (2009, p. 45).

In this section, I revealed the findings in relation to the values of ICH, and to the concepts of authenticity, integrity and continuity as understood from the perspective of the ICH practitioners. Compared with those in the national AHD, the understandings of practitioners display more subjectivities, diversity and complexity. These findings, on the one hand, challenge the feasibility and applicability of the theory/policy in the AHD; and on the other hand, provide empirical results to reveal the essence of ICH and theorise the concepts central to ICH safeguarding in the inheritors-based emic perspective. Furthermore, these findings, obtained from a bottom-up study, provide new understandings, perspectives and theories to the problems noted in the Lijiang case. In the next section, I will synthesise the findings in previous sections to discuss the issues in relation to ICH protection and tourism development.

### 10.2.4 Rethinking the Safeguarding of ICH in Tourism

In a broad sense, this research investigates the long-lasting tension between protection of traditional culture and tourism development. As I reviewed in Chapters 2 and 5, this issue is discussed widely in the fields of tourism studies...
and anthropology of tourism. Along with the emergence of the discourse of ICH, this issue has also drawn attention in the field of heritage studies and the interdisciplinary heritage tourism studies in recent years. However, the problems in ICH safeguarding in the context of tourism are still under-researched. My research contributes to the burgeoning interdisciplinary field of heritage tourism in these aspects. Firstly, I investigated the diverse implications of tourism on different aspects of the process of ICH making in terms of subjective and diverse personal understandings of the inheritors. Secondly, I constructed the concepts of authenticity, integrity and continuity from the subjective perspective to describe the issues related to the commodification of ICH in tourism. Thirdly, I established that the commodification in tourism can facilitate ICH safeguarding. Below is a summary of each of these findings.

In the context of this research project, tourism is the context in which the ICH practitioners engage with the components of their ICH in order to convey and sustain the values or meanings. I thus investigated the diverse implications of tourism on ICH in terms of the values (Chapter 7), the components of ICH (Chapter 8) and the continuity of the values and components of ICH (Chapter 9). In Chapter 7, I revealed that the emergence and realisation of some values are closely related to the commodification of ICH in tourism. I therefore concluded that tourism is involved in the actualisation and maintenance of the values in the heritage making process. This result is reflected in Chapter 8 where I found that, in general, most practitioners hold positive attitudes towards the commodification of ICH and the benefits of tourism development in Lijiang. I continued to analyse in Chapter 9 how ICH practitioners make the best of tourism to sustain and transmit their ICH values. Importantly, I demonstrated that the change of the components of ICH does not necessarily lead to harm to the ICH values; rather, the practitioners are able to change/engage with the components to convey and sustain the ICH values in a dynamic way.

There are three major findings in relation to the values of ICH and tourism arising from my analysis. The first finding is that the majority of the values I have explored can be simultaneously realised in both the community and tourism contexts. Considering the comparison and contrast of the similarities and
differences between the practices in the commodified and non-commodified contexts in Table 8.3, I found that both the commodified and non-commodified forms of ICH are regarded as equally important to the practitioners. The second finding is that some values can only be realised in the commodification process. For example, the value termed “cultural dissemination” in all four cases, and the value termed “creativity” in the case of handicraft and food making crafts are realised only in the tourism context. The third finding concerns the differentiation between spiritual and secular ICH practices. In general, I noted in Chapter 9 that, compared with the spiritual ICH case (i.e. Dongba culture), commodification is more significant to the realisation of the values of the secular ICH cases in Lijiang (i.e. music, handicraft and food making). Furthermore, among the four ICH cases, personal perceptions about engagements with the commodification of Dongba practice are more complicated than other secular ICH practices. This finding indicates that it is important to assess the commodification of spiritual ICH practices through investigating the individual feelings and experiences in the inheritors-based emic perspective with qualitative methods.

I theoretically reconceptualised authenticity and integrity and reconstructed continuity so as to propose the theory of ICH making in Chapter 2. I then drew from the empirical results in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 to further establish these three concepts. Together, these reconceptualised concepts form a new theory of ICH making.

As I discussed through the thesis, the crux of the research questions lies in the tension between the conventional understanding of authenticity and integrity and the actual changing, evolving and diverse ICH practices in the tourism context. I reviewed in Chapter 2 that, along with the development of the theory of authenticity from the objectivist, constructivist and existential perspectives, the tension between authenticity and commodification is largely resolved theoretically in tourism studies. However, in the field of heritage studies, the issue related to authenticity and integrity for ICH practiced in tourism context is not settled. My research therefore clarified the uncertainty of these concepts and upgraded them to suit ICH.
With a reconceptualised concept of authenticity, the tension between the preservation of the categorical four values (in the Chinese AHD) and the commodification of ICH is resolved. Since authenticity is understood, in my theorisation of it, as the ability of the practitioners to convey the values of ICH, all values, as long as they are generated from the free will and expectations of the practitioners and are in line with the threshold of human rights, can be recognised as legitimate. The practitioners can therefore engage with commodification according to their free will. Furthermore, it is not necessary for the governmental players and the practitioners to doubt or worry whether the change of values will harm ICH. In this sense, both commodified practice in tourism and non-commodified practice in the community constitute the ICH making process, provided these two processes are engaged in spontaneously and actively by the ICH inheritors.

Previously, in Chapter 2, I pointed out that there are difficulties when drawing existential authenticity directly into my theoretical proposition. In this thesis, I reconceptualised authenticity into an ability, rather than a “state of being” of the practitioners. Then, I explained that the practitioners exert this ability to convey the subjective, dynamic and contingent values so as to continuously feel existentially authentic. In this ICH making process, this ability enables practitioners to engage with different forms of ICH in different situations alternately in reaction to social transformation. As long as the ICH making process continues, the ability, namely subjective authenticity, exists within the practitioners. In this way, existential authenticity in tourism studies can be accommodated into my theoretical proposition in the heritage field.

With a reconceptualised concept of integrity, doubt and criticism of changes to the constituting components of ICH is resolved. Integrity, therefore, should not be used by the governmental players to assess the wholeness and intactness of all the static components of an ICH element; rather, it should be used to describe the ability of the practitioners to sustain the values of ICH. When we allow the values to be generated and evolved dynamically, we should also allow the practitioner to deal with the components of their ICH in ways that sustain the values that are important to them at that time. I also proposed the concept of active components
to describe the components being engaged in the ICH making process. As long as the components of ICH are actively engaged with according to the practitioners’ will and expectation, integrity exists in that practitioner.

Transmission of ICH is crucial to both the safeguarding of ICH and the sustainability of cultural tourism. When I advocate respect for the free will and spontaneous engagement of the practitioners, I also advocate for the continuation of the values and components of ICH. As I argued in the previous section, continuity specifically describes to what extent the values and components of ICH can be sustained. The continuation of these two aspects of ICH depends on the abilities of the practitioners in relation to authenticity and integrity. Therefore, the essence of safeguarding ICH concerns safeguarding the abilities of the practitioners to continuously convey and sustain the values of ICH.

When I argue that safeguarding ICH concerns safeguarding the abilities with which the practitioner can continuously convey (in relation to authenticity) and sustain (in relation to integrity) the values of ICH, I also argued that the practitioners can be facilitated to exert these two abilities within a tourism context. When comparing ICH practices in both community and tourism contexts, I discovered, as set out in Table 8.3, that, with the exception of Dongba practices, the practitioners regard both forms of ICH as equally important to them. I also argued in Chapter 9 that most of the ICH values can be simultaneously realised in both community and tourism contexts. My findings show that ICH practices in the tourism context are as important as those in the community context. Furthermore, as shown in Chapter 9, the statistical survey indicated that the willingness of all practitioners to engage with their ICH is strong and that they are generally free of restrictions to engage with their ICH, a situation which makes them feel content.

As I explained in the previous sections, the relatively weak AHD and the sympathetic understandings of local governmental players allow the practitioners to engage relatively freely with diverse forms of ICH. On the other hand, this is because of the mature tourism context in Lijiang. As scholars noted, tourism acts as a complex adaptive system (Xie & Lane 2006) which provides local people/community with incentives and opportunities (Picard & Wood 1997). As the concept of leaping ahead in relation to existential authenticity illuminates,
“tourism can leap ahead of communities to show them that they have possibilities flowing from hosting tourists” (Steiner & Reisinger 2006, p. 311). Therefore, the local practitioners can make the best of whatever tourism provides to convey and sustain the ICH values in diverse ways, which can also be seen as the cultural practice that critiques the AHD.

Nevertheless, I have also noted that not all practitioners react to tourism in the same way. Significantly, I found that practitioners of spiritual ICH, such as Dongba culture, display more complex, nuanced and contingent understandings towards tourism. I discovered in Chapter 7 that Dongba practitioners’ subjective perception on the presence of tourists and the relationship between themselves and the audience is different from the other cases. Therefore, the introduction of tourists destabilises the conveyance of the values embodied between the practitioners and the audiences/consumers. I noted in Chapters 7 and 8 that most governmental players hold the opinion that spiritual/religious ICH should not be commodified in tourism. As I explained, from the perspective of the Dongba practitioners, this is mainly because of the destabilisation of the interpersonal values. At the same time, I also argued that it is unnecessary to conclude that the interpersonal values of all commodified or staged spiritual ICH will be harmed. This is because I found that in Dongba He Yaowei and He Guojun’s cases, as long as the tourists are not the major audience and the performance is directed and practiced according to the practitioners’ will, the values can be conveyed as equally as in the community.

All of this points to the fact that the implication of tourism on the transmission of ICH in the long term is complex and it should be analysed through an inheritors-based emic perspective. In the discussion of transmission in Chapter 9, I found that though tourism benefits the continuation of the ICH practice at present, some practitioners would still prefer to privilege community based practices, such as in the case of He Lingyi (Baishaxiyue music). In the case of Dongba culture, while the government-funded transmission projects have encountered some problems, the privately funded Yushuizhai Park seems to facilitate Dongba cultural transmission better. In the case of handicrafts, while coppersmith He Shanjun already operates a good business, he still would like to do something to protect
and promote the copper smithing culture in the community. In the case of the 88 Restaurant, young manager He Zhiming is trying to cater for the tourists better while still serving the local people. Finally, wood artist He Jinping and Dongba artist He Pinzheng choose to engage with their ICH independently in their own studios while still keeping a connection with both the tourism market and the community.

It can be seen from the above cases that all practitioners would like to interact with the changing social economic environment through their ICH. While the safeguarding of ICH needs collaboration between governmental players, community players and other market-related players, tourism is just one of the opportunities that the practitioner can take to sustain their ICH. Nevertheless, no matter whether in tourism or non-tourism contexts, it is important to always consider and safeguard the abilities with which the inheritors can continuously engage with their ICH in order to support their intrapersonal and interpersonal values over time. While I regard ICH as a discourse and practice that is continuously made, engaged and transmitted by relevant people during the heritagisation processes, I also argue that the safeguarding of the subjective abilities of the practitioners should be considered in a dynamic, reiterative and ongoing way. In short, ICH would not exist if the process of active and spontaneous engagement ceases.

10.3 Future Research

I argued in Chapter 1 that the research questions are situated between two gaps. One is between the Chinese AHD and the local ICH practices, and the other is between the Chinese AHD and international discourses such as that in UNESCO’s ICHC. In order to resolve the resulting problems, I analysed four specific cases in Lijiang which exemplify these two gaps. Using my findings I then proposed a set of theoretical concepts to address the gaps. While I have developed an innovative perspective that has generated new empirical results and a new theoretical approach, there are still some questions left to explore in future research.
In regard to the first gap, further research is needed to establish a practical bottom-up method that will enable communications between the discourses held by the local community players, the local governmental players and the higher government players. I demonstrated the complexity, diversity and dynamics within the Chinese AHD and the sympathetic co-existence of the discourses of local officials, experts and ICH practitioners. These findings open up the possibility of destabilising the top-down implementation of the AHD and initiating a bottom-up dialogue from the local level. It would be valuable to explore whether or not an inheritors-based emic perspective could be adopted by the governmental players in developing a bottom-up and inheritors-oriented safeguarding method. Ideally, the proposed theory needs to be used, assessed, critiqued and revised to enable a seamless connection between theory and practice.

In relation to the second gap, further research is needed to look at not only the implications of the reconceptualised concepts of authenticity, integrity and continuity on the international ICH discourses but also on the discrepancies that occurred during the localisation of UNESCO’s heritage conventions. The concepts of authenticity, integrity and continuity originate from the international AHD, especially UNESCO’s heritage conventions. While I have contributed to the international discourse with findings drawn from the Chinese case, these findings can also be seen as reflections of the “top” level international AHD on the “local” Chinese society. By comparison, it is relatively easy to initiate cooperative communication at the local levels of the Chinese AHD than between the Chinese AHD and UNESCO’s discourse. In many ways, the local Lijiang issues are implicated in the tensions between UNESCO’s universal proposition, China’s national agendas, local governments’ considerations and local ICH practitioners’ individual agencies. When we talk about the “traditional cultures” in Lijiang in the discourse of “ICH”, we are dealing with the implications of these AHDs. We could then ask: who ultimately recognises, uses and safeguards ICH, and, for whom? In advocating free discourse making and engagement with ICH as a cultural practice that individual practitioners are entitled to, I also advocate the establishment of a conducive, inclusive and facilitative legislative, administrative and preferential context for the cultural life of the inheritors. Ideally, a conducive
context needs to be established collectively by all relevant players at the international, national and local levels for the safeguarding of ICH.
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Appendix

Questionnaire Survey for Local People in Lijiang

Gender: Age: Ethnic Nationality: Education: Occupation:

Are you, or your family members engaging with any traditional Naxi culture (e.g. traditional Naxi music and dance, traditional handicrafts making, traditional food making, Dongba cultural rites practice and Dongba writing and painting)? If yes, please specify:

Notes: for each statement, there are five options: Absolutely agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, and Absolutely Disagree. Respondents are asked to circle the one that best suits his/her attitude.

Statements:

1. The traditional Naxi culture belongs to the Chinese excellent traditional culture
2. The traditional Naxi culture should be protected.
3. It is the government’s responsibility to protect the traditional Naxi culture.
4. It is the experts’ responsibility to protect the traditional Naxi culture.
5. It is our local people's responsibility to protect the traditional Naxi culture.
6. I can engage with the traditional Naxi culture freely.
7. It is important for me to engage with the traditional Naxi culture
8. I feel content when I engage with the traditional Naxi culture.
9. I feel proud to be a local person when I practice the traditional Naxi culture.
10. The traditional Naxi culture is always changing with time.
11. Changes to traditional Naxi culture result in beneficial content and positive meaning.
12. The traditional Naxi culture should be like it was in the past.

13. I know more about the Naxi history when I practice the traditional Naxi culture.

14. The traditional Naxi culture, including the Dongba culture, should be handed down to the young generation.

15. Development of tourism is beneficial to the traditional Naxi culture.

16. I don’t like the commercialisation in the Old Town of Lijiang.

17. Most of the tourism revenue is obtained by non-local businessmen.

18. Tourism development changed our former living atmosphere.

19. It is more important to speak fluent mandarin than Naxi language.

20. Nowadays, it is a kind of revitalization and development to utilise Dongba culture for the popular touristic market.

21. The leisure, entertainment and edification functions of Naxi music are harmed when they are used for tourism.

22. Commercial shows such as the Impression of Naxi are beneficial to the development of the traditional Naxi culture.

23. It is a positive utilization to use Dongba scripts and painting for making touristic artworks.

24. The former religious or cultural functions of Dongba scripts and painting are harmed when they are used for making touristic artworks.

25. It is beneficial to the development of the crafts of traditional Naxi pottery making, wood carving, copper smithing and leather making when these crafts are used for making touristic artworks.

26. The Lijiang Baba pastry sold on the street is not good as it was before.

27. Our local people’s eating habits have changed.

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