# Consuming Heritage: How Ethnic Groups Face the Heritage Tourism

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Yi people take their original fire ritual as an ancestral worship limit strictly within Yi ethnic group for some thousand years, however, while facing the mass tourism nowadays, this old ritual, an intangible cultural heritage, has been changed a lot, including its program, significance, cultural boundary and ethnic identity etc. The case study of this chapter showed that tourists even have been given permission to take part in some programs; namely, the ethnic heritage has been used as tourist resource to enter into the market.

#### Introduction

A key change has taken place within the tourism industry since the 1980s. According to Richard Prentice, this change has been the increasing fragmentation and specialization of tourism products and destinations for growing number of new niche markets within the overall tourism mass market (Prentice 2006: 243). Within this "new" tourism, heritage tourism has become big business. "Heritage" means an inheritance or a legacy; things which have been passed from one generation to the next (Parks Canada 1979: 7). As the term, "heritage" came to the fore in the 1970s in Europe, and throughout the 1980s expanded increasingly to encompass other aspects and to be used increasingly for commercial purposes (Prentice 2006: 244). With the development of mass tourism, more and more tourists are dissatisfied with the common, beautiful scenic spots. Moreover, they are not willing to accept passive activities. Surrounded by copies and replicas, the consumers thought to search for the seemingly authentic experience in attraction that have historical integrity help create a sense of place and belonging (Hall 1991; Moscardo and Pearce 1986). They prefer the heritage tourism, ethnic tourism, and other forms of tourism. Consumers' reluctance to be treated as an undifferentiated mass has resulted in the cultural tourism interest markets such as heritage, ethnic, and ecotourism (Urry 1990). These tourists are called "cultural tourists." "They seek out experiences which allow them to be educated as well as entertained, to experience the diversity and both built heritage and natural areas, and to experience the 'authentic" (Jacobs and Gale 1994: 2). As cultural tourists, they become curious about the original buildings, the untouched wilderness, fantastic customs, rituals and other presentations of other groups. They would rather go to the remote area to perceive the experience of authenticity. The more mysterious, original, fantastic, and ancient the custom or the presentation is, the more wonderful experience they can get. Furthermore, if the customs, the buildings, the sites, the rituals or the presentations are regarded as the heritage, they will become more famous and attractive. As a result, more people will come to the place to experience the heritage. And then, the heritage became the resources of tourism. The tourism industry increasingly centers on heritage tourism in China and other parts of the world. The host and the government then found the attractions of cultural heritage because they can get interests and employment and other value from it. According to Waitt (2000), throughout the 1990s, the number of international and domestic tourists visiting cultural sites or participating in cultural events increased substantially. (Bureau of Tourism Research 1997; Tourism New South Wales 1995). In the United Kingdom, the heritage tourism has been described as "a major strength of the British market for overseas visitors" (Markwell, Bennett and Ravenscroft 1997: 95). According to Garrod and Fyall (2000), heritage tourism and sustainability share a common theme. For heritage tourism has been viewed as "tourism centred on what we have inherited, which can mean anything from historic buildings, to art works, to beautiful scenery" (Yale 1991: 21). The pivotal concept "inheritance" appeared in the two definitions. (Garrod and Fyall 2000).

Increasingly such a context, cultural heritages are explored and are used to attract the attention of the visitors. However, with the coming of the mass tourism, some changes happened: the tourists are becoming not only the consumers but also the "masters" of the heritage or the heritage sites. Heritage can bring some financial benefit to the heritage spots. In order to attract more tourists, the owners make some changes of their heritage to meet the demand of tourists. In this way, we can say the ethnic identity, the tradition, the homeland identity, and the awareness are all facing challenges. The characteristics of sustainability are fading away. How to convey what we inherited to the next generation became a question. So, how to use the cultural heritage and how to manage the heritage becomes urgent in many places. The function of communities, that is, the host of custom or the ritual, is very important. As mentioned in Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003: "Recognizing that communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and recreation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity." In this chapter, the authors will take the

Fire-worship ritual of Axi group of Yi people for an example to analyze how ethnic groups face the heritage tourism in mass tourism.

# How the Hosts Present Their Intangible Cultural Heritage

Generally speaking, "intangible cultural heritage" means "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills-as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith-that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization 2003). The intangible cultural heritage is the property inherited from the antecedent, which is created by generation after generation of the group in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their cultural memory. At the same time, they can also perceive the creativity of their ancestors from the unique intangible heritage that can make them proud of their group and their ancestors, which provides the group with a sense of identity. In the process of human beings' development, they recreated and spoiled the wealth achieved from their ancestors. Then how to protect the heritage and how to deal with the heritage is becoming more and more serious. In 1993, a typology of attractions was presented by Prentice. The typology was proposed as a basis for the emergent research agenda into heritage issues (Prentice 2006: 247-249). In the typology, the following are included: socio-cultural attractions, prehistoric and historic sites and displays, including domestic house, costume museum; festivals and pageants, including historic fairs, festivals, "recreating" past ages, countryside festivals of "rural" activities. In some remote places, some intangible heritage can offer such things wholly. So they are attractions for most tourists. For the intangible heritage presented by many ethnic groups, they have some attractions for the visitors because they show different characteristics. For example, in the ritual they can use some different symbols to tell their stories, which can attract visitors' curiosities.

As usual, the hosts do some actions just because they are told they should do it at the fixed time in the fixed procedure. In the past, the heritage was shared by the fixed group and sometimes with the researchers. And with the coming of mass tourism, more and more tourists come to share the experience with hosts. In recent years, people began to be interested in heritage tourism. Obviously, the new situation will bring something new to the heritage. For the owners of heritage, how to deal with the heritage tourism has become a key issue.

In Mile, Yunnan, China, there is a unique ritual held once a year. The ritual was held for many years. Nobody can say how many years it lasts because this is a group without a written language. Axi people will tell you that they began the ritual from their great-great-grandfather. They hold the ritual to memorize their original ancestor and the hero who invented the method to get fire by drilling into wood. The ritual lasts two days: that is, 2–3 February of the Chinese lunar year. In the past, the male of the group went to the saint mountain to sacrifice the god who saved their original ancestor and pray for the fertility and health of villagers and the domestic animals. As usual, they will use a good-looking

pig with black pig hair to be the sacrifice. After crossing the saint gate made by the priests, called Bimo, they will bring the pig to the front of two Castanea Sativas. Two Bimos will recite the scripture about fertility and peace; and then they kill and cook the pig in the saint mountain; at last all the males get together and have the meal in the mountain on the first day. On the second day, the Bimos will represent the scenery to get fire by drilling into wood. When the sparks are stricken out, a person blows the horn and other males will join the ritual, whose naked or nearly naked bodies are decorated with circles in black, yellow, red, and white made of the mineral nearby by the village. They have a parade around the village, exclaiming on the way to let every housewife to get the new fire after they cleaned the house and put out the old fire and then sent the old fire out with all the misfortune. In the process, none of female can join in the ritual. However, some men in the dress of women, a child on the back can be seen in the team (Figures 12.1 and 12.2).

It is a very ancient and mysterious ritual in which they can enhance their ethnic identity in memorizing the same original ancestor. For them, it is a festival at the same time. During the period, they sing, dance, get together, enjoy themselves, and have a good rest. For them, it is a happy time, as



Figure 12.1: The "female" in the parade.



Figure 12.2: The bimo and the new fire.

they have to work hard during the rest of the year. They seldom have time to enjoy themselves because they have a lot of work to do: raising the cattle, the flock and pigs, and some planting. They get firewood from the mountain; get food including the corn, wheat, tomatoes, beans, and other daily living things from their surroundings. They have a kind of life that depends upon the fortune of the surroundings. For them, trees, and fire are very important things.

#### How is Intangible Heritage Changed by Mass Tourism

It is widely accepted that the increase in the number of people who visit cultural sites places pressure on these sites and can ultimately lead to their deterioration or, if left unchecked, their destruction. So what happened to the intangible heritage? With the development of society, the hosts have more chances to contact with others. Will some of the characteristics of the intangible heritage change with contact with others? In recent years, the government pays attention to sorting out the heritage this is because more and more heritages are in danger as a result of globalization. Moreover, in some areas, the heritage can take the local government many interests. As with other intangible heritage, the ritual of fire-worship is fixed by attention from the government and the village was regarded as the conservation of intangible heritage of Yunnan Province (Figure 12.3).

## The Role Played by the Government

With the popularity of the Fire-Worship ritual, the township government has been sponsoring this yearly ritual in recent years. They manage the program for the ritual. They even regard the day as a Fire-Ritual Festival. On one hand, it shows that they pay much attention to the ritual; on the other hand, they can present that they have provided enriched cultural and recreational activities for their people. In order to manage the ritual, they established a center to take charge of it (Figure 12.4). The manager is a head of the display team. They are busy in dancing traditional dances or the most popular primitive dances everywhere. He knows how to make exciting scenery. That is why the ritual performance was the last performance on that day. With the festive melody, all the audience can have a revelrous time with the villagers. In order to activate other people of other villages of the town to take part in the festival and they have some competition and traditional Axi performances. The winners can get the first, second, and third prizes. They can get some money from prizes and increased reputation from the government. Of course, Hongwan village will undertake the task of the fire-worship ritual. The village head will organize the villagers to prepare for the ritual and other things related to the festival (Figures 12.5 and 12.6). Some of the villagers will work as guides and they will sing traditional songs for the distinguished guests to show their warm welcome. Some will prepare the traditional Axi food for all the people coming to the village that day. Generally speaking, all the people who come to the village will pay for tickets as soon as they stepped into the gate of the village. However, people with invitation and the relatives of the villagers are excepted. So, the village head will take active part in it as he can get some benefit from organizing it.

On the morning of 3 Feburary, they will have a formal

opening ceremony (Figures 12.7 and 12.8). The heads of the county and other distinguished guests are invited to the ceremony. During the opening ceremony, the brief introduction of the development of the town will be mentioned. They have more chances to communicate with their heads. So, they highlight the attractions and creativities. According to one of the governor of the town who is in charge of the preparation of the festival, because the same guests are invited every year, they should think it over what kind of new image that we can present. So they will change the program a little. Otherwise, the guests will become bored.

In the festival in 2010, they thought it would be a great



Figure 12.3: The sign of Conservation of Intangible Heritage of Yunnan Province.



Figure 12.4: The office for the ritual.

idea to include wrestling, which is very traditional Yi activity, and exciting game. However, they had not imagined that the activity lasts about three hours, which made the time for Fire-worship ritual limited. And for Axi people, they held the two activities in two different periods. Either of the activities would take at least a whole afternoon. Perhaps for the government, all representations of the past are selective; wrestling belongs to Axi people, which is very traditional too. However, "Representations of the 'authentic' past cannot be divorced from particular belief and knowledge systems." (Waitt 2000) For the government of the local, they have the duty to know something about their people.



Figure 12.5: The villagers having the meeting for preparation of the ritual.

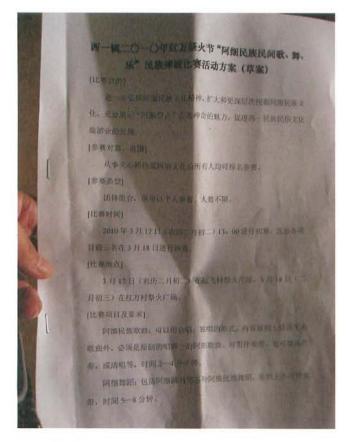


Figure 12.6: The program for the opening ceremony and ritual.

Perhaps they know it is a unique ritual, which is called intangible heritage. However, they should know about it and its value. They should make knowledge of why there are so many people come to the village. That is because tourism provides an important arena of communication and education between local people and visitors. For governor of this area, they should have the responsibility to know the resources of the area they take charge of. Before they want to shape a tourist gaze (Urry 1990) for the visit, they should learn to manage the material but not only show the different views to the tourists.

## The Role Played by the Bimo

In the ritual, the most important characters are the Bimo, whose role is like the priest. They are consisted of the aged men of the village. Otherwise, when his wife is dead, he has no qualification to be Bimo. Among them, two are more important, considered the main Bimo. Generally speaking, their fathers or grandfathers are Bimo too. They became familiar with such kind of prayers when they are very young. So, they can recite the prayers wholly. They will have the duty to sacrifice to the ancestors and pray for all the people and cattle. They are the persons who know the past of Axi people and can recite the legends of the group. They know



Figure 12.7: A scene from the festival.



Figure 12.8: The young women dancing to show welcome in their Axi costume.

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the origin of their people and the procedures and the objects needed in ritual. They can be treated the key figures of the ritual. Nowadays, with more and more people coming to the ritual, including scholar, journalists, officials, and other tourists, the role played by Bimo is increasingly important. That is because anyone who wants to know something about the ritual will go to visit the two Bimo and they are often asked to tell the story about it. This is how they became well-known. They have high reputations in the ritual even in their daily lives. They can speak better mandarin compared with other villagers, most of whom can only speak Axi dialect and very simple mandarin. So they have more chances to meet all kinds of people. These kinds of communications made them informed and aware that their ritual is very important. It made their village famous all over the world. They can use some words and information borrowed from the communication with others. For them, they have not imagined that their ritual would attract the attention of so many people. So, they make use of all the information to make the ritual. They made specific clothes for the ritual and on it they asked somebody who knows Yi Character to write Bimo in Yi Characters for them. They made their efforts to enlarge the effects of the ritual. So, in order to make their ritual known for everybody, their taboos can be broken by other people. The female of other groups are allowed to go to the sacred woods which is the taboo to the female of Axi people. As for the phenomenon that the women take part in the parade of Fire-worship ritual, they explained that the women should have the equal right with the man with the development of society.

However, although they know the importance of their ritual, they are unaware of how to protect their heritage. They changed the time and simplified the procedure because the government asks to join in the ceremony and have a performance for the guests in an oval. However, as the elite of the group, they know they should keep their property. The dilemma is that they do not know how to protect their ritual. They can only get some suggestions from the visitors. When they are told that they should keep their procedure, objects, and their taboo should be extended to everybody so the mystery and solemnness can be kept. They could realize it at once. In the talk with them, the writers could find that their eagerness to let the others know about their ritual and they also anxious to pass the unique ritual to their next generation originally. However, the dilemma is that the young people will join in the dance; they will come to the hometown when they celebrate the ritual, but few of them would like to be Bimo nowadays. For the old Bimo, they are facing how to protect their unique ritual with some guidance.

# The Role Played by Some Shrewd Villagers

In the ritual, some shrewd villagers found their naked painting attracts the attention of many journalists. The writers were told that one time, after a villager made a pose for a journalist, he was given 100 RMB by the excited journalists. 100 RMB is great sum and he began to realize the importance of images. From the next year, he used a very bright color and had careful painting. Furthermore, he decorated his body to ask for money when others wanted to take a photograph for him. If paid, he will make any pose asked of him. In 2010, he learned to paint two little boys to earn

money with him. There is another person who stood beside them to collect the money. When the villager went to his duty, he asked the two boys to follow him naked and with a money bag (Figures 12.9 and 12.10).

In their opinion, the journalists are very rich. A lens is worth thousands of yuan. 10–20 RMB for taking many attractive photos is a piece of cake for the journalists. In these activities, they learn to consume their image. They think they are part of their intangible heritage.

In the past, the villagers of this village not involved in any businesses. They thought they would be laughed by others. To be a person with conscience, to be kind to the others, to help the people in the trouble are essential aspects of their morality. So there are few people in the village who would be dealers. With more and more people coming to the village, some young people would try to earn money from the tourists. They began to sell some water, rice noodle and other food for the visitors (Figure 12.11). From it, they can get some money; at the same time, it means they can not go to join in the parade. And there are some villagers began to collect money from the persons who will go to their toilet. One must pay 0.5 RMB to go to the toilet (Figure 12.12), which is much higher than the fees of toilet in the county.



Figure 12.9: A shrewd villager posing for money.



Figure 12.10: A shrewd villager posing for money.



Figure 12.11: An Axi woman selling food.

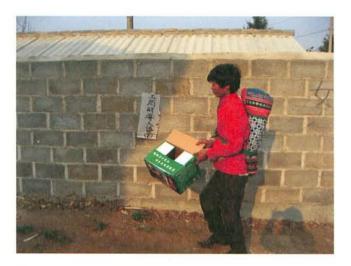


Figure 12.12: A toilet with charge.

# The Role of Heritage in Tourism

Since 1990, many surveys are done on heritage tourism. Generally speaking, conceptualizing tourists' consumption of heritage "products" as a "gaze" (Urry 1990) usually summarizes how many tourists regard what they view or otherwise experience of heritage attractions. For many tourists a general wish to see sights or to become aware of a destination area's heritage is a sufficient motivation for their visit to a heritage attraction, and sets the context for attractions managers in supplying "products" to benefit their customers. However, other than in terms of authenticity debate, the dimensions of how tourists seek to benefit from visiting attractions are as yet insufficiently researched for different types of attraction, and it is the fuller understanding of the types of benefits sought by tourists through visiting heritage attractions which forms a major research challenge (Prentice 2006). Moreover, the emphasis on heritage products has become a phenomenon across the developed world. However, it would be wrong to assert that heritage tourism was a universal phenomenon across all social classes, for it is unquestionably a middle-class interest for those types of heritage attraction for which the researchers have data (Prentice 2006).

#### Conclusion

However, in the Fire-worship ritual, different people are consuming the heritage from different aspects. The government make use of the heritage to communicate with their distinguish guests. At the same time, they can make their head know something about their work by this way. They want to manage the heritage too. They think it can help them to raise their incomes of the area. So, they began to develop the heritage tourism without knowing the resources in details. They can even make the program according to their plans. What they have done is to present the revelry scenery to attract the tourists' attention. However, the result of the ritual will be dangerous. Gradually, the villagers get used to the style of revelry; the origin of the ritual will be ignored by the young generation. How can they pass their intangible heritage to their next generation? As mentioned above, the villagers can make some money from it by selling tickets or other things in the ritual. Perhaps it is easier for them to earn money in these two years. However, with the time passing by, the visitors will not be interested in the ritual because it lost some of its solemnness and mysteriousness. When there are fewer and fewer people visiting the place, for there is no other attractive scenic spots in the place. What will they do with the ritual once the ritual has turned to be a performance to the villagers too? Without audiences, how can we find the attraction of the performance? Although the Bimos want to pass their ritual from generation to generation, nobody will learn it if the villagers are unable to imagine how important the ritual is for Axi people. They do not know that from the ritual their identification can be enforced; their memory can be invoked; their ancestors can be recalled; they can also know where are they come from.

How to deal with the dilemma? "Those who care for historic building and artifacts have a love-hate relationship with visitors" (Caple 2000: 22). The same situation is with the heritage tourism. On one hand, the local people require visitors in order to generate money. On the other hand, with so many tourists' coming, the traditional culture is assimilated in a speedy way. We think "safeguarding" is needed in the protection of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and informal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage. In fact, some countries have realized the importance of conservation. "To recognize both development and conservation as important and valuable expressions of human utilization of the environment," (Code of Environmental Practice of the Australian Tourism Industry Association) (Aplin 2002: 61). The government should make some policy aimed at promoting the function of the intangible cultural heritage in society, and at integrating the safeguarding of such heritage into planning programs; and ensure recognition of, respect for, and enhancement of the intangible cultural heritage in society, in particular through educational, awarenessraising and information programs, aimed at the general public, in particular young people; specific educational and training programs within the communities and groups concerned; capacity-building activities for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular when the government are making programs, they should involve the villagers who knows the heritage well actively in its management. The villagers should enhance the awareness of safeguarding and they should have some knowledge to safeguard their own intangible heritage from the education but not only consuming heritage. As a heritage, it should have its own unique attributes emphasized and interpretation and presentation of the attraction. From education, villagers can learn how to find their uniqueness of their ritual. In all, the completely investigation and research are needed before heritage tourism precinct is sanctioned. This is because "heritage helps locate ourselves socially, spatially, and temporally, and is a key ingredient of our personal group community, and national identities" (Aplin 2002: 358) besides money, which also brings us "sense of place" and "sense of time." Do not make the experiencing of heritage only result in a commoditization of the past. Do not "kill the goose that lays the golden egg."

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# 遺産を消費する―少数民族がエスニック・ツー リズムに対峙するとき

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イ族の祖先崇拝として行われる火祭りは、数千年来、イ族集団のみに厳しく制限され行われてきた祭りである。しかし観光の大衆化が進んだ今日では、古くからあるこの無形文化遺産は、式次第、意義、文化的な境界、民族的なアイデンティティなどの様々な面で、変化を余儀なくされてきた。本稿の事例で紹介するように、火祭りでは観光客が祭りに参加するという場面も見られ始めた。まさに、民族的な遺産が、市場経済の一部となり観光資源として利用されているのである。

中国雲南省の弥勒県では、一年に一度ユニークな祭り が行われる。この祭りは、イ族が、木をこすり合わせるこ とで火を起こす方法を考え出した自らの祖先と英雄を記憶 するために行うものである。祭りの初日には男たちが聖 なる山に登り、彼らの祖先を救った神に対して供犠をし、 人々や家畜の健康と作物の豊穣を祈る。供犠をしたあと犠 性になったブタを料理すると、全ての男性が一緒になって 聖なる山で共食する。2日目には、シャーマンであるビモ (Bimo) たちが木で火をおこす様子を表現する。ビモた ちが炎を得ると、全裸(もしくはほぼ全裸)の身体に地元 の鉱物を利用して黒、黄、赤、白色の円を描いた男たちも 祭りに参加する。彼らは村を行進しながら、村の主婦全員 に向かって、家を掃除して古い火を消し不幸を追いやった 後に、新しい火を入れろと叫ぶ。この過程では、女性は祭 りに加わることはできない。ただし、女装した一部の男 性や、背負われた幼い少女が行列に加わっていることはあ る。

他の無形文化遺産と同じくこの火祭りも政府の注目を ひき、イ族の村は大衆観光地として、雲南省の無形文化遺 産の保護地と見なされた。しかし、この火祭りでは、異な る人々がそれぞれのやり方で遺産を消費している。政府は 著名人とのコミュニケーションをはかるために、この遺産 を最大限に利用する。彼らは、遺産を保護したいと述べる が、その一方で、火祭りのお祭り騒ぎの風景を利用し、観 光客の呼び込みを図った。この観光化の過程で、村人は祭 りの最中にチケットなどを売ることで収入を得ることがで きた。彼らはまた、観光客の要求に応じてカメラの前でポ ーズを取って金を稼ぐこともある。また、本来女性の立ち 入りが禁じられていた聖なる山は、女性の観光客も登るこ とが出来るようになった。ビモは本来の祭りを次の世代に 引き継いで行きたいと考えているが、彼らは祭りの重要性 を未だ認識していない。祭りには、彼らのアイデンティテ ィ、記憶、そして伝統文化があるのである。

「歴史的な建築物や遺産に関心がある者は、観光客に対して愛憎が入り交じった関係をもたざるをえない」(Caple 2000: 22)。このジレンマに対処できるであろうか?イ族の火祭りと同様の状況は、他の遺産観光にもみられるであろう。現地の人々は収入のために観光客を必要とする一方で、あまりに多くの観光客が来ることで、伝統文化からその民族の特徴が急速に失われてゆくのである。このため

現在、無形文化遺産を守るための「保護措置(セーフガー ド)」――遺産の多くの側面を再び活性化することはもち ろんのこと、公的かどうかを問わず教育を通じて、文化遺 産の同定、文章化、調査、維持・保存活動、奨励、改善、 伝達を行うなど――が必要とされている。実際、一部の国 々では保存の重要さは、認識されている。オーストラリア 観光事業協会の環境活動の規則のなかに「発展と保存の双 方を、人間の環境利用の表現として重要で価値あるものと して認識すること」(Aplin 2002: 61)とあるが、そのた めには、中国政府も無形文化遺産の社会的な効用の促進を 目指した政策をとるべきであるし、遺産の保護措置を計画 のなかに取り込むべきである。そして、とりわけ教育を通 じて情報を供給し、特に若者を中心とした公衆一般の意識 を高めることで、社会のなかでの無形文化遺産の認知、関 心、改善に努めるべきである。コミュニティのなかでは、 特別な教育および訓練のプログラム、また無形文化遺産の 保護活動のための能力開発が組まれる必要がある。また、 政府が計画を練る時には、彼らはその遺産のことを良く知 る村人たちを管理側の人間として関与させるべきである。 現地住民も、保護措置についての意識を高めなければなら ないし、単に遺産を消費するだけでなく、教育を通じて無 形文化財保護のための知識を身につけるべきである。どん な文化遺産にも、各々に独自の特徴や解釈、そして提示の 仕方がある。教育によって、現地住民は自分たちの祭りの 独自性を知ることができるだろう。また、遺産観光区域が 認可される前に、十分な調査と研究も必要である。なぜな ら、「遺産は、我々自身を社会的、空間的、時間的に位置 づけ、我々の私的な集団や国家の重要な構成要素」になり (Aplin 2002: 358) 、収入だけでなく、「場所の感覚」や 「時間の感覚」も与えてくれるからである。文化遺産を、 過去の遺物の消費としてだけ経験してはならない。

#### プロフィール

#### 彭 兆栄

人類学および民族学の教授である彭兆栄氏は、中国にある厦門大学の観光人類学センター長で、副人文学科長である。主な研究テーマは、中国社会における儀礼、少数民族問題、遺産研究である。著書の『観光人類学』(中国、2004年)で、観光人類学の理論をいち早く中国の学界に体系的に紹介した。彭氏はまた、雲南教育出版社の『人類と遺産叢書』(2008年)の編集責任者であり、同シリーズの一つ『遺産一省察と解釈』を著している。現在はその続編シリーズ、「遺産研究についての10の講義」という大学生/専門学校生用教材の編集に従事している。

#### 路芳

路芳氏は雲南民族大学の講師、および、厦門大学人類学科の博士課程に2008年から在籍している。中国南西部の雲南地方南東部で、無形遺産として保護対象となっている村でフィールドワークを終えた後、2010年5月~2010年11月までオーストラリア国立大学に客員研究員として在籍した。現在、儀礼、記憶、文化遺産に焦点を当て、フィールド調査に基づいた博士論文を執筆中である。現在の研究関心は、儀礼研究、文化遺産、遺産観光である。