

The Phenomenon of “Tourist Celebrities” in Lijiang Tourism: A Perspective of Ethnic Theories

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Touring cultures are worth studying because of its variability, and the phenomenon of “tourist celebrities” of Lijiang ranks among them. Tourist celebrities refer to those Naxi civilians who gain fame and money from tourists by means of their talents, skills, or personal charisma. They face to tourists directly beyond cultural brokers, and subsequently accumulate their own prominence under touristic context. Taking Lijiang tourism as an example, this chapter shows an uncommon “host-and-guest” relationship existing between tourists and ordinary Naxi people, thus to make an anthropological explanation through the ethnographic categories of “world-wide celebrities,” professional “aborigines,” and the rustics in Lijiang.

Introduction

As early as in the 1980s, Pierre van den Berghe and Charles Keys (1984) have discussed the similarity between “host and guest” relationship under touristic context and interactive relations among different groups. They regard ethnic tourism as a type of ethnic relationship, concerning interactions between two facing groups of tourists and tourees, and suggest the attraction of ethnic tourism depends upon the maintenance of the ethnic boundaries of the tourees. However, this point of view has not been accepted widely because of the non-contact of tourists and tourees, the “passive” status of tourees, and the mobility of tourists, which implies that the “host-guest” relationship is just an ideal mode of ethnic relationships that researchers have conceived. Therefore, we should investigate its representation and performance of certain ethnic groups rather than abstract a pure “host-guest” relationship in order to understand tourees’ construction of their traditional cultures.

Pierre van den Berghe and Charles Keyes (1984) pointed out that in ethnic tourism, local people not only serve for tourists, but also serve as an exhibition for being investigated, photographed, or recorded. As the carrier of ethnic culture, local people manifest some kind of “otherness” in terms of physique, language, architecture, diets, and habits or customs, which can be turned into “tourist resources.” However, it is common that local people become good at going along with tourists’ curiosity who perform their own ethnic cultures purposely and systematically, and thus come to be “tourees.” According to professor Xuxinjian, touree refers to the capitalization of cultural identity and traits under the control of government (Yang, Chen, and Zhang 2001). Actually, the cultural contact between tourists and tourees through “staged performances” is only a kind of “superficial contact,” while the appearance of “tourist celebrity” in Lijiang tourism adds another mode of interaction for hosts and guests to make deep contacts. The alleged tourist celebrities are those local people who interact with tourists face-to-face without the help of cultural brokers. That is to say, tourist celebrities have some talents of culture brokers

such as bilingual ability, special skills, personal charm, and even special identities. In Lijiang, there appears a batch of tourist celebrities whom could be classified into three levels: world celebrities, professional “aborigines,” and the rustics in countryside. Thus, this chapter tries to examine the phenomenon of “tourist celebrities” existing within the ethnic tourism of Lijiang.

World Celebrities

In 1997, Lijiang City was included in the “World Cultural Heritage List,” which has promoted ethnic tourism and international tourism of Lijiang (Figure 10.1). Since then, tourism has become a performance stage for Naxi culture, through which Naxi people from governors to the populace learn to interact with outside world. Moreover, various manipulations of Naxi origins and territorial superiority have rolled on with full force, among which the discourse of celebrities appears under tourist context. It is said that there are “four world celebrities” of the Naxi, three of whom gained so-called international fame by means of tourism industry. Among them, Xuanke, the anchorperson and chairman of the Club of Dayan Naxi Ancient Music, attracts most attentions of tourists in Lijiang. Thus, the following is to analyze the ethnicity of Naxi behind the reputation of



Figure 10.1: Moving water around household in Lijiang.

“world celebrities” taking an example of Mr. Xuanke and his club of Naxi Ancient Music.

First, Xuanke is kind of an outstanding person whether seen from his ethnic identity or from the events of his life. Xuanke’s grandmother was born into a noble Tibetan family, his mother was a Tibetan singer in Zhongdian County of Yunnan province, and his father was also a legend who was said to be the first Naxi people capable of speaking English because he had close relationship with missionaries in Lijiang. Thus, the family could afford the expense for Xuanke to enter mission school in Lijiang, which few people had such an opportunity at that time. Different family and educational background from others have not only given Xuanke a unique personality and cognitive ability, but also a long difficult life from the end of 1950s to 1970s, during which he had been unfairly imprisoned for twenty years. He had worked as an English teacher and musical teacher in a middle school of Lijiang after he was released in 1978. Then the year of 1984 saw the great life turn of Xuanke who reconstructed the club of Naxi Ancient Music in Dayan town of Lijiang and served as the vice president. Three years later, he was promoted to be the president of the club. In 2000 when he was seventy-one years old, the club was reorganized as a limited company and Xuanke has been the chairman since then. But Xuanke looked vigorous and hopeful beyond his age, especially when he made enthusiastic speeches on the stage of his Naxi Ancient Music performances every night from 8:00 PM to 10:30 PM. The performances of Naxi Ancient Music as well as Xuanke’s witty speeches have become an item of charming things for tourists from home and abroad for quite a long time since 2000 (Figure 10.2). So Xuanke unconsciously acted as a representative of the Naxi for he often claimed the superiority of Naxi ancient music and Naxi culture when facing an audience of tourists. It is obvious that tourism provides the Naxi opportunities for self-representation and Xuanke is an extreme example.

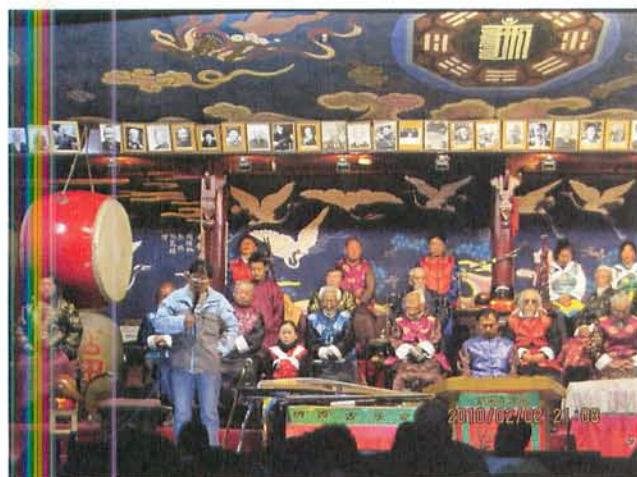


Figure 10.2: Xuanke and his band of Naxi ancient music.

Secondly, Xuanke is quite good at verbal expressions to please his audience. Objectively, his speech ability is based on three factors. First is his ability with languages. Xuanke can speak Naxi language, Han language, Yunnan dialect, as well as some English. He can easily shift between these languages when necessary while ordinary Naxi people

seldom can do so. Second is his expressive ability. Xuanke is responsive and his remarks sound fresh, witty, direct, and even fantastic, which makes his audience enjoy the relaxing atmosphere. Third is the context of the touristic experience. On one hand, it is the quality of entertainment in tourism that tolerates Xuanke’s unrestrained speeches. On the other hand, his queer remarks can soon be spread and changed into interesting topics in a different way by tour guides.

Thirdly, Xuanke also writes on Naxi culture. He has published a series of papers about Naxi ancient music and dances. Almost each paper announces some shocking academic discoveries, which have caused the comments on Xuanke and his discoveries in quantity in excess of his own papers.

Finally, Xuanke has two unique contributions to the commoditization of Naxi ancient music. One is that he changed the name of “Lijiang Ancient Music” into “Naxi Ancient Music” which according to Xuanke emphasizes the subject of ancient music—the Naxi. Another is that he added some Chinese classic poems as lyrics to Naxi musical composition, breaking the tediousness of music and creating better performing effect. Xuanke himself is also proud of these two creations and often boasts of them to tourists. Additionally, the performance of Naxi ancient music has been exported to Beijing, Hong Kong, Tai Wai, and foreign countries successively. Xuanke has gradually gained worldwide fame. It is estimated that the media from at least forty-eight countries reported on Xuanke and his Naxi ancient music as of 2004.

Zhong Xiaolian pointed out that Xuanke and Naxi Ancient Music’s prominence is a myth during the process of cultural commoditization under touristic context. She attributes the good fortune of Naxi Ancient Music to three factors: the responses from abroad, talent scouts from home, and Xuanke himself (Zhong 2006). All the three are important factors for Naxi music’s successful fame, but as a kind of tourist cultures, the phenomenon of Xuanke also generated from the ethnic interior necessity. Firstly, the Naxis need cultural “representatives” with the advent of tourism. Xuanke has been given freedom to drift between tourist world and academic field, and all doubts and criticism amount to nothing, which on the contrary enriches his tourist images because of the ambiguity of his roles. Secondly, Xuanke has got excellent reputation for his treatment with “fame” and “gain” with great facility. Until 2007, Xuanke has contributed a large sum of money reaching more than four million yuan to educational undertakings. For Naxis, donating to programs for public good is a kind of merit and achievement of great significance, which in some degree “levels” the economic difference between sudden rich persons and his ethnic members. Finally, Xuanke has actually practiced a new interactive mode of hosts and guests, who expresses himself to tourists initiatively and dominates the interactive processes. Quite a few Naxi people follow this mode because it implies a shortcut to pursue fame and money by means of ethnic tourism.

In short, the title of “world celebrity” may mean reputation and money for certain ethnic member, but is only a facet of ethnic fortune for the ethnic group as touree. In some sense, Xuanke not only tells the world the status quo of his group as a representative of the Naxi, but also expresses an unconscious longing for gorgeous future of his ethnic group by emphasizing the prominence of Naxi culture in a

touristic context.

Professional “Aborigines”

Generally, professional “aborigines” refer to the local people who intentionally act as “untouched” aborigines catering to tourists’ desire for “original and uncivilized” cultures, just as hula, a Hawaiian dance, implying sexy image imposed on Hawaiian natives by American Calvinists who decided sexuality as symbols of Hawaii, has to continue the sexy appeal not originated from tradition but created by others (Wang 1998). Comparatively, the Naxi is still in a state of being yearned for instead of being created, thus the natives have no need to act as aborigines because their ethnic identities and cultures have endowed them natural image of ingenuous people. Mr. He Shixiu is a professional aborigine of this kind. Different from Xuanke, He Shixiu lives not in Dayan town, the center of Lijiang city, but in a village named Baisha with a distance of nine kilometers from Dayan. He is also a popular tourist celebrity in Lijiang who interacts with tourists through his clinic on Baisha Ancient Street.

He Shixiu’s clinic was opened in 1985 on the main street of the Baisha village, which initially served for the villagers. The villagers believed that Doctor He got his fame accidentally—as he cured a patient from Norway who went to Lijiang for sightseeing. However, it was Bruce Chatwin who published an article about He Shixiu and his clinic in *New York Times* in 1986 to make him a well-known ethnic

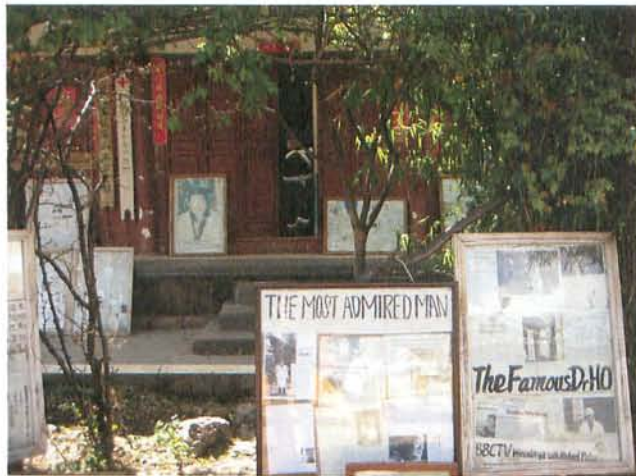


Figure 10.3: The front of He Shixiu’s clinic.



Figure 10.4: Baisha Street.

doctor among tourists. There have been endless people from home and abroad who have come to see or visit the doctor. He Shixiu was born in 1923, and he can speak fluent Han language, Naxi language, and English, which makes him outstanding amongst villagers. He looks kind-hearted and moderate, so his appearance as a doctor is popular amongst tourists.

However, Doctor He’s interaction with visitors has developed from implicit reception at the very beginning to the present “fame bombing” (Figure 10.3). Doctor He and his over fifty-year-old son would show you all the materials such as media reports, cards, newspaper, photos, photocopies, and letters from tourists¹ as soon as you step into the clinic. It is believed that they want to convince visitors of Doctor’s fame rather than simply promote it. After an extended self-introduction, He Shixiu would handle his visitors very quickly and prescribe some traditional Chinese medicine. For foreign visitors, an enquiry card in English is provided for each of them to fill in, then Doctor He would wrap some medicinal powder for them according to their answers. All the visitors are allowed to pay for medicine at will while the tea they drink is free of charge. Baisha villagers doubt the efficacy of He Shixiu’s medicine, while visitors and tourists believe in it because of Doctor He’s honorable appearance and great fame.

During my stay in Baisha village (Figure 10.4) I witnessed dozens of visitors each day visiting Doctor He. I wonder how they look upon the “excessive enthusiasm” of this kind of reception after myself has been bombed by Doctor He’s fame in his clinic. I found an answer occasionally some day from an itinerary. It is interesting that there includes an article special for Doctor He, which clearly reveals real thoughts of tourists on Doctor He.

The Dr Ho Phenomenon²

Dr Ho gets extremely mixed reports from travelers, and it is worth bearing in mind before you head out to Baisha that the majority of these reports are negative. It is not entirely the venerable doctor’s fault. Bruce Chatwin, a traveler writer who was among the first to stumble across and mythologize Dr Ho as Daoist physician in the Jade-Dragon Mountains of Lijiang, is at least partly responsible. Chatwin did such a romantic job on Dr Ho that he was to subsequently appear in every travel book (including this one) with an entry on Lijiang; journalists and photographers turned up from every corner of the world; and Dr Ho, previously an unknown doctor in an unknown town, had achieved worldwide renown.

If you visit, the doctor’s son will drag you off the street for your obligatory house call on Dr Ho. Unfortunately the attention has gone to the doctor’s head somewhat—try not to hold it against him. You will be shown as many press clippings proving his international fame as your attention span allows, and you will probably be given some of the doctor’s special tea. The true market value (not to mention medicinal value) of this tea has never been ascertained, but locals estimate 0.20 to 0.50 Yuan. Dr Ho has the canny trick of handing out his tea and asking guests to pay as much as they think its worth. It has made him the wealthiest soul in Baisha—although this is not saying a great deal. Look out for the John Cleese quote: “Interesting bloke; crap tea.”

It can be imagined how those tourists with guidebooks should experience their visiting of Dr He's clinic (Figure 10.5). As a matter of fact, though some visitors respond to his treatment defensively, the others show curiosity and tolerance to what they have seen and heard who are actually not in medicine, but ponder certain amusement and cultural differences in tourism (Figure 10.6).

Lijiang government regards He Shixiu as an unofficial diplomat and one of the pillars of Lijiang tourism, so He Shixiu has got much support from the government includ-



Figure 10.5: He Shixiu's son introducing his father's achievements to visitors.



Figure 10.6: A television station from Canada interviewing Dr. Ho.

ing his son's job, grants, and participation in political affairs. While in the eyes of Baisha villagers, He Shixiu is a tourist star known out of his own unit who holds himself above other villagers, village affairs and even Naxi traditions. It seems as if he is isolated from his surroundings and belongs to another world. However, the result of questionnaire survey (Figure 10.7) on Baisha villagers shows that half of them will choose tourism as means of living if there are an increasing number of tourists coming to Baisha. They have to admit that quite a few tourists coming here for Doctor He who constitutes a stable base for the other shops, stalls, tea bars, restaurants, and inns of Baisha village. As an aged Naxi man, He Shixiu is soberly aware of his positions in the village, but he explained that he is too old to participate the village affairs except for receiving visitors. It is clear that

Doctor He looks on these years as the best time of his life and he does not want to waste time on trivial matters.

It is hard to analyze the charm of Doctor He in tourist circles. As a matter of fact, Doctor He's reputation of "benevolent doctor and humane art" is borrowed from Confucianism, having nothing to do traditional Naxi culture. But when combined with another two things, the identity of He Shixiu's "exotic doctor" has been done. One thing is the locality, which declares some kind of authenticity, remoteness, and romance. Baisha village is located at the foot of



Figure 10.7: Filling in questionnaire..



Figure 10.8: Tourists and guests.

Jade-Dragon Mountains that is a well-known scenic spot, so Doctor He is connected with the Mountains and he has many titles such as Jade-Drag Daoist physician in Jade-Dragon Mountains, "Bethune"³ in Jade-Dragon Mountains. Another thing is Dr He's ethnic identity—Naxi. Therefore, a conclusive idea can be reached that He Shixiu is a professional "aborigine" interacting with drop-in tourists rather than a doctor, whose world fame comes more from his locality and ethnic identity. As for his Confucian ideal expressed to tourists, it is nothing more than an attachment on traditional Han culture, which proved to be an implication or result of the maintenance of ethnic boundary of the Naxi.

The Rustics

The ethnic tourism and international tourism in Lijiang

have to the utmost mobilized the common Naxi people to earn a living from tourism. There appear various tourist celebrities representing different levels of Naxi culture concerning Dongba pictograph, Dongba rituals, Dongba crafts, Naxi music (Figure 10.8), Naxi traditional dances, and even descendant of distinguished family. These people enjoy some reputation in Dayan town, scenic spots, tourist areas like Baisha, or a performing team, who interact with tourists more directly comparing with some guides. Two such cases from Baisha are illustrated in detail below.

He Zhong in Fuguo Monastery⁴

Fuguo monastery (Figure 10.9) has enjoyed a good reputation at the beginning of the twentieth-century, but it has gradually turned into an old, shabby and incomplete monastery without Buddhist statues or monks. Owing to its old fame and the introduction of guidebooks, there are some visitors emerging in the monastery on and off over the past ten years, who mostly are from the city of Lijiang and occasionally some foreign package tourists. As Fuguo monastery is in such a waiting-to-be-reconstructed state, the visitors there can be regarded as pilgrims.

He Zhong is an ordinary Baisha villager at the age of seventy, who has guarded Fuguo monastery for more than twenty years. With the increase of visitors, He Zhong began to learn how to deal with these holy people. At the first time when I came to Fuguo monastery, I was surprised to find the way that He Zhong communicates with visitors has striking similarity to He Shixiu. Usually, he shows group photos with famous people like movie stars and guest book to the visitors, and sometimes tells the history and reconstruction of Fuguo monastery. He even speaks a few English words when facing to foreign visitors, indicating he is learning English. Almost all the visitors will open up their wallets to leave He Zhong some money after his showing and descriptions.



Figure 10.9: A corner of Fuguo Monastery.

He Zhong and his shabby monastery is another method to contact with tourists. Though He Zhong does not ask clearly for money from visitors, he hides the expectation for rewards under his hospitable reception, which is fundamentally a product of touristic context and celebrity effectiveness in Lijiang.

He Yi in Naxi Courtyard

Quite a few villagers of Baisha Village have abandoned farming for the sake of other careers including tourism, and He Yi is among them. When tourism sprang up in Baisha, He Yi was a member of Baisha Music Team and his wife belonged to a dance troupe, playing and dancing for package tourists. He Yi realized the benefit of tourism and opened a bar with mixing Chinese and Western styles. He Yi thinks that he has found an easy way to support his family for he knows well what tourists would like. Put simply, He Yi boasts of three things to attract tourists.

First, He Yi and his wife live in his ancestral house, which is more than two hundred years old. He Yi made good use of money granted by UNESCO to repair his house as old and simple as it once to be. He has also placed some traditional items around the yard, which makes his courtyard more attractive than others. He Yi luckily lives next to He Shixiu whose visitors most likely walk into his courtyard after coming out of the clinic. Different from He Zhong's implicit way, He Yi would charge directly when visitors take photos of his courtyard and house (Figure 10.10). Secondly, He Yi's wife is a good cook who can prepare a dinner in such a short time that tour guides with tourists order her specialty dishes regularly. She is good at cooking Lijiang Stuffed Bun (Lijiang Baba in Chinese), and tourists are so deeply impressed with it that they often write letters to praise her good cooking. Thirdly, He Yi himself is outgoing, humorous, and versatile (Figure 10.11 and 10.12). When he feels good, he will play the flute or sing and dance in traditional Naxi costume for the tourists. Certainly He Yi will charge after his performances.

Thus He Yi has got his fame by means of his house, local flavors, and his personal charm. Under the radiation of world cultural heritage, the Naxi couple, Naxi specialty, Naxi building, and Naxi custom are integrated into a lively life picture of “aborigines.”

Conclusion

Fredrik Barth pointed out that the emphasis of ethnic research should be on defining and maintaining of ethnic boundary, which is the premise of ethnic interactions (Barth 1969). Therefore, people show strongest ethnicity when contact with others. Under touristic context, tourists can be seen as “others” different from common groups because they feature mobility, pluralistic culture, and non-inhabitanance, which makes anthropologists focus more on culture changes of tourist destinations than guest origin. However, the common situation facing for domestic ethnic groups is to interact with such a huge mobile “group.” Anthropologists discovered that tourists have brought cultural commoditization, revitalization, recreation, acculturation, and assimilation to the tourist destinations, which implies the “passive” status of “tourees” academically. Amonda Stronza (2001) warned that those aboriginals as “others” sometimes are not utmost acceptors and they may get discourse power from their interactions with tourists to redefine themselves. However, the main point is how these “tourees” interact with tourists actively and how they express “otherness” to attract tourists' gaze.

The common character of “tourist celebrities” in Lijiang

is that they show cultural or personal charm under background of their ethnic identities to tourists, and further to reach fame and economic benefits. Whether world celebrity, professional “aborigines,” or the “rustics” can find a place to act as the same role and express strong or weak discourses. On the basis of ethnicity and locality, tourists come closer to different celebrities despite of their status, talents and skills.



Figure 10.10: Taking photo in He Yi’s courtyard.



Figure 10.11: Playing flute for guests.



Figure 10.12: Dancing for guests.

During the process, tourist celebrities gradually develop a new self-consciousness and try to dominate something under touristic context instead of being thorough “tourists” watched, photographed, and interpreted by outsiders. The interaction between tourist celebrities and tourists in some degree alleviates the asymmetry of host-guest relationship, and also counteract the illusory image of “staged performances.” However, whether this kind of contact has strengthened ethnicity or not is a question for long-term investigation.

The appearance of “tourist celebrities” in an ethnic group indicates how tourism has affected ethnic fate to such width and depth. It is a thought-provoking phenomenon that a historical turning point of the Naxi has produced different levels of tourist celebrities who are trying to seize their own futures by means of ethnic-tourism.

Notes

1. There are more than three hundred media outlets from home and abroad having reported on Doctor He’s clinic in over thirty languages.
2. Lonely Planet has published over 600 kinds of English guidebooks covering from Antarctica to Zambia, which claims that these itineraries are reliable authorities for budget travelling for it covers those areas travelers are most interested in. <http://www.lonelyplanet.com.cn/product/>
3. Dr. Henry Norman Bethune, a famous surgeon in Canada who came to China in 1938 as a volunteer giving a hand to Chinese people in fighting.
4. Fuguo Monastery is located on the top of Zhi Mountain west to Baisha Ancient Street. It was built in the Ming Dynasty and was the first Tibetan Buddhist Monastery in Lijiang.

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エスニック・グループからみた「観光有名人」の現象—麗江旅行を例に

趙 紅梅

麗江は中国西南国境地帯、雲南省の西北部に位置し、中国少数民族であるナシ族の集住地である。1997年、麗江区の大研古鎮、東河古鎮、白沙古街が「世界文化遺産リスト」に登録され、併せて「麗江古城」と称されたのをきっかけに、ナシ文化は、急速に発展したエスニック・ツーリズムや文化遺産ツーリズムの主要な吸引力となっている。この十数年間に旅行業は麗江の中心産業となり、ナシ人の生計、生活に大きな影響を与えるとともに、大小の「観光有名人」を生み出した。観光客との交流を通じて、「観光有名人」はパターン化した関係を形成した。すなわち「鑑賞される側」から「主体的に解釈し展示する側」へと変化し、「ホスト・ゲスト」のインタラクティブな活動における主導的な立場となったのである。

麗江の「観光有名人」は、エスニック・グループにおける地位身分やその文化、或いは個人的な魅力によって、観光客とインタラクティブな活動をする普通のナシ人を指す。彼らは特殊な技芸を持つわけではなく、観光界において名声があり、観光客はしばしば彼らを慕って訪れるため、彼らは自宅、食事、生薬、古跡、東巴文化などを通して、少額の収入を得ている。我々は、現地調査をもとに、麗江の「観光有名人」を三つに分類した。すなわち「世界有名人」、「職業土着民」、「農村村民」である。

「世界有名人」の例は多くなく、麗江ナシ古楽宮の名物司会者である宣科が典型例である。宣科はいわゆる「観光有名人」の特例で、彼の名声は主に以下の三点から得たものである。(1) ナシ族・チベット族・漢族の混血でかつ不遇な人生を送ってきたこと、(2) 古楽の演奏会における司会力に優れること、(3) ナシ古楽の商品化、すなわち「麗江古楽」を「ナシ古楽」と名前を改めたことで、民族的な特徴を際立たせ、古楽を保存する主体を強調した点。もうひとつは古い詩詞に洞経音楽を同名の楽曲に合わせて用いていたものに、女声を加えることで、単調で重苦しい曲調を改善したことである。宣科はこの成功により地方政府やエスニック・グループから名声を得ただけでなく、人々に勇気や啓発を与えた。すなわち旅行は「名声も利益も得られる」手段なのである。その次に、旅行における「職業土着民」が増加しており、彼らは村や観光地でエスニック・グループにおける地位身分によって、観光客に解説・展示をしたり、商品を販売したりしている。麗江白沙郷三元村の和士秀医師は「世界有名人」であるが、一方では「職業土着民」でもある。1985年より、彼は小さな診療所にて、多くの観光客を診察して漢方を処方し、さらには来訪者の名刺、寄せ書き、返信、新聞テレビの報道記事などを展示する方式をとり一躍人気を得た。旅行ガイドブックには和医師は全く昔のままであると記載されており、訪れる観光客は後を絶たない。政府は和医師を「民間文化大使」、「観光界のスター」などとし、医薬事業や旅行事業に多くの便宜をもたらした。そして、普通の村民の中でも、和医師を手本とする人々が「農村村民」であり、彼らは英語会話能力が全く無いにも関わらず、古民家や古跡を貸し出し、観光客に「他者性」を展示することで収入を得ており、観光客との関係性は宣科や和医師の縮小版といえる。

麗江旅行における「観光有名人」の現象を観察すると、観光が住民生活にどれほど浸透しているかを窺い知るこ

とができ、また現地人の主導による「ホスト・ゲスト」の関係性を見出すことができる。ナシ人は、「世界文化遺産リスト」への登録と観光を契機に外来者と相互に影響し合いながら、新しい社会への認知を徐々に深めて、民族の未来と自分の運命に新たな自信と希望をいだいており、そこからやや「異常」なコントロール性をもつ交流パターンが出現した。しかしながら、「観光有名人」は「注目される側」としてではなく主体的に観光客に対して自己とエスニック・グループの文化を売りだすものの、彼らの生計は依然として観光客の好みに合わせて決定せざるをえないという弱い立場である。また一方で、「観光有名人」を通じて、観光客たちが「舞台裏の真実」に入りこむことで、ナシ人のエスニック・グループの境界線はあいまいになり、再定義しなければならない状況となっている。今後観光客を魅了していきけるのか否かは更なる考察が必要である。

プロフィール

趙紅梅氏（博士、厦門大学）は、雲南師範大学の観光地質研究所および観光学科の准教授である。*Cultural Performance and Ethnic Group under Touristic Context: A Case for Baisha Township, Lijiang*と題された博士学位論文では、強力な観光化にさらされている麗江市ナシ族の人々の、文化意識とアイデンティティ認識の急速な変化を考察している。趙氏の研究は、観光文化、民族の帰属意識、文化変容に焦点をあてている。現在は、中国における観光プログラムの過程と、観光における消費の象徴化について研究を重ねている。