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**THE INFLUENCE OF TOURISM ON THE SUSTAINING OF
VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION EMBODIED
IN THE BAI AND NAXI DWELLINGS IN YUNNAN, CHINA**

ZHAONING LIU

**A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**School of Art, Design and Architecture
University of Huddersfield
December 2013**

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Abstract

Yunnan is an economically underdeveloped region in south-western China, in which many ethnic settlements are preserved well. Within the last two decades, many ethnic communities at a grass-roots social level have been conducting a series of tourism-related developments of Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan. They are altering, restoring, rebuilding, refurbishing and renewing ordinary Bai or Naxi dwellings into multi-function dwellings, which are not only the residential homes of families, but are also capable of providing an exotic cultural experience for tourists' consumption. Nevertheless, Bai and Naxi dwellings are representations of a living culture, embodying a complex set of vernacular architectural traditions which have been transmitted for many generations. When the Bai and Naxi dwellings are involved in tourism development, the transmission and adaptation of these vernacular architectural traditions are changed, and the manner in which such traditions are sustained in new circumstances becomes an interesting problem. This study explores the influence of tourism development on sustaining the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China. The researcher has conducted three rounds of fieldwork, choosing 30 Bai and Naxi dwellings involved in tourism development, from four ethnic minority settlements in Yunnan, for investigation. Observation, interview and questionnaire have been applied to collect data, and template analysis has been used to analyse the data. The results of the analysis show that if tourism development is conducted mainly at a community level, it can enhance the sustaining of the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings. In summary, the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition is not simply influenced by the nature of tourism, but is highly dependent on the social level of the developers, the construction pattern they choose, and the socio-cultural interaction they produce.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This study is a PhD thesis recording research carried out to investigate the relationship between tourism and buildings in a specific region of China. The aim of the study is to explore the interrelationship between tourism development and the sustaining of the vernacular architectural tradition of Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, in the era of globalization. This chapter will go on to state the research problem more fully, identify the region under investigation, explain how it will be investigated, and also reveal the structure of the thesis.

1.1 **Background of the study**

1.1.1 **Significance of the study**

In the global era, travel around the world has risen to unprecedented levels and tourism has been witnessed as a booming industry in the twenty-first century (AlSayyad, 2001; Robinson, 2001). Mike Robinson notes that although it is difficult to identify the global figures for tourism due to definitional and classification problems, tourism and tourism-related businesses are continuing to expand in huge numbers in both developed and developing economies (2001, p.34). In addition, tourism is not only perceived as an interactional economic activity and part of a greater globalization process (Macleod, 2004, p.10), but is also gradually becoming a cultural phenomenon forging dynamic relationships within host communities (Robinson, 2001, p.34). Wahab and Cooper (2001, p.4) give a description of globalisation as it is understood in current times, one that coincides with many popular interpretations:

Globalization is an all-embracing term that denotes a world which, due to many politico-economic, technological and informational advancements and developments is on its way to becoming borderless and an interdependent whole. Any occurrence anywhere in the world would, in one way or the other, exert an impact somewhere else. National differences are gradually fading and being submerged in a homogeneous mass or a single socioeconomic order (Cited by Macleod, 2004, p.5).

Communities in a particular place at a particular time may not only provide experience of different ways of life and material products for tourists' consumption, but they also shape the distinctive landscapes which attract many tourists. In addition, communities are also the focus for tourists drawn from particular places and social contexts to a host community (Richard & Hall, 2000, p.1). The power of tourism, accompanied with other social driving forces, penetrates almost all communities in the world. "In reality, it is often difficult to disentangle the forces of tourism from those of other globalizing influences, but the premise there is that tourism has become an increasingly significant driver of cultural remaking and reinvention"

(Robinson, 2001, p.35). In addition, tourism is considered a complex business which comprises different groups with varied interests. It has been witnessed that its powerful force can change a community tremendously in a short period of time (Macleod, 2004).

Advocacy Platform	Cautionary Platform
Tourism conserves and preserves the natural environment	Tourism destroys natural environments, e.g. through large-scale resorts, golf courses and marinas, and is a major polluter through sewage and other waste discharge
Tourism conserves man-made environments (heritage)	Local communities are often exploited and their resources taken over by outside interests for tourism
Tourism conserves/revives past traditions	Tourism destroys / degrades tradition; people and culture could be commercialized
Tourism promotes cultural heritage, cultural performances and festivals, etc.	Tourism disrupts the structure of host societies
Tourism constitutes a relatively benign form of development compared with alternatives such as industrialization (the so-called 'smokeless industry')	Tourism produces 'de-agriculturization' (younger people leaving rural farms for paid employment in the tourism industry)
Tourism plays an educational role, both specifically (e.g. special interest tourism and archaeological tours) and in general	Tourism is often seasonal and generates mostly part-time, unskilled jobs for local people, with specialist and management positions occupied by expatriates
Tourism promotes international understanding and peace	By far the greater benefits flow to developers and investors (often multi-national companies, hotel chains and international airlines) rather than to local communities

Table 1: Views supporting advocacy platform and cautionary platform (Sofield, 2000: pp.46-47)

In the book 'Anthropology of Tourism', Dennison Nash (1996) shows the complexity of the impact of tourism on local communities:

"Loukissas (1978) points to the degradation of the environment on Mykonos. Lee (1978) views tourism as enhancing the position of an entrenched élite in Yacatan. Jordan (1980) sees it undermining and distorting traditional values in a vacation village in Vermont. Pi Sunyer (1977), studying mass tourism on the Costa Brava, thinks that it promotes stereotyping. Kottak (1966) sees a general

deterioration of the communal life of a Brazilian fishing village brought about by the influx of second homes, sport fisherman and hippies" (Nash, 1996, p.21, cited by Macleod, 2004, p.8).

Dennison Nash (1996) also mentions some positive opinions, such as those of Mckean (1976) in Bali, Cohen (1979) in Thailand, Boissevain (1978) in Malta and Hermans (1981) on the Costa Brava, who "found tourism to be a benign and possibly beneficial agent of change" (Nash, 1996, p.22, cited by Macleod, 2004, pp.8-9). "The case studies on Bali, the Eskimo, and the San Blas Indians all show that tourism has served to regenerate traditional industries by providing an enlarged market for native products" (Smith, 1989, p.8). The polarization of arguments regarding the positive and negative impacts of tourism on vernacular communities shows the complexity of the relationship between tourism and vernacular culture. Some of these arguments form an advocacy platform that bolsters the positive impact of tourism, while others form a cautionary platform that is critical of the impacts of tourism. The views supporting the advocacy and cautionary platforms can be summarized as shown in Table 1(Sofield, 2000, pp.46-47).Here we can see a very broad set of influences of tourism, which may be regarded as positive or negative according to the position of different observers (Macleod, 2004, p.9). All these views perceive tourism as an external force that causes socio-cultural change.

As part of vernacular culture, a vernacular dwelling is not merely a physical entity, but a living representation of cultural norms, with rules, ritual and meanings embodied in it. Paul Oliver states that every culture has its own forms of dwelling, built by the people who inhabit them, in clear response to the society's physical, social and psychological needs, and shaped as much by belief systems and concepts of status, territory and security as by economy, material resources, technology and climatic conditions (1987, pp.7-15). The main function of each vernacular dwelling was originally as a residential home for a family. The construction of a vernacular dwelling is designed to meet the socio-cultural requirements of family members, and residents of a vernacular dwelling foster and evolve a specific lifestyle according to the needs of living. Both Bai and Naxi dwellings bear many complicated interrelationships with their inhabitants. For instance, the design of the dwelling reflects the logic of the residents' rural life; utilization of the space represents the hierarchical relationship between family members; symbolic meanings embodied in tangible and spatial features express the cultural values and beliefs of the household; and the construction process adheres to customs, agreements and norms on a community level. In short, vernacular dwellings are private units built to meet the needs of a specific group of people, whose style of housing is part of their specific culture. Vernacular architectural tradition is acknowledged as the standards and values of a society embodied in its built structures, whether domestic, functional or symbolic (Oliver, 2006, p.384). More importantly, vernacular architectural tradition is respected as the passing

on of technical know-how and a complex continuity "inherited from the past, lived in the present and sustained in the future" (Oliver, 2006, p.384). With the development of tourism in the era of globalization, vernacular settlements and vernacular dwellings become another type of 'cultural resource' to be exploited for tourists' consumption. 'Consuming tradition' and 'manufacturing heritage' are widely observed in the tourism development of vernacular settlements. The sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition appears to be of increasing relevance to the tourism industry, and more so in the era of globalization than in any other period of time in history.

The influences of tourism on vernacular architectural tradition may be seen as contradictory as well. Some vernacular architectural traditions are 'destroyed' during tourism development, while others are 'revitalized' by it. However, there is no particular theory which explains the contradictory phenomena regarding the influence of tourism on vernacular architectural tradition. Further explanation is needed to clarify the reasons why, in some specific situations, tourism may exert a positive influence on vernacular architectural tradition, such as by promoting conservation and revitalization, while in other situations, tourism exerts a negative influence, causing damage and degradation. A new theoretical understanding is needed on the interrelationship between tourism and vernacular architectural tradition in the era of globalization, in order to help identify the main elements that influence the interaction between tourism and this tradition. As vernacular architectural tradition is a living culture, the identification of the main influential elements will guide the actions and practices of relevant professionals, as well as those of policy makers, and thus exert a positive influence on sustaining vernacular architectural tradition through the biggest industry in the world—tourism.

1.1.2 Involvement of Bai and Naxi dwellings in tourism

In the global market, "the First World appears more interested in consuming the cultures and environments of Third World societies" (AlSayyad, 2001, p.4). It is witnessed that the First World advocates the preservation of Third World built environments, and promotes the transformation of these built environments into tourist destinations. Meanwhile, developed regions in the Third World are keen to follow the development model of the First World. They propose to conserve some well-preserved vernacular settlements of under-developed regions and turn them into tourist attractions. In many parts of the world, such as some marginalized regions in Third World nations, tourism development seems to offer new hope for these regions in terms of economic development within the global economy (AlSayyad, 2001, p.2). That is to say, tourism development relevant to vernacular settlements pays particular attention to ethnic communities in some under-developed areas in Third World countries. In southeast Asian and third world countries in particular, ethnic tourism has become one of the most popular forms within the tourism market (Cohen, 2001, p.27). Ethnic tourism that is

based on a vernacular community, such as a tribe, a village, a town or a city, is "also the most frequently researched topic in the sociological and anthropological study of tourism in the Southeast Asian region" (Cohen, 2001, p.27). Within the undeniably complex processes of creating culture, the built environment plays a significant role in demonstrating the interrelationship between the tourism industry and the cultural transformation of a host community.

Conventionally, mainland China is considered a Third World Country. In many areas, especially in the vast rural parts of China, the economy and development of technology are still backward in comparison with those of many developed countries (Zhang, 2003, pp.29-30). With 56 ethnic groups, a vast area, diverse landscapes, ancient history, rich culture and a distinctive political and economic system (Zhang, 2003; Zhu, 2011), mainland China has abundant resources to develop tourism. The south-western part of China is an economically under-developed area in comparison with other parts of the country. Located in southwest China and adjacent to Southeast Asia, Yunnan Province was one of the three least developed provinces of China in 2011. The local government is keen to seek a route to develop the local economy. Yunnan province is inhabited by 26 Chinese minority groups, and each group has a distinctive ethnic culture and unique vernacular settlements. Because of economic backwardness, many vernacular settlements of these ethnic minority groups have remained in their original state. Abundant ethnic cultural elements and a diversity of cultural expression within vernacular dwellings can be seen in these settlements. The potential of these vernacular settlements to attract tourist gaze (details see page 24) and thus stimulate the local economy has been realized by the provincial government. Therefore, turning these ethnic vernacular settlements into tourism destinations seems to be one of the most effective and efficient approaches to achieving the goal of economic development in the under-developed regions of Yunnan Province.

One of the most important reasons behind the fact that some traditional vernacular settlements have become a focus of tourist gaze in contemporary mainland China is urbanization. Since the 1980s, rapid economic development in China has led to an immense quantity of modern construction in urban areas. New landscapes, new settings and new buildings have been constructed at an incredibly high speed based on principles of modernist aesthetics. The old landscapes, local townscapes and traditional architecture were generally considered symbols of the old society, representing poverty and backwardness. Some of the old built environment has been torn down to make way for new buildings of modern architectural style, in order to demonstrate the modernization and economic development of the new society. For example, many of the humble and simple quadrangles and hutongs in Beijing have been demolished to allow for construction of high-rise buildings. What is more,

the newly-constructed built environment is seen as one of the most important elements providing evidence of the political achievements of local governments in terms of developing the local economy. Therefore, after ten years of construction, a huge number of traditional vernacular settlements have vanished in the most economically developed regions in China. In the 1980s, the rapid disappearance of traditional vernacular townscapes and buildings became an issue which was firstly opposed by a number of academics. They appealed to the government to pay attention to the scientific, social, cultural and artistic values of these disappearing traditional vernacular-built environments, and called on the authorities to preserve them. Some traditional vernacular settlements were preserved in this manner. For instance, the Old Town of Dayan and its traditional townscape were preserved through the appeals of Professor Liangwen Zhu, who wrote letters to the head of the provincial government of Yunnan requesting a halt to construction in Dayan and the protection of its traditional townscape.

Another reason for traditional vernacular settlements to attract tourist gaze in contemporary China is the rise of the middle class and its concepts of consumption. Economic development has promoted the emergence of a middle class in China, members of which obtain good jobs, comfortable incomes and a considerable level of education. In addition, the lifestyle of the middle class in China has changed greatly due to an increase in wealth, media coverage, accessibility of information and control of advanced technology (Zhu, 2011). Nevertheless, the rhythm of work in daily life has been intensified due to the new system of labour and employment, including increased competition and work pressure. Along with the intensity of modern urban life has come the need for leisure and recreation (Xiao, 2003, p.266). Consequently, tourism has become a new channel for the newly-formed Chinese middle class to relax and enjoy some leisure time. Similar to the middle class of other developing countries, the middle class in China pursues the culturally symbolic meaning embodied in consumption activities. The consumption of vernacular culture, as well as its built environment, is not only a consumer activity but demonstrates the attitude of the middle class towards, and their perception of, contemporary China. The majority of middle class citizens in China live in urban regions within developed areas, and are familiar with the much-criticised monotony of the newly-constructed landscape. An emotion of nostalgia has grown among them. Going back to the old times and experiencing an indigenous vernacular lifestyle has become increasingly popular among the urban middle class. Obtaining a different cultural experience within traditional vernacular settlements in under-developed areas has become a new way for the middle class to counteract the monotony caused by urbanization and globalization. With the increase in consumption capacity of China's middle class, cultural products based on the spaces and places of vernacular settlements are gaining popularity.

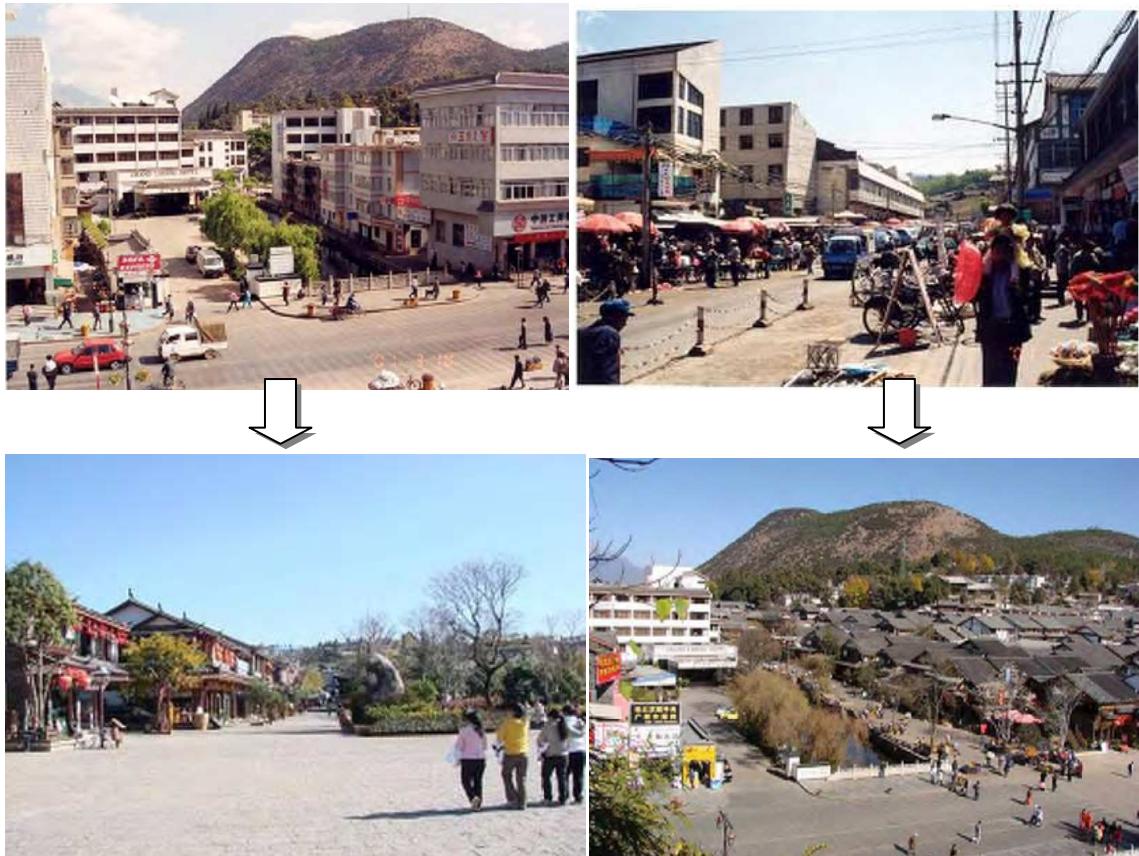
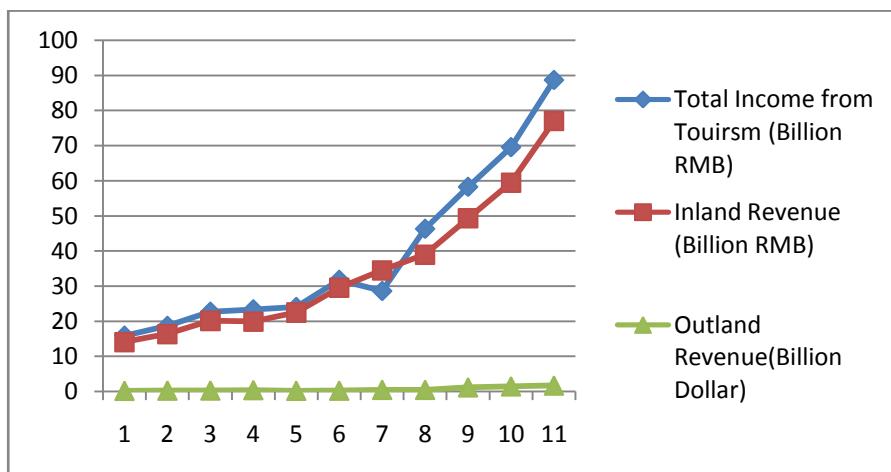


Figure1: Yuhe corridor antique commercial district at the entrance of Dayan ancient town (Ren, 2004)

The governments of Yunnan province have shown a contradictory attitude toward ethnic settlements in relation to tourism development. On the one hand, they have been actively involved in the preservation, conservation and renovation of the local heritage, in order to prove their political authority and its effectiveness. During the development of ethnic settlements as tourist destinations, local governments and some developers have increased their control on vernacular construction in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng, which are the most famous ethnic settlements in Yunnan province. In order to do this, provincial and local governments of the four settlements have issued various regulations for construction activities regarding the adaptation of vernacular dwellings for residential and commercial purposes. Especially when a dwelling is located in a conservation district, all works on the dwelling are subject to regulations (Peters, 2001, pp.319-320). Materials, structure, usage of labour, procedures, skills and technology applied are all subject to corresponding regulations set by the government. If a dwelling is designated as a Key Conservation Vernacular Dwelling, the regulations regarding the conservation and restoration of the dwelling are even stricter. These regulations set many standards regarding construction activities for local residents to follow. For instance, the regulations require that house owners have to use traditional building materials and techniques to repair or build a dwelling. However, some traditional materials and

techniques are relatively more expensive and more difficult to obtain, yet the government lacks funding to support local people's need for such resources to repair their dwellings. As a result, the regulations increase the cost for local residents to maintain and repair their existing dwellings, as well as to build new ones. The regulations also stress that if house owners want to repair, reconstruct or rebuild their dwelling, they have to apply for approval from the government. The procedure for such applications is normally complicated and time consuming, which makes many local residents feel they have lost a lot of freedom in maintaining their own residence.

Year	Total Tourists Arrivals (Million)	Inland Tourists (Million)	Outland Tourists (Million)	Total Income from Tourism (Billion RMB)	Inland Revenue (Billion RMB)	Outland Revenue(Billion Dollar)
(1) 1999	2.8	2.74	0.069	15.87	14.1	0.213
(2) 2000	2.9	2.81	0.092	18.66	16.36	0.276
(3) 2001	3.33	3.23	0.105	22.69	20.14	0.305
(4) 2002	3.38	3.23	0.148	23.37	19.89	0.419
(5) 2003	3.02	2.93	0.082	24.04	22.5	0.227
(6) 2004	3.59	3.5	0.092	31.76	29.54	0.266
(7) 2005	4.04	3.86	0.183	28.59	34.48	0.493
(8) 2006	4.6	4.29	0.309	46.29	38.94	0.493
(9) 2007	5.31	4.91	0.401	58.24	49.32	1.19
(10) 2008	6.25	5.79	0.466	69.54	59.45	1.48
(11) 2009	7.58	7.06	0.526	88.66	76.99	1.71



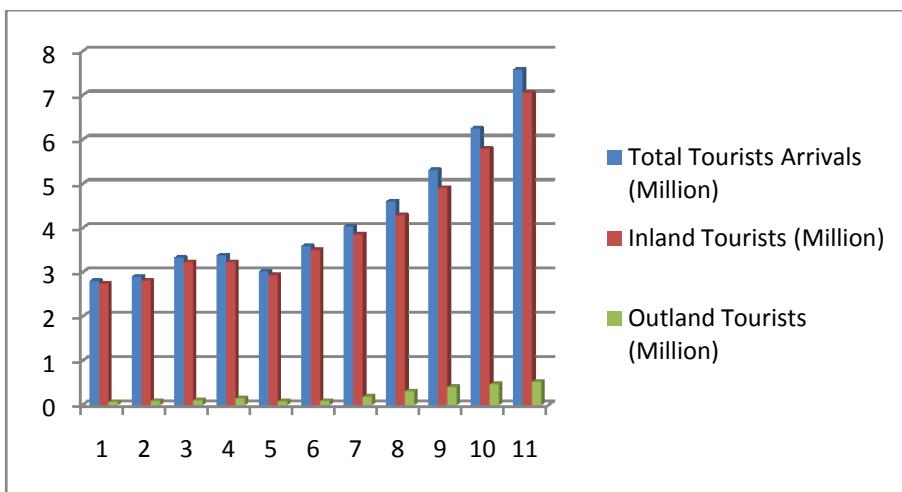


Table 2 Statistics of tourist arrivals and tourism income from 1999 to 2009 (drawn by author)

On the other hand, the governments have perceived tourism as a new and growing economic driving force. They have made the best use of the uniqueness of the vernacular settlements to attract a wide range of investments in order to increase economic development (see table 2). They have especially encouraged investment from large capitalists and financial institutions, which can increase local financial revenue in a short period of time. Many large tourism real estate projects, led by local governments in collaboration with real estate companies, have been completed in the four famous ethnic vernacular settlements in Yunnan province. Examples of these include the Yuhe corridor antique commercial district at the entrance of Dayan Ancient Town (see Figure 1); the club and bar street in Shuhe Ancient Town; the cultural and commercial tourism street in Xizhou Ancient Village; and the rehabilitation project in Shaxi Sideng Village. These projects were led by the local governments, who commissioned real estate companies to complete the development. The investment companies are normally the substantial shareholders of such projects, whose main objectives are to obtain maximum economic benefit. These projects usually emphasise market-oriented operation and often resort to 'heritage innovation'. All icons of culture, such as architectural style, building typologies and spatial configurations, become simply parts of the culture they are meant to represent to meet the needs of the market. "Authenticity here is desired, and is achieved through the manipulation of images and experiences" (Nezar, 2001, p.9). These projects are normally criticized, as they are unable to involve local communities in the process of development due to issues of effectiveness and efficiency, yet they exploit the cultural resources of the local communities, mainly for the benefit of financial groups from outside. Some academics believe that vernacular architectural tradition is marginalized due to tourism development, and some even predict that the commercialization and consumption of vernacular architectural tradition by the tourism industry will lead to the end of vernacular tradition (Wang, 2005, p.94) .

Nevertheless, on the community level, despite governmental controls, host communities are not just passively influenced by tourism development. Instead, they actively participate in the development of tourism as a community. It is undeniable that tourism has provided local communities with many opportunities to translate their unique culture into a new source of wealth. For instance, when their agriculture-based livelihood was threatened due to the loss of farmland to tourism development, residents had to seek new ways to survive. The hostess of Chama Guesthouse in Shuhe explained that tourism development had decreased the farmland and water resources, and there was no need for extra labour to work in the fields. Therefore, her family kept a horse for tourists to ride, and this later expanded into providing accommodation and ethnic food for tourists. Eventually, the family changed their dwelling into a guesthouse. Some local households, lacking the investment capacity to run a small business, would rent their dwellings out to outsiders and receive a relatively high yearly rental. Thus, tourism has introduced some new resources from outside communities which benefit the local communities. Through the investment of money, technology and labour, most of the local communities are involved in the tourism industry within the global economy. During the last two decades, the four settlements mentioned above have witnessed the booming of various types of tourism-related business run by both local and outside hosts, such as tea bars, coffee bars, travel clubs, ethnic restaurants, horse riding businesses, folk shops, guesthouses and so on. In the midst of such development, an increasing number of local and outside hosts have realized that vernacular dwellings are no longer purely residential homes, but can be used to produce tourism-related products and services for tourist consumption. The commercialization of vernacular dwellings for tourism might be the only way for local communities to deal with the inequalities caused by the development of tourism.

1.1.3 Booming of guesthouse business

Although largely supported by outside investment, most of the newly emerging tourism businesses more or less relate to the uniqueness of ethnic vernacular dwellings. Among these small-scale businesses, the guesthouse business is observed as a fast-growing enterprise in each of the four settlements. In Dayan, for example, in 1998, there were only 11 guesthouses in the town, but the number grew to 66 in 2001, and to 143 in 2004 (Ding,Lu & Huang, 2006, pp.12-16). According to incomplete statistics, there were nearly 1,000 guesthouses in Dayan at the end of 2012. Within the last ten years, the guesthouse business has shown tremendous growth in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng, and by the year 2012, it had become the dominant small-scale business in the tourism market in all four settlements. There are many reasons behind the booming of the guesthouse business. Firstly, with an increase in tourists, the demand for accommodation increases as well. In the early years of tourism development in the four settlements, there was a shortage of suitable accommodation for tourists, especially for backpackers. For instance, during the Spring Festival in 1998, the number of tourists in

Dayan exploded. It was so hard for people to find places to stay that the local government had to mobilize local residents to empty rooms in their own homes to accommodate tourists. Some ordinary vernacular dwellings in Dayan were turned into temporary guesthouses. Even so, a large number of tourists still had to sleep on the street. Events like this made people realize the market needs, as well as the potential profits of the guesthouse business, prompting local residents and outside businessmen to take up this opportunity. Gradually, more and more tourists have ceased to be satisfied with just 'gazing' at the uniqueness of vernacular dwellings; instead, they want to obtain a deeper experience through staying in the vernacular dwelling. The guesthouse business has thus become even more popular.

The host communities, meanwhile, have shown little resistance to the growing guesthouse business. For local people, especially for those who had lost land and other resources, changing their dwelling into a guesthouse was perceived as a low risk business. For example, the owner of Shuxin Guesthouse in Dayan used to make a living by transporting goods on horseback from Dali to Tibet along the Ancient Tea and Horse Caravan. His business declined dramatically after the construction of the 214 National Highway and the rail track between Kunming and Lijiang. The family had to give up their traditional business. An interview with the family revealed that turning their residential dwelling into a guesthouse has been a good business for them. They did not need a big investment to transform their home into a guesthouse and the business soon started to generate income. Although the increase in tourists' demands has caused the cost of running a guesthouse to rise in recent years, the guesthouse business is still considered low-risk. In addition, the guesthouse business is highly flexible. In the high tourist season, the dwelling can be used as a guesthouse, but in low season, the dwelling can be retrieved as an ordinary residential house again. For these reasons, running a guesthouse is a popular business among local hosts.

The guesthouse business is also attractive to many business people from outside the region. According to interviews with many outside hosts, most of them were initially tourists who were tired of the routine of urban life, the pressure of competition, complicated relationships between people and the deteriorating environment in the city, and were eager to experience a different lifestyle. Life in the country, with friendly local people, a healthy environment and a lot of free time, became a dream for them. After visiting or even living for a while in rural villages, some tourists found that these villages offered an ideal place to fulfil their dream of living a utopian life. In order to balance the financial expenditure with this utopian dream, many of them developed their utopian home into a tourist vernacular dwelling. For them, earning money is not as important as enjoying life. Therefore, even if the business is not bringing them a big fortune, they can live with it with no problem: "I cannot earn money through the business, but it can help me to earn the life in Lijiang." 'Soft time' is a very

popular term used by these outside hosts to describe their leisurely way of living - worry-free, relaxing and even lazy, exactly what they came for.

The guesthouse business also provides a good opportunity for artists, who find it difficult to find a decent job in the urban areas and choose a rural area as the place to realize their artistic dream. In order to have enough time to engage in artistic creation, but at the same time make a living, many of the artists chose to rent a local dwelling and turn it into a guesthouse or small shop to support their unique lifestyle and artistic activities, be it painting, composing music, singing, playing drums, creating sculpture or photography. In addition to these two groups of outside hosts, the guesthouse business also attracts a large number of entrepreneurs who wish to invest in it. The guesthouse business is very profitable, especially in the three week-long public holidays in China (Spring Festival holiday, May Day holiday and National Day holiday), during which time the rooms in the guesthouses are all occupied and the rates can increase to as much as twice the regular rates. These holidays alone can bring considerable wealth for entrepreneurs, despite low occupancy during the rest of the year. In the low tourist season, the entrepreneurs can use the guesthouse as a holiday home. For these reasons, the guesthouse business has become increasingly popular for many people from around the country.

1.1.4 Commercialization of vernacular tradition

The emergence of guesthouses is the result of the local community's attempt to deal with the situation of controlling and being controlled amid the development of tourism. The booming of the guesthouse business represents a huge amount of construction practice conducted by individual builders and users to transform ordinary Bai or Naxi dwellings into guesthouses. Within the range allowed by the authorities, many individual households carry out a process of altering, restoring, rebuilding, refurbishing and renewing to transform an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a tourism-related one. When a Bai or Naxi dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse, attracting tourist gaze is the first task in the transformation. This attraction of tourist gaze depends upon non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness (Urry 2002, pp.1-2). In order to make a guesthouse attractive, the differences between the built environment of the local residence and that of the tourists' own life need to be emphasized during the transformation process. The built environment of the guesthouse should be different in many ways from the ordinary life of tourists, especially for those from an urbanized lifestyle. Therefore, some basic physical features of Bai and Naxi courtyard dwellings should be conserved, restored and even manufactured. It may be seen that some cultural elements in the guesthouses are manufactured, and made to appear 'rural', 'local', 'indigenous', 'ethnic' and 'traditional', etc. These unique cultural themes, with strong connotations of local culture, are used to create a new cultural attraction in terms of structure, material, decoration,

furniture and furnishings for tourists' consumption. The manufacture of traditional features and the creation of new features are often seen.

The alteration of an ordinary Bai or Naxi courtyard dwelling into a guesthouse signifies more than just attracting tourist gaze. A guesthouse is no longer a private house, but a tourist agency providing tourism-related services. Apart from the residents, the tourists become another group of users of the dwelling. Just as the guesthouse is obliged to provide a cultural experience through its unique accommodation style, some of the ordinary activities in the daily life of residents may be developed into tourism-related activities, such as having a meal or doing some housework. As a result, not only the built environment, but also the lifestyle of local residents has been involved in tourism development. Ironically, the majority of tourists seek a unique and exotic cultural experience through local accommodation, but at the same time are not able to bear the lower living standards and inconvenience of rural residence. In order to meet the needs of tourists, the construction of a guesthouse has to import some of the new equipment and facilities of western style accommodation, and add some new spaces reserved purely for tourist-related activities, such as a guestroom with bathroom, tea bar and gym. Actually, a variety of new types of guesthouse has arisen, ranging from the combination of a guesthouse with a restaurant, or with a cultural communication centre, or even with a cultural museum. It seems that the guesthouse represents a complicated mixture, which must be able to provide not only accommodation for tourists, but also the consumer requirements associated with museums, clubs, restaurants and cultural centres. The change of the function and the quality of the space in the original dwelling is obvious.

Before the Bai and Naxi dwellings are transformed into guesthouses, the construction and usage of Bai and Naxi dwellings are seldom involved with consumption by 'others', and these dwellings are not intended for public usage. It is evident that many regulations, forms, technology and techniques embodied in the using and constructing of a Bai or Naxi dwelling have been handed down and adapted to circumstances through a specific local lifestyle (Jiang,1997;Yang,1997;Zhu,2005,). Nevertheless, when an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse, the dwelling becomes not only the private residential house of a family, but also a public tourist agency to provide exotic cultural products for tourists' consumption. In the clash between vernacular tradition and the development of the tourism industry, many lifestyles have changed, and some modes of livelihood supporting the existence of vernacular dwellings have become either marginalised or no longer viable (Macleod, 2004, p.125). As a result, the interrelationship between the dwelling and its inhabitants has changed. In addition, the vernacular architectural traditions embodied in the Bai and Naxi dwellings are no longer merely a part of local culture, but become part of the biggest industry –tourism, in the increasingly globalizing world. Consequently, the passing on of technical know-how, the

transmission of standards and values regarding domestic, functional or symbolic requirements, as well as the adaption of the norms rules regarding construction and residence of Bai and Naxi dwellings have changed dramatically due to the tradition involved in tourism industry. It indicates that the manner for and ability of sustaining the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in the Bai or Naxi dwelling has changed as well, and thus sustaining the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in the dwelling becomes an issue in the midst of the tourism development.

1.2 Statement of conceptual framework

1.2.1 Research question

Tourism cannot be isolated from many other cultural elements, and tourism has become part of local reality (Hitchcock & King, 2003, p.9). Michel Picard and Robert E. Wood suggest that it no longer makes sense to conceive of tourism as an external force impacting on contemporary societies from outside (1997, p.x). It is increasingly found that many societies have a capacity to put tourism to work for them rather than working for tourism, and so have embraced tourism as part of their socio-cultural system. Generally, there are two types of tourism development related to the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings. One is led by communities, which are composed of various individuals on grass-roots level. The other is led by governments, who normally transfer the development project to an organisation to complete, such as a real estate company. The tourism development led by communities reveals the capacity of these communities to put tourism to work for them, rather than the communities working for tourism, and this type of development reflects that tourism is an internal force which could become part of the local social-cultural system. Based on this understanding, this study will focus on tourism development led by communities, rather than that led by governments. Since sustaining the vernacular tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in the midst of tourism development has become an issue, it was decided to examine the influence of tourism development led by communities on the sustaining of vernacular tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings. The key research question is how tourism development conducted on a community level influences the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, in the era of globalization. In order to make the research question clear, the meaning of some key terms closely associated with this research question will be explained. Then, a conceptual framework derived from the key concepts will be described, which will help readers to understand what the research is about.

1.2.2 Key concept and Conceptual framework

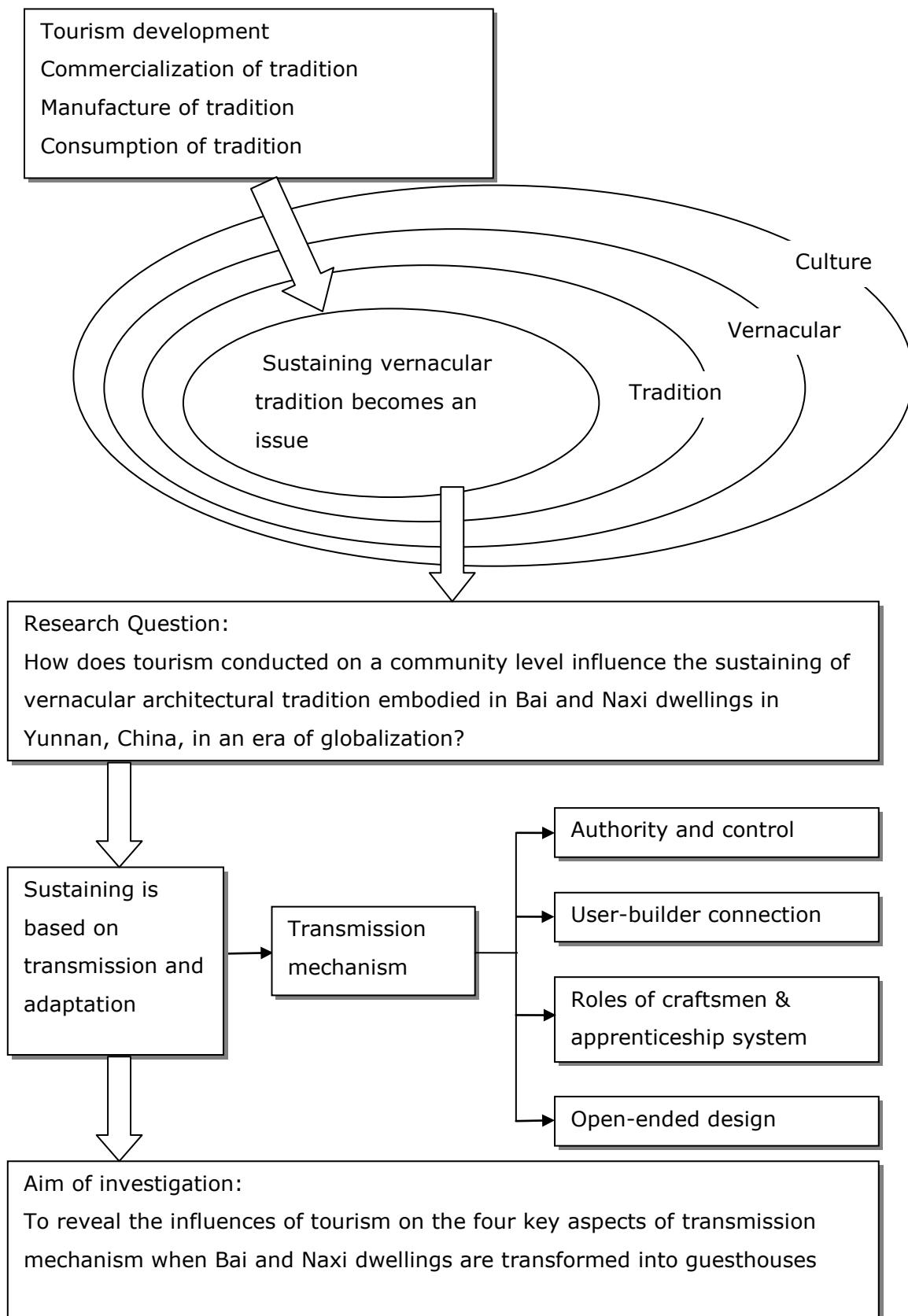


Diagram 1: Conceptual framework of the study (drawn by author)

Based on the description of the background of the study, a conceptual framework (see Diagram 1) composed of some key concepts is shown above. In order to give a clear idea of what the study is about and what the research question means, definitions of six key terms in the study will be briefly explained, and most of them will be given further explanation in the literature review chapter.

1.2.2.1 'Culture'

Because tradition is part of culture, it is necessary to explain the concept of culture. 'Culture' is an open-ended concept that includes almost everything. There is a diversity of classification and definition of the concept in academic discourse. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1978) found 164 distinct definitions of culture (Zhu, 2008, p.3). "Due to the complexity and extensiveness of culture, there is no consensus on the definition of culture. Each social science discipline emphasizes different aspects of culture" (Zhu, 2008, p.3). Culture is generally investigated and organized into a layered structure, which helps to demonstrate the connection between different aspects of culture. An 'onion' diagram is commonly used to depict the model (Hofstede, 1991; Hampden-Turner, 1997; Spencer-Oatey, 2002, cited by Zhu, 2008, p.5)(See Diagram2). The outermost level of the culture onion is specific practice and its products. The

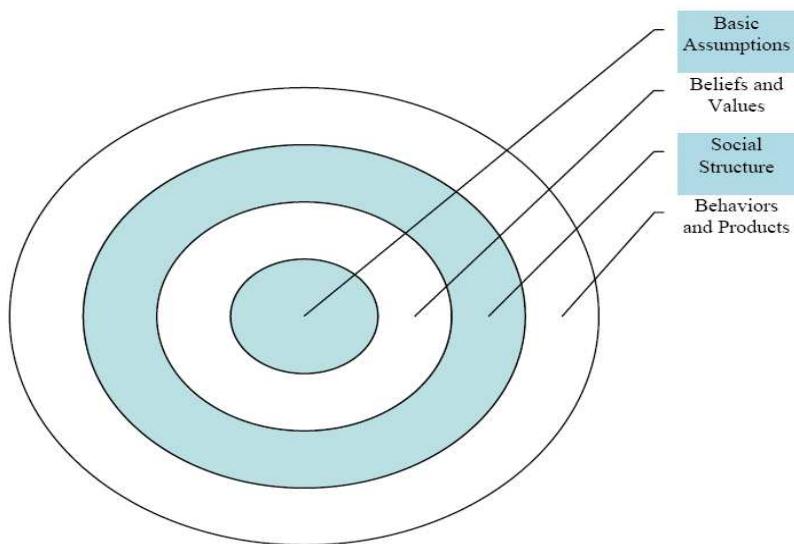


Diagram 2: Cultural framework—Culture onion (Bo Zhu, 2008, p.5)

middle level of the culture onion is social organization and the interrelationships involved in specific behaviour and practice. The inner level of the culture onion is the value and belief system in relation to behaviour and practice. The core of the culture onion is the basic assumptions relevant to the behaviour and practice. In this study, the 'culture' relates to the vernacular dwelling, and the vernacular tradition embodied in building and using a dwelling is part of that culture. This culture also could be portrayed in terms of the layered structure. The

outermost level of the culture onion is a set of architectural practices and specific types of dwelling. The middle level of the culture onion is the social networks and social connections between various individual builders and users. The inner level of the culture onion is the value and belief system of individual builders and users. The core of the culture onion is the basic assumptions of the individual builder and user (See Diagram 2). The power of tourism, accompanied by other social driving forces, penetrates almost all cultural levels of a community. This study focuses on the second level of a specific culture, that is, the social organization and interrelationships embodied in the building and using of Bai and Naxi dwellings.

1.2.2.2 'Vernacular'

Oliver notes that the word 'vernacular' derives from the Latin *vernaculus*, which means 'native' (Oliver, 2006, p.4). Therefore, a vernacular dwelling should be "produced without the need for imported components and processes, and possibly built by individuals who occupy it" AlSayyad, 2005, p.xvii). However, in the twenty-first century, the many socio-cultural complexes to which the 'vernacular' corresponds are all becoming more open and dynamic, due to the increasing influence of globalization, urbanization and commercialization. The vernacular is becoming less place-rooted and more information-based in the global era (AlSayyad, 2001; 2006; 2009). As a result, the nature of the vernacular is undergoing a process of transformation in an era of globalization. There is no an explicit definition of 'vernacular', but it has become more open-ended in the era of globalization. This explanation demonstrates that the 'vernacular' is closely associated with 'tradition' and 'culture', which could be considered a culturally-oriented definition. This interpretation remains valid for this study. Nevertheless, the social nature of the term will also be highlighted in the study. The concept of the 'vernacular' in this study will be considered as a socially-oriented one, where by the 'vernacular' is defined as the formation of culture corresponding to grass-roots social groups; this may be seen as opposite to the formation of culture generated by social groups at a higher level, such as governments and capitalists. The formation of vernacular culture generated by grass-roots social groups reflects the values and beliefs of individuals at the basic level of a society, through which the voices of individuals and communities can be heard.

1.2.2.3 'Tradition'

In the field of vernacular architecture, "the study of tradition has been championed by many scholars, and the lively debates that have occurred in the Traditional Dwelling and Settlements Review (TDSR) and at conferences of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (IASTE) point to an open-ended definition of tradition" (AlSayyad, 2004, p.6). Such studies show the processual and dynamic nature of tradition. In this study, the definition

of tradition is closely associated with a comprehensive system of knowledge, values and techniques regarding the building and using of a vernacular dwelling (Oliver, 1989; 1997; 2006). This comprehensive system is exclusively grasped by individual builders and users in a community, and is considered part of the socio-cultural complex of the community. In terms of sustaining vernacular tradition, many academics stress that in the study of how such tradition is sustained, emphasis should be placed on the dynamic nature of the tradition, especially when adaptation or transmission of the tradition occurs (Oliver, 1989; 2006; Rapoport, 1969; Bronner, 2006; Lawrence, 2006; Asquith & Vellinga, 2006; AlSayyad, 2001; 2006; 2009). Paul Oliver argues that traditions are sustained if they have meaning, and are frequently of fundamental significance for the cultures concerned (2006, pp.xxiv-xxv). Many researchers have observed that vernacular tradition holds sustainability when it can be transmitted from one generation to the next and adapted to new socio-cultural circumstances (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006; Marchand, 2006; Hoare, 2006). That is to say, the sustaining of vernacular tradition is based on a transmission mechanism (more details of this concept will be explained on pages 42-51) that facilitates the tradition being transmitted and adapted to a new situation.

1.2.2.4 'Transmission mechanism'

In this study, a transmission mechanism is defined as a set of forces or principles embodied in a vernacular building system that facilitates the transmission and adaptation of the vernacular architectural tradition from one generation to the next. The transmission and adaptation lead to an architectural result with cultural sensitivity, environmental adaptability, social responsibility and historical continuity. Roderick J. Lawrence notes that an understanding of the mechanisms involved in the process of transmission and adaptation would help to sustain human settlements (2006, pp.110-113). Some key aspects can be identified in the transmission mechanism for vernacular tradition embodied in the process of using and building a vernacular dwelling; these include authority and control; connection between builder and user; roles of craftsmen and the apprenticeship system; and an open-ended design process (Rudofsky, 1964; Rapoport, 1969; Oliver, 1997; Asquith & Vellinga, 2006; Bronner 2006; Marchand, 2006) (more details about these four aspects will be explained on page 42). Therefore, in order to investigate the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular tradition, the investigation aims to explore major changes occurring in relation to these key aspects of the transmission mechanism in the midst of tourism development.

The four aspects of the transmission mechanism were identified mainly through the documentary investigation. The more I read, the more items I found which were relevant to the 'force' and 'principles' associated with cultural sensitivity, environmental adaptability, social responsibility and historical continuity. I then clustered these items relating to the 'force' and 'principles' into categories, thereby reducing their overlap with each other. Authority and

control is the foundation of the mechanism; without it, the mechanism cannot work. The user-builder connection provides a socio-cultural interaction channel for transmission and adaption, which are also distinctive aspects of the mechanism. Craftsmen are the key figures who grasp the vernacular know-how and critical skills, who transmit the vernacular tradition directly to others, whilst apprenticeships form the unique education system in vernacular architecture, which plays a key role in training young craftsmen of the next generation and is therefore also of significance to the transmission mechanism. The open-ended design process is unique within vernacular architecture construction; it makes the creation of the dwelling a dynamic process of updating, which is important in allowing the dwelling to adapt to new circumstances. These four distinctive categories all represent different aspects of the mechanism. It is an open-ended concept, and other aspects might be added to the mechanism, for example the rituals involved in building and using a vernacular dwelling. However, the study of ritual relevant to vernacular dwellings has been investigated intensively in the field of anthropology, and therefore this study will not explore the issue specifically, but will include it purely as an aspect of the roles of craftsmen.

1.2.2.5 'Construction pattern'

In relation to the tourism development of vernacular architectural tradition, there are generally two construction patterns supporting the tourism industry in contemporary China. One is described as the 'vernacular-construction-pattern', which is commonly applied when vernacular communities in a rural area build their residential dwellings. The vernacular-construction-pattern is highly dependent on self-employment and community cooperation. The key characteristics of this construction pattern include the following features: the construction authority belongs to the users, who are the main designers, builders and managers of a dwelling; social networking and cultural interaction among builders, users and the local community form the basic channels of transmission for vernacular tradition; craftsmen and their local vernacular know-how play a key role in the construction process; the design process is conducted through on-site cooperation, and there is no end to this design process as the dwelling is required to meet the needs of an ever-changing present. For tourism development, the vernacular-construction-pattern primarily applied by individual households in a vernacular community when they develop vernacular dwellings into tourism-related dwellings. Because the development projects are on a small scale and the original function of the dwellings is for residence, self-employment and community cooperation will help individual households reduce their budget, integrate construction resources within the local community and meet specific needs in terms of residence. These are the main reasons why most individual households select the vernacular-construction-pattern to complete tourism development projects based on vernacular dwellings.

The other construction pattern supporting tourism development in vernacular communities is described as the 'modern-construction-pattern'. This pattern is normally applied in the urbanization of some areas in China which are, economically, relatively well developed. This construction pattern is appropriate for mass production and large-scale planning. It mainly relies on professional organisations, such as design companies and construction teams. The key characteristics of this construction pattern include the following: construction authority belongs to the government and capitalists; users and builders are largely separate, due to the separation of the building and using phases; universal modern technology and techniques are applied during the construction process; and the design is done mainly through a professional design process, carrying out work to be completed at an explicit end point. When the tourism development of vernacular architectural tradition is mainly led by governments and real estate developers, the 'urban-construction pattern' is normally applied.

In China, tourism development is a major means through which the government can promote the local economy. Therefore, efficiency and economic benefit are the two things valued by the government and capitalists when they conduct a tourism development project. "Everything is about speed: demolition (older buildings explosively imploded), construction, completion, and even use with revolving doors, elevators, moving walkways, computer networks, car parks" (Trachtenberg, 2010, pp.xi-xii). Within the last two decades in particular, the rapid development of the domestic economy in China has caused the Chinese building industry to emphasise speed and efficiency in construction. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to apply community participation methods to the completion of a real estate development project. Even in real estate tourism development projects related to vernacular settlements, which are a construction outcome of a specific community, the community participation approach is rarely seen due to issues such as procedure management, development efficiency and capital recovery.

The distinction between these two construction patterns is the result of the imbalance in development between rural and urban areas in contemporary China, rather than the result of a deeper historical legacy. With the urbanization development of some rural areas in China, more construction patterns occur which fall between the rural and urban construction patterns, and which demonstrate a mixture of the characteristics of both patterns. However, in the tourism development of vernacular architectural tradition, the two types of construction pattern discussed above are principally applied in the four settlements I selected for investigation. The 'construction pattern' theory may be regarded as a potential new basis for understanding how construction patterns operate in tourism development with respect to their influence on sustaining vernacular architectural tradition. Moreover, from this theoretical perspective, both tourism and vernacular architectural traditions can be considered in relation

to each other, and therefore, the construction patterns became a useful interpretive tool for further narrowing down my key research question.

My breakthrough came with the realization that construction patterns might be a key element that was ignored in previous discourse regarding the influence of tourism on sustaining vernacular architectural tradition. There may be no direct conflict between tourism and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition, but there might be conflict between construction patterns supporting tourism development and those supporting the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition. If the construction pattern is appropriate, in some circumstances, tourism might be able to conserve and revitalize some vernacular architectural traditions through commercialization and consumption. The realization of the role of the construction pattern seems to be one of possible value to critical discourse, and one which may extend the limitations of current theory regarding the interrelationship between tourism and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition. It might be possible to explain, in a more theoretically grounded way, why in some situations, tourism can exert a positive influence on vernacular architectural traditions while in other situations; it might exert a negative influence on the traditions. In addition, this perspective might make it possible to clarify how an appropriate construction pattern can benefit the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition through tourism development.

1.2.2.6 'Tourist gaze'

'Tourist gaze' is a very useful tool to analyse the relationship between tourist and visual information created for tourists' consumption. 'Gaze' is firstly proposed by Foucault (1973) in his work 'The Birth of the Clinic'. It is used to discuss the "power associated with the gaze in a medical setting by presenting the active vision attributed to physicians, and how their observations become the discourse which is passed on as truth to students of medicine and patients under treatment" (Knudsen et al., 2008, p.2). John Urry (1990) develops the concept of 'medical gaze' in the field of tourism study and terms it 'tourist gaze', which is applied to analyse the relationship between tourist, tour guide, host inhabitants and visual environment. "In Urry's conceptualization, Foucault's doctor is replaced by the tour guide who directs the gaze of tourists and tells them how to interpret a given sight while the patients are replaced by the inhabitants and sights of the host country" (Knudsen et al., 2008, p.3). Urry notes, 'tourist gaze' is a concept about holidays, tourism and travel, about how and why people leave their regular place of work and residence, about consuming goods and services, and it is as socially organised and systematised as the gaze of medic (Urry, 2002, p.1). In addition, John Urry notes that, although tourist gaze varies socially and historically, how tourist gaze is constructed in any historical period depends upon non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness (2002, pp.1-2). In terms of the built environment, Urry suggests, the tourist

gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience, and such aspects are viewed because they are taken to be in some sense out of the ordinary (2002, p.3). In my study, 'tourist gaze' is a crucial concept, utilized to indicate the relationship between tourists' expectations of a built environment as an attraction and the properties of the vernacular built environment.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

In accordance with the conceptual framework, the research question is concerned with what the influences of tourism are on the sustaining of vernacular tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings when they have been transformed into guesthouses. In order to answer the question, the aim of the investigation is to reveal the influences of tourism on the four key aspects of the transmission mechanism, which are authority and control, user and builder connection, roles of craftsmen and the apprenticeship system, as well as the open-ended design process, during the transformation of Bai and Naxi dwellings into guesthouses. The chapter structure of the dissertation is as follows:

The introduction chapter draws a sketch of the background of the study. It illustrates how, within the last two decades, Bai and Naxi dwellings have become involved in the tourism development of historical settlements in Yunnan, China. The research question is raised, based on the issue of the transformation of Bai and Naxi dwellings into guesthouses. A conceptual framework is drawn to explain the connection between five key concepts which are central to the research question; these are 'Culture', 'Vernacular', 'Tradition', 'Sustaining' and 'Transmission mechanism'. Through the conceptual framework, the link between the research question and the aim of the investigation is established.

There are two objectives in the following chapter, which is the literature review. The first objective of the literature review is to identify the theoretical location of this research in the whole social science discipline spectrum. The second objective is to identify the theoretical gap between existing theory and new understanding of vernacular architecture. Some theoretical research of existing documented material has been conducted, of which two bodies of literature are reviewed. One is relevant to the understanding of vernacular architecture, which places emphasis upon definition of the transmission mechanism for vernacular architectural tradition, as well as on the four key aspects of the mechanism, including control and authority, connection between builder and user, roles of craftsmen and apprenticeship system and open-ended design. The other body of literature is associated with the nature of tourism and its influence on vernacular architecture, with emphasis on the influence of tourism on the vernacular built environment. A theoretical gap has been identified through the literature review. The answers to the research question of this study address this theoretical gap in the

field of sustaining vernacular architecture, which is a significant research topic in the field of vernacular architecture in a global era.

Chapter 3, on methodology, explains the rationale of the research methods and the three rounds of fieldwork that were conducted to achieve the aim of the investigation. It starts with an explanation of the methodology paradigm and research circles of investigation, and then points out the main research methods applied in the study, including the methods used to collect and analyse data. The physical boundaries of the study are drawn, in which the focus is on basic information about Bai and Naxi dwellings, and about the four settlements where the two types of dwelling are located, Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng. Based on this information, 30 cases of guesthouses in the four settlements, which have been transformed from Bai and Naxi dwellings, are introduced. The methodology chapter also explains how the three rounds of fieldwork have been conducted and what data has been collected in the fieldwork. Finally, template analysis methods used to analyse the data collected are described.

Chapter 4 investigates the transition in authority and control under the influence of tourism. The chapter starts with an introduction to authority and control in relation to vernacular dwellings on a government level as well as on a community level. It argues how, under the planning controls, rules and restrictions issued by government, individual builders and users can still control the transformation of their Bai or Naxi dwelling in a way that is meaningful for their current life. The influence of tourism on authority and control is also discussed.

Chapter 5 focuses on changes in the connection between builders and users of Bai and Naxi dwelling when the dwellings are transformed into guesthouses. The chapter introduces the original as well as current users and builders of the 30 dwelling cases. It then proceeds to discuss new connections between current builders and users, such as the mutual dependence between local and outside households, mutual trust and respect between tenants and landlords, constant communication between hosts and tourists, and collaboration between local and outside craftsmen. It argues that new social networks, and cultural interaction on a grass-roots level, must be established during the building and usage of a guesthouse, so that the guesthouse is meaningful for the current lives of the individual builders and users. Following this discussion, the influence of tourism on the connection between builders and users is summarized.

The aim of Chapter 6 is to investigate the transition in the role of craftsmen and the apprenticeship system in the four settlements under the influence of tourism development. It introduces the original role of craftsmen in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng, and discusses the role of craftsmen in the construction of guesthouses, including the provision of traditional

know-how, facilitation of social connections and the development of innovations within traditional know-how. The influence of tourism on the role of craftsmen is revealed. The chapter then proceeds to introduce the original local apprenticeship system, as well as transitions in the apprenticeship system due to urbanization, modernization and tourism development, including changes in the master-apprentice relationship and changes in relation to vernacular know-how. The influence of tourism on the apprenticeship system is also shown.

In Chapter 7, there is an intensive investigation of transitions in the open-ended design process when Bai and Naxi dwellings are transformed into guesthouses. The chapter initially introduces the original design process for Bai and Naxi dwellings, and then explains some characteristics of the design process for guesthouses, including the role of the main designer, who is independent from professional designers, on-site design and culturally associated design. It also shows some adaptations of local cultural themes during the design of the guesthouses. By comparing the design process of Bai and Naxi dwellings and that adopted for guesthouses, the influence of tourism on the nature of the open-ended design process is revealed.

Chapter 8 is the last chapter, in which the research question will be answered. The influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings will be identified through the conclusion with reference to the findings of the study. The answers to the research question lead to new understanding regarding the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in the era of globalization. This chapter also includes a discussion of how a balance may be achieved between sustaining the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings, and the sustainable development of tourism in Yunnan, China. The chapter then identifies the original contribution of the research and the limitations of the study. Finally, it suggests some possible directions for further investigations based on the findings of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

As stated in the introduction to the first chapter, the main aim of the study is to investigate the interrelationship between vernacular architectural tradition and development of tourism - a rapidly increasing global industry in the twenty-first century. Thus, the literature review is relevant to vernacular architecture, the transmission process of vernacular tradition as well as tourism development. In order to clarify the field to which the study will contribute original knowledge, the first objective of the literature review is to identify the theoretical location of this research in the whole social science discipline spectrum. Theories underpinning the study of vernacular architecture and tourism development will be reviewed. The second objective is to identify the theoretical gap between existing theory and new understanding of vernacular architectural tradition, a gap which the main research question is designed to address. In order to achieve the objective, the literature review will start with the theoretical understanding of vernacular architecture from an anthropological and architectural perspective, putting emphasis upon definition of vernacular architecture, vernacular architectural tradition, and the transmission mechanism for the vernacular architectural tradition. The four key aspects of the mechanism will be intensively discussed. It is necessary to note that the word 'architecture' can be used to refer to the result of architectural practice – that is, the built environment, and it can also be used in reference to a discipline, which is exclusively concerned with the science and art of architectural practice. In this study, 'vernacular architecture' only refers to the science and art of architectural practice in the vernacular community, and the 'vernacular built environment' is the constructed result of this practice. Then the literature review moves on to the theoretical discourse of the nature of tourism and its influence upon vernacular culture, placing emphasis on the interrelationship between tourism development and the vernacular built environment. Finally, the theoretical location of the study and the gap in knowledge will be clarified.

2.1 Studies of vernacular architecture from an anthropological perspective

Study of the vernacular built environment can be traced back to the very beginning of the anthropology discipline, and the study of vernacular architecture was initiated by anthropologists (Waterson, 1998, p.xv). A significant example is Lewis Henry Morgan's 'Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines' (1881). In the 1960s and 1970s, with the development of structuralism, analyses of cosmological and symbolic ideas embodied in the layout of space within the vernacular built environment increased (Waterson, 1998, p.xvi). For example, Colin Duly's 'The Houses of Mankind' (1979), explains how important social and religious elements of tribal life are given symbolic expression through the design and

decoration of a community's domestic buildings. He demonstrates that the evolution of a house is both a technical response to the environment and an expression of the cultural and aesthetic principles of its builders. Rather more recently, Roxana Waterson's 'The Living House' (1998) focuses on the richness of house symbolism and examines the technological and cosmological considerations behind architectural style. Although themes like 'house form', 'special layout', and 'decoration' are constantly analysed, most of this sort of study focuses on ethnographic themes like 'kinship structures', 'symbols', 'microcosms' and 'cosmology'. In addition, the study of ritual in the house-building process is another focus of anthropological investigation of the vernacular built environment (Gao, 1998; 2003). This kind of research puts emphasis on the importance and role of rituals involved in the building process, rather than the process itself.

In terms of research methodology, most of these anthropological investigations of the vernacular built environment aim to gain further understanding of vernacular culture and vernacular society through analyses of the built environment created by them. Builders, users and craftsmen play significant roles during the building process, but from the perspective of the anthropologist, their role as host or member of a kinship group is much more interesting than their role as a builder or user. Origins of house form, vernacular architectural style, self-design, spatial organization, decoration, technical responses and aesthetic principles of builders have all been investigated by anthropologists, but these are just seen as mirrors to reflect different facets of a vernacular culture and society, embracing its social structure, its culture and the interrelationship between these two complex systems. Roxana Waterson notes that:

For the anthropologist, the study of inhabited space, its construction and daily use, can provide a 'way in' to a whole culture and its ideas. The house, then, is a microcosm, reflecting in its layout, structure, and ornamentation the concept of an ideal natural and social order. Houses and settlements always offer themselves as a useful means of encoding such information (1998, pp.xv-xvi).

In summary, anthropological study of the vernacular built environment aims to gain further understanding of the socio-cultural complex that is embodied in, and reflected by, the vernacular built environment. The research objective is exploration of socio-cultural phenomena, and investigation of the vernacular built environment is a channel through which to develop understanding of these phenomena.

2.2 Studies of vernacular architecture from an architectural perspective

Unlike the anthropological perspective on vernacular architecture, the architecture discipline may be expected to focus essentially on issues relevant to the science and art of architectural practice in the vernacular context. Enrico Guidoni has noted that the study of architecture in a vernacular context "has yet to be considered as subject in its own right, with its own explicit terrain, problems of methodology, and avenues for further work" (1975, p.8). Arshar and Norton (1997) suggest that the integration of vernacular tradition into contemporary building practices will create more appropriate settlements and buildings. Given the increased concern over sustaining and cultural identity in the era of globalization, Marchand and Vellinga argue that vernacular traditions, as the essence of vernacular architecture, may have an important contribution to make to the development of sustainable built environments in the future (2006, p.10). In the twenty-first century, the significance of research on vernacular architecture is becoming increasingly recognized in the academic field, because many significant issues are related in one way or another to vernacular traditions, such as environmental crises, climate change, globalization, cultural interaction and rapid technological developments (Asquith &Vellinga, 2006, p.4). To investigate the nature of vernacular architecture as a subject is to gain further understanding of vernacular architecture from an architectural perspective, which will ultimately extend knowledge within the architecture discipline.

2.2.1 Definition of vernacular architecture

There are many concepts closely related to vernacular architecture, such as 'traditional architecture', 'primitive architecture', 'indigenous architecture' and 'un-institutionalized architecture'. Paul Oliver and Shua Özkan endeavour to clarify the distinctions between each term. They note that the term 'traditional architecture' puts emphasis on a process which has "culminated in built form", and which is confined within a specific period of time. 'Primitive architecture', according to Enrico Guidoni (1975),emphasises some of the basic necessities of buildings in their simplest form in a society. 'Folk architecture' signifies that architectural issues become part of ethnographic assumptions, whilst 'indigenous architecture' emphasizes the close connection between particular building forms and definable geographical settings. 'Anonymous architecture' indicates that the architecture "did not have any significantly determinable architectural authorship", and the term 'un-institutionalized architecture' is used to define the same phenomenon in some academic discourse (Oliver, 1969; Özkan, 2006, p.100). Oliver borrowed the term 'vernacular' from linguistics (Özkan 2006, p.99), which is defined as follows:

The etymological roots of the word 'architect', from the Greek arkhi- and tekton, mean 'chief builder', while 'architecture' is defined as the 'science of building'.

The word 'vernacular' derives from the Latin vernaculus, meaning 'native', so the definition 'native science of building' is really quite appropriate (Oliver, 2006, p.4).

'Vernacular architecture' defines the subject with considerable entirety, including the complexities of societal and cultural processes (Oliver, 1969; Özkan 2006, p.100). The definition demonstrates that the aim of investigating 'vernacular architecture' is to explore and develop understanding of the science and art of architectural practice in a vernacular community with a distinctive native identity.

However, this definition is facing challenges "in an era of technological advancement and increased communication" (AlSayyad, 2006, p.xviii), and the "first challenge we must confront is the etymological and epistemological limitations of the concept" (AlSayyad, 2006, p.xvii). Etymologically, it has always been assumed that vernacular means to be native or unique to a specific place, or to be without imported components and processes. Nevertheless, in the twenty-first century, "as culture and tradition are becoming less place-rooted and more information-based", the attributes of what is perceived as vernacular may have to be adjusted to reflect these changes (AlSayyad, 2006, p.xvii). Epistemologically, the meaning of 'the vernacular', and the means of knowing about the vernacular will also have to change, as what is recognized as vernacular may, in some instances, be "the most modern of the modern" (AlSayyad, 2006, p.xvii). AlSayyad views vernacular architecture as a means of facilitating interaction and interpretation between past and present. He notes,

We should not be left with the belief that everything is vernacular yet nothing is vernacular any more. As I have argued in the last years, the vernacular is not dead, and it has not ended. What has ended, or should end, is our conception of it as the only harbinger of authenticity, as the container of specific determined cultural meaning, as a static legacy of a past. What will emerge, I hope, is a vernacular as a political project, a project whose principal mission is the dynamic interpretation and re-interpretation of this past in light of an ever-changing present (2005, p.xviii).

These statements demonstrate that a new concept is required to answer the question of the nature of vernacular architecture in the twenty-first century. The definition of 'vernacular architecture' remains open to debate; what is clear, nonetheless, is that with the increase in communication occurring within the socio-cultural context of vernacular architecture, the study of vernacular architecture should pay attention to its dynamic nature. Studies in this field demonstrate an evolution in the understanding of vernacular architecture.

2.2.2 Understanding of vernacular architecture

2.2.2.1 Early study of vernacular architecture

Nezar AlSayyad has said that vernacular architecture as a category of scholarship is a nineteenth-century invention, and in the last two decades of the twentieth century, its presence on research programmes has been consolidated (2006, p.xvii). Upton (1990; 1993)

and Oliver (1997) note that initial interest in the vernacular built environment perceived as "non-classical and non-western buildings can be traced back to the eighteenth century", while the study of the "vernacular built environment as rural, non-monumental and pre-industrial traditions appears in the late nineteenth century" (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.4). Most of these early studies were done by European and American antiquarians and architects who were influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.4). In 1964, Rudofsky presented an exhibition of a vernacular built environment at New York's coveted Museum of Modern Art, entitled 'Architecture without Architects'. It was the first time that the vernacular built environment had been connected with the architectural discipline, and this began to break down architects' narrow conception of architecture and to expand the scope of architectural study.

2.2.2.2 The vernacular as architectural expression

Following this, the interest in documenting, classifying and naming various historic or traditional forms, plans, materials and styles became a main endeavour of the study of vernacular architecture. For instance, Douglas Fraser (1968) focused on the collection and analysis of village planning in the vernacular world. Paul Oliver dedicated himself to the collection of dwellings across the world (1987) and contributed a three-volume magnum opus: the Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World (Oliver, 1997), which recorded and documented in detail various kinds of vernacular architecture all over the world. Crouch and Johnson (2001) collected some architectural traditions in Africa, America, Asia and Oceania, whilst Vellinga and Oliver (2007) mapped out the vernacular architecture of the world in an atlas. Most of these studies were done using geographical and architectural research methods to record various characteristics of vernacular expression, including typologies of buildings, plans or details, usage of materials and their performance, as well as technologies and structural systems. These studies demonstrate an extreme cultural diversity embodied in vernacular architectural expression, which could answer questions like what vernacular architectural expression is, and how diverse the expression may be. However, they could not answer questions like why such diversity might be embodied in vernacular architectural expression, and how this diversity occurs. In order to answer these questions, some scholars have focused on investigating the reasons behind the diversity of vernacular architectural expression.

2.2.2.3 The vernacular as system of determination

The positivist school investigates how various basic forms of dwellings and their construction become localized "in accordance with climate, natural resources, availability of materials, and the like" (Guidoni, 1975, p.7). In the book 'House Form and Culture', Amos Rapoport (1969, p.vii) "tries to propose a conceptual framework for looking at the great variety of house types

and forms and the forces that affect them", and he "attempts to bring some order to this complex field and thus create a better understanding of the form determinations of dwellings." Rapoport (1969) notes that the main determinants of the physical and spatial conditions of vernacular houses are 'socio-cultural factors', including defence, economy and religion, while the climate, construction materials and techniques are considered to be 'modifying factors', serving as modifications of form. In the book, vernacular architecture is perceived as a specific system of determinative factors,, and the vernacular built environment is a result of this system. However, this sort of investigation over-simplifies the relationship between vernacular architecture and its social, cultural and environmental context, as the relationship between them is interdependent rather than determinative. Nevertheless, these studies extend the essence of vernacular architecture from a series of architectural results to a complex system.

2.2.2.4 The vernacular as tradition

In the late 1960s, a number of seminal works stressed the importance of studying the vernacular within its historic and cultural context; Oliver (1969) and Rapoport (1969) explicitly stressed that vernacular traditions may be of help in the construction of more sustainable settlements and buildings for the future (Asquith &Vellinga, 2006, p.4). Intensive investigations of vernacular tradition have been carried out, especially in the Traditional Dwelling and Settlements Review (TDSR) and at conferences of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (IASTE) (AlSayyad, 2004, p.6). Among these discourses, Y-F Tuan proposes that tradition is often a result of constraint and absence of choice (1989, p.28), while Henry Glassie perceives traditional dwellings and settlements as 'material culture' (1990, p.18). Paul Oliver argues that tradition constitutes a series of transmission practices (1989, p.74), Amos Rapoport's contribution to 'tradition' is to add a 'list of attributes' to the concept (1989, p.116) and Janet Abu-Lughod proposes a change of research emphasis, from 'traditional' form to the present participle 'traditioning' (1996, p.10). The latter proposal emphasises the dynamic and constant changes in the nature of tradition. Jane M. Jacobs stresses the role of tradition in an era of globalization, describing "tradition and modernity as a vibrating couplet, where the terms are both co-dependent and mutually exclusive" (2004, p.33). These studies demonstrate the dynamic and processual nature of vernacular tradition. This intensive discussion of tradition has become a major theme in the discourse of vernacular architecture (AlSayyad, 2004, pp.6-12), developing understanding of the dynamic nature of vernacular tradition and extending the perception of vernacular architecture from a static architectural expression or system of determination to a tradition with a processual nature.

2.2.2.5 The vernacular as transmission process

In accordance with this line of thinking, the processual issues relevant to vernacular tradition have become a crucial focus for future research, practice and education in the field of vernacular architecture (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.7), as they are associated with the sustaining of vernacular tradition. Oliver (1989) has proposed that the active processes of transmission, interpretation, negotiation and adaptation of vernacular knowledge, skills and experience should form the focal point of research in vernacular architecture (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.7). AlSayyad notes how, at the first IASTE conference, Paul Oliver "urged us to focus our attention on the practice of transmission as a way of understanding the vernacular and maintaining it" (2006, p.xviii). Simon Bronner (2006, pp.23-44) explicitly argues that study of the processual nature of tradition should focus especially on issues of creativity, innovation, authority and social acceptance in vernacular architecture; such traditions may be able to be re-negotiated and re-interpreted from generation to generation (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.7). Trevor Marchand (2006, pp.46-62) discusses the apprenticeship system operated by vernacular masons in Djenné (Mali), and notes that the system of apprenticeships allows the transmission of knowledge and negotiation of identities in the construction process, enabling builders to create a meaningful built environment, which is "rooted in a dialogue with history and place" (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.8). Anna Hoare (2006, pp.63-80) reveals how and why the vernacular tradition maintains certain features when it adapts to new socio-political or environmental circumstances. These studies demonstrate that understanding of vernacular architecture has evolved from a set of architectural expressions to a dynamic process, in which transmission, adaptation, negotiation and re-interpretation are observed. This understanding has been emphasised as it is related to the sustaining of vernacular architecture in the past, present and future.

2.2.3 Understanding of transmission of vernacular tradition

2.2.3.1 Transmission mechanism

The studies mentioned above reveal an evolution in the understanding of vernacular architecture, from being perceived as a set of architectural expressions, to a system of determination, to a tradition with a processual nature, and finally a dynamic process with potential for sustainability. These studies teach us much about what a vernacular tradition is, as well as what a vernacular tradition does (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.8), but they are not able to answer question like why the vernacular tradition could be sustained in a practical manner. An increasing number of recent studies have therefore shifted their attention from the transmission process itself to the force or principles behind in the process, which leads to an architectural result with cultural sensitivity, environmental adaptability, social responsibility and historical continuity. The interrelated forces or principles embodied in the architectural practices of vernacular buildings could be considered as transmission mechanisms of the vernacular tradition. Lawrence notes that an understanding of the mechanisms and principles

involved in the process of adaptation would help to sustain human settlements (2006, pp.110-113). Vernacular dwellings are a typical example of human civilization that is sustained and transmitted by practices passed on from one generation to others (Lawrence 2006, p.111). In addition, the vernacular dwelling is the basic category of vernacular building and it constitutes about 90 to 98 per cent of the world's total housing stock (Oliver, 2003; Rapoport, 2006). Therefore, many studies related to transmission mechanisms can be identified in the existing literature, which focus on the interrelated principles embodied in the series of architectural practices applicable to vernacular dwellings.

2.2.3.2 Authority and control

Many studies have shown that authority and control is a basic principle embodied in the vernacular architectural practice that supports the continuity of vernacular tradition. Bernard Rudofsky (1964) defines a vernacular dwelling as "architecture without architects", which "has not been, and still is not, controlled by the designer" (Rapoport, 1969, p.1). This indicates that the authority of builder and user in control of vernacular construction is quite different from the authority of builder and user in control of non-vernacular construction. Nevertheless, Rapoport does not give any further explanation of how vernacular construction practice can be completed without architects, nor of who actually controls the whole construction process. Amos Rapoport tries to identify the reason why vernacular dwellings can be built without architects; he notes that everyone is capable of building his own dwelling, and that the average family has all the necessary technical knowledge to build the dwelling (Rapoport, 1969, p.3). Paul Oliver confirms that vernacular dwellings are built by their owners and inhabitants (2003, p.15). In his 'Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World', Oliver notes,

Vernacular architecture comprises the dwellings and other buildings of the people. Related to their environmental contexts and available resources, they are customarily-owner, or community-built, utilizing traditional technologies. All forms of vernacular architecture are built to meet specific needs, accommodating the values, economies and ways of living of the cultures that produce them (Oliver, 1997, p.xxiii).

This implies that the inhabitants not only have the authority to build a dwelling, but they also have the authority to obtain, access and use the skills, technology and resources to build the dwelling. Rapoport says that in most cases, the construction of a building in the vernacular context is done cooperatively by a larger group (1969, p.3). Bronner describes how the task of barn raising takes many men working co-operatively to erect the heavy wooden bents (2006, p.34). The spirit of cooperation will make people "respect the rights of adjoining people and their buildings, and ultimately the rights of the settlement as a whole", while lack of cooperation leads to the introduction of "codes, regulations, and zoning rules concerning alignments and setbacks" (Rapoport, 1969, p.6). Cooperation in construction facilitates a

process whereby flexible consensus and dynamic control in the community are achieved. Through this consensus and control, the vernacular tradition will be handed down from one generation to the next.

Bronner suggests that "one should not just ask why buildings look the way they do, why they came into being and how they changed along the way, but also by whose standards, by what precedents and with whose skills creation, transmission and change occur" (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.8). Much discourse has shown that tradition covers a range of control and authority factors which may become contentious for a community (Bronner, 2006, pp.26-27). Further, Bronner argues that central to the explanation for continuity and change is the control and authority of 'owner' and 'community' to conceive and enclose their built environment (2006, p.24). Tradition "opposes the alien and imposed" (Glassie 1993, p.9) in relation to control and authority. Therefore, tradition is not equal to 'rule', but implies unwritten or even unconscious codes of doing things (Bronner, 2006, p.25). The issue of authority and control determines the basic action model for vernacular architectural practice, including labour organization, material utilization, resource accessibility, obtaining of skills and so forth. The action model not only influences the quality of tradition, but also influences the transmission of vernacular tradition in a way that is meaningful for the 'owner' and 'community' through the way in which a dialectical relationship with local culture, environment, society and history can be maintained. Therefore, the authority and control involved in the process of building and using a dwelling is one principal aspect of the transmission mechanism of vernacular architectural tradition.

2.2.3.3 Connection between users and builders

Many scholars (Oliver, Bronner and Rapoport, for instance) have observed that the construction of a vernacular dwelling involves community participation at almost all cultural, social and technological levels. The cooperation involved in the construction demonstrates a 'social network' among the local community, which includes "face-to-face relationships, extended family, and long-standing traditions and rituals that support them" (Bronner, 2006, p.35). Based on this network, various resources and social support can be mobilized, and mutual dependence will be reinforced. This community-based construction in the vernacular context turns "the task of construction into a community event" (Bronner, 2006, p.33). The event encourages residents to remain close to one another to take advantage of the labour required for complex tasks; more importantly, the community event reflects the idea of mutual aid, which is considered a spiritual value of the community (Bronner, 2006, p.34). Anna Hoare notes that layered relationships reinforce mutual commitments which can be called upon to meet the unpredictable needs (2006, p.79). The various social networks supporting the construction make the practice adaptable to changing circumstances, through which the interdependence between users and builders of a vernacular dwelling becomes solid.

Enrico Guidoni also suggests that territory, the settlement and the habitation should be considered inseparable parts of vernacular architecture, which is "defined not only by what is built but also by the interpretations—and therefore also by the intentions—of those who build and use it" (1975, p.9). Due to the unique action model of vernacular architectural practice, an intimate relationship is formed between users and builders of a dwelling. In most cases, the users of a dwelling are a family, a group of people based on kinship, but the house owner plays a more important role than the others, and adopts multiple roles such as that of designer or project manager as well as providing free labour (Oliver, 1969; 1987; 1989; 1997; 2003; 2006). There is no distinctive boundary between these roles. Rapoport points out that "the peasant owner is still very much a participant in the design process, not merely a consumer" (1969, p.4). The house owner has the right to make decisions about every aspect of construction, including planning, design, budget, organization, rate of progress and so on, and he/she has the right to participate in any phase of the construction. The vernacular owner-builders will "dig and puddle their own clay, mix it with straw and dung, mould the walls, cut the poles, harvest and trim the straw, construct and thatch the roof- build in fact, their own houses" (Oliver, 2006, pp.5-6). This participation in the construction is not only a good basis for the house owner to make further decisions, but also a learning process for the house owner to obtain architectural skills, knowledge and experience.

In most cases, building a dwelling is commonly a family project (Bronner, 2006, p.30), and therefore members and friends or relatives of the family may give their suggestions and advice to the house owner; they may also participate in any stage of the construction to provide their assistance (Rapoport, 1969). Most of the builders understand the significant features of the dwelling, as parents place the poles, the father erects the walls and the children and wife decorate the interior (Bronner, 2006, p.30). In the construction model of a vernacular dwelling, the user is usually the builder, and he/she must be the most important builder in almost all stages of construction. The unique relationship between builder and user in the vernacular construction model means that the dwelling is not merely a shelter that supplies basic needs of residence, but it symbolizes the social and cultural existence of the user and builder (Bronner, 2006, p.27). Paul Oliver suggests that traditions are sustained if they have meaning, which are frequently of fundamental significance for the cultures concerned (2006, pp.xxiv- xxv). Bronner supports this point, adding that "builders can use forms and techniques that they recognize from tradition as socially accepted and time tested", and residents can alter and apply their experience to the house (2006, p.27). The intimate relationship between builder and user allows the user and builder to create and maintain a built environment in a way which is meaningful for their life and accepted by the values and norms of the local culture. Thus, the relationship between users and builders influences the continuity of vernacular architectural

tradition as well as the dialectal relationship between the tradition and the socio-cultural complex in which that tradition is rooted. That is to say, one aspect of the transmission mechanism of vernacular dwelling lies in the unique relationship between its builders and users.

2.2.3.4 Roles of craftsmen and apprenticeship system

Apart from users, the main builders in the vernacular construction model are craftsmen, who play a very important role in construction as they obtain and grasp a set of skills and knowledge that is necessary to build a dwelling. Amos Rapoport writes, "the craftsman is called in only because he has a more detailed knowledge of these rules. Size, layout, relation to site and other variables can be decided by discussion..." (1969, p.6). Paul Oliver gives a defining term to the knowledge grasped by the craftsmen, calling it 'vernacular know-how'. He describes vernacular know-how as a comprehensive knowledge system, including the wisdom and experience of building a dwelling, norms and inherited knowledge of what is appropriate, as well as understanding of the climate, nature, site and hazards (2006, p.110). Paul Oliver further explains:

Within the compass of know-how is knowledge of natural, material resources and how they may be utilized, nurtured or replaced. The working of such materials for the purpose of building, whether for practical or symbolic roles as applied to construction, cladding or decoration, is as much a part of it as is the making and selection of tools with which to effect the work (Oliver, 2006, p.110).

Vernacular know-how, grasped by craftsmen, becomes part of the craftsmen's competence to produce and reproduce a built environment that is 'meaningful' and 'appropriate' to local residents (Marchand, 2006, p.46). Because the craftsmen have a close socio-cultural relationship with users and the community to which they belong, they are not only capable of applying vernacular know-how rooted in the local socio-cultural complex, but also have the social acceptance and reliance to adjust and update the vernacular know-how to meet dynamic changes in local needs. Trevor Marchand describes how "Masons, like other craftsmen, gain technical proficiency in conjunction with a social comportment that is publicly recognized and validated as being appropriate to their trade status" (2006, p.46). This application and modification helps to maintain the cultural sensitivity, environmental adaptability, social responsibility and historical continuity embodied in the built environment.

Although vernacular know-how is a basic knowledge system acknowledged by both house owners and craftsmen to solve construction problems, it is not a series of rigid rules or norms; rather, it provides basic principles by which specific solutions may be applied to solve specific problems. Lawrence reminds us to pay attention to the decision-making process, which is based on know-how but involves choices, customs, conflicts, negotiations and compromises (2005, p.114). Marchand notes that an accomplished craftsman may acquire specialised

cultural knowledge and must learn how to negotiate the boundaries of 'tradition' in his craft (Marchand, 2006, p.46). The most important communication is between house owner and craftsman. Through this communication, the specific needs of a family can be met and the status and function of craftsmen will be enforced. The constant communication, negotiation and consultation which take place during the construction process update the vernacular know-how, and make it the 'most modern of modern'. In addition, the common knowledge system of vernacular know-how can be acknowledged and shared by both users and builders.

In terms of transmission of vernacular know-how, Trevor Marchand points out that the mason's knowledge and its pedagogy is related to the sustaining of vernacular architecture in the twenty-first century and beyond (2006, p.47). The apprenticeship system is a basic characteristic of the construction model of vernacular dwellings. Lawrence describes the construction process in a small village named Valais in Switzerland and notes, "the village is a small compact human settlement with buildings constructed from locally available stone and timber. The buildings have been constructed by local craftsmen helped by some inhabitants, using experience and know-how that has been handed down from generation to generation" (2006, p.121). Marchand stresses that the pedagogy of masonry is not language based, nor is it prescribed in concrete terms, but is based on skilled performance which is taught and learned through an on-site participatory forum during construction practice (Marchand, 2006, p.47). Rigid conservation of surviving buildings and monuments would not perpetuate a distinct architectural tradition; however, the tradition can be sustained via the dynamic and responsive transmission of skills-based knowledge from one generation of builders to the next, as tradition is a process (Marchand, 2006, p.47). This indicates that the role of craftsmen and their apprenticeship-style education can be considered aspects of the transmission mechanism of vernacular architecture in relation to the sustaining of vernacular tradition.

2.2.3.5 Open-ended design process

Paul Oliver says that one reason he uses the word 'vernacular' is in order to differentiate two kinds of architectural creation process (Oliver, 2006, p.4). He notes, "Students, teachers or professionals involved in architecture are concerned with the design process, whereby a specific set of solutions is posed to an architectural problem. The problem is usually the 'brief'; the solutions are co-ordinated into a 'design' or 'scheme', but it is evident to me that in the vernacular, this is hardly ever the case" (Oliver, 2006, p.4). Roxana Waterson suggests that:

Actually it is not obvious that the architect's desire for control over design is something uniquely to be blamed on the modern movement, but the remark does serve to illuminate the coexistence of at least two very different systems of meaning in the world of Western architecture. The separation between designers

and users which has developed here is clearly not a feature of the societies I shall be considering (1998, p.xvi).

Further, she notes that the architect's design always puts his own personality and aesthetic in a very important position but excludes the possibility of users' expression of their own meanings, which leads to an 'overdesigning' of space (Waterson, 1998, p.xvi). This indicates that there is a separation between designers and users in non-vernacular architectural design. However, in the construction of vernacular dwellings, the relationship between designers and users is interdependent, rather than independent. The role of designer and users in most cases overlaps, as the role of designer is played within the cooperation of inhabitants, craftsmen, friends and relatives. There is no person in the vernacular construction model who is exclusively in charge of the task of designing.

It is observed that in the vernacular construction model, designers and builders have a closer relationship than in non-vernacular design. The roles of designer and builder are sometimes played mainly by the house owner, sometimes by craftsmen and sometimes by both. In addition, Amos Rapoport explains that the roles of user, designer and builder may be played simultaneously by the same person, because "the vernacular design process is one of models and adjustments for variations" and everyone in the society knows the models and ways to do the adjustment (Rapoport, 1969, p.4). Rapoport writes:

The model itself is the result of the collaboration of many people over many generations as well as the collaboration between makers and users of buildings and other artefacts, which is what is meant by the term traditional. Since knowledge of the model is shared by all, there is no need for drawings or designers (Rapoport, 1969, p.6).

Further, Rapoport says the design process of a vernacular dwelling simply involves adjustments to meet the needs and requests resulting from individual variability and differentiation (Rapoport, 1969, p.4). Paul Oliver notices that "a limited degree of design "is involved in the construction process of a vernacular dwelling (2006, p.5). He suggests that the modification and adjustment of a vernacular dwelling could evolve over decades until they satisfy specific needs (2006, p.13). This demonstrates that the objectives of design, and the problems that will be solved through design, differ between vernacular architecture and modern architecture. In addition, the design process of a vernacular dwelling is not only interwoven with the implementation phases, but also extended into the usage and maintenance phases. Through this extension and interweaving, the design can meet the various needs of an individual, a family or a community dynamically and continuously.

Oliver views vernacular design as a process of seeking architectural solutions, rather than a scheme to provide inspiration. He notes that both the design and implementation stages are

very different between vernacular architecture and modern architecture. In modern architecture, the designer is just given information and inspiration on site; they never implement their design on the site (Oliver, 2006, pp.5-6). As the design is almost created on the site, rather than in a studio far away from the project, there is no obvious boundary between design phase and implementation phase. In the vernacular construction model, the design and implementation are interwoven with each other rather than distinctly separate parts of the construction process. This unique design process allows users, craftsmen and other builders to participate in the design phase. That is to say, vernacular design is a non-specialized, open-ended process, which is different from the closed, final form typical of most non-vernacular design (Oliver, 1969, p.6). It is the openness of the design process that maintains the interactive relationship between the result of the design and the life of the local community.

Such an open-ended design process facilitates a cultural process named tradition, in which changes continuously take place and innovation and precedent are dynamically combined. As a social construction, tradition is not fixed but dynamic; it is often renegotiated in every generation and in every community, a factor which ultimately becomes part of the dynamic of the tradition (Bronner, 2006, p.25). Paul Oliver writes:

Vernacular builders are not resistant to change, but by experiment, trial and evaluation, they embrace new technologies or details when their employment is perceived as beneficial. This is not to argue that mistakes do not occur, or that vernacular builders and the occupants of their constructions are impervious to fashion, or external influence (2006, pp.385-386).

In addition, as tradition "demands attention to form, fidelity to cultural continuity, while inviting alteration and extension for social needs (Bronner, 2006, p.26)", the open-ended design process of vernacular dwellings "provides a framework allowing for choice and adaptation" (Bronner, 2006, p.26). Although the design process allows innovation and creativity, it is also required to respond to the "perception of tradition belonging to a group or community" (Bronner, 2006, p.25). Again, Bronner observes that creativity and tradition are intertwined, as innovation is based on an understanding of precedents, through the complex processes by which humans express themselves to others in ways that carry value and meaning (2006, p.26). It is a design process with a dynamic and continuity that is capable of sustaining the dynamic and continuity embodied in the nature of the tradition. In summary, the open-ended nature of the design process implies another aspect of the transmission mechanism of vernacular architectural tradition.

2.2.4 Challenge of vernacular architecture in the twenty-first century

As shown by the studies mentioned above, earlier studies of vernacular architecture focused on architectural expression or the determination of a system of expression. Recently, however, the focus has shifted to the dynamic nature of vernacular tradition and its transmission process, as vernacular architectural tradition should be explicitly treated as a cultural process, rather than merely as a material product (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.19). It seems that the sustaining of vernacular tradition will become a new focus for studies in the field of vernacular architecture. "The word sustainable is derived from the Latin *sustenere* meaning to uphold, or capable of being maintained in a certain state or condition" (Lawrence, 2006, p.111). Some people consider that the sustainability of human settlements lies in ideal visions, plans or physical models, while Lawrence argues that sustaining "involves a range of human practices and processes that ought to adapt to the dynamic circumstances of a constantly changing world at both local and global levels" (2006, p.111). According to the literature review, the current understanding of vernacular architecture is about tradition, about transmission and about adaptation. Therefore, the key to study of sustaining vernacular architecture lies in the operation of the transmission mechanism embodied in vernacular architecture. The emphasis of vernacular architecture studies should shift from the process of transmission of vernacular building tradition to the mechanisms that support the transmission of vernacular traditions, and help the traditions maintain their dialectical relationship with culture, environment, society and history.

In the twenty-first century, however, many socio-cultural complexes are becoming more open and dynamic. In addition, in the twenty-first century, human beings have to face a series of issues, including environmental crises, political and cultural globalization, as well as rapid technological developments (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p.2). These issues challenge the sustaining of vernacular tradition. For instance, with the increasing use of mass-produced materials, and the lack of traditional construction materials, the application of traditional know-how is undergoing a tremendous transformation. Oliver notes the emergence of new know-how and the application of 'modern' materials in vernacular construction, in imitation of construction methods in the city (Oliver, 2006, p.123). Roderick J. Lawrence has also observed new materials and construction technology which have gradually supplanted the traditional construction methods in a vernacular village in the Alpine region of Switzerland (2005, pp.126-127). In addition, social relationships between inhabitants and community are changing. The new global socio-cultural order is breaking down social kinship structures in vernacular communities, whilst new social connections are emerging. Tourists, businessmen and immigrants cause increasing mobilization of the social relationships within a community. Dong Wang observes that the social structure of ethnic communities in Yunnan, China, is undergoing a tremendous transformation. Historically, the ethnic community was based on kinship, and geographical and vocational connections; in the contemporary world, the ethnic community

has become more open and dynamic, which means a larger diversity of groups of people may participate in construction, including architects (2007, p.ii). These changes ultimately influence the operation of the transmission mechanism. For instance, they may change the role and social status of local craftsmen, reduce the validity of vernacular know-how or confuse the cultural identity embodied in architectural expression. Consequently, sustaining vernacular tradition becomes problematic.

It seems that, in the twenty-first century, vernacular construction based on individual authority and the cooperation of communities is undergoing a process of transformation, Nezar AlSayyad stresses that the practice of transmission of vernacular tradition has changed considerably in the era of globalization (2006, p.xviii). Behind the transformation is a change occurring in the mechanism which supports these transmission practices. Thus, research relevant to the sustaining of vernacular architecture should reflect the changes occurring in the socio-cultural context. As the biggest industry in the global era, tourism could represent the dynamism and complexity of the changing socio-cultural context globally, in which immigration and deconstruction of original social structures occur, and urbanization, commercialization and consumerism are promoted. A number of questions therefore arise. How is vernacular construction organized in relation to tourism? What is the change in social relationship between builders and users of vernacular constructions when these are involved in tourism development? How does tourism change the social interaction and interpretation of culture concerning vernacular architecture? How is vernacular architectural tradition transmitted amidst tourism development? What is the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architecture in the twenty-first century? In order to answer these questions, there needs to be an intensive investigation of the transformation of the transmission mechanism for vernacular tradition in the context of tourism. Firstly, however, the literature relevant to the nature of tourism in the twenty-first century, and the influence of tourism on the vernacular context, should be reviewed.

2.3 Tourism development and vernacular architecture

2.3.1 Definition of tourism

The twentieth century has been considered a century of travel and tourism, and global travel has encouraged this phenomenal growth of the tourism industry (AlSayyad, 2001, p.1). Nelson Gaburn traces the history of tourism and discusses why tourism arose in the forms in which it exists today (Smith, 1989, p.21). In mediaeval Europe, travel was difficult and dangerous, and travel was usually for religious purposes; however, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Renaissance provided the cosmological foundation for modern tourism, by encouraging exploration and new historical and scientific investigation of the truth that lies outside the mind and spirit. In the seventeenth century, improvements in land and sea transportation enabled

the aristocracy and wealthy to travel Europe to see evidence of old historical truths and to converse with new geographical and scientific discoveries, whilst in the eighteenth-century, the 'Grand Tour' became a fully developed institution, and the motivation of the tourist was not only cultural but highly educational and political. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution glorified the role of nature and the countryside in tourism, which stems partly from the British and French aristocracy. In 1842, Thomas Cook, taking advantage of the new railway system, organized all-inclusive tours to temperance meetings, or taking townspeople to the countryside or abroad, and these tours expanded from the Lake District, Wales, the Isle of Man and Scotland, to as far afield as France, Italy and the glories of the Middle East by the 1870s. From the eighteenth century, luxurious rivieras were built along the Mediterranean and Adriatic shores to house some of the idle rich from northern and eastern Europe, which became fashionable in the nineteenth century. The mass tourism of today was promoted by the First World War and during the 1920s. Features of the life-style of well-known people were studiously imitated, folk music and jazz were listened to, and aspects of 'ethnic' tourism became popular (Graburn, 1989, pp.29-31). Large-scale tourism emerged in the Western world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Nash, 1996, p.1), as new modes of transportation and new political arrangements made travel safer and cheaper for the middleclass (Graburn, 1989, p.29). Today, in the global era, tourism has emerged as a significant international economic activity (Robinson, 2001, p.34). It has gradually become a multifaceted global phenomenon, which is recognized as part of a greater globalization process (Macleod, 2004, p.10).

2.3.2 Types of tourism

Tourism is recognized as a resource-intensive industry (Lu & Nepal, 2009, p.5), and it is a very complex business, as it is composed of different groups with different interests (Macleod, 2004, p.4). The tourist has been described as a "temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith, 1989, p.1). In the global era, communications, advertising and travel enable customers to participate as tourist-consumers (Macleod, 2004, p.6). A record from UNWTO shows that in 2012, one billion tourists crossed international borders in a single year, and another five to six billion tourists are estimated to travel within their own countries every year (See Figure2) (UNWTO, 2013). Donald V.L. Macleod describes how "the tourist becomes a representative of the culture that has promoted globalisation, as well as being a symbol and an intrinsic part of that culture" (2004, p.14). There are numerous forms of tourism, ranging from pilgrimage to 'sun, sand and sex' tourism (Pitchford, 2008, p.2). Four types of tourism are primarily relevant to vernacular settlements and dwellings. They are ethnic tourism, heritage tourism, cultural tourism and identity



TURNING ONE BILLION TOURISTS INTO ONE BILLION OPPORTUNITIES

In 2012, a record one billion tourists crossed international borders in a single year. Another five to six billion are estimated to travel in their own countries every year.

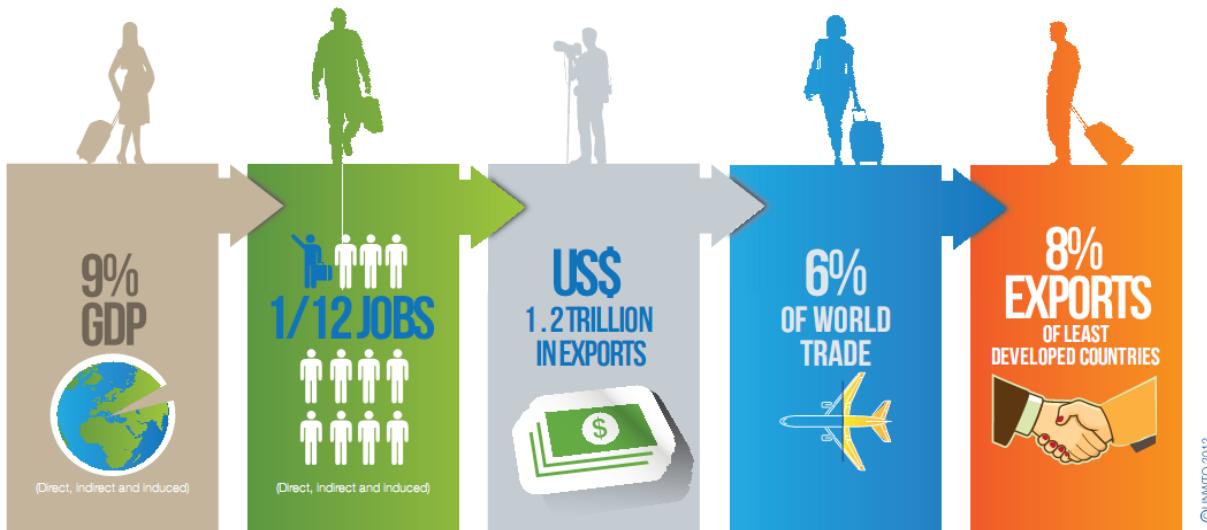


Figure2: Turning one billion tourists into one billion opportunities (Retrieved from Cloudfront.net, 2013)

Ethnic tourism has been defined as "tourism wherein the prime attraction is the cultural exoticism of the local population and its artefacts" (Berge & Keyes, 1984, p.344). Tourists interested in this sort of tourism are looking for exotic lifestyles, artefacts, dwellings and food. Destination activities that stimulate tourism include visiting native homes and villages, observation of dances and ceremonies and shopping for primitive wares or curios (Smith, 1989, p.4). Susan Pitchford (2008) explains how ethnic tourism emphasizes exoticism, suggests remoteness, is drawn to living culture and indicates 'other' groups, and it is the distinctiveness of the 'exotic other' on which ethnic tourism focuses. Unlike 'heritage tourism', 'ethnic tourism' stresses 'living culture' rather than historical attraction. 'Heritage tourism' stresses 'history elements' which indicate the appreciation of tourists for traditional culture rather than the contemporary one (Pitchford, 2008, p.2). Moreover, 'heritage tourism' does not necessarily stress the distinction of 'others', but focuses on the difference between past and present. Many historic settlements have become top tourism destinations as they are famous for their well-conserved traditional vernacular dwellings, such as two World Heritage towns in the Asian region, Hoian in Vietnam and Bhaktapur in Nepal (Peters, 2001, pp.327-328). The townscape can provide much historical information and experience for tourists. Susan Pitchford observes that 'ethnic tourism' lacks the indication of history, while 'heritage tourism' lacks the connotation of 'ethnic' (2008, p.2). Another type of tourism - 'cultural tourism' -may be said to include characteristics of both these two types of tourism. 'Cultural tourism' is attracted to both historical and contemporary cultural elements, and also includes the element of ethnic

distinctiveness (Pitchford, 2008, p.2). Susan Pitchford says that 'ethnic tourism', 'heritage tourism' and even 'cultural tourism' all highlight an attraction to 'difference', and behind the 'difference' is a well-established identity, on a national, regional and individual level. It is the expectation of difference based on various levels of identity that attracts tourists to a tourism experience; 'identity tourism' is a comprehensive term that includes all these types (Pitchford, 2008, p.3). The tourism that this study is based on is relevant to ethnic identity, embracing history and cultural distinctiveness, traditionally and contemporarily. Therefore, the form of tourism explored in the study embraces various types of tourism, including 'ethnic tourism', 'heritage tourism', 'cultural tourism' and even 'identity tourism'.

An interesting trend can be identified in the different types of tourism study. Nature-based tourism and ecotourism are still important, while interest in cultural/heritage tourism, alternative tourism and urban tourism has surged, especially interest in cultural and heritage tourism over the last five years. This indicates a growing awareness of the importance of sustaining culture (Lu & Nepal, 2009, pp.9-10). In addition to standard issues, some newly emerging topics and approaches are being discussed, such as collaboration and partnership; tourism and its interaction with climate change; access to rural land; impacts and policy responses for the Mediterranean basin; the roles of non-governmental organizations; and carrying capacity and sustainability (Lu & Nepal, 2009, p.8). These issues have been examined from various disciplinary perspectives, including sociology, geography, political science, anthropology, management, education, psychology, leisure/recreation and environmental studies (Lu & Nepal, 2009, p.8).

Moreover, sustainable tourism and the management relevant to tourism resources has become a hot topic since issues of sustainable development have arisen (Lu & Nepal, 2009). In 1998, the World Tourism Organization defined sustainable tourism as meeting the needs of present tourists and regional hosts while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future (WTO, p.21). This concept indicates a specific pattern of resource management, through which all economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems (Lu & Nepal, 2009, pp.5-16). Ecotourism is concerned with conservation and with involving local people in order to ensure the development of tourism is beneficial to communities (Tan, 2001, p.21). Arguments regarding the nature of sustainable tourism are as never ending as those on sustainable development. Nevertheless, community participation is a criterion of sustainable tourism supported by almost all academic discussion. For instance, Chee-Beng Tan proposes the need for decentralization, so that local communities and communities living in historic sites can 'have a voice' and be a part of the management process, rather than being left out and made to feel helpless without a say in the conservation of their town (2001, pp.20-21). Jayne Stocks

points out that a 'bottom-up' form of tourism, which is "grounded in realities and could help to retain the integrity of local cultures and heritage through the sympathetic development", could "counteract the problems of commodification, exploitation, fossilization, commercialism or plain destruction of cultural heritage through inappropriate tourism strategy" (Stocks, 2000, p.241).

2.3.3Influence of tourism on vernacular built environment

There is a wide variety of man-made built environments to cater for the various patterns of tourism. For example, culture and history-related tourism needs museums, art centres, galleries, opera houses, historic preservation sites, cultural palaces and cultural districts. Urban tourism needs urban parks and gardens, play spaces, lakes, beaches and river access. Recreation-related tourism needs pavilions, and chess and card houses, while educational tourism needs children's play parks, theme parks and other man-made attractions (Xiao, 2003, p.268). These types of built environment are all specifically man-made for tourist consumption.

However, the vernacular built environment is distinct from these environments specifically made for tourists. It is generally inhabited by a specific group of people, whose complex socio-cultural system is created, maintained and developed through their daily life. The built environments of vernacular settlements and dwellings were originally created for the residence of inhabitants, rather than being specifically built to cater for tourists' needs. When vernacular settlements become tourist destinations, their built environments become both positively and passively involved in the tourism industry. Examples are the tourist 'hill tribe' villages in Thailand, like Meo Doi Pui (Cohen, 1996, pp.12-31), Bali island in Indonesia and the Naxi town of Lijiang in north-eastern Yunnan (Mckhann, 2001; Peters, 2001; Yamamura, 2005). When these vernacular built environments are involved in tourism, some spaces and places are created for tourist consumption, but at the same time they still function as residential settlements in which inhabitants live. Tourism not only influences the physical features of the vernacular built environment, but also changes the socio-cultural properties of the vernacular built environment.

The most obvious influence of tourism on the vernacular built environment is that the townscape will be changed when a vernacular settlement becomes a tourist destination. When tourism becomes an industry, and the number of tourists progressively increases, more facilities and infrastructure are required to handle the needs of these tourists (Smith, 1989, p.14), and as a result, "infrastructural improvements, such as road widening, will have implications for visitor numbers and product quality" (Stocks, 2000, p.237). Macleod notes that when a small island named VGR was transformed into a tourist spot, a large hotel was built overlooking the beach; shops were opened to service the visitors; roads were built and

widened to enable easier access for coaches and lorries; tunnels were blasted out of mountains to ease access to an airport which had been built in the south of the island; and agricultural fields lay dormant, often awaiting transformation into land for construction (2004, p.223). Hamburger stands, coffeehouses, video stores and repair shops for motorbikes, cars and trucks have caused homogenization of almost every village main street in places such as The Kuna, the Eskimo, Tana Toraja and Bali (Smith, 1989,p.9). In a Dai village named Manchunman, China, the villagers began to build an archway to scenic spots, constructed shops and toilets, paved roads, planted trees and flowers, and turned the empty space in front of the temple into a public square for selling traditional handicrafts, snacks and local foods (Yang, Liu, Liu & Duan,2001, pp.169-170). Due to the power and capital supporting the development of tourism (Wang, 2003, p.60), some 'urbanscape' has been inserted into the landscape of vernacular built environments, such as public lighting, telecommunication facilities, drainage facilities and public toilets, which has not only modernized the living conditions of local residents, but also contributes to the development of tourism. In general, tourism promotes the urbanization of the vernacular built environment.

Another outstanding influence of tourism on the vernacular built environment is to promote the preservation and conservation of built heritage in the vernacular context. Nezar AlSayyad points out that "in an ever-tightening global economy", the vernacular built heritage has become an object to be exploited "to attract international investors" (2001, p.3). In turn, the generation of tourist money could be used for conservation of such heritage (Makes, 2001, p.20). Heather A. Peters notices that the development of tourism may promote the overall preservation of a town or settlement in China (2001, p.20). Ning Wang says tourism has been a major factor in reinforcing policies to preserve the quadrangle house as part of Beijing's heritage (2003, pp.61-63). In terms of conservation, policy makers are aware of the importance of conservation because tourism is significant to economic development (Tan, 2001, pp.19-20). Erik Cohen writes that in Southeast Asian states, preservation of the distinctiveness of some ethnic groups "is a crucial pre-condition of the sustainability of ethnic tourism to these groups" (2001, p.28). AlSayyad suggests that, in an era of globalization, preserving heritage is of great importance "not only for economic sustenance but also that nations, regions and cities may position themselves to compete globally" (2001, p.16). In addition, he points out the role of organizations, foundations and governments in the First World as advocates and financial patrons for the preservation of built environments in the Third World which are defined as 'universal' heritage (AlSayyad, 2001, p.4). Examples of such environments are Lijiang (China), Luang Prabang (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Hoian (People's Republic of Vietnam), Vigan (Philippines) and Bhaktapur (Kingdom of Nepal) (Peters, 2001, p.326).

Wang says tourism increases the 'museumizable' values of vernacular architecture (2003, pp.62-63), and that much built heritage in the vernacular context has been turned into museums for tourists' consumption. In the UK, because of the way in which international tourism has come to specialise in the construction of historical quaintness, there has been a spectacular growth in the number of museums in the country (Urry, 2002, p.117). In Britain, there are 500,000 listed buildings, 17,000 protected monuments and 5,500 conservation areas; of the 1,750 museums in 1987, half had opened since 1971 (Urry, 2002, p.94). It is said that a new museum opens every fortnight, there are 78 museums devoted to railways and 180 water- and windmills are open to the public (Samuel, 1994, Part II). Another good example is the preservation of Georgian buildings, most notably in Bath, where the townscape and housing stock could be described as a living museum and is simultaneously surrounded by museums (Urry, 2002, p.113-114). Although preservation and conservation is a precondition to define the built environment as a representation of heritage, if everything is preserved in the form it was in the past, how can the built environment meet the needs of current living? Questions like whose heritage should be preserved, and to what end, need to be answered (AlSayyad, 2001, p.15). Conservation is another strategy to fix the cultural features embodied in a built environment (Rapoport, 1990), but this strategy is still problematic, as some cultural features cannot be sustained through conservation in the era of increasing communication and exchange of information resulting from globalization. Questions like what sort of features could and should be conserved, by whom and for whom, are proposed.

AlSayyad describes the tourist gaze as a core feature of the contemporary tourist industry, and suggests that the consumption of 'difference' and 'hospitality' as economic goods is allowed in today's global tourism (2001, pp.3-4). As mentioned earlier in the literature review, the vernacular built environment embodies a huge diversity of historical and contemporary cultural content, such as architectural forms, symbolic meaning, construction norms, rules and even customs, which creates a huge attraction for tourists who seek something that is different from their ordinary daily life. Therefore, the vernacular built environment becomes open to tourist gaze in many tourism patterns, such as heritage tourism, ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, identity tourism (Pitchford, 2008, pp.2-3), historical tourism or even indigenous tourism. Almost all of these types of tourism depend more or less on the uniqueness of the vernacular built environment. Yang Hui mentions how traditional Dai dwellings and their interior decorations are used by the head of the family to attract tourists in Yunnan, China (2001, p.169). As the emphasis of tourist consumption is visual, and the gaze is directed upon the significance of buildings as objects, it is essential to consider the changes in architectural patterns and forms that these buildings might undergo (Urry, 2002, p.111). It seems that the properties of tourist gaze could influence the transformation of the vernacular built environment, especially in terms of aspects of architectural style.

According to John Urry's investigation, "the tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience" (2002, p.3). The tourist gaze varies by society, by social group and by historical period (2002, p.1), and the tourist gaze in any historical period is constructed in relationship to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness (2002, pp.1-2). The properties of tourist gaze influence the pattern and forms of buildings, which become features designed to attract tourists. In terms of architectural design, John Urry surmises that much of the architecture involved in the modern tourism industry reflects different senses of postmodernism (2002, p. 110). There are three senses which comprise the meaning of 'post' in 'postmodern': after the modern, return to the pre-modern and anti the modern (Urry, 2002, p.111). Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas or Disneyland are typical examples of 'after the modern' (Urry, 2002, p.111), whilst the reconstruction or rebuilding of a specific historical vernacular built environment is a typical strategy to represent 'return to the pre-modern'. For example, the town of Poundbury in Britain is "a traditional English village designed by Leon Krier and built on land owned by the Prince" (AlSayyad, 2001, p.12). However, residents of the village are citizens in the twenty-first century, whose lifestyle is "the most modern of the modern" (AlSayyad 2005, p.xvii). "Thus, all services – telephone, electricity, gas and drainage" are provided, but "are buried in channels behind the housing" (AlSayyad, 2001, p.12). With Frampton's proposed concept of 'critical regionalism' (1988), Foster's notion of a 'critical postmodernism' (1985a; 1985b), and Leon Krier's talk of the need to create 'localities of human dignity' (1984, p.87), a sense of 'anti the modern' emerges. There is a very strong objection to modernism as it generates uniformity or placelessness; therefore vernacular buildings that embody locality become a new focus for tourist gaze (Urry, 2002, pp.114-115). In Britain, for instance, Prince Charles speaks on behalf of "the people who know they do not like modernism and who really want only to gaze on nothing but uninterrupted classical buildings", such as classical country houses (Hewison, 1987, ch.3; Urry, 2002, p.113). In addition, a restoration of Black Road in Macclesfield, designed by Rod Hackney, has led to a 'community architecture' movement which is again fostered by Prince Charles (Urry, 2002, p.111). The main principle of this movement is that if people who live, work and play in a built environment participate actively in the creation and maintenance of the built environment, the environment can work more effectively (Waters & Krevitt, 1987, p.18). It seems that the trend of the 'anti-modern' not only influences the design product; it also influences the design process for buildings in a local community.

Dean MacCannell (1976) considers that the tourist is a product of modernization, and the main motivation of the tourist is to seek 'authenticity'. In order to attract tourists, 'authenticity' can be contrived to make tourists feel that something is 'authentic' by adopting a staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1976). It seems that 'authenticity' has been deconstructed and

shown to have multiple senses and applications according to the context of its use (Macleod, 2004, pp.11-12). Wang investigates the idea of authenticity in the context of tourism and identifies three types of authenticity -objective authenticity, constructive or symbolic authenticity and existential authenticity (1999, p.350). Both objective authenticity and symbolic authenticity are object-related notions, which lead to arguments associated with what is 'fake' and 'real'. Many criticisms are made, as the manufacture of heritage cannot be authentic; it is fake (Sofield, 2000, p.50). Ritzer and Liska even argue that many tourists are in search of in-authenticity (1997, p.107), as they enjoy experiencing a fake scene which is a copy of a specific original historical moment (Wang, 1999, p.365). AlSayyad categorizes some distinct types of built heritage according to the different senses of authenticity embodied in them. The first type is the creation of a dream landscape, utopia or fairyland rather than a real world, such as commercial Disneyland, where there is no conflict with a given cultural system; "authenticity here is desired, and is achieved through the manipulation of images and experiences" (AlSayyad, 2001, p.9). The second type of heritage place is based on 'real' history, which is resuscitated to attract tourists for financial gain, such as the site of a marginalized historic event (AlSayyad, 2001, p.9). It is ironic that the hardness of 'real' history often creates discomfort for tourists, even though they are seeking authentic history. The third type is exactly exemplified by Las Vegas, where authenticity is no longer a crucial issue, and heritage is invented for tourists' consumption by copying traditional forms from everywhere; as a result, ties to signs and their referents in original cultural systems are loosened or even broken up (AlSayyad, 2001, p.10). In the vernacular context, the three types of built heritage and the authenticity embodied in them can be identified in a mixed pattern. The authenticity embodied in vernacular built heritage, which is part of local culture, is complicated due to being mixed with manufactured heritage for tourist consumption. However, if the creation of 'in-authentic' heritage becomes part of authentic local culture, it could be problematic in the sense of sustaining local culture.

Another influence of tourism on the vernacular built environment is that tourism promotes management of local identity. "On a basic level, identity refers to certain conditions that make one thing remain itself, not another" (see Rapoport, 1981) (Wang, 2003, pp.52-53). In terms of the constitution of identity, it can be either objective (languages, symbols, landscapes, etc.) or subjective (belonging, sense of community, self-image, etc.)(Wang, 2003, p.53). Identity is a popular topic within recent anthropological studies, which embrace a wide range of social levels such as national, regional, local village and family identity. 'Boundary' and 'difference' are two aspects relevant to the discussion of "core-periphery relationship in a face to face situation" (Macleod, 2004, p.11) in the context of tourism. In this research, 'difference' will be discussed as well as the reason behind the perception of difference, for example, the differences between the identity of a minority group and a majority one, between

hosts and tourists, and between locals and outsiders. Identities do not only describe social subjects, they create them and help them come into being, making it possible for them to act, relate and communicate (Ballesteros & Ramirez, 2007, pp.677-678). Macleod describes personal identity as a complex array of factors that are always subject to change, which is relevant to stereotyping and self-consciousness (Macleod, 2004, p.11). In this study, some arguments will be addressed which are relevant to the transformation of the identities of local and outsider households when they engage in tourism development and change their dwellings into tourist vernacular dwellings.

From a sociological perspective, the identity of a place is not a physical identity. Rather, it is involved in the identification process of a community at a place. In other words, physical characteristics (physical identity) become the identity of a place only when they are identified and coded as the markers, signs, and symbols of the identity of that community. In this way, identity can be communicated, either consciously or unconsciously, by means of markers, cues, indicators, or symbols (Wang, 2003, pp.53-54).

Rapoport (1982, p.14) notes that "there is a major and clear distinction between communicating identity internally, i.e., to members of the group or to oneself, and externally, i.e., to others, to outsiders." As outsiders, tourists need some recognizable environmental signs to read the identity of a place (Wang, 2003, p.54). Therefore, the physical makers have to manage the features of a built environment to help tourists identify the local identity.

Various means can be used to communicate identity to outsiders, including verbal communication and 'non-verbal communication' of identity (Rapoport, 1982; 1990). The latter mainly depends on cues embodied in three levels of features of a built environment, including fixed features (elements that are basically fixed, like walls, ceilings and floors); semi-fixed features (elements such as the arrangement and type of furniture, curtains and other furnishings, plants, screens, advertising signs, window displays in shops, garden layouts and lawn decorations); and non-fixed-features, which refer to people's behaviours (Rapoport 1982; 1990, pp.88-89). Moreover, Rapoport (1982; 1990) points out that the fixed feature elements are generally under the control of codes and regulations, while semi-fixed feature elements are more relevant to personalization. Macleod notes that identity is relevant to "creating acknowledged identities for places and groups", and involves issues of 'public information' which is 'socially constructed', and 'professional construction of image', suggesting that the tourism industry is particularly attuned to creating and marking identities (2004, p.11). Ning Wang argues that, in a sense, tourism is an industry highly relevant to identity management, "namely, planning and maintaining a desired place identity for both local residents and tourists" (2003, p.52). In other words, tourism promotes the conservation, creation and restoration of features of the built environment, and increases the interaction between tourists and the

identity of the place. However, determining what identity can be considered 'local', and who determines that identity to be a 'local' one, is problematic in tourism development.

The discussion above shows that the investigations regarding influence of tourism on the vernacular architecture have stressed themes such as tourism changing landscape of the vernacular built environment, promoting preservation and conservation of vernacular built heritage, changing architectural style for tourist gaze, complicating authenticity of built heritage, and promoting management of the identity of a place. These studies relevant to the interaction between tourism and vernacular architecture place their emphasis on the influence of tourism on vernacular architecture as a material product, while the influence of tourism on vernacular architecture as a cultural process embracing dynamic transmission and adaptation has largely been ignored. One reason for this probably lies in the fact that the investigation of vernacular architecture is a nineteenth-century invention (AlSayyad, 2006, p.xvii), and understanding of vernacular architecture has evolved over the last four decades from the concept of an architectural result to that of a dynamic cultural process. Another reason might be associated with the fact that mass tourism has only increased dramatically since the 1920s, and the study of cultural and heritage tourism has developed only within the last decade (Lu & Nepal, 2009, pp.9-10). Therefore, studies of the influence of tourism, as the biggest industry in the twenty-first century, upon vernacular architecture as a cultural process are seldom found, and a study focusing on the influence of tourism on the adaptation and transmission of vernacular architectural tradition is rare as well.

2.4Theoretical gap and location

The main objectives of the literature review are to identify the theoretical gap and theoretical location of the study. As shown in the above discussion, the literature review primarily involves two bodies of literature. One is the theoretical discourse of the nature of vernacular architecture from different perspectives; the other is the theoretical understanding of tourism and its influence upon the vernacular architecture. In the literature relevant to vernacular architecture, a large number of studies have been conducted on the understanding of the nature of vernacular tradition and its dynamic properties. It indicates a tendency that a further understanding of vernacular architecture should focus on sustaining vernacular architectural tradition through investigation of the adaption and transmission process embodied in the architectural practice. While in the literature associating with interrelationship between tourism and vernacular architecture, many cultural themes related to influence of tourism on the nature of the vernacular built environment have been discussed. Nevertheless, we are less informed about the nature of vernacular architectural tradition as a dynamic cultural process within the tourism industry in the twenty-first century. However the adaptation and transmission of vernacular architectural tradition within tourism development is closely

relevant to the sustaining of vernacular architecture in the era of globalization, which is an area worthy of intensive investigation. Therefore, study of the influence of tourism on the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition within tourism development is the theoretical gap identified through the literature review. In terms of the theoretical location, although the main investigation of the study is a cross-discipline subject, the essence of the study is to gain further understanding of the dynamic nature of vernacular architectural tradition in the twenty-first century's tourism industry. The study is to discuss the vernacular architecture in social science, and the findings of the study will contribute new knowledge to the discipline of vernacular architecture. Therefore, the theoretical location of this topic is perceived on the map of vernacular architecture within the architecture discipline.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Research design

3.1.1 Methodology paradigm

The study explores the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China. That is to say, the depth of the study is not concerned with tracing the historical process and influence of a phenomenon, but with exploring the association between a macro-level phenomenon (tourism) and a micro-level cultural change (sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition). The cultural change has emerged within a broad social backdrop, and it is difficult to determine the boundary between the cultural change and its social backdrop. Yin has noted that a case study approach can be used to investigate "a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (1984, p.23). Because the theoretical roots of the case study lie in social interaction theories, such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and ethno-methodology (Atkinson et al., 2001, cited by Zhu, 2011, p.65), the case study assumes that 'social reality' is created through social interaction, since it is situated in a particular context and history (Strak & Torrance, 2005, p.33, cited by Zhu, 2011, p.65). Cohen L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K.. (2007) also point out that "case studies can establish cause and effect, indeed one of their strengths is that they observe effects in real contexts, recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects" (2007, p.253). Since the goal of the study is to explore the interrelationship between tourism development and the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition when it becomes involved in the tourism industry, the case study is an appropriate approach to achieve the goal of this study. This is because the "case study not only looks at the micro social setting in which the interactions of the social actors happen but also interprets the meanings generated by social actors taking account of its association with the macro social structure" (Zhu, 2011, p.65). A case study is particular, descriptive and inductive, and "in a case study, the researcher can read the case from the outsider or from the insider and discover the grounded theory through reading, observing and describing a particular case" (Zhu, 2011, p.65). In the current study, the cases chosen for investigation are 30 vernacular dwellings involved in tourism development in four famous ethnic minority settlements in Yunnan, China. The 30 vernacular dwellings have been conserved, rebuilt, restored or refurbished by locals and transformed into guesthouses by both local and outside individual households.

3.1.2 Research methods

According to the literature review, the process of adaptation and transmission of vernacular architectural tradition is grounded in the actions of individuals who are actually engaged in the various activities related to building and using a vernacular dwelling. This part of the theory allows us to explore the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition by analysing micro-changes that happen on an individual and community level. Macleod suggests that "such changes that happen on a micro-level are largely due to communication—the exchanges of ideas between different individuals and groups—and the extent and degree of change is also proportional to the amount and type of communication and exchange between groups" (2004, pp.9-10). That is to say, in order to explore the change in the transmission process of vernacular architectural tradition within tourism, the investigation should place its emphasis on key elements of cultural communication and interaction, as well as social networks established between individual builders and users which facilitate the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition within the tourism industry. In accordance with the emphasis of the investigation of the study, research methods commonly applied in the social and human sciences have been selected as the main research methods, including documentary research, interview, observation and template analysis. Some research methods commonly used in the discipline of architecture, such as space analysis, measurement, survey, drawing and mapping are also applied to collect some physical evidence of the changes in the dwellings. However, they are not the main research methods in the study.

In terms of the procedure of the investigation, documentary research is applied before fieldwork, interview and observation are applied in three rounds of fieldwork, while template analysis is the main approach used to analyse all data collected in the fieldwork, as well as those outside the fieldwork. Documentary research involves theoretical investigation based on published material, existing literature and other second-hand material. Through documentary research, the main definition of key terms in the study would be defined, such as vernacular architecture, transmission mechanism and vernacular architectural tradition. In addition, the significance of the study would be revealed based on the theoretical gap identified through the literature review. Furthermore, the documentary research would provide multiple levels of information relevant to the social transformation of contemporary China, for instance, urbanization, migration from urban to rural and from rural to urban areas, and tourism development in vernacular settlements. This information creates a socio-cultural backdrop for the cases to be investigated. It also provides guidance for the fieldwork in terms of selection of site and participants. In general, the documentary research provides a theoretical basis for the field study.

Semi-structured and open-ended interviews were carried out in the three rounds of fieldwork to collect data relevant to the options and behaviour of builders and users who have been

engaged in the process of changing an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a tourism-related one. In the current study, the interviews with builders and users of guesthouses focus on the following aspects:

Why would a local or outside household wish to change an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a tourism-related one?

Who is involved in the transformation process of Bai and Naxi dwellings?

How do local and outside households change an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a tourism-related one?

What motivation, intentions and difficulties do local or outside households have when they transform an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a tourism-related one?

Who organizes the construction? Who makes key decisions on the building and use of a guesthouse?

What construction resources do local and outside households employ when they transform an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a tourism-related one?

What is the social connection between a local house owner and an outside tenant during the construction process of changing a dwelling into a tourism-related one?

What is the social connection between households and craftsmen during the construction process of changing a dwelling into a tourism-related one?

What is the social connection between households and tourists during the construction process of changing a dwelling into a tourism-related one?

What is the role of craftsmen in the construction? How is the design process conducted?

As the research objects and objectives varied in the three rounds of fieldwork, the questions which guided the interviews also varied. As a result, the data collected through interview in the three rounds of fieldwork varied. The specific questions that guided each round of interviews and the content of data collected through the interviews in each round of fieldwork will be explained in the discussion following this chapter. Memory and an Mp3 recorder were the main tools used to record the data collected through the interviews.

In the three rounds of fieldwork, I experienced the whole journey as a tourist, and attended as many tourism activities as possible in the local community. Observation was used to collect data relevant to visual information. The physical features and usage of space in a guesthouse could be gathered through observation. The activities of users and builders, as well as the non-verbal interaction and communication between builders, between users, and between users and builders could also be obtained partly through observation. According to the emphasis of the investigation, the observations in the study focus on the following actions of users and builders:

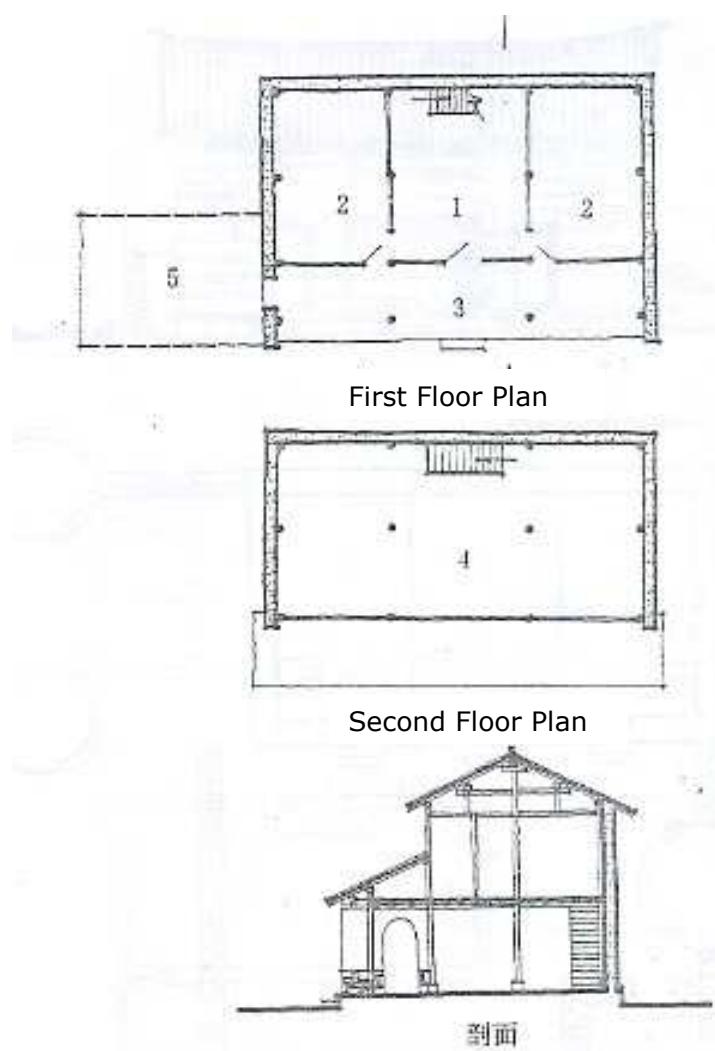


图 1-47 剑川岩场小队某宅独坊房

Section

1 Living Room	2 Bedroom
3 Eaved Gallery	4 Store Room
5 Kitchen	

Figure 3: Basic Unit of Bai and Naxi Dwelling (Chen & Wang, 1986, p.24)

How do the hosts respond to the demands of tourists?

How do the hosts interact and communicate with tourists?

What is the difference in lifestyle between local and outside households?

How do the local hosts balance the relationship between family members and tourists?

How do the households deal with the conflict between using a dwelling for daily life and using a dwelling for tourist consumption?

Photographs, videos, drawings, mapping and a field diary were the main approaches used to record the data collected through the observation method.

A template analysis method was used to analyse all transcripts of interviews, description and interpretation of visual data collected through observation, and other textual data gathered within and outside the fieldwork, such as local records, academic works, popular works, periodicals, propaganda broadsheets, advertising handouts, brochures printed by the government, policies and documents related to construction rules, etc. The essence of template analysis is to produce a list of codes ('template'), which represents themes identified in the textual data; generally, a template is organized in a manner which presents the relationship between themes, and the organization will commonly lead to a hierarchical structure of the themes (King, 2004, p.256). According to the themes, a framework for writing up is constructed. More details of the application of these research methods will be

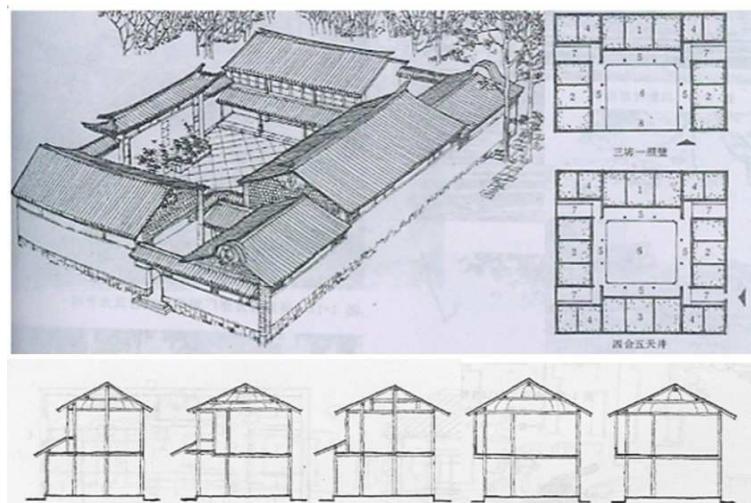


Figure 4: Basic format of Bai Courtyard Dwelling (Chen & Wang, 1986, p.21; p.40)



Figure 5: Stone carvings on the gable of a Bai Courtyard Dwelling in Xizhou (Fang & Liu, 2008, p.24)

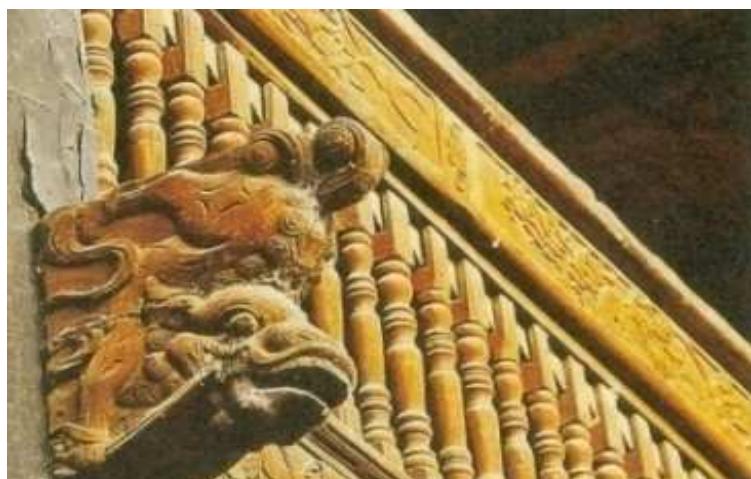


Figure 6: Woodcarving in a Bai Courtyard Dwelling in Xizhou (Fang & Liu, 2008, p.26)

explained at the end of the chapter.

3.2 Boundaries of the study

3.2.1 Bai and Naxi courtyard dwelling

There are two kinds of ethnic vernacular dwelling in the four settlements investigated. The ethnic vernacular dwellings in Dayan and Shuhe are Naxi courtyard dwellings, while the vernacular dwellings in Sideng and Xizhou are Bai courtyard dwellings. Both are influenced by Han courtyard dwellings, such as the square yard dwellings in Beijing. Intensive study of ethnic minority dwellings started in the 1980s. Wang Cuilan (王翠兰) and Chen Mode (陈谋德) (1986) were pioneers in doing systematic surveys of the vernacular dwellings of ethnic minorities in Yunnan. In the book 'Yunnan Min Ju (Vernacular dwellings in Yunnan)', nine ethnic groups' dwellings are well recorded and categorized according to nationality, including Naxi courtyard dwellings and Bai courtyard dwellings.

The basic unit of a Bai and Naxi courtyard dwelling is a wing (坊) (see Figure 3). The size of a wing may vary according to the economic conditions of a family, but the format and structure of a wing never varies. In most cases, a wing is a timber-structured house with two storeys. The lower room is partitioned into three, and the second floor is usually a large room without any partition. The usage of the room is in accordance with the social connections between family members. On the first storey, the middle room in the main wing is the living room of the family. The rooms on each side of the living room are two bedrooms. Normally these are used by the older generation in the family. The second floor is usually used for the worship of ancestors. In very rare cases, part of the space on the second floor might be partitioned to add a bedroom. In the side wing, the first floor is usually used as bedroom for other members of the family. Sometimes it is used as kitchen or a space for raising livestock. The upper floor of the side wing is usually used for storage. In rural areas, the residents may store their food, fertilizer and all sorts of tools for agriculture in the room upstairs. Thus, fewer people live upstairs. There is an eaved gallery at the front of each wing, which is a space for craftwork, housework and other daily activities. Bai and Naxi people use wings and yard space to create various layouts for the courtyard dwelling.

3.2.1.1 Bai courtyard dwelling

The typical layout of Bai courtyard dwellings can be categorized into four types. These are: (1) San-fang-yi-zhao-bi (三坊一照壁), a complex with one main wing, two side wings and a screen wall facing the main wing; (2) Si-he-wu-tian-jing (四合五天井), a complex with four wings surrounding a square courtyard; (3) Qian-hou-yuan (前后院), a complex with six wings and two courtyards; and (4) yi-jin-Duo-yuan (一进多院), a complex with multiple wings and more than

two courtyards (Chen & Wang 1986, pp 21-33). The combination of wings is flexible according to the economic conditions of each family and the practical usage of the dwelling (see Figure 4). Generally speaking, the bigger a family is, the larger the dwelling will be, and the more

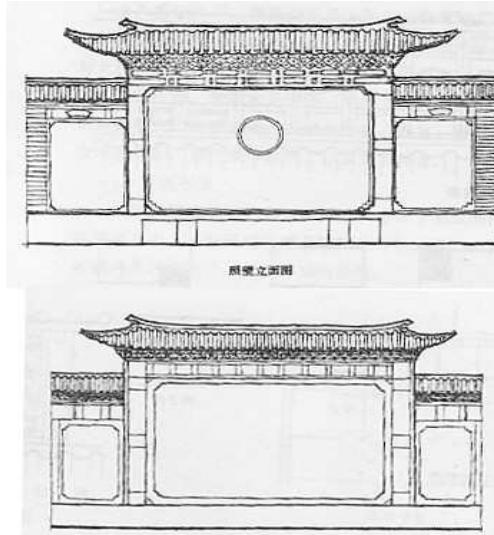


Figure 7: Elevation of screen wall (Chen & Wang, 1986, p.21)

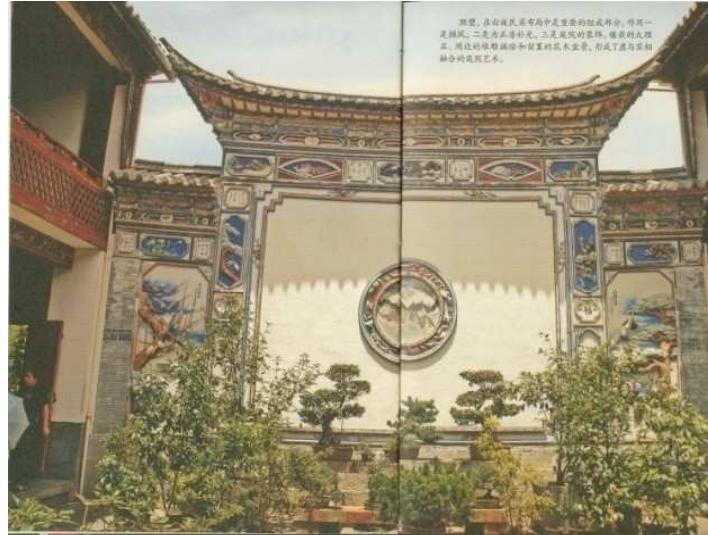


Figure 8: Screen wall of Bai courtyard dwelling in Xizhou (Fang & Liu, 2008, pp.20-21)

wealthy the household is, the more decoration that dwelling might have. Bai dwellings are distinguished by the design of gate towers, screen walls, carvings on doors and windows, as well as painted decorations and adornments on the front wall. The decoration of a Bai dwelling is also concentrated on columns, beams, corbels, etc., but the gate towers are the most decorative part of the dwelling (see Figures 5 & 6), on which mud carvings, wood carvings, marble screens, stone carvings, painted decoration, convex tiles and other decorative techniques are applied (Chen & Wang 1986, pp.21-33; Che, 2008, pp.50-51). The artistic level and degree of sophistication of the decoration represents the economic and social status of the house owner. In addition, the more important the room is, the more delicate the woodcarving. For example, in the middle of the lower floor of the main wing, there may be six doors all delicately carved in beautiful patterns and figures. The woodcarving skill of Bai carpenters has a high reputation in Yunnan province. The basic structure of a Bai courtyard dwelling is a timber framework. Various patterns of framework are developed to meet the needs of different situations (see Figure 4). There are strong winds in the Dali valley, which may bring rain inside. Local residents and craftsmen have accumulated a great deal of experience in the orientation and location of the dwellings and the use of building materials to deal with this issue. For example, wide eaves are applied to the eaved gallery, and each gable wall is made with materials such as stone board.

3.2.1.2 Naxi courtyard dwelling

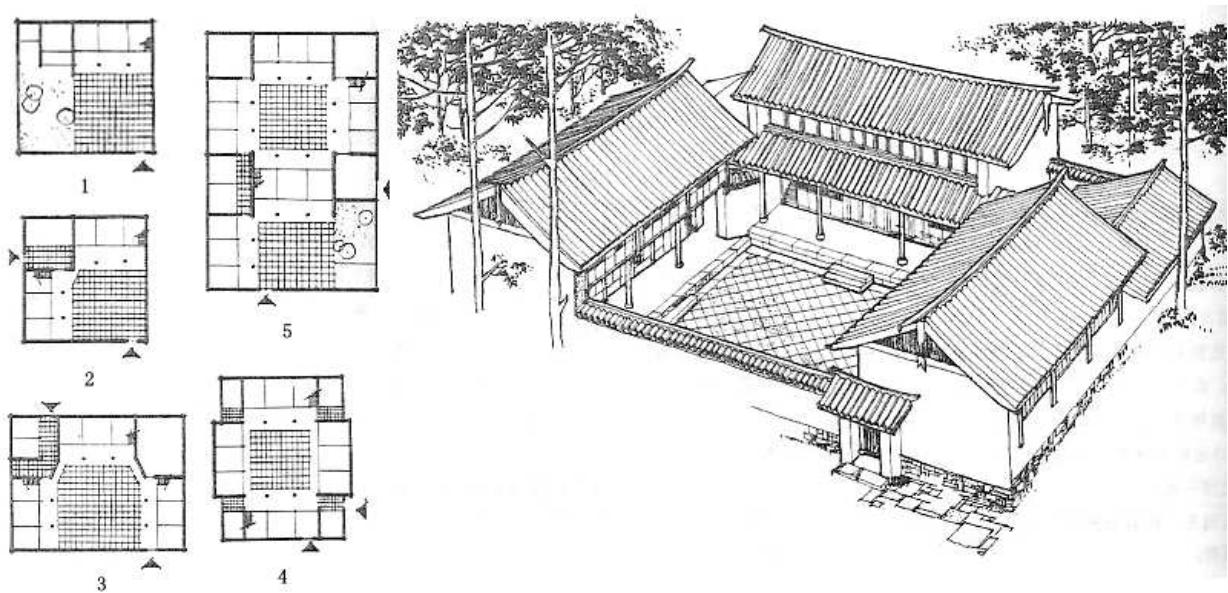


Figure 9: Basic format of Naxi Courtyard Dwelling (Chen & Wang, 1986, p.90)

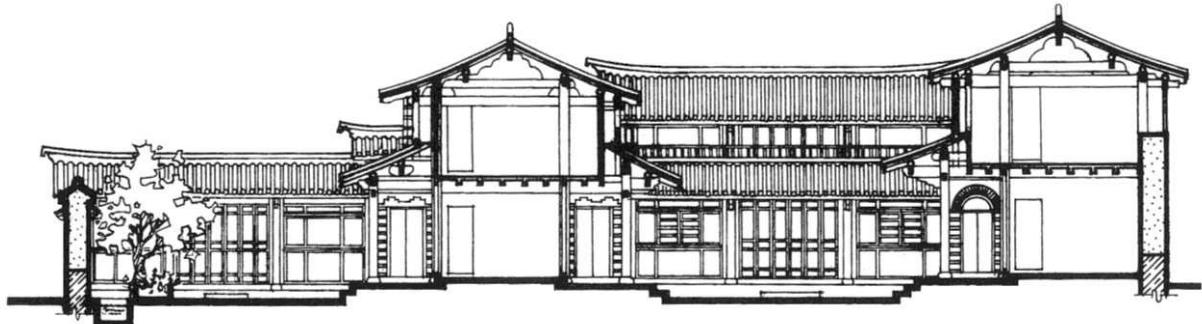


Figure 10: Section of a Multiple Courtyard Naxi Dwelling (Zhu, 2005, p.97)

The architectural style of a Naxi courtyard dwelling is influenced by the dwellings of Han, Bai, and Tibetan ethnic groups, and absorbs and adopts some features of these ethnic dwellings (Chen & Wang, 1986, pp.81-119; Peters, 2001, p.318). In terms of layout, the Naxi courtyard dwelling is similar to that of a Bai courtyard dwelling, but with greater flexibility. The typology of the layout of Naxi courtyard dwellings is classified according to the combination of wings. There are five typical types of layout of Naxi courtyard dwellings, which can be summarised as follows:

(1) Yi-fang-yuan (一坊院), considered the simplest plan of courtyard houses in Lijiang, has only one 3-bay wing at one side and a simple yard; (2) Er-fang-yuan (二坊院) is another type of simple plan, which has 3-bay wings at two sides forming an 'L' shape comprising a simple yard with walls at the other two sides; (3) San-fang-yi-zhao-bi (三坊一照壁) is the primary and most

common type of courtyard house plan in Lijiang, which has 3-bay wings at three sides and one wall at the left side, surrounding a closed yard; (4) Si-he-wu-tian-jing (四合五天井) is another common type of courtyard house plan in Lijiang, which has a closed yard with 3-bay wings at all four sides, and four nooks (usually comprising a lower room and a small yard) in four corners; (5) finally, the multiple courtyard (多进院), qian-hou-yuan(前后院), or yi-jin-liang-yuan (一进两院) are mixed types of courtyard house plan with two yards at front and rear on the Y axis or two yards on the X axis, and these are usually constructed and occupied by large or wealthy families (Wang & Chen, 1986, cited by Li, 2005, p.21) (see Figure 9).

In terms of decoration, the Naxi courtyard dwelling is simpler than the Bai courtyard dwelling. Naxi people maintain their beliefs in following the 'ancient spirit' (in Tang Dynasty style), and the dwellings reflect some of the beauty of primitive simplicity, such as un-plastered earthen outside walls, directly exposed wooden structure, deep eaves, a large bargeboard, as well as a hanging fish on the junction of the bargeboard (Jiang 1997; Che, 2008, p.75) (see Figure 9 and 10). The courtyards and balconies in Naxi courtyard dwellings are closely connected with the daily life of the locals. The significance of these two spaces reflects the fact that Naxi people love outdoor activities in nature. Nature is highly valued by homeowner, as shown by rows of flower pots, lush trees and vegetables filling the back yards. Courtyards are paved with grey brick and cobblestones, which are usually designed to portray specific figures, such as '福' (happiness) or '寿' (longevity) to symbolise a lucky meaning. The main materials of Naxi courtyard dwellings are timber, adobe and stone, and the roof of the dwelling is usually covered by tiles. Similar to the Bai courtyard dwelling, woodcarvings are commonly used on doors, windows and balustrades. For example, the main doors of the main wings in a Naxi courtyard dwelling are usually beautifully carved with six kinds of elegant plant, accompanied by six lucky animals. All of these symbolize the host's admiration of the virtues of the plants and the wish for the luck and happiness that these plants and animals may bring.

In terms of structure, the Naxi courtyard dwelling is built of timber. The structural framework varies according to the site, location, usage and economic condition of the family. The typical structural patterns can be classified into four categories, including 'Ming-lou', 'man-lou', 'men-lou' and 'liang-mian-xia' (See Figure 11). The differences between these four types of structure focus on the difference in size and structure of the eaved gallery. The size of the timber, the space between each component and the constructional detail of the structure are well known by craftsmen, especially the chief craftsman, who may help the household to choose an appropriate structural pattern according to their site, location, members of the family and the timber prepared for construction. In order to decrease the potential damage of earthquakes, the lower part of the external wall is usually built of stone, while the upper part of the wall is built of adobe or timber board.

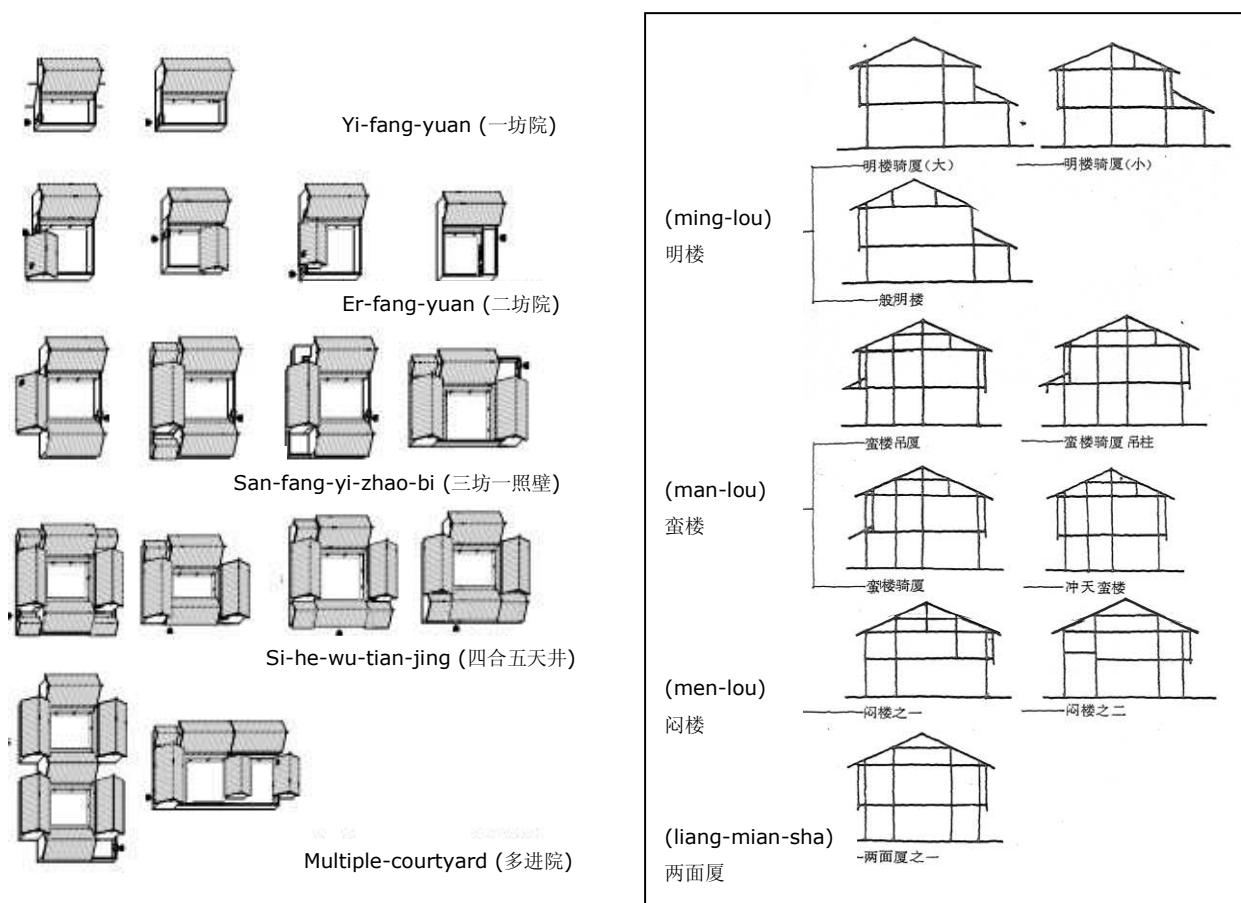


Figure 11: Structural system of Naxi Courtyard Dwellings and timber framework of Naxi and Bai Dwellings

3.2.2 Geographical boundary of the study

The geographical boundary of the study is limited to four ethnic settlements in the Yunnan province of southwest China. Xizhou and Sideng are Bai ethnic settlements in Dali, and Dayan and Shuhe are Naxi ethnic settlements in Lijiang. The 30 cases are selected from the four settlements. The location of the cases within the four settlements, the reason why the four settlements were chosen, and the reasons why the 30 vernacular dwellings were chosen will be explained in the following sections.

3.2.3 Settlements and dwellings in Dali and Lijiang

Dali is located in the western part of Yunnan province. The location of its prefectural capital city is 338km away from the provincial capital city - Kunming. Dali has a long history and a splendid culture. In the Han dynasty, it was a strategic region on the 'Tea and Horse Caravan Trail' (the Southern Silk Road) from Sichuan to India. After the founding of the new China, Dali became Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture in 1956, which is composed of 12 cities and counties, including Dali City, Heqing County and Jianchuan County. The mountainous area in Dali occupies 83.7% of the total area. 108 upland plains (known as bazi in local Yunnan

dialect), each covering an area of more than 1km² are scattered throughout the mountainous region, which are the main areas for agriculture and inhabitation (Che, 2008, p.50). The existing traditional vernacular settlements in Dali were developed from villages originally built in the Ming and Qing Dynasty. The location, layout, construction and decorations of the villages all imply a perfect combination of physical space and local ideology (Che, 2008, p.50). Some of the characteristics of these traditional settlements of Bai people in Dali can be summarised as follows. The basic principle for site selection and dwelling construction is in accordance with the rule of Fengshui, which is to make the best use of nature at the same time as being in harmony with it. Many Bai settlements are built beside a river, through which water can be drawn into the village. At the entrance of the villages, big trees are planted as a symbol of the prosperity of the village. Behind the villages, Fengshui forests are planted to adjust the micro-climate of the village. The square, with a stage, is a significant public space for performances to entertain local people during festivals. The stage is generally surrounded by small shops. The shops and stage form a 'square street', which functions as an open market. This is generally at the centre of a village. The coexistence of multiple cultures enables different types of public buildings to coexist in a village, such as the local temple, the ancestral hall, local library and other religious buildings (Che, 2008, pp.50-51). Two Bai settlements have been chosen as sites for fieldwork, one of which is Xizhou town, and the other is Sideng village.

The northeast part of Dali is bordered by Lijiang. Lijiang is located on the southeast margin of the Qinghai-Tibet plateau, at the junction of three provinces, Yunnan, Sichuan and Tibet. It is a strategic area of the ancient 'Tea and Horse Caravan Trail'. There are 111 upland plains (bazi) scattered among the mountainous area 2000m above sea level; Lijiang Bazi is 200km² with an average elevation of 2466m, and is the biggest bazi in Lijiang city (Che, 2008, pp.60-75). "The Naxi, a Tibeto-Burman speaking ethnic group, constitute the majority ethnic group in Lijiang" (Peters, 2001, p.317). In August 1973, Lijiang became Lijiang Naxi Autonomous County, comprising four smaller counties, and in December 2002, the State Council changed the Lijiang Naxi Autonomous County into a Prefecture-level city which comprises one district and four counties, including the Old Town District, Yulong Naxi Autonomous County, Ninglang County, Yongsheng County and Huaping County (Che, 2008, p.74). The Old Town of Lijiang is 533km away from the provincial capital city of Kunming. In December 1997, the Old Town of Lijiang was listed as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. It is composed of three settlements: Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha. Dayan and Shuhe belong to the Old Town District, but Baisha belongs to Yulong Naxi Autonomous County.

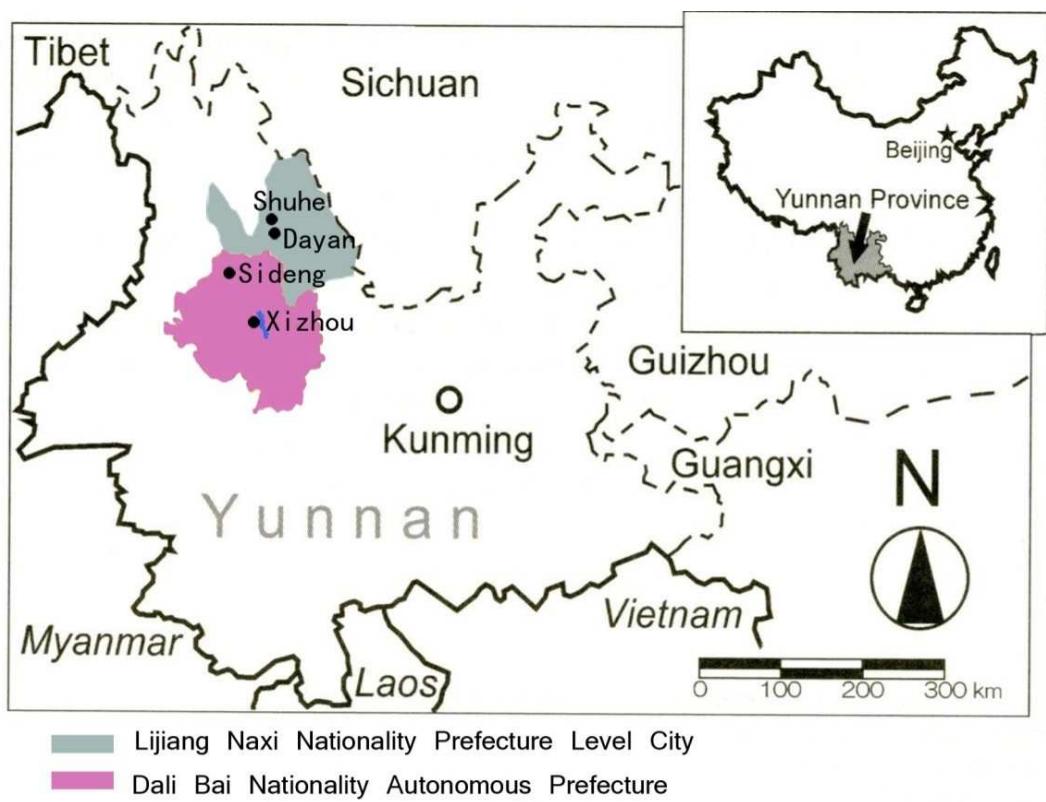


Figure 12: Location of Dali and Lijiang in Yunnan, China (drawn by author, but with reference to map drawn by Yamamara, 2005, p.182)

3.2.4 Reasons for choice

The study has chosen four settlements in Dali and Lijiang as the site for fieldwork. The reason for choosing these four settlements as sites is firstly that historically, Dayan, Shuhe, Sideng and Xizhuo were the most well-known vernacular settlements scattered on the Southern Silk Road (Tea and Horse Caravan Trail). This was a route taken by horse caravans to convey tea from Yunnan to India. In the geographical area of Yunnan, it starts from Xishuangbanna and travels to Zhongdian via Dali and Lijiang, and then from Lhasa in Tibet to India (Peng, 2000, pp.78-81). Because of the historical connection, these settlements were positioned on a popular tourist route. Another reason lies in the fact that Dayan Old Town was designated as the first 'World Heritage Site' in China in 1997. After that, the tourism development in Lijiang and Dali became a landmark in Yunnan province, even in China. Although the degree of tourism development varies among these settlements, within the last two decades, the four settlements have all become involved in tourism, and have become popular tourist destinations receiving large number of tourists from both within the country and outside. These four settlements were chosen because all of them are famous ethnic settlements in Yunnan due to being inhabited by a specific ethnic minority with a relatively distinctive socio-cultural complex.

Dayan and Shuhe are inhabited mainly by Naxi people; Xizhou and Sideng are vernacular settlements of Bai people. Bai and Naxi are famous in terms of their long history, distinctive ethnic culture, degree of economic development within Yunnan and peaceful coexistence with outside groups. The geographical scope of these four settlements ranges from towns to villages. The reason for selecting four different settlements with varied geographical scope is in order to maintain a certain degree of generality and diversity in the collection of data, so that the theory concluded from analysis of the data may provide explanation of the phenomena from a considerably more general geographical perspective.

3.2.5 Guesthouse cases

As mentioned above, 30 guesthouses based on Bai and Naxi courtyard dwellings have been chosen as the cases to be investigated. The illustration of the basic character of Bai and Naxi courtyard dwellings demonstrates that these two types of vernacular dwelling are unique in some aspects, such as the basic units of the dwelling, the typical layout of space, the decoration and ornamentation, the timber structural system and the high level of adaptability to the environment. This uniqueness of Bai and Naxi courtyard dwellings provides some preconditions for local and outside individual entrepreneurs to develop them into tourism-related dwellings, such as small-scale restaurants, guesthouses, museums, cultural centres and clubs, and souvenir shops. As Bai and Naxi courtyard dwellings are basically residential buildings, they are generally suitable for alteration into guesthouses. Most of the guesthouses are designed to maintain the residential function of the dwelling and provide accommodation for both the local households and outside tourists. Among the 30 guesthouses, three cases are in Xizhou, seven cases are in Sideng, twelve cases are in Dayan, and eight cases are in Shuhe. As the degree of tourism development in the four settlements is varied, the number of guesthouses in each settlement varies as well. For example, in Lijiang there are roughly 1,000 guesthouses in Dayan, and 400 guesthouses in Shuhe, while there are only 10 in total in Xizhou and roughly 40 in Sideng. Therefore, the sample size varies across the four settlements (see Table 2). Before 1997, guesthouses in the four settlements were generally run by local households. With the development of tourism, local people began to rent out their houses to outside entrepreneurs coming from economically developed regions of China. Some of them even come from Western countries. Of the 30 cases, 12 are run by local households, and 18 cases are run by outside entrepreneurs. The codes, location, layout pattern and stakeholders of the 30 cases are listed in the table below.

Location of cases	Number of guesthouses in the investigation	Number of guesthouses in the settlement	Sample size
1 Xizhou	3	10	3/10=33.3%
2 Sideng	7	30	7/30=23.3%

3 Dayan	12	1000	12/1000=1.2%
4 Shuhe	8	400	8/400=2%

Table3: Sample size of the study (drawn by author)

3.2.5.1 Dayan



Figure 14: Streetscape of Dayan (photo taken by author)

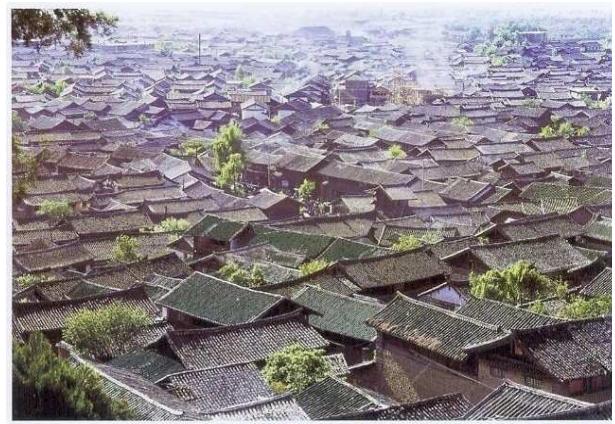


Figure 13: Aerial View of Dayan (Zhu, 2005, p.8)

Dayan Old Town was first built during the late Song and early Yuan dynasties (AD 1279-1368). It is located on a plateau about 2,400 metres above sea level and occupies an area of 3.8 square kilometres (912 acres) (see Figures12, 13 &14). Facing southeast, the Old Town of Lijiang is embraced by Shizi Mountain (狮子山) in the west and Jinhong Mountain (金虹山) in the north, which blocks wind from Yulong snow mountain (玉龙雪山) in the northwest (see Figure15). In the southeast, there are vast fertile fields which are suitable for agriculture due to the abundance of sunshine. Dayan had a stable population of 13,960 in 2006, the Naxi accounting for 88% of the population (Chen, 2006, p.11). "In 1996, about 30% of residents were still engaged in traditional handicraft occupations and commercial activities, such as making copper and silver wares, fur and leather products, textiles, and wines (Peters, 2001, p.317)." Peters describes it as an extraordinary example of a traditional late nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century historic town in Yunnan, and it also happens to be the centre of Naxi culture and the seat of Naxi traditional political authority (2001, p.317). The Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, which is the source of the rivers for Dayan and Shuhe, is located to the north of the town. "Three limpid steams spanned by 365 wooden and stone bridges, their sources nearby Yulong Snow Mountain and the city's Black Dragon Pool, run through it from north to south. The city roads are paved with centuries-old coloured stone slabs" (Wang, 2004, pp.70-72). Bridges, rivers and houses are in picturesque disorder. Free from traditional Chinese city planning, the road grid of Lijiang Old Town is largely unregulated and has grown naturally along the mountain foot and beside the streams. Therefore, Dayan is regarded as 'Oriental Venice' and described as a "Suzhou-like waterside town on the plateau". The Market Square (Sifangjie 四方街) is located in the centre of the town and all streets extend outwards,

including Xinhua Street, Wuyi Street, Qiyi Street, Xingyi Street and Guangyi Street, which are the five main streets of the town. Many alleys cross between the big streets (see Figure15). All the streets are paved with stone (Lee, 2007,p.31).

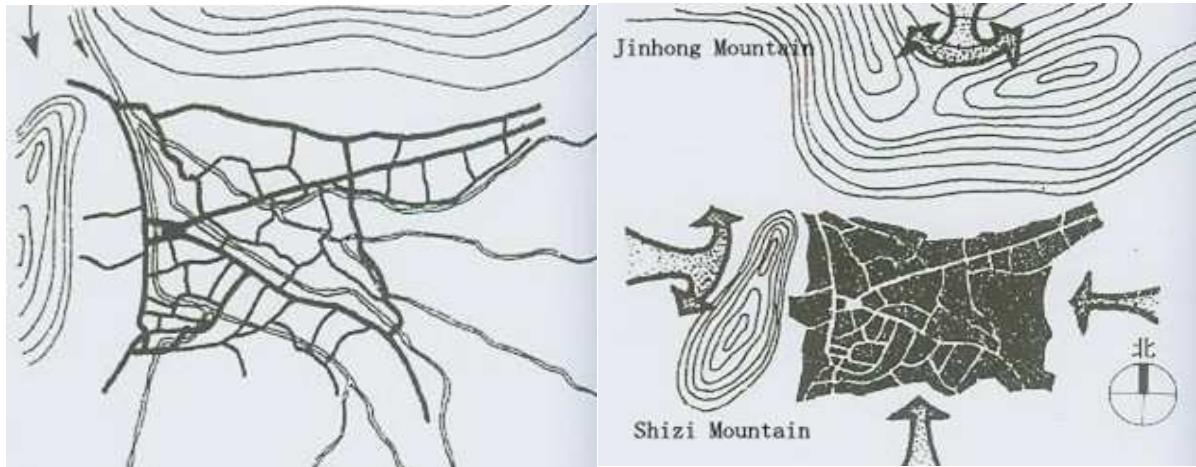


Figure 15: Geographical feature of Dayan (Zhu, 2005, p.20)

Code and location of the case	Layout pattern of the dwelling	Stakeholders	Original construction date	Redevelopment date
3-1 Ji-sha-sha (Dayan)		Outside tenants (Hangzhou)	Originally built in 1810s	Restored in 2010
3-2 Xiang-He (Dayan)		Local house owner and Outside tenants	Originally built in 1920s	Restored in 2012
3-3 Yi-Yuan (Dayan)		Local Tenants (Lijiang)	Originally built in 1990s	Restored in 2004
3-4 Miao-Yuan (Dayan)		Outside tenants (Beijing)	Originally built in 1890s	Refurbished in 2008
3-5 Yue-Ban-Wan (Dayan)		Outside tenants (Hangzhou)	Originally built in 1930s	Refurbished in 2006
3-6 Shu-Xin (Dayan)		Local house owner(Dayan)	Not quite clear	Refurbished in 2003
3-7 Niu-Jia (Dayan)		Local house owner(Dayan)	Originally built in 1780s	Not particularly restored
3-8 Lao-Fang-zhi (Dayan)		Outside tenants (Sichuan)	Originally built in 1920s	Refurbished in 2008

3-9 Lai-Jia-Da-Yuan (Dayan)		Outside tenants (Hangzhou)	Originally built in 1938	Refurbished in 2010
3-10 Shang-Hai (Dayan)		Outside tenants (Shanghai)	Not quite clear	Refurbished in 2006
3-11 Hen-He-Hao (Dayan)		Outside Real estate company (Shanghai)	Originally built in 1928	Restored in 2010
3-12 Yu-Jia-Hua-Yuan (Dayan)		Local house owner (Dayan)	Originally built in 1925	Not particularly refurbished

Table 4: Guesthouses in Dayan (drawn by author)

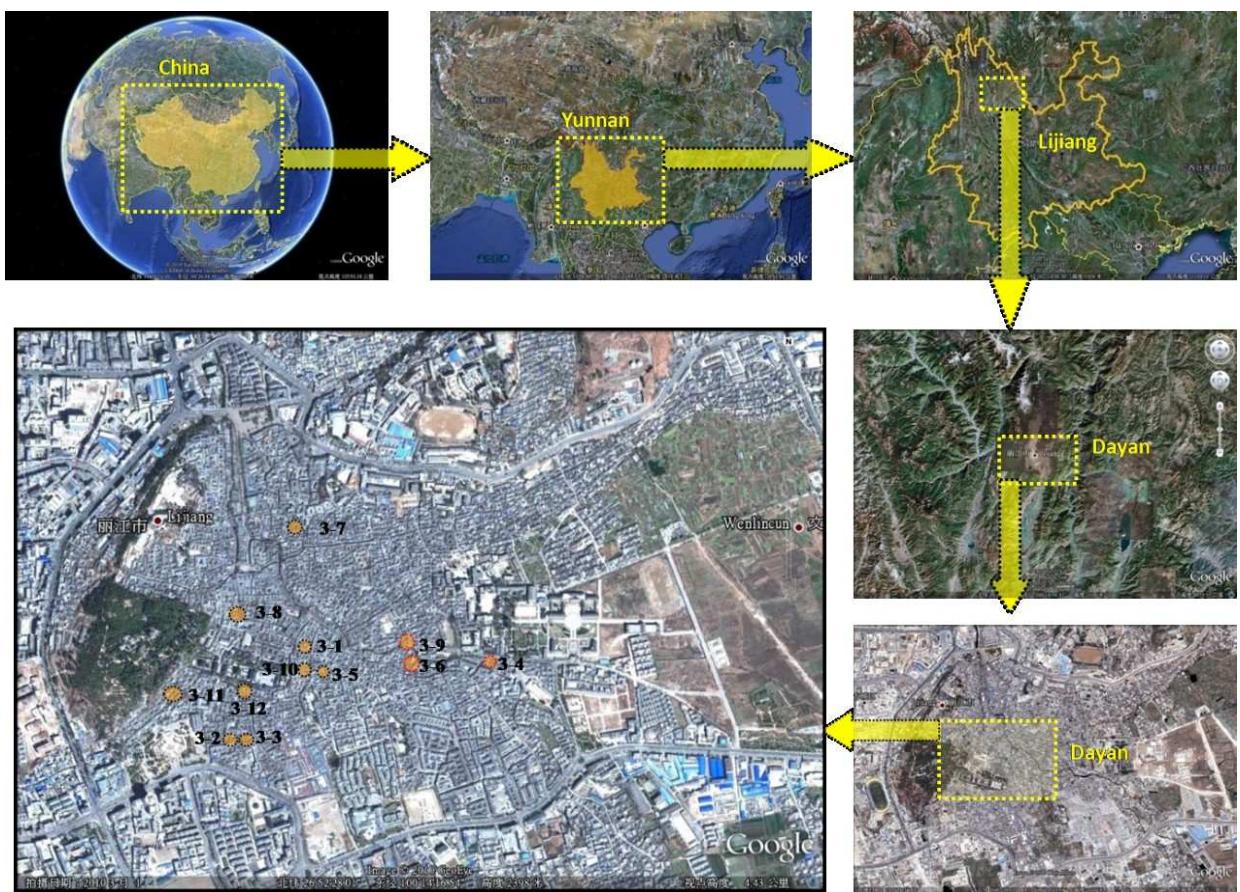


Figure 16: Location of guesthouses in Dayan (drawn by author)

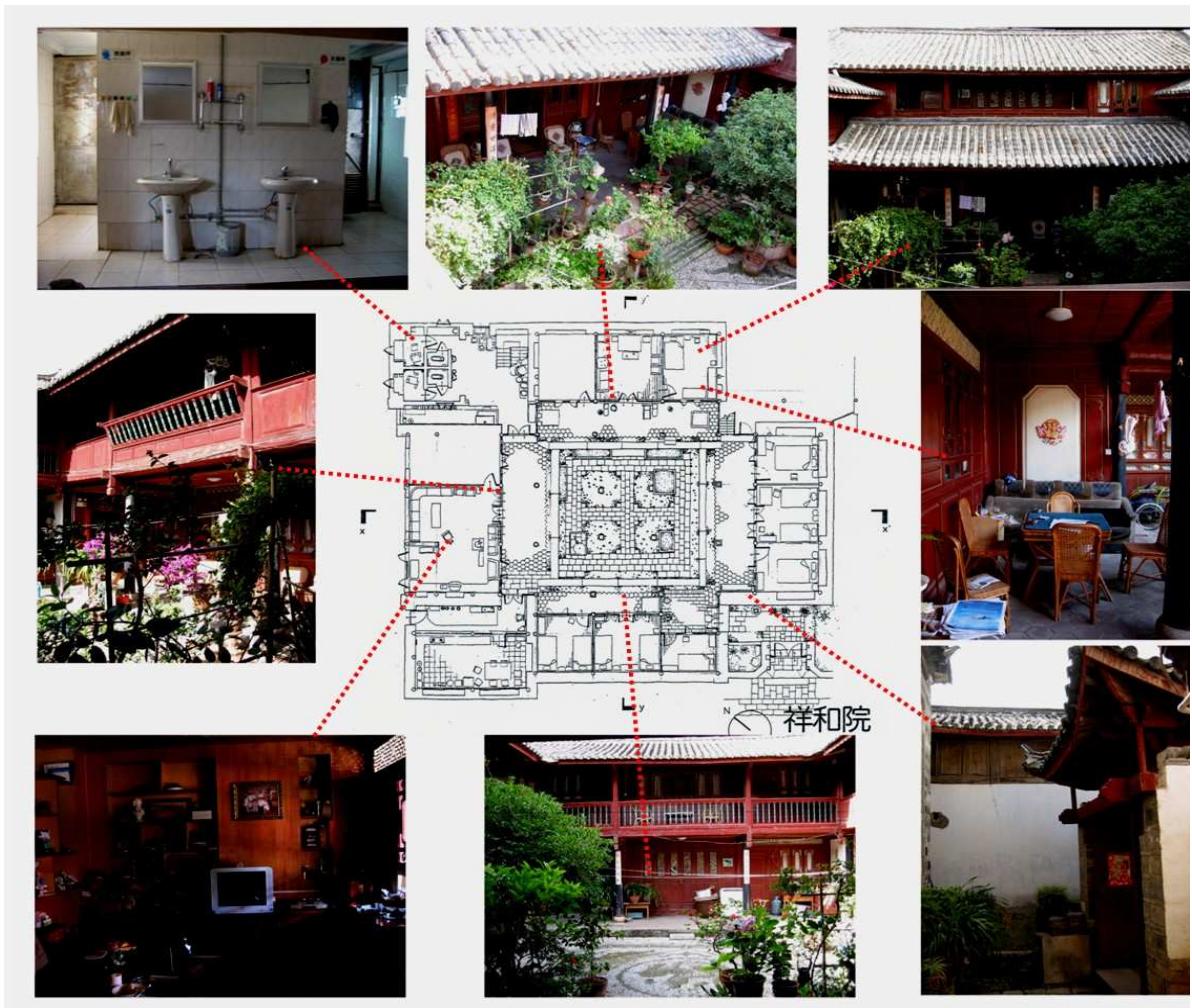


Figure 17: Case of guesthouse in Dayan (plan provided by house owner, photos taken by author)

3.2.5.2 Shuhe



Figure 18: Aerial View of Shuhe (photos provided by Hui Zhai)

Shuhe Old Town is located in the northwest part of Lijiang City, 5km away from Dayan, and 15km away from the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain (see Figures 18 & 19). Shuhe Old Town is against a mountain and faces a large area of cultivated land, with the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain on the north side, and Xiang Mountain and Wenbi Mountain on the northeast side. The scenery in the town varies according to the different seasons. Two fountains, Jiuding Dragon pool and Shuhe Dragon pool are the two sources of streams in the town. The water in the streams is always sweet and pure, and people living in the streets benefit greatly from this. Shuhe has 620 households, and a population of 2372. It is composed of seven natural villages, including Renli (573 people), Qingyun (171 people), Songyun (501 people), Hongshan (102 people), Zhonghe (268 people), Weijie (390 people) and Wenmin (367 people) (Che, 2008, p.70). The centre of the town is a 'square street' (40m x 22m), from which three main streets extend and ultimately reach each household. Beside the streets, the rivers flow through the town from north to south. Similar to Dayan, Shuhe has a natural structure of streets and alleys and intimate outdoor spaces. The combination of buildings on different terrain often varies according to the situation of the site, which creates a varied and harmonious streetscape and townscape. There is also a 'square street' in the centre of the town. The 'square street' serves as both the centre of the settlements and also as a trade and commercial hub for goods exchange, and it functioned as an important pivotal stop on the 'Tea and Horse Caravan Trail' for centuries (Ministry of Construction, 1996, p.21, cited by Peters, 2001, pp.318-319).

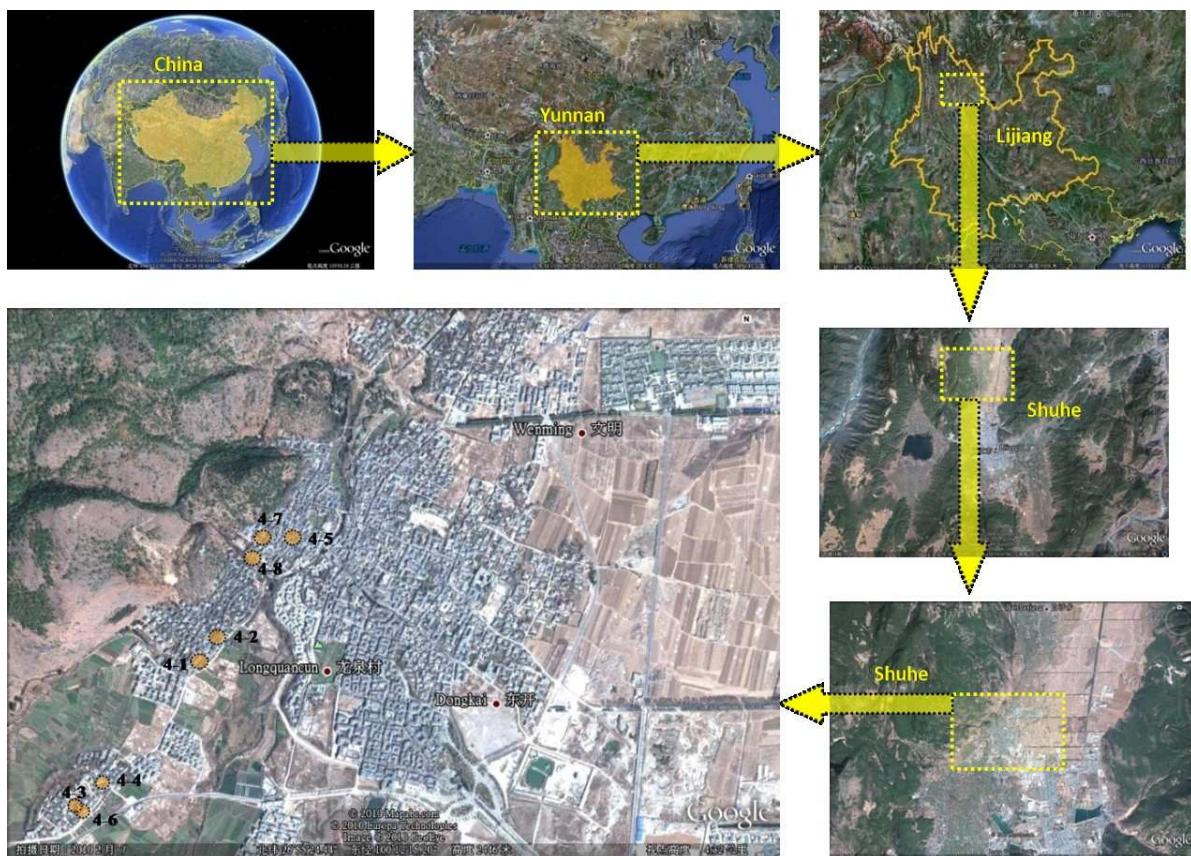


Figure 19: Location of guesthouses in Shuhe (drawn by author)



Figure 20: Guesthouse in Shuhe (drawn by author)

Code and location of case	Layout pattern of the dwelling	Stakeholders	Original construction date	Redevelopment date
4-1 Jia-You-Sha-Quan (Shuhe)		Outside tenants (Hong Kong)	Originally built around 1945	Refurbished in 2005
4-2 A-Du-De-Ke-Fang (Shuhe)		Outside tenants (Chengdu)	Originally built around 1988	Refurbished in 2008
4-3 Chun-Pu (Shuhe)		Local house owner (Shuhe)	Originally built in 1909	Refurbished in 2009 (took 10 months)
4-4 Cha-Ma-Yi-Zhan (Shuhe)		Local house owner (Shuhe)	Originally built in 1970	Refurbished in May 2010
4-5 Hu-Xi-Ke-Zhan (Shuhe)		Outside tenants (Shuhe)	Originally built in 1980s	Refurbished in May 2008

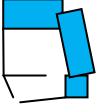
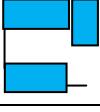
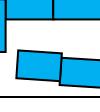
4-6 Gao-Yi-Ju (Shuhe)		Local house owner (Shuhe)	Main wing built in 1800s	Refurbished in May 2008
4-7 A-Bu-De-Jia (Shuhe)		Outside tenants (Dongbei)	Originally built in 1710s	Refurbished in May 2008
4-8 Rou-Ruan (Shuhe)		Outside tenants (Chengdu)	Not quite clear	Refurbished in May 2008

Table5: Guesthouses in Shuhe (drawn by author)

3.2.5.3 Xizhou



Figure 21: Aerial view of Xizhou

(Retrieved from
<http://www.dali.gov.cn/dlwz/5119188704266551296/20120426/262123.html>)



Figure 22: Streetscape of Xizhou (photo taken by author)

Xizhou town is located in the northwest part of Dali. The political authority of Xizhou town is seated in Xizhou village, which is 32 kilometres away from Dali urban area. Xizhou village had 1236 households in 2003, with a population of more than 5000 people, including 3303 people engaged in agriculture (see Figures 21 & 22). National Highway 214 and the new highway from Dali to Lijiang are close to the village. Most of the courtyard dwellings in Xizhou were built in the late Qing dynasty, and most are Bai courtyard dwellings. There are 99 well-preserved courtyard dwellings of typical Bai style. Some of them are famous in Yunnan province, including the Yan Family Compound, Dong Family Compound, Yang Family Compound and Zhao's Mansion. The Bai settlement of Xizhou was listed as a key protected relic in Yunnan in 1987, and in July 2001, the settlement was listed as a key protected relic in China. Different types of public buildings coexist in the village, such as the local temple, the ancestral hall, local library and other religious buildings (Che, 2008, pp.50-51). Xizhou has big trees at the

entrance of the village, a stage in the middle of the town, and a square market for performances to entertain local people during festivals

Code and location of the case	Layout pattern of the dwelling	Stakeholders	Original construction date	Redevelopment date
1-1 Xi-Lin-Yuan (Xizhou)		Outside tenants (USA)	Originally built in 1948	Rebuilt from 2006 to 2008
1-2 Yang-Jia-Yong-Xiang (Xizhou)		Local house owner (Xizhou)	Originally built in 1996	Refurbished in 2009
1-3 Yang-Guang (Xizhou)		Local house owner (Xizhou)	Originally built in 1996	No redevelopment

Table 6: Guesthouses in Xizhou (drawn by author)

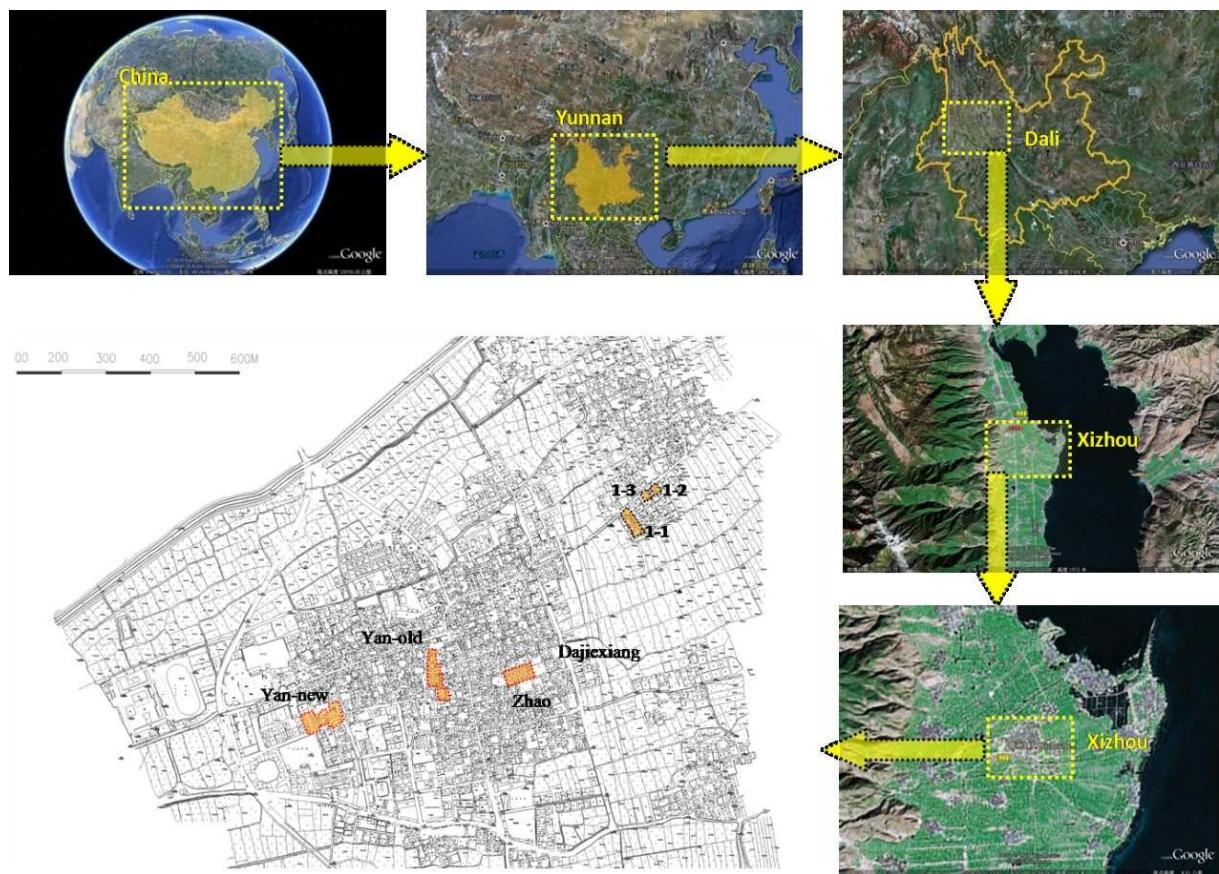


Figure 23: Location of guesthouses in Xizhou (plan provided by Zhenyu Che; other images drawn by author)



Figure 24: Case of guesthouse in Xuzhou (plan from Jiang, 1997, p.391; photos taken by author)

3.2.5.4 Sideng

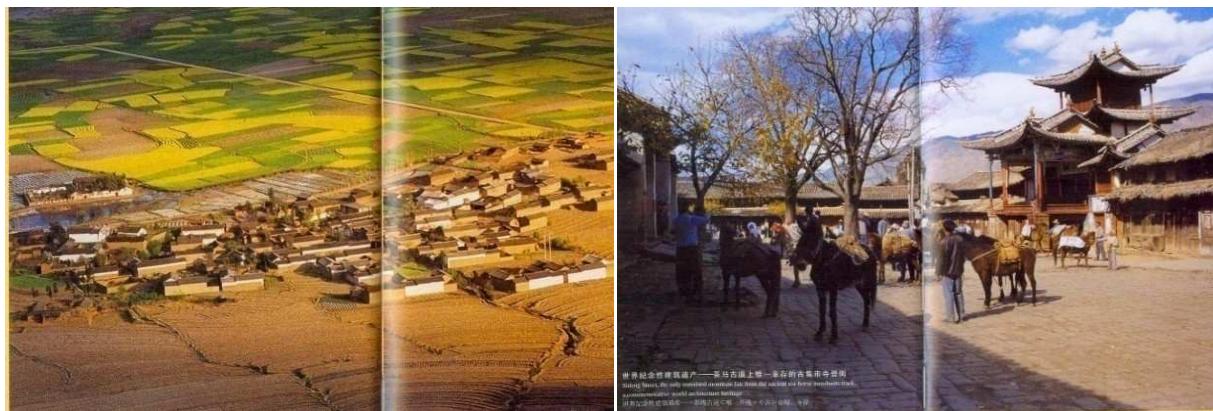


Figure 25: Aerial view of Sideng and market square of Sideng (Zhang, 2004, pp.54-55; pp.24-25)

Jianchuang County is located in the northern part of Dali Prefecture. The eastern part of Jianchuang County adjoins Heqing County, and the northern part borders Lijiang City. The

political authority of Shaxi town (of Jianchuang County in Dali Prefecture) is seated in Sideng village. The town centre is 126km away from Dali urban area, and 70km away from Lijiang urban area (Che, 2008, p.60). Sideng village is located in the south-western part of Jianchuang County, beside the Hei Hui River, and 40km away from the town centre. In 2003, the village had more than 450 households, with 1800 people (more than 60 people worked outside the village) (Che, 2008, p.64). Sideng served as a pivotal stop along the 'Tea and Horse Caravan Trail' for several centuries before the arrival of other means of transportation, which ultimately led to the decline of the area in the 1900s (Shaxi Rehabilitation Project, 2002). Sideng village has Bai style courtyard dwellings, a square street (market square) (see Figure 24) with a theatre stage, which is surrounded by shops and opposite to the Buddhist temple first constructed in 1415 A.D. (Shaxi Rehabilitation Project, 2002). There are two protective gates to the village.

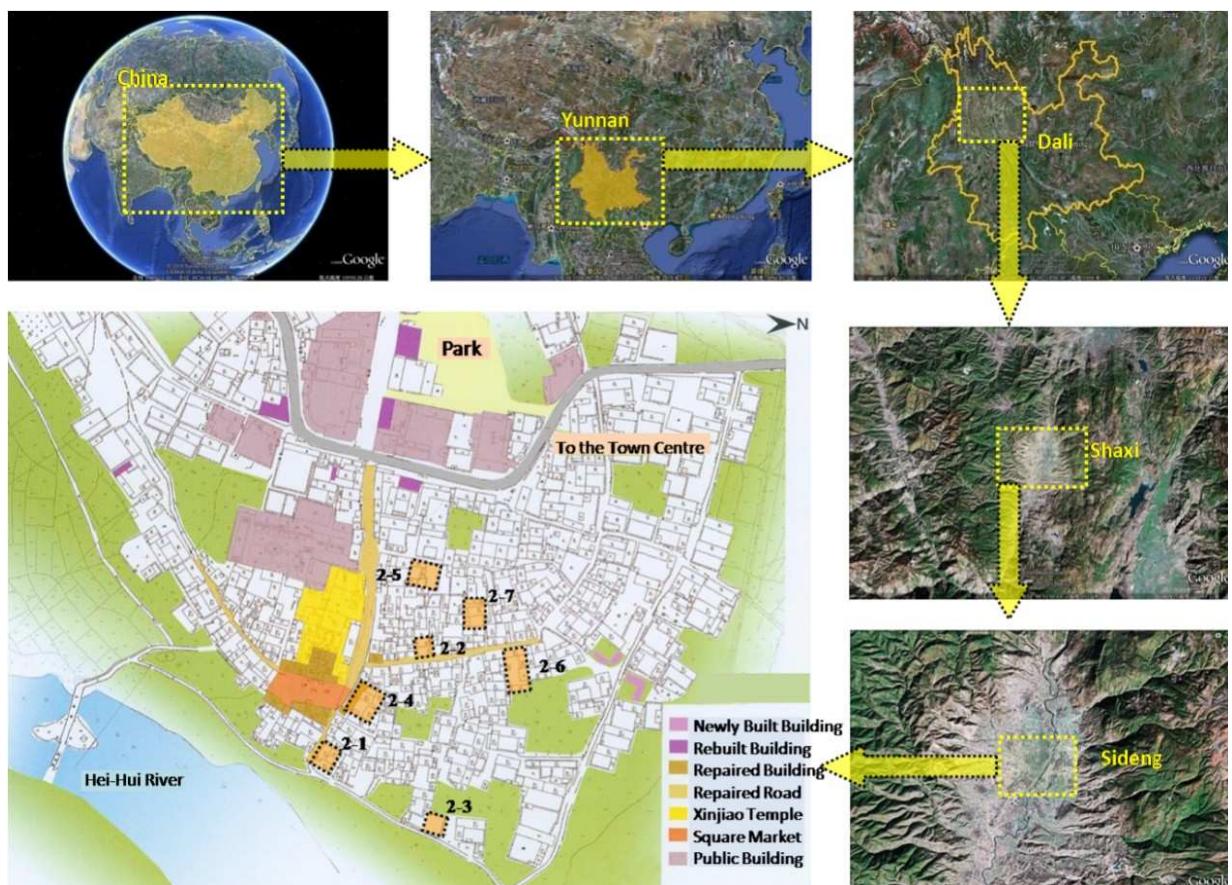


Figure 26: Location of guesthouses in Sideng (plan provided by Zhenyu Che; other images drawn by author)

Code and location of case	Layout pattern of the dwelling	Stakeholders	Original construction date	Redevelopment date
2-1 Jin-Shui-Lou-Tai (Sideng)		Outside tenants (Chendu)	Not quite clear	Refurbished in 2009

2-2 Pin-Chang-Ren -Jia (Sideng)		Outside house owner(Dongbei)	Originally built in the 1990s	Refurbished in 2008, took 11 months
2-3 Shou-Wang (Sideng)		Outside tenants (Kunming)	Newly built building	Newly built in November 2010
2-4 Lao-ma-Dian (Sideng)		Outside tenants (Taiwan)	Originally built in the 1820s	Refurbished in 2006
2-5 San-Jia-Xiang (Sideng)		Local house owner (Sideng)	Originally built in 1908	Refurbished in 2004
2-6 Gu-Dao (Sideng)		Local house owner (Sideng)	Newly built building	Newly built in April, 2010
2-7 Wen-Hua (Sideng)		Outside tenants (USA)	Originally built in the 1990s	Refurbished in 2007

Table 7: Guesthouses in Sideng (drawn by author)



Figure 27: Case of guesthouse in Sideng (diagram provided by Shaxi Cultural Centre and Guesthouse; photos taken by author)

3.3 Fieldwork and data collection

3.3.1 Circle of investigation

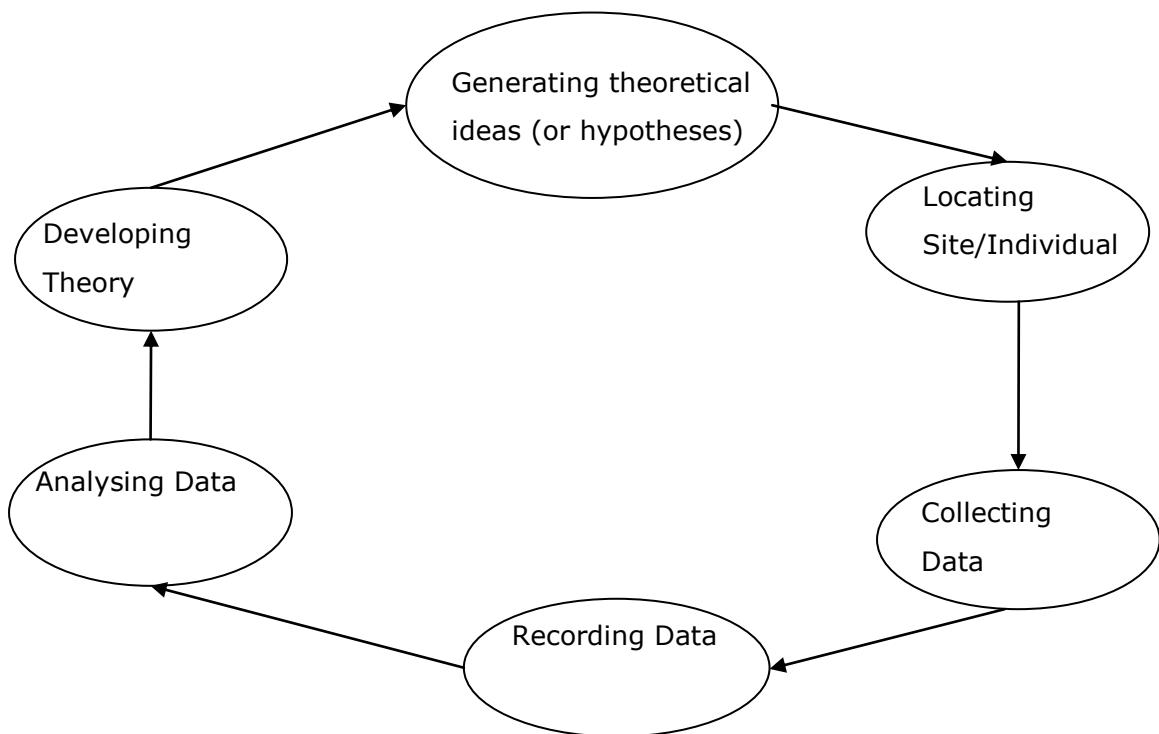


Diagram 3: Circle of investigation (drawn by author)

Rather than verifying pre-existing theories relevant to vernacular architectural tradition, the basic methodological position of this study is to discover grounded theory regarding the interrelationship between tourism development and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China. That is to say, the theory is inductively derived from phenomena, and in turn, the newly-explored theory has explanatory power to explain the phenomena. Almost all research questions and hypotheses are in accordance with this methodological position. Nevertheless, this does not mean that pre-existing theories are not important or useful; rather, "the great theorists have indeed given us models and guidelines for generating theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.11). Pre-existing theories point to new theoretical gaps and suggest new research interests to be explored. In this study, the decision to investigate the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition was determined according to the theoretical gaps identified through the review of the existing documents. Without the guidelines of pre-existing theories relevant to vernacular architecture, it would be difficult to determine the basic research questions and hypothesis.

Although initial research questions and hypotheses are determined by the suggestion of theoretical gaps identified through the review of the pre-existing theories, research questions and hypotheses are only able to provide a general research direction, which must become

more concrete in accordance with specific research objects and objectives in fieldwork. The determination of research objects and objectives prior to fieldwork may cause the researcher to encounter many obstructions when the investigation is actually conducted in the field, or there may be a risk that the research objective cannot locate appropriate data to support the investigation. For example, documentary research has pointed out the emphasis in the study of sustaining vernacular architectural tradition should be placed on the dynamic nature of vernacular architectural tradition, especially when adaptation or transmission occurs (Oliver, 1989; 2006; Rapoport, 1969; Bronner, 2006; Lawrence, 2006; Asquith & Vellinga, 2006; AlSayyad, 2001; 2006; 2009). Since the goal of the research was to explore the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings involved in tourism development, the investigation should focus on transmission and adaptation occurring during the transformation process of Bai and Naxi dwellings amidst tourism development. However, both 'sustaining vernacular architectural tradition 'and" transmission and adaptation processes are general and abstract terms, so it is difficult to locate appropriate data to investigate them. A more substantive topic needs to be identified through fieldwork. In order to solve these issues, the research objective and research object in this study were not determined before the fieldwork; instead, they were clarified through a step-by-step investigation conducted in three rounds of fieldwork. The first round of fieldwork was conducted according to the general research direction identified by the suggestion of theoretical gaps. The investigation in the first round of fieldwork generated new research questions and hypotheses to guide the second round of fieldwork. The three rounds of fieldwork thus form a progressive investigation process.

Each round of fieldwork was carried out according to a circle of investigation, which is a process embracing seven stages: propose problem - create hypothesis - locate data - collect data - analyse data - conclude theory - raise new questions (see Diagram 3). In response to the new questions, another round of generating hypothesis, locating data, collecting data, analysing data and concluding theory was carried out. After three rounds of the evolutional investigation, the initial research objective was gradually narrowed down from a general research topic to a specific subject, which facilitated intensive and in-depth data collection. The circle of investigation connects the three rounds of fieldwork and integrates them into a progressive investigation process. In addition, the theoretical gaps identified through the literature review are of relevance to the phenomena happening in a real field through application of the circle of investigation, which associates the research questions to be investigated with the behaviour, language, ideas and perspectives of real people in a real field. This avoids the situation where the theoretical research question is incompatible with the data collected through the field study, as the generation of theoretical ideas is based on the data, rather than being specified beforehand (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990;

1998;2008). As a result, the investigation during fieldwork can facilitate the generation of theory derived from real phenomena, which is the basic methodological position of the study.

3.3.1.1The first round

The first round of fieldwork started from the capital city of Yunnan province - Kunming, from where I went to Xizhuo, Dayan, Shuhe and Sideng. Rapid transformation of Bai and Naxi dwellings was witnessed in the four ethnic settlements. Some Bai or Naxi dwellings were transformed into tourism-related dwellings, including restaurants, guesthouses, shops, tourist agencies, museums, cultural centres and so on. Some others were still maintaining their original functions. Nevertheless, most of these transformations were done by the original inhabitants of the dwellings. The reasons why some Bai or Naxi dwellings were actively involved in tourism became an essential question. A hypothesis rose in my mind that the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings could be identified through the investigation of the reasons. Therefore, in the first round of fieldwork, the main objective was to clarify the driving forces promoting Bai and Naxi dwellings involved in tourism socially, culturally and economically. The Bai and Naxi dwellings involved or uninvolved in tourism development were the research objects. No specific category of these vernacular dwellings was chosen for intensive investigation. Interview and observation were the main methods used to collect data. Every tiny detail seemed important to me, and I felt totally lost at the very beginning of the fieldwork.

In terms of participants, any people located at the site could be potential participants. John W. Creswell states that, in a phenomenological study, participants must be individuals who have experienced the phenomenon being explored and can articulate their conscious experiences (Creswell, 1998, p.111). Therefore, although the people interviewed were chosen randomly, most of them were people engaged in tourism development and who were changing dwellings for the purpose of tourism development, such as the hosts of guesthouses, working craftsmen, managers of restaurants or coffee bars, or local residents who were involved in the tourism business. Among these, the hosts of guesthouses were easy to interview, especially when I was accommodated in the guesthouse. They would be appropriate gatekeepers of the investigation. Semi-structured and open-ended interviews were carried out to collect data regarding the transformation process of Bai and Naxi dwellings engaging in tourism. The emphasis of interviews was placed on issues like why was the vernacular dwelling becoming involved in tourism development? What were the motivations of hosts to change their dwelling for tourist consumption? What were the influences of tourism upon local people's daily lives? Who was conducting the transformation of the dwellings to adapt to new circumstances created by tourism? Some tourists were also interviewed, who might be able to explain why they choose ethnic settlements as a tourism destination. What did they want to gain from the

tourist experience? Had their expectations been met? The first round of fieldwork lasted twenty days from 05-03-2010 to 26-03-2010. During this time, 7000 photos were taken, 36 interviews were conducted and 20,000 words of journal were written. Relevant books, maps, tourist brochures and postcards were also collected.

After the first round of fieldwork, a comparison analysis was carried out to analyse the data collected in the fieldwork. The aim of the analysis is to generate first, conceptual categories and their conceptual properties; and second, hypotheses or generalized relations among the categories and their properties, which are elements of theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.35). Ordinary vernacular dwelling and tourism-related vernacular dwelling based on Bai and Naxi dwellings were two conceptual categories identified through the analysis of the data collected in the first round fieldwork (see table8). The properties of the two conceptual categories are quite different in terms of their association with the tourism. It is obviously the tourism-related-vernacular-dwelling could be a more proper sample than the ordinary-vernacular-dwelling when investigating the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in the Bai and Naxi dwellings.

Type of dwelling	Main function	Builders	Users
Ordinary vernacular dwelling	Residential house for living	Local craftsman	Local people
Tourism-related vernacular dwelling	Residential house & tourism agency	Local and outside craftsman	Local and outside residents and tourists

Table8: Findings in the first round of fieldwork

In addition, the analysis of the data made me realized that if all types of tourism-related dwellings (guesthouse, bar, cultural centre, museum, etc.) became research objects, the field of investigation would seem overly broad. It was necessary to choose one or two types of tourism-related dwellings to examine. The guesthouse seemed an appropriate type to investigate. Firstly, it was easy to access and the hosts of guesthouses had more free time for interviews. If I was accommodated in a guesthouse, it would be easy for me to contact other stakeholders regarding the guesthouse, such as craftsmen, members of the hosts' family, friends and acquaintances of the hosts, as well as tourists staying in it. It would also provide the advantage of being able to observe the actions of hosts and tourists, as well as the interaction between them. Secondly, the guesthouse is the most complicated tourism-related dwelling in comparison with other types of tourism-related dwellings. It holds various functions, such as residence, education, tourism, entertainment and consumption. It is used by both hosts and tourists, and run by both local and outsider households. It offers a midway format

between a purely residential dwelling and a purely tourist facility. Therefore, guesthouses would be an appropriate sample through which to investigate the transformation of the Bai or Naxi dwelling from a residential house to a tourism-related dwelling. The analysis led to a hypothesis that the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwelling could be identified through the investigation of a transformation process when an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse.

3.3.1.2 The second round

In the second round of fieldwork, the main objective of investigation was to clarify the process that how an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling was transformed into a guesthouse. The object for the investigation was a group of guesthouse transformed from some ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling under the influence of tourism. In the second round of fieldwork, the participants were individuals who had actually engaged in the construction practice of transforming an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse. The hosts of guesthouses played a role as gatekeepers, who could help me to contact other participants, such as house owners, family members of house owners, outside tenants, local landlords, local craftsmen and other builders concerned. The hosts of guesthouses also helped me to obtain in-depth information about the transformation of a Bai or a Naxi dwelling, such as what were the motivations for, and aims of, changing the dwelling into a guesthouse? What strategies did they apply to complete the transformation? What resources did they need to complete the transformation and how did they obtain the resources? What skills and knowledge were used during the transformation? What techniques and technology were applied by the builders? What was their attitude towards craftsmen and tourists? Who were the main builders and users of the guesthouse? The answers to these questions provided a picture of how the transformation process is conducted and completed. In addition, more detailed data regarding the results of the transformation were collected, such as the function of each room and the layout of space, the facilities, equipment, furniture, furnishings and decoration of a guesthouse, as well as the change of lifestyle of its residents. With the help of pre-existing measurement drawings in literature concerned, changes in a dwelling's structure, materials, facets, plan, equipment, facilities, decoration and ornamentation could be identified. Some of these changes were marked on the plan drawings, and others were recorded by camera. The data relevant to how these changes happened to the original Bai or Naxi dwellings, and the influence of the changes upon the lifestyle of residents of the dwellings, were collected through semi-structured interviews. The second round of fieldwork lasted seven days from 18-06-2010 to 25-06-2010, during which 2,000 photographs were taken and 11 interviews conducted. Naturally, items such as relevant books, maps and tourist brochures were again collected.

It was clear that the collection of data in this round of fieldwork was much more intensive and more explicit in its purpose through focusing on data relevant to the transformation process and transformation result of a guesthouse. The investigation could answer questions like how tourism influences a Bai or a Naxi dwelling and transforms it into a guesthouse. However, it was still unable to answer questions like how tourism influences the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in a Bai or a Naxi dwelling. Investigation of the transformation was necessary, because the transmission and adaptation is embodied in the process as well as the result of the transformation. However, only focus on the process and result themselves cannot identify the reason why some traditions will be selected to sustain, but some others are abandoned. I found that that the decisions regarding what tradition will be sustained is determined by the social network between builders and users of a guesthouse, as well as the culture interaction between the builder and users. It is these socio-cultural interrelationships determine the transmission and adaptation of the tradition. After the first two rounds of fieldwork, a hypothesis emerged that the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in the Bai and Naxi dwelling could be identified through the investigation of socio-cultural interrelationships between builders and users of a guesthouse. Therefore, more intensive investigation should focus on the social organization and cultural interaction between builders and users, which determines the actions and decisions regarding what tradition will be sustained, by what means, and for what reason.

3.3.1.3 *The third round*

The main objective of the third round of fieldwork was to investigate the social organization and cultural interaction between users and builders in the building and using of a guesthouse. The participants in the third round of fieldwork should be individuals who had undertaken action or participated in a process that was central to the theory to be discovered (Creswell, 1998, p.114). Local and outsider households of guesthouse investigated in the last two rounds of fieldwork were the main interviewees in this round. The investigation needed to collect data regarding issues like who were the organizer, main designer and manager? What social network needs to be established during the building and usage of a guesthouse, including relationships between local landlords and outside tenants; between local households and outside craftsmen; between outside households and local craftsmen; between hosts and tourists; and between local households and outside households? What cultural interaction occurs based on this social network? What actions and decisions are made to facilitate the transmission and adaptation of a vernacular architectural tradition based on these cultural interactions? What are the reasons for these actions and decisions?

This round of fieldwork was carried out in conjunction with the long vacation of the National Day of China, from 1st to 7th October, 2011. The fieldwork was still conducted in Dayan Old Town, Shuhe Old Town, Xizhou Old Town and Sideng village. Fifteen interviews were conducted during the third round of fieldwork. Semi-structured in-depth interview was the main method of data collection in the third round. The transcription of interviews illustrates some important details relevant to the complicated social networks and cultural interaction between users, between builders, and between users and builders during the building and using of a guesthouse. The voices of the builders and users can be heard through the transcription. Some of the actions and decisions that help to sustain vernacular architectural tradition are clarified, and the reasons for these actions and decisions can also be identified. By analysing the transcription of the interviews, the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in the Bai and Naxi dwellings would be revealed.

3.3.1.4 Object and objective

Round	Object	Objective	Method
First round	Ordinary Bai and Naxi dwellings and tourism-related Bai and Naxi dwellings	To explore the driving forces promoting Bai and Naxi dwellings being involved in tourism development in Yunnan, China.	Interview Observation
Second round	A group of guesthouse based on a Bai or Naxi dwelling involved in tourism development	To explore the transformation of Bai and Naxi dwellings when they are transformed into guesthouses	Interview Observation Measurement Mapping and drawing
The Third round	A group of builders and users involved in the building and using of a guesthouse	To explore some key socio-cultural interaction between builders, between users and between builders and users in the building and using of a guesthouse	Interview Observation Questionnaire

Table 9: Research objects and objectives in three rounds of fieldwork (drawn by author)

The specific research object and objective were not very clear in the first phase of study. After three rounds of fieldwork, the research object had narrowed from all types of Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, to a group of builder and users involved in the building and using of a guesthouse, which is a typical type of tourism-related Bai or Naxi dwelling. After three rounds of fieldwork, the research objective shifted from to explore the driving force motivating the transformation of Bai and Naxi dwellings in response to tourism development, to explore

the socio-cultural interaction and social networks involved in the process of building and using a guesthouse. A comparison of the research objects and objectives in the three rounds of fieldwork is listed above (Table9). The object and objective in the third round of fieldwork facilitated the researcher to locate proper data directly associated with some basic principles that support the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition, which is defined as transmission mechanism in literature chapter.

3.3.1.4 Fieldwork diaries and other data

Apart from the data collected through interview and observation, the researcher also wrote fieldwork diaries and monthly reports including thoughts, questions, assumptions, hypotheses and discoveries during the journey of the research. All of these would become a set of textual data to be analysed by the template analysis method. Other data, such as advertisement handouts, government brochures, policies and construction rules and even comments by tourists about the accommodation on the guesthouse website were included in the data to be analysed. Moreover, a questionnaire for the households and tourists of guesthouses was formulated to investigate the attitudes of households to building and using a guesthouse, as well as the attitudes of tourists in choosing a guesthouse. 30 questionnaires for households and 42 questionnaires for tourists were distributed in the third round of fieldwork, but only 24 valid questionnaires for households and 34 valid questionnaires for tourists were collected. Analysis of the questionnaires would help to provide a detailed comparison of different cultural values among different households and tourists regarding some basic cultural themes embodied in the building and using of a guesthouse. The cultural themes were identified through the interviews done in the first and second rounds of fieldwork. The value themes would be separated into two extremes. Five levels were set between the two extremes, which could label the degree to which a household or a tourist valued a cultural theme. The cultural themes identified through the interviews are listed in the questionnaire. Each cultural theme is subdivided into several sub-items corresponding to decisions and actions of households and tourists. For example, 'Value self decision' and 'Value authority decision' are two extremes in one cultural theme, which are subdivided into three items including 'opening of the guesthouse', 'attitude towards restriction of construction rule', and 'care about the punishment'. The analyses of the data collected through the questionnaires were able to provide more evidence to support research hypotheses, such as the traditional items are valued by both household and tourists, and the households prefer to employ local craftsmen to complete the construction, and so forth. The analyses of the questionnaire are listed below but this part of the analysis is not included in the template analysis. Table10 is to investigate the attitudes of the households when they prepare to transform their dwellings into guesthouses. Each line represents a guesthouse, which has been coded according to Table4, Table5, Table6 and Table7. The solid lines represent local households and the dotted lines represent outside

households. It shows that when the households prepare for the transformation, they value self-decision, leisure, continuity, rural life and traditional construction, as well as living with other family members.

Value self decision		Value authority's decision	
1. Opening the guesthouse was the host's decision	1 2 3 4 5	Opening of the guesthouse was suggested by the government	
2. I will comply with restriction of construction rules	1 2 3 4 5	I will break some restrictions in the construction rules	
3. I care about punishment by the government	1 2 3 4 5	I do not care about punishment by the government	
Value leisure		Value income	
4. Opening the guesthouse will help me to enjoy life	1 2 3 4 5	Opening the guesthouse could increase the family's income	
5. I want to receive a large number of tourists	1 2 3 4 5	I want to receive a small number of tourists	
6. I live here because of the healthy environment	1 2 3 4 5	I live here because of commercial potential	
Value old		Value young	
7. When changing the dwelling, I will follow the suggestions of older family members	1 2 3 4 5	When changing the dwelling, I will follow the suggestions of young family members	
8. I will keep my older family members living with me	1 2 3 4 5	I will keep my young family members living with me	
Value continuity		Value change	
9. I want to change the dwelling just a little bit	1 2 3 4 5	I want to change the dwelling fundamentally	
10. I will keep original furniture and equipment	1 2 3 4 5	I will change all original furniture and equipment into new ones	
11. I will keep the guesthouse during the cold season of tourism	1 2 3 4 5	I will go to travel during the cold season of tourism	
12. I will prepare a small budget for the construction	1 2 3 4 5	I will prepare a large budget for the construction	
13. I have lived in the dwelling for more than eight years	1 2 3 4 5	I have lived in the dwelling less than 3 years	
Value rural		Value urban	
14. I am longing for rural life	1 2 3 4 5	I am longing for urban life	
Value tradition		Value modern	
15. I will hire local craftsmen to carry out the construction	1 2 3 4 5	I will hire outside workers to carry out the construction	
16. I want tourists to be interested in the history of the family	1 2 3 4 5	I want tourists to be interested in the design of the guesthouse.	
17. I will use traditional elements to decorate	1 2 3 4 5	I will use fashionable elements to decorate	
Value individual		Value collection	
18. I will live alone or live without my core family members	1 2 3 4 5	I will live with my core and extended family members	
19. I care about my friends and relatives living with/near me	1 2 3 4 5	I do not care about my friends and relatives living with or near me	
Low commercialization		High commercialization	
20. I have many ways to advertise my guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	I have little way to advertise my guesthouse	

3-1 - - - 3-2 - - 3-3 - - 3-6 - - 3-7 - - 3-8 - - 3-9 - - 3-10 - - P-S - - 2-2 - - -
 2-3 - - - 2-6 - - 1-3 - - 1-2 - - 4-4 - - 4-3 - - 4-6 - - 4-7 - - 4-5 - - 4-1 - - -
 A-J - - - 4-9 - - -

Table 10 : Analysis of questionnaire for households

Value self decision		Value authority's decision				
21. I follow my duty to protect the dwelling	1 2 3 4 5	I follow the rules of authority to protect the dwelling				
Value DIY		Value commissioning other people				
22. The style of the guesthouse is designed by me	2 3 4 5	The style of the guesthouse is designed by other people				
23. Decoration is mainly chosen by me	1 2 3 4 5	Decoration is mainly chosen by other people				
Value continuity		Value change				
24. The framework of the dwelling is preserved	1 2 3 4 5	The framework of the dwelling is reconstructed				
25. The depth and width of rooms are maintained	1 2 3 4 5	The depth and width of rooms are changed				
26. The faces of the dwelling expose its original materials	1 2 3 4 5	The faces of the dwelling are covered up by new materials				
Value specificity		Value similar				
27. I hope my guesthouse is different from others	1 2 3 4 5	I hope my guesthouse is similar to some high standard hotels in the big city				
Local know-how		Modern technology				
28. There is no suspended ceiling in the guest room	1 2 3 4 5	There is a suspended ceiling in the guest room				
29. Construction doesn't involve waterproofing, heat insulation or sound isolation	1 2 3 4 5	Construction involves waterproofing, heat insulation and sound insulation				
30. It mainly uses traditional materials: brick, tile, mud, wood	1 2 3 4 5	It mainly uses modern materials like concrete, steel, glass				
Local craftsmen		Outside construction team				
31. The main construction is by local craftsmen	1 2 3 4 5	The main construction is by an outside construction team				
Personal experience		Professional design				
32. The design of the guesthouse is mainly by craftsmen	1 2 3 4 5	The design of the guesthouse is mainly by a professional designer				
Keep budget		Over budget				
33. The expenditure for construction is close to the expected budget	1 2 3 4 5	The expenditure for construction is over the expected budget				
Value continuity		Value change				
34. The original space arrangement is kept	1 2 3 4 5	The original arrangement is changed				
35. The courtyard is kept in original style	1 2 3 4 5	The courtyard has been repaved				
36. The original size of the courtyard is kept	1 2 3 4 5	The original size of the courtyard is changed				
Value personal taste		Value public taste				
37. The style of decoration is according to the taste of host	1 2 3 4 5	The style of the decoration is according to the tastes of tourists				
Value luxury		Value simple				
38. The equipment of the dwelling is of a high standard	1 2 3 4 5	The equipment of the dwelling is simple				
39. The furnishing in the dwelling is famous brands	1 2 3 4 5	The furnishing in the dwelling is not famous brands				
40. The furniture in the dwelling is expensive	1 2 3 4 5	The furniture in the dwelling is cheap				
Value nature		Value human-made				
41. There are many natural elements in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many human-made elements in the decoration				
Value traditional elements		Value modern				
42. There are many traditional elements in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many fashionable elements in the decoration whose value can be seen				
43. Many traditional values can be detected	1 2 3 4 5	Few traditional values can be detected				
Value pure		Value hybrid				
44. There is a main theme in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many themes in the decoration				
Value DIY		Value standard products				
45. There are many DIY items in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	Almost all the decoration has been bought				

Table 11: Analysis of questionnaire for households

The graph listed above (Table11) is to investigate the attitude of the households during the process of transforming a dwelling into a guesthouse. It shows that when the households transform a dwelling into a guesthouse, they value self decision, DIY, continuity, specificity, local know-how, local craftsmen, personal experience, personal taste, nature and traditional elements. There is no identified distinctive difference between local households and outside households in these culture themes. Two tendencies can be seen from the two graphs. One is that most local households use more traditional elements and materials in the transformation than the outside ones, and more traditional values could be detected from the guesthouse run by the local households than the one run by outside households. The other tendency is when local households change their dwellings they prefer to follow the suggestions of older family members, while outside households prefer to follow the suggestions of the younger generation.

Stress objective heritage		Stress constructive heritage	
1. I can see some true heritage in the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	I can see some heritage in the guesthouse, even though it is fake	5
Stress meaning embodied		Stress information embodied	
2. I can read much meaning embodied in the built environment of guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	I can read much information embodied in the built environment of the guesthouse	5
Value inter-existential authenticity		Value external-existential authenticity	
3. I feel true-self when I am alone in the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	I feel true-self when I talk with other tourists staying in the guesthouse	5
Spiritual oriented service		Physically-oriented service	
4. Many services are mainly for spiritual requirements	1 2 3 4 5	Many services are mainly for physical requirements	5
5. The environment is good for reading and thinking	1 2 3 4 5	The environment is not good for reading and thinking	5
6. The environment is appropriate for relaxing my spirit	1 2 3 4 5	The environment is appropriate for relaxing my body	5
Local-related consumption		Universal consumption	
7. The consumption items are mainly relevant to the local culture	1 2 3 4 5	The consumption items are mainly not relevant to local culture	5
Low commercialization		High commercialization	
8. The price of the guesthouse is low	1 2 3 4 5	The price of the guesthouse is high	5
9. There are less than four consumption items in the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	There are more than six consumption items in the guesthouse	5
10. There are many items available in the guest room which require an extra fee	1 2 3 4 5	There is nothing available in the guest room which needs an extra fee	5
11. I could book the guest room through the internet	1 2 3 4 5	I could not book the guest room through the internet	5
Weak link interdependence		Strong interdependence of other touristic agencies	
12. Tourist can book tickets for other touristic activities through the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	Tourist cannot book tickets for other touristic items/activities through the guesthouse	5

Table 12: Analysis of questionnaire for tourists

Guesthouses run by local households —

Guesthouses run by outside households - - -

Guesthouses run by Real Estate Developer - - - -

Value leisure		Value income	
13. The space is mainly used by hosts	1 2 3 4 5	The space is mainly used by tourists	
14. The kitchen is used by hosts	1 2 3 4 5	The kitchen is used by tourists	
Value tradition		Value modern	
15. I prefer the guesthouse in architecture style of traditional Naxi house	1 2 3 4 5	I prefer the guesthouse in modern architecture style	
16. I prefer the interior of the inn to be typical Naxi style	1 2 3 4 5	I prefer the interior of the inn to be typical modern hotel style	
Value special		Value similar	
17. I want the style of the dwelling to be different from other guesthouses	1 2 3 4 5	I want the style of the dwelling to be similar to other guesthouses	
Value old elements		Value new elements	
18. I prefer the dwelling to be an original one	1 2 3 4 5	I prefer the dwelling to be a rebuilt one	
Value distinguishable		Value mystique	
19. The character of the guesthouse could be known from the name of it	1 2 3 4 5	The character of the guesthouse could not be known from the name of it	
Value luxury		Value simple	
20. The equipment of the dwelling is high standard	1 2 3 4 5	The equipment of the dwelling is simple	
21. The furnishing in the dwelling is famous brands	1 2 3 4 5	The furnishing in the dwelling is not famous brands	
Value nature		Value human-made	
22. There are many natural elements in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many human-made elements in the decoration	
Value tradition		Value modern	
23. There are many traditional elements in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many fashionable elements in the decoration whose value can be seen	
24. Many traditional values can be detected	1 2 3 4 5	Few traditional values can be detected	
Value pure Value hybrid		Value simple	
25. There is a main theme in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many themes in the decoration	
Value residence		Value commerce	
26. There are no advertisements on the wall	1 2 3 4 5	There are many advertisements on the wall	
27. There is no consumption menu	1 2 3 4 5	There is a long consumption menu	
Value equality		Value gap	
28. Equipment used by tourists is still used by the hosts	1 2 3 4 5	The host does not use the equipment used by tourists	
29. The lifestyle of the hosts is similar to tourists'	1 2 3 4 5	The lifestyle of the hosts is different from tourists'	
30. The gap in living standard between hosts and tourists is small	1 2 3 4 5	The gap in living standard between hosts and tourists is large	
Value emotions		Value income	
31. There is much communication between hosts and tourists	1 2 3 4 5	There is little communication between hosts and tourists	
32. Host would tell us some history of Lijiang	1 2 3 4 5	Host never told us any history of Lijiang	
33. Host treats tourist as friends	1 2 3 4 5	Host treats tourist as customers	
34. There are no conflicts between host and tourists	1 2 3 4 5	There are some conflicts between host and tourists	
35. The host employs outsiders to run the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	The host employs local people to run the guesthouse	
36. The hospitality of the hosts did not change after I stayed in the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	The hospitality of the hosts changed after I stayed in the guesthouse	

Table13: Analysis of questionnaire for tourists

Table12 is to investigate the types of authenticity that the tourists could experience when staying in a guesthouse. It shows that both 'true' heritage and 'constructive' heritage could be seen in a guesthouse. The built environment in the guesthouses is fit for reading and thinking. Most of the tourists value spiritual oriented service. The graph also investigates the consumption pattern that a guesthouse provides for the tourists. It shows that the main consumption items in a guesthouse run by both local and outside households are highly relevant to local culture. However, the consumption items in the guesthouse run by a real estate developer have little relevance to local culture. In addition, the price of this guesthouse is high and there are more consumption items which need an extra fee than in the guesthouses run by individual households.

Table13 is to investigate the responses of tourists regarding the meaning embodied in the built environment of a guesthouse. Most tourists prefer the guesthouse to be in the architectural style of traditional Bai or Naxi dwellings both internally and externally, but most of the decorations in the guesthouses are hybrid. Most tourists feel that both local and outside households treat them as friends, and they have many opportunities to communicate with the households. Both local and outside households employ local people to run the guesthouse, so that tourists have many chances of contact with local people when they are staying in a guesthouse. In contrast, when tourists stay in a guesthouse run by a real estate developer, there is little communication between hosts and tourists. The tourists feel that they are treated as customers.

The analyses of the questionnaire provide some detailed comparisons between the values of local and outside households, as well as the detailed assessments of tourists of the guesthouse run by local households, outside households and a real estate developer. The analyses show that in terms of values, there is little difference between the local and outside households. In terms of the assessments of tourists, there is also little difference between guesthouses run by local and outside households, but the differences between guesthouses run by individual households and that run by a real estate developer are obvious. The reason why these differences occur can be identified through the template analysis, which will be explained later. Although the analyses of the questionnaires could provide some of the general characteristics of the local and outside households, as well as the nature of some of the tourists' requirements, these aspects of the data are not directly relevant to the research question. Therefore, the results of these analyses can only be used as background to the study, and thus they made a relatively limited contribution to the research.

3.3.2 Ethical issues

Most of the interviewees were households of guesthouses, who were open to communicating with a stranger, as anyone could be a potential customer. Therefore, it was relatively easy to gain access to the site and establish a rapport with the participants. When first establishing trust, it was important to clarify the researcher's purpose and identity to the potential candidates for interview. If a candidate wanted further information about my identity, I showed further evidence to him/her, such as my student card and even Visa card. In addition, the activities which would be undertaken, and how the data collected would be presented in the dissertation, also had to be explained to candidates. For example, it was important to tell potential participants that the names of interviewees would be confidential, and that all data relevant to the name of the dwelling would be made anonymous. After this introduction, if the candidate agreed to be an interviewee, the actual form of consent had to be signed by the participant. After that, the approach to recording the content of the interview needed to be determined through consultation, but priority was given to the suggestions of interviewees. For example, if I suggested using a recorder to record the interview, but the interviewee felt nervous about the presence of a recorder, I suggested using pen and paper. If pen and paper also made the interviewee feel uncomfortable, I relied on memory. At the same time, the difficulties and importance of the reliability of data had to be clarified to interviewees. That is to say, the process of determining the approach to recording data is a process of consultation between researchers and participants. After the interviews, permission for all the details to be used in the dissertation had to be obtained from the participants through informed consent.

3.3.3 Other problems in the field study

Although most guesthouse households were open to communicating with strangers, interviews were often interrupted when new tourists were arriving, especially in the high tourist season. Some households were even too busy to fill in the questionnaire or give an interview. When I wanted to collect data relevant to drawings or draft designs for a guesthouse, most of the households would say they did not have any. Blueprints were the hardest data to obtain. In addition, it was difficult to identify the transformation of a vernacular dwelling into a guesthouse in detail, as many parts of a dwelling could not be visited, such as the living space of the households and some tourist rooms if they were in use. Details of spatial arrangements and materials were difficult to check. As furniture and furnishings were not recorded in the original plans, it was difficult to identify the transformation of a dwelling in terms of these elements. Therefore, much information could only be obtained through interview. In addition, there are some regrets with regard to the field work. For example, if it were possible to follow or participate in the entire construction process of a guesthouse, data collected from fieldwork concerning the transformation process of a Bai or a Naxi dwelling could be much richer and more comprehensive. However, due to time issues, this aspect was not in the fieldwork plan.

3.4 Data analysis

3.4.1 Template analysis of textual data

As mentioned before, the template analysis method was applied to analyse textual data collected from all three rounds of fieldwork, paying particular attention to the textual data collected during the third round of interviews. After the three rounds of fieldwork, 62 interviews had been completed, of which roughly 30 interviews were conducted with hosts of guesthouses, 8 with craftsmen, 2 with professional designers, 12 with tourists, 4 with government officials and 6 with other people concerned. It therefore seems that the interviewees were mainly individual hosts of guesthouses, who were able to provide comprehensive information regarding the transformation of a dwelling, such as the organization of construction, the management of running a guesthouse, the selection of craftsmen and the cultural issues relevant to the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in the transformation. Craftsmen and tourists were the other two groups of people I interviewed intensively, as they were the builders and users of guesthouses, and their actions and decisions influenced the transmission and adaptation of the vernacular architectural tradition. The craftsmen could provide details concerning the skills, tools, materials and techniques that they applied during construction, as well as their role and status in a construction team. The tourists were able to provide information such as their expectations of a guesthouse and their assessment of it, as well as their relationship with the hosts. The interviews with government officials and other people concerned could provide some basic information relevant to the implementation of rules regarding the transformation of a dwelling into a guesthouse. The categories of interviewees focused on the main builders and users of a guesthouse, through which the different views regarding cultural issues from different perspectives could be obtained. Roughly 300,000 words of transcription of the interviews were analysed through template analysis. It should be clarified here that the interview questions were developed during the research process, and that the last set of interview questions were those most relevant to the key research questions. Although the template analysis was applied after the completion of the third round of fieldwork, it was also used to analyse the data collected through half three rounds of interviews. However, the final set of interview questions provided critical guidance for the codes in the template.

Researchers apply template analysis to produce a list of codes ('template'), and organize them into a hierarchical structure to present the relationship between themes (King, 2004, p.256). At first, the themes may seem unrelated, but as more themes emerge, more abstraction can be developed, and the interrelationship between these themes is used to form an integrated central theoretical framework, which indicates the core of the emerging theory. The theoretical framework is used as guidance for writing up. Nigel King argues that template analysis is a more flexible technique, with fewer specified procedures, than that of grounded theory for data

gathering and analysis. King suggests that in practice, template analysis is very similar to IPA, as both approaches require the development of conceptual themes which are clustered into broader groupings, and which eventually lead to identification of cases of 'master themes' with their 'constituent themes'. IPA studies are commonly based on samples of ten or fewer, with greater depth of analysis of individual cases before attempting any integration of a full set of cases, while template analysis studies are commonly based on samples of 20 to 30, which works particularly well in studies designed to compare the perspectives of different groups of people within a specific context (2004, p.257). In this study, template analysis was applied to analyse the actions, values and perceptions of different groups of people engaged in transforming an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a tourism-related one, including those of local residents, outside tenants, local house owners, craftsmen and tourists. Through this analysis, a conceptual framework relevant to how and why vernacular architectural tradition may be transmitted and adapted through tourism development would be formed.

3.4.2 Creating the initial template

After three rounds of fieldwork, the research objective had been narrowed down from exploring the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, to exploring why and how the vernacular architectural tradition can be transmitted and adopted through tourism development. The creation of an initial template is highly relevant to the research objective. The first step is to define codes. "A code is a label attached to a section of text to index it as relating to a theme or issue in the data which the researcher has identified as important to his or her interpretation"(King, 2004, p.257). For example, the codes would be the points in the text where the interviewees mention particular groups of people relevant to the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition, such as 'builder and user of guesthouse', 'local and outside household', 'local and outside craftsmen', 'local house owner', 'outside tenants', 'tourists'. Descriptive codes regarding the transformation process of the dwelling, such as 'design process', 'innovation in construction', 'construction strategy' or 'government restrictions' would also probably need to be coded. Other codings might include particular categories of presenting socio-cultural interaction between users and builders, such as 'interaction between local and outside household', 'interaction between households and craftsmen', 'interaction between hosts and tourists', or 'relationship between craftsmen and their apprentices'. Other codes may be more interpretative, which means the codes embody some meaning behind the content of the textual data, such as 'distortion of local culture' and 'different perspectives upon tradition', 'role and status of craftsmen', 'conflicts between locals and outsiders' etc. Normally, general codes could become higher-order codes, and specific codes could become low-order codes. Therefore, some of the coding shows a hierarchical relationship, such as 'builder and user of guesthouse' and 'local and outside household'. Hierarchical coding allows the researcher to

analyse texts at varying levels of specificity; broad higher-order codes are guided by the general direction of the interview, while the detailed lower-order codes could reflect distinctions both within and between cases (King, 2004, p.258). Some segments of text could be coded with more than one coding, which is called parallel coding (King, 2004, p.258). For example, a segment of text describing how to add a bathroom into a timber-structured dwelling could be coded as 'innovation in construction' or 'construction strategy'. In this situation, the coding shows an overlapping relationship between the codes. Both hierarchical coding and parallel coding are applied to the template analysis of this study.

The second step is to create an initial template with an appropriate structure to organize the codes identified. Groups of similar codes could be clustered together to produce more general higher-order codes. For instance, separate codes like 'interaction between local and outside households', 'interaction between households and craftsmen', 'interaction between hosts and tourists' or 'relationship between craftsmen and their apprentices' might be incorporated into a single higher-order code 'relationship between user and builder'. After several groups of code emerge, the groups of code could be organized again into higher-order codes, or they may maintain a parallel relationship. Finally, hundreds of codes can be organized into a complicated conceptual framework with both hierarchical and parallel relationships. The conceptual framework shows the relationships between the codes, which address the answers to the research question.

Often the best starting point in constructing an initial template is the interview topic guide - the set of question areas, probes and prompts used by the interviewer; main questions can serve as higher-order codes, and subsidiary questions and probes could become potential lower-order codes (King, 2004, p.259). In this study, the research objective is relevant to the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition during the building and usage of a guesthouse. Thus, the first-order codes could be determined according to the main questions in the interview, including 'who is involved in the transformation process of a Bai or Naxi dwelling?', 'what is the relationship between user and builder?', 'what construction strategies did that household apply?', 'what were the interactions between users and builders?', 'what are the perspectives of different people regarding tradition?', 'what is the role of craftsmen in the construction?' and 'how is the design process conducted?' The initial template used is listed below:

1 People involved in building and using a guesthouse

1 Local and outside households

1 Motivation of local households

2 Change of lifestyle of household

3 Management in running the business

2 Tourists

1 Motivation of tourists

2 Consumption requirements of tourists

3 Tourist pattern

4 Activities on holiday

3 Role of local and outside craftsmen

1 Provide traditional vernacular know-how

2 Facilitate social connections

3 Innovation in construction

4 Apprenticeship systems

5 Learning and training in the construction process

4 Professionals

5 Government officials

2 Relationship between user and builder

1 Conflicts between locals and outsiders

2 Interaction between local and outside households

3 Interaction between households and craftsmen

4 Interaction between hosts and tourists

5 Relationship between craftsmen and their apprentices

3 Construction strategy of guesthouse

1 Main task of construction

1 Multi-function

2 Tourist gaze

3 Tourism-related consumption

2 Original situation of the dwelling

3 Change of the dwelling

1 Strategy on structure

2 Strategy on new equipment

3 Strategy on furniture and furnishings

4 Strategy on adding bathrooms

5 Strategy on physical performance of dwelling

4 Strategy on design

1 Main designer

2 On-site design

3 Independent from professional designer

4 Cultural themes applied in design

- 1 Meaning in the features of guesthouse
- 2 Distortion of local culture

4 Different perspectives regarding tradition

- 1 Comments of local households
- 2 Comments of outside households
- 3 Comments of tourists
- 4 Discourse relevant to local culture
- 5 Identity of households
- 6 Different understanding of tradition

3.4.3 Revising the template

Revision of a template is an open-ended and complex process. The aim of revision is to change the order of codes in the initial template structure, so that it can attain a clear logic in addressing the research question. In this stage with the increasing of reading, four key aspects of transmission mechanisms are identified, inducing authority and control, connection between builder and user, roles of craftsmen and apprenticeship system, and the open-ended design process. The identification of the four key aspects of transmission mechanism improve the revising of the template. There are a number of techniques for revising the template, including insertion, deletion, changing the scope or changing the higher-order classification (King, 2004). When it was identified that some data relevant to the key research question was not covered by the template, some new codes needed to be inserted into the template. Meanwhile, some codes were deleted when they were found to have little relevance to the research question, or could belong to other codes. For example 'people involved in building and using guesthouse' was defined as a first level code, which overlapped in many respects with the code 'relationship between user and builder'. Therefore, the 'interaction between user and builder' group of coding and the 'relationship between user and builder' group of coding should belong to a higher-order coding, 'builder-user connection'. Changes in the scope of the codes occurred when a code was found to be "either too narrowly defined or too broadly defined to be useful" (King, 2004, p.262). For example, 'local and outside craftsmen' and 'strategy on design' were two groups of codes which were on the second level of the whole template. However, these two groups of code corresponded to two key aspects of the transmission mechanism of vernacular architectural tradition. Therefore, in terms of their importance and close relationship with the research question, these two groups of code should be defined as first level codes.

In addition, 'different perspectives on tradition' has little association with the research question, so that group of code could be deleted from the final template, but the specific codes within the group could be inserted into other groups of code. For example, 'comments of local households' and 'comments of outside households' are two codes which belong to 'different perspectives on tradition'. When 'different perspectives on tradition' as a code was deleted from the final template, 'comments of local households' and 'comments of outside households' could be inserted into 'interaction between local and outside households'. After modification, a 'revised template' was created, as listed below:

1 Authority and control

1 Rules and restrictions by government

2 Construction strategy of guesthouse

1 Main task of construction

1 Multi-function

2 Tourist gaze

3 Tourism-related consumption

2 Original situation of the dwelling

3 Change of the dwelling

1 Strategy on structure

2 Strategy on new equipment

3 Strategy on furniture and furnishings

4 Strategy on adding bathrooms

5 Strategy on physical performance of dwelling

2 User-builder connections

1 People involved in building and using guesthouse

1 Local and outside households

1 Motivation of local households

2 Change of lifestyle of households

3 Management in running the business

2 Tourists

1 Motivation of tourists

2 Consumption requirements of tourists

3 Tourist pattern

4 Activities on holiday

3 Local and outside craftsmen

4 Professionals

2 Relationship between user and builder

- 1 Conflicts between locals and outsiders
- 2 Interaction between local and outside households
 - 1 Comments of local households
 - 2 Comments of outside households
- 3 Interaction between households and craftsmen
- 4 Interaction between hosts and tourists
- 5 Relationship between craftsmen and their apprentices

3 Roles of craftsmen and apprenticeship system

- 1 Role of craftsmen
 - 1 Provide traditional vernacular know-how
 - 2 Facilitate social connections
 - 3 Innovation in construction
- 2 Apprenticeship systems
 - 1 Revival of apprenticeships
 - 2 Change in master-apprentice relationship
 - 3 Change in vernacular know-how

4 Open-ended design process

- 1 Main designer
 - 1 Household
 - 2 Craftsmen
 - 3 Comments of tourists
- 2 On-site design
- 3 Independent from professional designers
- 4 Cultural themes applied in design
 - 1 Meaning in the features of guesthouse
 - 2 Distortion of local culture
 - 3 Different understanding of tradition
 - 4 Discourse relevant to local culture

The content of the next four chapters will be based on the final template. In accordance with the research question, the study is intended to investigate the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China. The main objective of the investigation is to identify how and why the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings occurs within tourism development. The 'final' template provides a good reference point for the framework of the writing-up, which indicates that the writing-up could be based on the four

aspects of the transmission mechanism for vernacular architectural tradition. In order to identify the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, the next four chapters should clarify the transitions in the four key aspects of transmission mechanism for vernacular architectural tradition when Bai and Naxi dwellings are transformed into guesthouses. The contents of the next chapters are listed below:

Chapter 4 Transition in authority and control

1 Authority and control on a government level

- 1 Local planning, rules and restrictions
 - 1 Daya
 - 2 Shuh
 - 3 Xizho
 - 4 Sideng

2 Authority and control on a community level

1 Various degrees of authority

- 1 Maintain original features and change function of empty rooms
- 2 Alter usage of a dwelling
- 3 Build new dwelling in 'traditional' style
- 4 Restore old dwelling and alter its function
- 5 Renovate and refurbish a rented dwelling

3 Influence of tourism on authority and control

Chapter 5 Transition in user-builder connection

1 Original users and builders of the 30 dwellings in case study

2 Current users and builders of the 30 guesthouses in case study

3 New connections between users and builders

- 1 Mutual dependence between local and outside households
- 2 Mutual trust and respect between tenants and landlords
- 3 Constant communication between hosts and tourists
- 4 Collaboration between local and outside craftsmen

4 Influence of tourism on user-builder connection

Chapter 5 Transition in craftsmen's role and apprenticeship system

1 Transition in local craftsmen's role

1 Original role of craftsmen

2 Roles of craftsmen in construction of a guesthouse

- 1 Provide traditional know-how

- 2 Facilitate social connections
- 3 Innovation of new traditional know-how
- 3 Influence of tourism on the role of local craftsmen
- 2 Transition in apprenticeships
 - 1 Original local apprenticeships
 - 2 Transition in apprenticeships in tourism development
 - 1 Revival of apprenticeships
 - 2 Change in master-apprentice relationship
 - 3 Change in vernacular know-how
 - 3 Influence of tourism on apprenticeships

Chapter 7 Transition in open-ended design process

- 1 Original local design process
- 2 Characteristics of design process of a guesthouse
 - 1 The main designer
 - 2 Independent from professional designer
 - 3 On-site design
 - 4 Culturally associated design
 - 1 Main entrance
 - 2 Courtyard
 - 3 Tea Bar
 - 4 Distortion of local culture
- 3 Influence of tourism on design process

3.5 Developing theory

The next four chapters will investigate respectively the transitions in the four key mechanisms under the influence of tourism development. Chapter 4 discusses the transition of authority and control in building and using Bai and Naxi dwellings when they are transformed into guesthouses, while Chapter 5 examines the change in the user-builder connection when Bai and Naxi dwellings are transformed into guesthouses. Chapter 6 investigates how the roles of craftsmen and apprenticeships change under the influence of tourism development and Chapter 7 focuses on the transition in the open-ended design process when Bai and Naxi dwellings are transformed into guesthouses. Following the discussion and arguments within these four chapters, the findings of the investigation will answer the research question regarding the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings when the dwellings become involved in tourism development.

Chapter 4: Transition in authority and control

As confirmed by the literature review, a vernacular dwelling is built by its inhabitants (Oliver, 2003, p.15). This indicates that the inhabitants have a high level of authority to control almost all aspects of construction and usage, such as organization of builders, management of procedures and usage of resources. This allows builders and users to build and use their dwellings according to their distinct socio-cultural needs. In addition, the fact that a vernacular dwelling is built by its inhabitants indicates that the inhabitants have a high degree of authority in terms of access to the materials, tools, skills and technology they need during construction and usage. In order to maintain this authority and thus control access to the required vernacular know-how, it is necessary to ensure a process of transmission of vernacular know-how from one generation to the next, so that the next generation can build their dwellings by themselves. Because the authority regarding construction and usage is highly controlled by individual users and builders on a grass-roots level, the cultural norms and social rules involved in the construction and usage process is determined by communities rather than by governments. In turn, the construction and usage process will facilitate adherence to the norms and rules which make the dwelling meaningful for individuals and communities. In this sense, authority and control can be considered a key aspect of the transmission mechanism for the vernacular tradition relating to such dwellings. This chapter will investigate the transition in the authority and control of individual builders and users when Naxi or Bai dwellings are transformed into guesthouses under the influence of tourism.

4.1 Authority and control on a government level

4.1.1 Local planning, rules and restrictions

Tourism development in mainland China was not promoted as an industry by central government policies until 1978 (Zhang, 2003). In that year, the Chinese government started its 'opening up' policy and economic reform following the Cultural Revolution. After that, the central government shifted its emphasis from policy conflicts to economic development. It was in the 1980s that the Chinese government first clearly indicated that tourism was an important part of the tertiary (service) industry, and this was emphasised as an area to be promoted in the '10th Five-Year Plan for the National Economy and Social Development' (Zhang & Lew, 2003). The development of tourism as a driving force of national economic growth was proposed in the late 1990s, and two-thirds of provincial governments were committed to making tourism one of the key industries by 2000 (Zhang & Lew, 2003). In 2001, China successfully joined the World Tourism Organization (WTO), pushing the tourism industry of mainland China into the global market. In order to "compete in an ever-tightening global

economy" (AlSayyad, 2001, p.3), the China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) developed the '10th Five-Year Plan and Long-Term Goal Outlines up to 2015 and 2020 for Tourism Development in Mainland China' (CNTA, 2001). This suggests that by 2020, mainland China will have 210 to 300 million inbound tourist arrivals, international tourism earnings will be US\$58 - 82 billion and domestic tourism revenue will reach RMB 2100 billion Yuan, which is expected to be equivalent to 11 percent of mainland China's GDP by 2020 (Zhang & Lew, 2003, p.8). The WTO forecasts that mainland China will be the top tourism destination in the world by 2020 (Yu, Ap, Zhang & Lew, 2003, p.297). In addition, a series of preferential policies and actions have been introduced to fulfil the ambitious plan for tourism development in contemporary China. For example, the central government has created three week-long public holidays per year (Spring Festival holiday, May Day Festival holiday and National Day holiday), many local administrations have improved transportation and other fundamental facilities for tourism, and various government departments have widened international connections with global institutions (Zhang & Lew, 2003). By the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s, with the encouragement of central government policy and promotion of the domestic tourism market, the principal government of Yunnan province started to carry out a series of policies designed to develop tourism based on ethnic minority culture and well-preserved vernacular settlements. Raising the reputation of a tourist destination is an effective strategy to expand the tourist market.

4.1.1.1 Dayan

In December 1986, the Dayan old town in Lijiang was officially listed as a 'National Historically and Culturally Famous Town'. On 20th July, 1994, the Provincial People's Congress in Yunnan Province promulgated 'The Yunnan Province of Lijiang Historically and Culturally Famous Town Protection and Management Regulation', which indicated that the preservation and management of Dayan Old Town in Lijiang had been recognised within the legal system. In the same year, at the conference for tourism development of northwest Yunnan, Zhiqiang He, the head governor of Yunnan Province at that time, proposed that Lijiang Old Town could apply to be a 'World Cultural Heritage' site. The idea was supported by many institutions, including the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Construction, China National Committee of UNESCO and other national authorities (Li & Li, 2000, p.20). In 1995, the implementation of a conservation plan for Lijiang Old Town was approved by the Yunnan provincial government. On June 15th, it was officially declared by the government that Lijiang Old Town was on the first list of applications for World Cultural Heritage status. In June, Lijiang airport came into operation, which dramatically improved the connection between Lijiang and almost all big cities in mainland China. On December 4th, 1997, The Old Town of Lijiang (including Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha) was listed as a World Heritage Site at the twenty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, which was held in Naples by the United Nations Educational, Scientific

and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The organization expresses the view that "it [Old Town of Lijiang] (including Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha) is perfectly adapted to the uneven topography of this key commercial and strategic site and 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 many centuries. Lijiang also possesses an ancient water-supply system of great complexity and ingenuity that still functions effectively today" (UNESCO, 2013).

This brief description of the Old Town of Lijiang indicates that Lijiang is appreciated due to its 'uneven topography', 'historic townscape' and 'its water-supply system'. Most of these are part of the landscape and physical features of the old town. This appreciation of the town's landscape has led to the emphasis in terms of conservation being placed on the physical features of the town's landscape, such as the architectural style, building structures, building materials, the layout of Naxi dwellings, the watercourses and the road system of the town. Much effort has been made by the government to conserve the physical features of the old town. In the 'Yunnan Province Lijiang Historically and Culturally Famous Town Protection and Management Regulation', which was promulgated by the Provincial People's Congress in Yunnan Province on 20th July, 1994, there are detailed rules and restrictions relevant to the protection and management of the Old Town of Lijiang. The centre of the old town is:

...vigorously protected because of its significant historical and cultural value. The original layout, style, characteristics, and ambiance must be faithfully preserved. Any maintenance, repair, renovations, and rebuilding of buildings, houses, roads, and waterways within the town must be conducted according to the original designs. Building density must be strictly controlled. New buildings which clash on the original designs are forbidden... Any repair, new construction, and functional adjustments of buildings and houses within this zone must faithfully maintain the original design (Gao, 1998, pp.131-132)

This strategy of conservation causes the Old Town of Lijiang to become 'static' in order to meet the criteria for being a 'World Heritage' site. Although these rules and restrictions may effectively preserve the physical features of the Old Town of Lijiang, they ignore the true needs of residents living in the town.

In 'Detailed Planning for Conservation of Lijiang Old Town', a significant planning strategy, the formulation of which began in 1996 and was completed in 1997, there is much evidence to demonstrate alterations in the conservation strategy. The main idea of this planning strategy is that the utilization of the World Heritage site is as important as its conservation. The strategy accepts the fact that the Old Town of Lijiang is 'living', and that Naxi dwellings cannot be stereotyped in any way. In order to deal with the conflict between heritage conservation and

community development, different strategies were introduced relating to different environmental elements. Under the detailed protective measures of the planning strategy, three types of element should be strictly protected, described as 'face', 'line' and 'point' elements. The 'face' elements relate to three conservation zones, embracing a strict preservation zone, a strictly controlled zone and an environmental buffer zone. Each zone has a different area and rules according to its distance away from the centre of the old town. The 'line' elements point to the waterways and road systems of the old town. Conservation of the 'line' elements entails strictly maintaining the original structure of the water and road systems. The 'point' elements relate to important landscape features, such as well-conserved traditional Naxi courtyard dwellings, valuable relics and ancient bridges. Since the implementation of this planning strategy, many basic public facilities have been constructed, including public lighting, telecommunications, drainage facilities and public toilets. The building density of the old town has been appropriately reduced. Rebuilding, partial transformation, reinforcement, demolition, restoration and reconstruction of dwellings in the old town are permitted according to the quality of these dwellings (Tgnet,2007). As a result, the basic living infrastructure, transport and capability for prevention of fire disasters have been improved. This has not only benefited local residents, but also contributed to the development of tourism.

In March, 2005, the Lijiang Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee passed 'Management Regulations of the old Town of Lijiang - the World Cultural Heritage'. According to these regulations, restrictions to the alteration of a dwelling may vary in accordance with a conservation hierarchy. The higher the level of conservation applied to a Naxi dwelling, the more restrictions are exerted upon the alteration of the dwelling. In Dayan, the restrictions exerted by government on the construction of a guesthouse-dwelling vary according to the conservation grade to which the dwelling belongs. There are 46 Naxi courtyard dwellings in Dayan that have been appointed as Key Conservation Naxi Dwellings because they are deemed to be of relatively higher historical, scientific, cultural and artistic value, and thus able to express more ethnic characteristics of Naxi dwellings than other courtyard dwellings in Dayan. The conservation of Key Conservation Naxi Dwellings in Dayan is extremely strict, in that no part of the original structure, layout, height, site, material, orientation, arrangement pattern or any kind of decoration may be changed during restoration (Brochure of Protection and Management of World Cultural Heritage Old town of Lijiang, 2009, pp.86-87). In addition, 66 Naxi courtyard dwellings have been designated as Conservation Naxi Dwellings in Dayan. These are less important than the Key Conservation Naxi Dwellings, but are seen to be of considerable historical, scientific, cultural and artistic value. The requirements for conservation of the dwellings include improvement of the environment, at the same time as restoring the traditional style of the dwellings. No arbitrary alteration, demolition or construction is allowed. Restoration should be in accordance with the original site and architectural style. It is not

permitted to change the original structure, number of storeys, orientation or materials. Certain aspects of essential recovery and repair, including reinforcement or improvement of access to infrastructure facilities, require the submission of basic designs and plans. The basic principle for restoring a dwelling is to “repair old as the old” (Brochure of Protection and Management of World Cultural Heritage Old town of Lijiang, 2009, pp.87-88). In terms of other ordinary Naxi dwellings, which comprise the majority of Naxi dwellings in Dayan, the requirements for alteration of these dwellings also include certain restrictions. A dwelling may not be arbitrarily destroyed or demolished. Essential repairs and the addition of access to infrastructure facilities to meet the needs of life are allowed, but it is requested that the new materials and new facilities are as basic as possible. External parts of the dwelling are required to be in accordance with the traditional size, scale, style, manner of decoration, materials and colour of such buildings. A detailed plan should be provided for all repairs, reinforcements and internal alterations (Brochure of Protection and Management of World Cultural Heritage Old town of Lijiang, 2009, pp.87-88). In addition, the regulations require that for all construction activities relevant to the Naxi dwellings mentioned above, an application for approval should be submitted to the Management Agency of the Old Town of Lijiang. Construction can only start after approval has been received.

4.1.1.2 *Shuhe*

Dayan Old Town and Shuhe Old Town are the main components of the Old Town of Lijiang. Both of them have Naxi settlements, Sifang Street Square, streams and bridges, and both have been listed as World Cultural Heritage Sites. However, the tourism development of Shuhe Old Town was about six years later than that of Dayan Old Town. During those six years, great changes took place in Dayan Old Town, which attracted tens of millions of tourists and created profits of hundreds of millions of RMB Yuan (Li, Li & Shen, 2007, pp.53-55). The success of the tourism development of Dayan Old Town in evoked the enthusiasm of the local authority for attracting investment through further development of the Old Town of Lijiang. Therefore, Shuhe Old town, with recourse to the same diversity of tourism, become a focus for development. Although the development of Shuhe Old Town could be considered the second large scale tourism development under the reputation of World Cultural Heritage, the development pattern of Shuhe Old Town has been quite different from that of Dayan Old Town. Whilst the tourism development of Dayan is mainly based on local government and individual entrepreneurs, the tourism development of Shuhe could be considered as mainly based on local government and an estate company.

The development project for Shuhe Old Town was launched in 2002. Kunming Dingye Group registered an estate company in Lijiang, named Lijiang Dingye Shuhe Old Town Development Company Limited. In 2003, the local government of Lijiang Naxi Autonomous County signed an

agreement with the Kunming Dingye Group, confirming a programme of cooperation between local government and the Dingye Group, named the 'Protection and Development of a Tea-Horse Old Town - Shuhe, Lijiang' (Che, 2008, p.80). The local government was responsible for the requisition of land from local farmers and new planning, and the company took charge of the construction and operation of new planning. The project commenced in May 2003, and consisted of three components, including historical and cultural protection of the old district, cultural development, and support for construction in a new district. The Dingye Group invested 500 million RMB Yuan in the project to protect and develop an area of nearly 13 square kilometres belonging to the World Heritage Site. In early 2003, the Dingye Group purchased land from local farmers amounting to about 60 hectares (900 mu) in Longquan Village, and about 53 hectares (800 mu) in Kaiwen Village. Although the farmers may have received 225,000 RMB per hectare (RMB15,000/mu), they also lost their land, which was their main source of income from agriculture (Che, 2008, p.82).

The planning and design of the project was committed to the Jiandi architectural studio in Kunming University of Science and Technology, led by Professor Zhai Hui. The planning mainly comprised two parts. One was the protection and reconstruction of the old district and design, whilst the other was construction of the new district. Protection and reconstruction of the old district primarily focused on classifying the conservation level of existing Naxi dwellings in the district, and improving some of the fundamental infrastructure in this district, such as water supply, water drainage, flood control, power supply, fire control and environmental sanitation. On the one hand, protection of the old district was required by the local authority, who aimed to maintain a certain degree of authenticity in the world cultural heritage site. On the other hand, it was a necessary part of the process and strategy to forge a consumable tourism brand in terms of a real estate project in the new district. It could be considered as making the best use of the reputation of being a 'World Heritage Site' in order to increase the commercial value of the development project. The new district, named 'Tea-Horse-Post-Station', is a purely commercial district for various consumer activities, including shops, guesthouses, star-rated hotels and pubs. The constructed Tea-Horse-Post-Station area provides some service-oriented employment opportunities for local people, but the developer is the main beneficiary.

By September 2004, the old district had 120 operators of small industries and commercial businesses, and 70% of the tenants were from other provinces (Che, 2008, p.81). These new businesses were requested to alter the existing Naxi dwellings in Shuhe Old Town. On March, 2004, the Shuhe office issued the 'Residents' Convention of Shuhe town', which regulates the requirements for construction activities in Shuhe Old Town, as well as the procedures for application for construction approval (Che, 2008, p.83). The requirements for construction are not as detailed as those for Dayan Old Town, but the basic principles regarding conservation

and alteration of Naxi dwellings are the same. Generally, as long as the construction maintains the basic architectural style of a Naxi dwelling, the application for approval is usually passed.

4.1.1.3 Xizhou

Without the title of 'World Heritage Site', the tourism development in Xizhou village seemed to lag behind that in Dayan and Shuhe. In 1994, the local authority of Xizhou town commissioned the Dali Construction School to create 'Protection Planning for Xizhou Historically and Culturally Famous Town', which focused on the protection of existing traditional Bai dwellings in the town. In 1999, Xizhou town was approved by the National Development and Reform Commission as a 'national demonstration of comprehensive economic development for small cities and towns nationwide'. From 1999 to 2003, the local authority carried out a renovation of the outward appearance of the flat roof dwellings in Xizhou town along the highway from Dali to Lijiang, as the highway is the most important transport route for tourists. In the year 2001, the Bai residential dwelling groups in Xizhou were included in the 'National Key Cultural Relics Protection Units' (Che, 2008, pp.62-63). This title caused the local authority to strengthen the approval procedure for construction in Xizhou, and this construction was required to be strictly in accordance with the architectural style of traditional Bai dwellings. At the beginning of 2006, Xizhou was listed as a 'Demonstration Project in Yunnan Province of a Key Tourist Town for Development and Construction'. In the same year, 'Dali Xizhou Town Protection and Development Planning' was established to provide assessment in Dali, and was approved by the municipal government. According to the development planning strategy, within the next three years, 300 million Yuan will be invested to speed up the development and construction of the tourist town, especially within an area comprising eight square kilometres of Xizhou town (Xinhuanet, 2006). This planning strategy focused on the renovation and improvement of the landscape of the ancient town, including courtyard dwellings, streets and alleys, wells and green areas. The main purpose of the investment is vigorous development of cultural folk tourism in Xizhou.

4.1.1.4 Sideng

Sideng is a small village in a rural valley of Jianchuan County in the Dali region of north-western Yunnan. It was a little known trading centre along the 'Tea and horse Caravan Route', but was in decline due to the development of new transportation. On October 2001, Sideng was listed as one of 101 noteworthy World Endangered Heritage Sites by the World Monuments Fund (WMF). The list pointed out that "The Shaxi Market Area (Sideng), located in Chain Yunnan Province on the historic Tea and Horse Caravan Trail that links Tibet with Southeast Asia, is the most complete surviving example of a trading centre along this route. The Shaxi Market contains an intact theatre, guesthouses for merchants, a temple precinct, and is surrounded by protective gates" (WMF, 2013). WMF's listing initiated awareness of the

unique historical and cultural value of Sideng village. Without being one of the 101 noteworthy World Endangered Heritage Sites, the small village would have been unknown to the public, and so would have adapted little to the development of the tourism industry.

In August 2008, the Jianchuan County People's Government signed a memo with the Space and Landscape Planning Research Institute of the Swiss Federal University of Science and Technology. This memo pointed out that the 'Shaxi Rehabilitation Project' should be carried out under the cooperation of local government and the overseas institution (Che, 2008, p.71). The project included six parts, which comprised the marketplace restoration, the historic village preservation, sustainable valley development, ecological sanitation, poverty reduction and cultural preservation, and events and dissemination (Shaxi Rehabilitation Project, 2002). On 20th May 2003, Sideng was designated by UNESCO as a model case in a framework of 'Sustainable Practice for Alleviation of Poverty Project in a World Heritage Site'. On 24th January, 2004, Shaxi town was assigned by the Yunnan Provincial People's Government the status of a 'Provincial Historically and Culturally Famous Town'. On 28th March, 2004, the Swiss Federal University of Science and Technology, together with the Planning and Design Institute of Yunnan Province, corporately completed the strategy for 'Protection Planning of Ancient Villages in Shaxi', and the 'Implementation Planning for Rehabilitation Project in Sideng' was approved by the Yunnan Provincial Construction Department. During the two years 2003 and 2004, the Swiss institution and the Jianchuan government corporately completed the construction of the rehabilitation project. In November 2004, construction relevant to the water project and ecological park, the pavements of roads and streets and ecological sanitation toilets were completed. In terms of the management of villagers' housing, Shaxi Town People's Congress passed the 'Protection and Management Approach of Shaxi Historically and Culturally Famous Town', which regulated that housing approval should be sought and granted strictly in accordance with the architectural style of Bai dwellings (Che, 2008, pp.70-72). The recognised title raised the reputation of the small village and made the public aware of the value of this unknown heritage. The rehabilitation project restored much traditional architecture and revived the central market square. It protected much of the original character and traits of the ancient village, which had been destroyed in the 20th century when an unstable political system and changing social climate advocated the adoption of new values condemning the past. At the same time, the rise of tourism was expected to stimulate renewed interest in this ancient trail and provide a means for revival throughout the region (Shaxi Rehabilitation Project, 2002). The project directly improved the living conditions of local villagers and created a solid foundation for local tourism development.

4.2 Authority and control on a community level

The previous discussion has illustrated the process by which the four vernacular settlements in this under-developed area of Yunnan, China, became involved in the tourism industry, focusing on the political power of government in terms of planning, rules and restrictions concerning tourism development. In general, raising the reputation of these settlements, and making them famous both internationally and domestically, is the principal manner in which local government has involved the settlements in the tourism industry. In addition, improvements to the tourism infrastructure and municipal construction, the attraction of tourist interest, active participation in international and domestic activities relevant to tourism promotion, as well as competing for opportunities to hold large theme events in the locality (Hei, 2001, p.72) are other means by which the local government has developed tourism in the four settlements. Most of these approaches demonstrate that it is political power that has largely determined the fate of the built environment of vernacular settlements when they are involved in the tourism industry. Before the development of tourism, apart from some local norms and conventions, there were no government regulations relating to construction activities for Bai or Naxi dwellings. The builders and users of the dwelling had a high degree of authority over almost all aspects of construction, including materials, structure, usage of labour, procedure, skills and technology, and they also had a high level of control over the usage of the dwelling. However, when vernacular settlements became a source of cultural capital for government and developers, the building and usage of a Bai and Naxi dwelling in these settlements are no longer purely under the control of residents, but are partly under the control of the government and developers.

4.2.1 Varying degrees of authority

Under the control of the rules and regulations assigned by the government, local and outside households have applied various strategies to transform an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse according to their specific situation. Generally speaking, the strategy for transformation in the 30 cases investigated can be categorized into five classes according to the extent of alterations to the physical features of the ordinary vernacular dwelling. The first strategy is to maintain the original features and change the function of some empty rooms. The second strategy is to extend and alter the usage of a dwelling. The third one is to build a new dwelling in 'traditional' style. The fourth strategy is to restore an old dwelling and alter its function, and the last one is to renovate a rented dwelling. The first three categories are mainly applied by local households, while the last two categories are primarily used by outside households. The categories and their corresponding cases are listed in the table (Table14) below:

Type of strategy	Guesthouse (location)	Household	Main designer	Main builder	Main user

Maintain original features (2 cases)	1-3 (Xizhou)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Local craftsmen	House owner and tourists
	3-12 (Dayan)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Local craftsmen	House owner and tourists
Extend and alter use of a dwelling (5 cases)	1-2 (Xizhou)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Local craftsmen	House owner and tourists
	2-5 (Sideng)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Local craftsmen	House owner and tourists
	3-6 (Dayan)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Outside craftsmen	House owner and tourists
	3-7 (Dayan)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Local craftsmen	House owner and tourists
	4-4 (Shuhe)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Local and outside craftsmen	House owner and tourists
Build a new dwelling in 'traditional' style (3 cases)	2-6 (Sideng)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Local craftsmen	Tourists
	4-3 (Shuhe)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Local and outside craftsmen	Tourists
	4-6 (Shuhe)	Local people (owner)	House owner	Local and outside craftsmen	Tourists
Restore an old dwelling and alter its function (7 cases)	1-1 (Xizhou)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenant	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	2-4 (Sideng)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tourists
	3-1 (Dayan)	Outsider (tenant)	House owner and tenant	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	3-2 (Dayan)	Outsider (tenant)	House owner, tenant and professionals	Construction not started	Tenants and tourists
	3-3 (Dayan)	Outsider (tenant)	House owner and tenant	Local craftsmen	House owner and tourists
	3-9 (Dayan)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tourists

	3-11 (Dayan)	Outsider (tenant)	Professional and designer	Outside construction team and local craftsmen	Tourists
Renovate rented dwelling (13 cases)	2-1 (Sideng)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	2-2 (Sideng)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	2-3 (Sideng)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	2-7 (Sideng)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	3-4 (Dayan)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	3-5 (Dayan)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	3-8 (Dayan)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	3-10 (Dayan)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	4-1 (Shuhe)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	4-2 (Shuhe)	Outsider (purchaser)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	4-7 (Shuhe)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	4-5 (Shuhe)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists
	4-8 (Shuhe)	Outsider (tenant)	Tenants	Local craftsmen	Tenants and tourists

Table 14: Information relating to 30 guesthouses in case study (drawn by author)

4.2.1.1 Maintaining original features and changing function of empty rooms

The first strategy for transformation is commonly applied by local households who change their vernacular dwelling into a guesthouse for a short period of time. For example, case 3-12 in Dayan is a good example. This type of dwelling has typically been built by the ancestors of a big family with high social status and a good reputation in the local community. The dwelling has been transferred from one generation to the next within the family, and most of the current inhabitants are descendants of the family. Because the dwelling contains the history, pride and memories of the family, it not only represents the estate or heritage of the local community, but it is also the ancestral home of the family. To preserve the physical features of the dwelling and maintain the traditional lifestyle within the dwelling is the responsibility and duty of the current inhabitants, as a means of showing respect for their ancestors. Therefore, in most cases, the physical features are well preserved and the traditional lifestyle in the dwelling is well maintained by the current generation.

Type of strategy	Guesthouse (location)	Conservation level	Building patterns
Maintain original features (2 cases)	1-3 (Xizhou)	Ordinary Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen
	3-12 (Dayan)	Key Conservation Naxi Dwellings	Some parts of building involve hiring local craftsmen with materials, but other parts involve hiring local craftsmen only

Table 15: Conservation level and building patterns of cases with type 1 strategy (drawn by author)

In the initial stages of tourism development in Dali and Lijiang, hotels were rare and guesthouses barely seen. The alteration of dwellings into guesthouses was initially mobilized by the government. In 1999, the World Expo was held in Kunming; the government was under great pressure to solve the issue of providing accommodation for the large amount of tourists visiting Dali and Lijiang. Therefore, the local government persuaded local households, whose dwellings were well preserved, to change some of their empty rooms into guestrooms and thus provide accommodation for tourists for a short period of time. When the special festival of the World Expo was over, some households felt that their privacy and peace of life had been spoiled by opening their dwelling to tourists, so they closed the guesthouse and reused it as an ordinary residential dwelling. Some households, however, gained enjoyment and fun from the business, so they keep their dwelling as a guesthouse, though they maintained almost all its original physical features without alteration, as the dwelling was the family's ancestral home. The strategy for transformation of this type of guesthouse is therefore to maintain the original features and change the function of empty rooms. Two cases out of the total number of 30 guesthouses fall into this category.

The emphasis of the transformation is to sort out some empty rooms for use as guestrooms, which can provide accommodation for tourists temporarily. There is no need to attract tourist gaze. The original physical features of the dwelling and the local residents' unique lifestyle are considered attractive. It is also not necessary to update the standard of equipment in bathrooms, change the facilities in bedrooms, or import modern furniture and furnishings. The living standard of accommodation available for tourists is the same as that used by local people, which may be uncomfortable and inconvenient for most tourists who are accustomed to urbanized standards of accommodation, but can attract tourists who seek an in-depth experience of local culture. Although this strategy for transformation brings little change to the physical features of the dwelling, essentially the dwelling is no longer a private shelter, but has become a space which is open to public use. The daily activities of local residents are therefore involved in this tourism development. For example, the household of Y-J-H-Y guesthouse in Dayan is happy to talk with tourists about their family history and the long history of the dwelling, as well as their own perceptions of the dwelling. The host and hostess of X-H-Y guesthouse in Dayan have meals together with tourists, and they find it fun to talk with various tourists in their daily life. Various interactions can be observed between the local households and outside tourists.

In addition to changing the function of empty rooms, the dwelling, with its timber structure, requires constant repair and maintenance. Conservation and preservation are the main approaches to maintaining the attractiveness of the guesthouse to tourists. As it is a real residents' house, a family is still living in the dwelling. Small adjustments to the dwelling are required to meet the needs of the family's daily life. The task of preservation and maintenance is normally completed by the household and other family members, as maintaining and repairing are affairs with which the household and family members are familiar. If the construction task is complicated, asking help from friends and relatives or hiring a local craftsman are the main approaches to completing the task. That is to say, the strategy for transformation is mainly dependent upon self-employment and community cooperation. When local households apply this strategy to transform an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse, apart from government restrictions regarding the architectural style of the dwelling, the local households have authority to control almost all aspects of the dwelling regarding using and building issues.

4.2.1.2 Altering the use of a dwelling

The second type of strategy for transformation is generally carried out by local households who realise the commercial potential of their dwelling to be a guesthouse, and try to make the best use of this potential in order to gain economic benefit from the guesthouse business. The main task of the transformation is to keep the residential function of the dwelling while altering part

of the dwelling into a guesthouse for tourist consumption. With limited investment, many local households choose to extend or alter part of their dwelling while it is still in use, rather than build a new dwelling. This transformation is widely applied in both villages and towns, and is witnessed in all five of the settlements surveyed. Five cases of the total 30 fall into this category. Although inhabitants' normal life will be affected to a greater or lesser extent by the transformation, it is the most efficient method of transforming an ordinary dwelling into a guesthouse. In order to meet the tourists' expectations of 'heritage', 'ethnicity' and 'tradition', the transformation of the guesthouse is required, on the one hand, to restore some 'traditional' features into the dwelling, in order to increase its visual attractiveness for tourists. On the other hand, any modern features existing in the dwelling must be removed or made more basic, such as glazed ceramic tiles, concrete columns and brick walls. These features reflect the true demands of the real lives of current residents, but they are symbolic of modernization, which is assumed to decrease the attraction of tourist gaze embodied in the guesthouse.

Type of strategy	Guesthouse (location)	Conservation level	Building patterns
Extend and alter use of a dwelling (5 cases)	1-2 (Xizhou)	Ordinary Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen without materials. Material is prepared by the household
	2-5 (Sideng)	Conservation Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen
	3-6 (Dayan)	Conservation Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen
	3-7 (Dayan)	Key Conservation Bai Dwellings	Part of building involves hiring local craftsmen with materials, but other parts involve hiring local craftsmen only
	4-4 (Shuhe)	Ordinary Bai Dwellings	Some parts involve self-building, and others involve hiring local craftsmen

Table16: Conservation level and building patterns of cases with type 2 strategy (drawn by author)

Many tourists prefer to stay in a guesthouse run by local households, as this can provide opportunities to experience the indigenous lifestyle of local people. Nevertheless, at the same time, the majority of tourists require the comfort and conveniences of modernized accommodation. Therefore, whilst the transformation must create a 'traditional' built environment in the dwelling, it is also necessary to add bathrooms to guestrooms and update the furniture, equipment and facilities to the basic standards of urbanized accommodation, such as showers, toilets and washbasins in bathrooms, and TVs, mattresses and a full set of Western style bedding in bedrooms. In most cases, the local households will consider how to

integrate existing furniture and furnishings into the guesthouse, and how to develop some of the daily activities of the dwelling into cultural products for tourists' consumption. To decrease costs, the local households have to carry out the transformation according to the family's economic situation, and are thus largely dependent on family members, relatives and friends in the local community. Therefore, the quality of equipment and standard of facilities in guesthouses run by local households are generally lower than those in guesthouses run by outsider households.

When local households develop their dwelling into a multifunctional guesthouse, the development is not only required to cater for the requests of tourists, but also to meet the true demands of current family life. Since the dwelling is still, and will continue to be, used as the residential home of its residents, the potential safety and security issues of altering the dwelling should be taken into consideration. The hostess of case 1-2 in Xizhou said:

Basically, we keep the original (space arrangement), and do not make much alteration, just separate the living room into two, and built a wall between, and add a bathroom inside. Two standard guestrooms are completed. We do not change the doors, which are basically the original ones. I think, to be honest, it is unnecessary to change them. Oh, we own the dwelling; therefore, we will not alter it like the dwelling rent by outsiders, who do not care about the safety issues of the house, like load-bearing and so on. If we have to change the load-bearing item, we will not dismantle it. At least, we need a sense of security.

Although the ultimate goal of transformation is for local households to gain economic benefit from the guesthouse business, there are some basic requirements which should not be subordinate to tourist consumption. A balance must be achieved between the residential function of the dwelling as a place to live and the tourism-related function of consumption. In the low tourism season, the guesthouse can be used purely as an ordinary residential dwelling. Some households consider that the transformation carried out on their own dwelling is part of the refurbishment of their house. Therefore, they do not worry about recovery of their investment. When local households alter a dwelling for use as a guesthouse, apart from the government restrictions regarding the architectural style of the dwelling, the households have authority to control aspects like the employment of craftsmen, usage of space, organization of labour and management of the progress of the construction.

4.2.1.3 Building a new dwelling in 'traditional' style

In addition to the two strategies discussed above, another strategy for transformation commonly applied by local households is to build a new dwelling in 'traditional' style, which is generally applied by local households who have funds, land, a certain amount of experience of the guesthouse business and confidence in the tourism market. Only three cases of the total

30 fall into this category. The main reason for this lies in the fact that the government has control of the usage of land, so that it is difficult to obtain a plot of empty land for construction from grass-roots level. Nevertheless, in rural villages, some families have large front yards or back yards, which were originally used as gardens to grow vegetables. The development of tourism encourages local households to seek more profitable usage of their land. Changing a vegetable garden into a new dwelling for a guesthouse business is therefore a good choice.

There are many reasons why local households adopt this strategy for transformation. The first reason is that the increasing number of tourists makes local households aware of the commercial potential of the guesthouse business within the tourism market. Secondly, with the increasing number of guesthouse run by outsiders, the standard of accommodation has risen, as outside households normally equip guesthouses with high standard equipment and facilities in bedrooms and bathrooms. In order to compete with guesthouses run by outside households, local households have to raise the accommodation standards of their own guesthouses. However, altering a dwelling which is in use into a high standard guesthouse will greatly influence the ordinary life of current residents, and sometimes the alteration may damage the structure of the existing dwelling. The third reason lies in the fact that many ethnic dwellings have been refurbished in 'modern' style to meet realistic and practical needs for living. As a result, the local households assume that the refurbished dwelling would not be 'traditional' enough to attract tourists. They believe that the 'right' way to attract tourist gaze is to restore some 'traditional' features of the dwelling, while demolishing some existing 'modern' features that symbolize modernization. Regarding construction procedure, there are some advantages to building a new dwelling rather than altering an existing one to create a tourist attraction. It virtually eliminates the problem of possible damage that might be caused by adapting an old dwelling to offer a 'traditional' face to attract tourists, and it is much easier to add bathrooms and other modern equipment to a newly-built dwelling than to an existing one. In addition, building a new dwelling to be exclusively used by tourists will allow the space used by the household to be separate from that used by the guests, which will decrease their interference with each other but maintain their connection. Therefore, the households can maintain the flexibility of changing their old residential dwelling according to the realistic demands of their daily lives.

Type of strategy	Guesthouse (location)	Conservation level	Building patterns
Build a new dwelling in	2-6 (Sideng)	Newly built ordinary Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen without materials
	4-3 (Shuhe)	Newly built ordinary Naxi Dwellings	Some parts involve self-building but other parts involve hiring outside

'traditional' style (3 cases)			craftsmen without materials
4-6 (Shuhe)	Newly built ordinary Naxi Dwellings	Some parts involve hiring local craftsmen with materials, but other parts involve hiring outside craftsmen only	

Table 17 : Conservation level and building patterns of cases with type 3 strategy (drawn by author)

For newly-built dwellings, the government has exerted some restrictions upon the form, style, structure and materials permitted. Most of these restrictions require that the new dwelling should be built in accordance with the 'traditional' format of local vernacular dwellings, but allow changes in the furniture, furnishings and equipment of the dwelling. These restrictions normally cause no conflict between the households' strategy of creating 'traditional' features to attract tourists whilst updating standards of accommodation for tourists' consumption. In order to achieve this, the construction process is highly dependent upon local craftsmen and their 'traditional' know-how, but at the same time critically needs new techniques and technology relevant to improving the accommodation standards of a guesthouse. Therefore, local craftsmen who grasp the traditional know-how better than outside craftsmen will be employed, but the local households have to obtain the new technology and techniques through other channels. Sometimes local households employ outside craftsmen who are unfamiliar with the construction of a 'traditional' dwelling but understand the new technology and techniques relevant to modernized accommodation. Although the new dwelling is built to be used exclusively as a guesthouse, it may still be used as a residential house in the future, or it may be rented out for outside immigrants. Whilst the investment involved in building a new dwelling is much higher than the first two transformation strategies, in the long run, it could be considered a good investment, as it increases the property of the family. When local households build a new dwelling in traditional style, they have to determine almost all details of the construction, including architectural form, materials, structure, size of each room, location of bathrooms, number of bedrooms, furniture, furnishings, equipment and facilities in guestrooms, and even internal and external decoration. That is to say, local households have a considerable level of authority if they build a new dwelling in traditional style.

4.2.1.4 Restoring an old dwelling and altering its function

The next two transformation strategies are mainly applied by outside households, who rent Bai or Naxi dwellings from local households and transform them into guesthouses. Seven cases out of the total 30 fall into this strategy of transformation. In most cases, the dwelling supports a tourism-related business, but at the same time is a second home for most of the outside households. The aim of the fourth strategy for transformation is to transform a Key

Conservation Vernacular Dwelling, as designated by the local government, into a high standard guesthouse. As the dwelling is a first-level protected relic, it may not be freely altered to fulfil the multiple functions of a guesthouse. The construction and alteration of the dwelling must be in accordance with the conservation rules, codes, and regulations set by local government. Principally, the higher the conservation level of the relic, the more restrictions will be exerted and the less freedom there will be in making alterations to the dwelling.

Normally, outside households with enough funds to carry out the project would apply this sort of transformation strategy. The main reasons why the local residents do not develop the dwelling themselves are, firstly, that the restoration of a Key Conservation Vernacular Dwelling must be in compliance with restoration regulations, which requires extensive cost in the use of traditional structural materials, art and crafts to restore a dwelling. In addition, when adding a bathroom into such relics, high-quality equipment and facilities are required to avoid leakage, especially with regard to drainage equipment and sanitary facilities. In addition, waterproofing treatment must be done strictly in accordance with regulations, and the materials for waterproofing also need to be of high quality. Once leakage occurs, it will damage the timber structure of a dwelling and greatly shorten the life of the dwelling. The transformation demands a large amount of expenditure to renovate the traditional features of a relic whilst modernizing the relic with high standard equipment and facilities. This transformation is unaffordable by local residents engaging in small business or agriculture. Therefore, the strategy for transformation is mainly applied by outside households.

Type of strategy	Guesthouse (location)	Conservation level	Building patterns
Restore an old dwelling and alter its function (7 cases)	1-1 (Xizhou)	Key Conservation Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	2-4 (Sideng)	Key Conservation Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen
	3-1 (Dayan)	Key Conservation Naxi Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	3-2 (Dayan)	Key Conservation Naxi Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	3-3 (Dayan)	Conservation Naxi Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	3-9 (Dayan)	Key Conservation Naxi Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials

	3-11 (Dayan)	Key Conservation Naxi Dwellings	Hiring construction team and local craftsmen with materials
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Table 18 : Conservation level and building patterns of cases with type 4 strategy (drawn by author)

The primary task of the transformation is to reinstate almost all the former features of a dwelling and return it to its 'original' state. This state is a stereotyped architectural format of a dwelling frozen in a specific time and space. These 'original' features are recorded in a construction manual formulated by the local government with the help of academics, experts, scholars and craftsmen. With the help of this manual, the outside households employ local craftsmen to rebuild the physical features of the dwelling, including the detailed structure, wood-carvings and brick-sculptures. The result of the transformation makes the external features of the dwelling look as they did in the past, so that it can attract the interest of tourists. This part of task is highly dependent upon the skills and experience of local craftsmen. Apart from restoration of these original architectural features, another task of the transformation is to update the interior facilities and equipment to facilitate tourism-related activities for tourists' consumption. In most cases, the guesthouse not only provides accommodation, but may also provide meals, exhibitions, learning programmes and other cultural experiences for tourists. Therefore, a series of changes associated with interior design must be carried out on the dwelling. For example, the household may rearrange space and divide space according to modern functions, such as by adding bathrooms to guestrooms, building bars, restaurants, museums and gyms in the space, and updating furniture, equipment and facilities to facilitate tourism-related activities. It seems that the interior design also has considerable capacity for reflecting the personal preferences of the households. Of the seven cases in the investigation, the interior design of two cases was done by outsider design companies, whilst the other five were mainly done by the households themselves, although all of the seven cases were highly dependent upon local craftsmen and their vernacular know-how.

In this transformation strategy, the development and operational rights have been transferred from the local house owner to outside tenants. As the dwelling is a family property, the change in the physical features of the dwelling will directly influence the value of the property. Normally, the house owners will choose to rent their dwelling to friends, who will respect the requests of the house owner when changing the dwelling into a guesthouse. The landlord may propose some restrictions on the transformation of the dwelling. As well as imposing restrictions, some of the house owners even participated in the construction process directly. For example, the hostess of case 3-1 in Dayan said:

(Before construction) I have to ask the house owner what brand they prefer to select. For example, if local people consider OPU is the best brand in lighting and

lamps, I will buy the goods of this brand. Cables and switches are bought by house owner themselves. The house owner of the dwelling often comes on site and watches the progress of the refurbishment project. I carry out the construction entirely in accordance with the expectations and requests of the house owner. The main builder and house owner are all Naxi people, so that the construction pattern follows the traditional practice to build a Naxi dwelling.

In fact, the original inhabitant would be the best person to carry out the construction in terms of restoration, as they know best which part of the dwelling should be repaired and how to do it in detail. In the construction process, the house owner can play the role of designer or builder, and can help the tenants to make decisions on materials, seek technological assistance and so on. In comparison with the other types of household, the outside households who restore a relic dwelling and change it into a guesthouse have a relatively low degree of authority in terms of construction, which is under the control of two levels of restriction. The first level of restriction comes from conservation rules, codes, and regulations designated by local government. The second level of restriction comes from the landlord, who is the original user and house owner of the dwelling.

4.2.1.5 Renovating and refurbishing a rented dwelling

Type of strategy	Guesthouse (location)	Conservation level	Building patterns
Renovate rented dwelling (13 cases)	2-1 (Sideng)	Conservation Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	2-2 (Sideng)	Ordinary Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen
	2-3 (Sideng)	Ordinary Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	2-7 (Sideng)	Conservation Bai Dwellings	Some parts involve hiring local craftsmen with materials, but other parts involve hiring local craftsmen only
	3-4 (Dayan)	Conservation Naxi Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen
	3-5 (Dayan)	Conservation Bai Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	3-8 (Dayan)	Conservation Naxi Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	3-10 (Dayan)	Ordinary Naxi Dwellings	Hiring local craftsmen with materials

	4-1 (Shuhe)	Ordinary Dwellings	Naxi	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	4-2 (Shuhe)	Ordinary Dwellings	Naxi	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	4-7 (Shuhe)	Ordinary Dwellings	Naxi	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	4-5 (Shuhe)	Ordinary Dwellings	Naxi	Hiring local craftsmen with materials
	4-8 (Shuhe)	Ordinary Dwellings	Naxi	Hiring local craftsmen with materials

Table 19 : Conservation level and building patterns of cases with type 5 strategy (drawn by author)

The fifth type of strategy for transformation is often applied in a situation where an ordinary vernacular dwelling is rented by outsiders who have the funds and enthusiasm to change the ordinary dwelling into a multi-function complex combining holiday home and guesthouse. It can provide a variety of leisure facilities for the utopian lifestyle of residents as well as various tourism-related services for tourists' consumption. In tourist season, the dwelling is primarily used as a guesthouse, whilst out of the tourist season, the main function of the dwelling is as a holiday home for the outside household. Guesthouses run through this transformation strategy were the main type of guesthouse in Dayan, Suhe, Sideng and Xizhou. 13 cases of the total 30 fall into this category. In most cases, a dwelling rented by an outside household is not designated as a relic. The restrictions exerted by local government upon the construction of this type of guesthouse are only limited to some general requirements regarding structure, materials and architectural form. In terms of interior details, facilities and decoration, there is normally no restriction. Therefore, whilst most of the outside households would select traditional structures, materials, techniques and technology to rebuild the dwelling in order to attract tourists, they could also apply new structures, materials, techniques and technology to create new features to reflect their personal preferences.

Similar to the situation of 'restoring an old dwelling and altering its function', when tenants renovate and refurbish a rented dwelling, most landlords will set some restrictions upon the transformation of the dwelling. The restrictions normally focus on the structural features, spatial arrangements and artistic details of the dwelling. For example, when an outside household applies a renovation strategy to change a rented vernacular dwelling into a guesthouse, the local house owner may request that they conserve a specific part of the dwelling, or use specific materials or methods to rebuild some features of the dwelling. For example, the hostess of Y-B guesthouse in Dayan said:

Firstly, the landlord will tell you what part of the dwelling is not allowed to be altered. That is to say, you can't change anything before you get the allowance from the landlord. For example, the framework of the dwelling is not allowed to be changed. I found that the architecture in the courtyard is not matching, but it is not allowed to be demolished. Another thing is that you have to comply with the renovation rules made by management committee of Ancient Town, which is requested to use old components in renovation of the old dwelling.

These restrictions normally set some barriers to the transformation of the dwelling. In order to achieve an agreement between conservation and alteration, consultation and communication between house owner and tenants is essential. If the communication is based on mutual trust and respect, an agreement will be achieved to balance the conservation and alteration.

In addition, improvement of the physical performance of a dwelling may involve the application of many new materials and modern technologies. It is clear that tenants have considerable ability to access and adopt modern construction methods and technologies in transforming the traditional vernacular dwellings. The alteration process stimulates the creativity of the households, who consider the alteration a piece of work which reflects their dream of a utopian lifestyle. However, most outside households lack knowledge of how to rebuild and refurbish a vernacular dwelling, so they have to depend upon local craftsmen and their vernacular know-how. When an outside household renovates and refurbishes a dwelling into a guesthouse, it is done under some loose restrictions designated by local government, the restriction of a lack of vernacular know how, and some suggestions and restrictions proposed by the landlord. These outside households also have a considerable level of authority to control almost all aspects of the construction, such as the organization of construction, the usage of space and the employment of craftsmen, as well as the use of new materials and technologies.

4.3 Influence of tourism on authority and control

Before the development of tourism, almost all the authority for building and using a Bai or Naxi dwelling was primarily controlled in the hands of inhabitants at grass-roots level. However, when a Bai or a Naxi dwelling is involved in tourism development and transformed into a guesthouse, the authority for building and using a Bai or a Naxi dwelling becomes complicated. The description and analysis of the transformation strategies demonstrate the various degrees of authority embodied in the transformation process. Although the construction authority of households varies according to the different circumstances of each household, the ownership of construction authority is mainly in the hands of the household at grass-roots level. Despite the fact that construction authority is limited by construction rules and regulations under the macro-control of the government, the household has considerable authority to make decisions directly in relation to the construction organization, construction management and construction

strategy, including alteration, restoration, renovation and reconstruction. Although the construction process is supervised by the government administration department, the household is still able to control some specific aspects of the construction, such as the employment of craftsmen, integration of construction resources, the design and implementation processes, and the progress of almost all construction phases. Even in the process of usage, the households still have considerably high authority for the modification of the construction result from time to time. If the construction authority is in the hands of individual households who are familiar with and have to live with local tradition, it will promote various socio-cultural interactions and social networks between users and builders in the self-build construction system, such as interaction between family members, between households and craftsmen, between house owners and tenants, as well as between households and tourists. It is this socio-cultural interaction and these social networks between users and builders which facilitate the transmission of tradition amidst tourism development.

Tourism development does increase the authority and control of government and developers over the built environment of the four vernacular settlements, especially on some large scale projects, through a top-down approach. Nevertheless, despite all the difficulties and restrictions brought about by government regulations, the indigenous people are not simply passive recipients of imposed restrictions. Instead, they become more active in dealing with the restrictions, and find ways to take advantage of the cultural capital they hold in order to benefit from the tourism industry through a bottom-up approach. By this means, the communities strengthen their control over vernacular construction and make appropriate changes to meet the needs of their daily life. The five transformation strategies described above cannot cover all the categories of transformation that lead to the emergence of tourist vernacular dwellings, but the analysis has been able to reveal some of the basic issues relevant to the nature of the transformation process, such as why a specific transformation strategy is applied by the households, how the transformation takes place, what construction resources are required during the transformation and the ability of households to obtain, access and use resources such as skills, techniques and labour. The analysis of the transformation process demonstrates that under the control of the rules and regulations assigned by government, local and outside households at grass-roots level still have some freedom to take charge of the construction and usage of their dwellings. It is the individual residents who make decisions regarding the building and using of a Bai or Naxi dwelling. The individual residents still play a very important role in the organization, management and maintenance of a Bai or a Naxi dwelling. In addition, it is the people in the community who govern the intimacy of relationships with tourists, with tenants, and with government officials. In these senses, people in the community still hold considerable authority over vernacular construction.

Chapter 5: Transition in user-builder connection

According to the literature review, the construction of a vernacular dwelling is a community event which involves community participation at almost all socio-cultural levels. On a community level, users and builders need mutual dependence, mutual aid and mutual support to complete the building of a dwelling. There is a complicated socio-cultural network which connects the builder and user. On an individual level, the user of a dwelling is normally the builder of the dwelling. The house owner of a household, in particular, plays multiple roles in the building and usage of a dwelling, including those of designer, organizer, manager, builder and user. In addition, the family members of the household may participate in the construction at any phase. That is to say, there is no explicit separation between the builders and users of a vernacular dwelling. This community-based approach to construction leads to a unique relationship between user and builder in the construction of a vernacular dwelling, which is quite different from the user and builder connection in urbanized construction. Because of this lack of separation, the construction of a dwelling is not only the creation of a shelter for housing, but an instrument to facilitate social networks and cultural interaction on both a community and a household level. The social networks and cultural interaction embodied in the builder and user connection guarantees that the dwelling and settlements built are culturally meaningful and socially acceptable to their inhabitants. Therefore, the un-separated relationship between user and builder in the vernacular building system is considered a key aspect of the transmission mechanism of vernacular architectural tradition. This chapter will investigate the transition in the user-builder connection when a Naxi or Bai dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse under the influence of tourism

5.1 Original users and builders of the 30 dwellings in case study

Originally, the main users of the 30 dwellings were households who used the dwelling as a long-term residential home. Short-term residence was also available when visitors to the households needed accommodation, such as relatives, friends and short-term employees. The household is a basic unit and a co-residential group which might consist of a single person, a nuclear or extended family, unrelated persons or a combination of these (Oliver, 1997, p.71). Each of the dwellings could be considered a physical unit representing the basic social unit of a local community. In the four communities in the study, the original users of the 30 dwellings were normally local people who had strong social and cultural connections with the local community. In Dayan, almost all dwellings on a street or lane were inhabited by close relatives. This long-term residence and kinship connection between households means that the users of

each vernacular dwelling are familiar with each other. A complicated social network is built between them, involving the sharing of information and resources, and helping each other when necessary.

An individual dwelling is not only able to provide space to shelter all members of a household, but helps to construct and maintain the specific lifestyle of each family, through which a social relationship between family members is also created and maintained. A household could be conceived as "a microcosm of the society at large" (Oliver, 1997, p.72). Routine activities happening every day within and around the dwelling are essential components of the enculturation process by which people learn particular conceptual frameworks (Oliver, 1997, p.71). Many traditional values and rules are transmitted from one generation to the next through the usage of space in a dwelling. For example, the basic relationship between the environment and residents is created through the use of a courtyard, in which rows of flowers and trees are planted to remind Naxi and Bai people that human beings should live together in perfect harmony with the environment. Many instances of the usage of space and physical features in a dwelling serve to carry a set of symbolic meanings to express the identity of the household. For example, the orchid is a symbol of nobility in Naxi and Bai culture, as its fragrance is mild and it is evergreen. Pots of orchids can commonly be seen at the entrance or in the courtyard of a Naxi or Bai dwelling, to symbolize the noble spirit of the members of the household.

The usage of the dwelling and the activities that occur within it reveal the logic of a specific lifestyle, and demonstrate the complex relationship between the users of a Bai or Naxi dwelling. For example, in a Naxi dwelling the women usually use the space of the kitchen and front room, while the men normally use the space in the courtyard or backyard. This demonstrates that in Naxi culture, women take charge of the income and expenditure of a family, but men only engage in activities relevant to art and creation. In the 30 dwellings investigated, the original households normally consisted of three generations, the elder, middle and younger generations. In Bai and Naxi culture, the elder generation is of high social status in a family, so that their needs should be met as a priority and their suggestions should be respected by other family members. The usage of space demonstrates the hierarchy among members of the household in accordance with the importance of the space. Normally, the living room is the most important space, as it is a place to worship ancestors. Thus, the usage of the dwelling demonstrates the relationship between the users, which is about the underlying rules and norms of a family, about kinship connection and about hierarchy. Many traditional rules and norms relating to the usage of a dwelling are transmitted through the interaction between users in their daily lives, while the interaction is dependent on the social relationship between the users.

The original builders of Naxi and Bai dwellings in the four settlements vary according to different construction patterns dictated by the economic conditions of the household, the resources obtained by the family and the family's social connections with the outside community. For example, when a household is poor in economic condition but members of the household are familiar with the construction process, the dwelling is normally self-built by the members of the household. Relatives or friends of the household will provide assistance when necessary. In this situation, the main builders are the members of the household who need a new dwelling. Craftsmen may be among the builders if they are relatives or friends of the household, but they are not the main builders. Another construction pattern is dependent upon rules of exchanged labour, which is applied between two households with a close social connection. One household provides the labour for building a dwelling for another household, and in return, the household which has been assisted should provide labour for the household providing assistance in building a dwelling. Apart from labour, all materials and equipment for construction are prepared by the household who needs a new dwelling. The principle character of this construction pattern is mutual assistance in labour. In this situation, the main builders comprise the members of the two households, among whom at least one or two are craftsmen. There are two further two types of construction. One is applied when the financial situation of a household is good enough to hire craftsmen, but all construction materials are prepared by the household. In this case, the construction project is usually committed to a master craftsman, who will hire carpenters, masons or painters according to the construction procedure of the project, and these will be paid according to the hours and days worked. The other type of construction is applied when all the materials, equipment and labour for construction are the responsibility of a master craftsman. This demonstrates the trust of the household in the master craftsman. Usually, the master craftsman is a relative or friend of the household, but a contract is normally signed between the household and the master craftsman to guarantee the quality of the construction. In this situation, the main builders are various craftsmen, and members of the households may also participate in the construction when necessary.

In general, the main builders of Bai and Naxi dwellings in the four settlements can be described as members of a household and various craftsmen. Almost all important decisions concerning the construction of a dwelling are normally made through communication and consultation between the craftsmen and members of the household, including what strategy should be applied to conduct the transformation, how the different demands and living requirements of each family member will be met, how the different kinds of construction resources will be arranged, how each corner of the house will be decorated and how the meanings and values of the family will be expressed. The craftsmen of Bai and Naxi dwellings

should be familiar with the local vernacular know-how. According to the literature review, vernacular know-how is perceived as a system of comprehensive knowledge and experience related to the building of a dwelling, including not only specific techniques and technology, but also rules, norms and restrictions, in order to cater for the needs of the local socio-cultural complex. The complicated content of vernacular know-how determines that hiring craftsmen from outside the community is unrealistic, as they would be strangers to the local community and thus unfamiliar with the local socio-cultural complex, so it would be difficult to win the trust of local residents. With the increase in modernization since the 1980s, many new types of building appeared in the four settlements before the introduction of tourism development, for example, brick houses, concrete houses or even multi-storey flats. Some construction groups from outside were employed by local residents to build these new types of house. More and more outside craftsmen began to participate in local construction. Nevertheless, in terms of 'traditional' Naxi and Bai dwellings, construction is still mainly dependent on local craftsmen as well as the vernacular know-how they hold. Before the development of tourism, the builders of Bai and Naxi dwellings were generally confined to individuals within the local community, who were part of the local community and therefore had complicated social and cultural relationships with inhabitants of the other dwellings. It seems that the user-builder system of Bai and Naxi dwellings was a relatively closed one before the development of tourism, and was based on the relatively closed socio-cultural system of the local community. As Paul Oliver says, "vernacular builders are customarily from the communities which use the structures and are frequently owner-builder-occupiers, the processes of building being learned by each successive generation" (1997, p.xxii). Vernacular architectural tradition was transmitted through the socio-cultural connections within the relatively closed builder-user system.

5.2 Current users and builders of the 30 guesthouses in case study

The previous chapter has illustrated the booming of tourism-related small businesses relevant to vernacular dwellings. These small businesses have a direct financial influence on the local economy, profoundly altering the working patterns of the local community and having a profound impact on the socio-cultural structure of the community (Macleod, 2004, pp.100-109). With the increase in immigration and emigration, the community increasingly becomes part of a vast community. We can see that many of these tourism-related businesses are themselves run by incoming foreigners, who are foreign settlers in the community and who have begun to create a permanent community of international composition (Macleod, 2004, p.112). According to statistics, from 1997 to 2007, visitor numbers to Dayan grew from 1,733,200 tourist arrivals to 4,600,900 arrivals, while tourism revenue increased from 17.45 billion Yuan to 46.29 billion Yuan. At the same time, the number of local Naxi residents in

Dayan declined dramatically from 24,000 persons in 1997 to 18,000 of a total population of 30,000 (60% of the total) (GHF Technical Assessment—Lijiang Ancient Town, China, 2008, p.8). This is due to the fact that many of the local residents left the Old Town and moved to the New Town, and rented their vernacular dwellings to immigrants coming to benefit from tourism development. Consequently, the introduction of foreign visitors and arrival of foreign settlers has changed the social composition of the economically under-developed and socially peripheral communities. When vernacular dwellings become involved in the tourism industry and are transformed into tourist vernacular dwellings, the composition of the user-builder system of vernacular dwellings is changed as well (see Diagram 4).

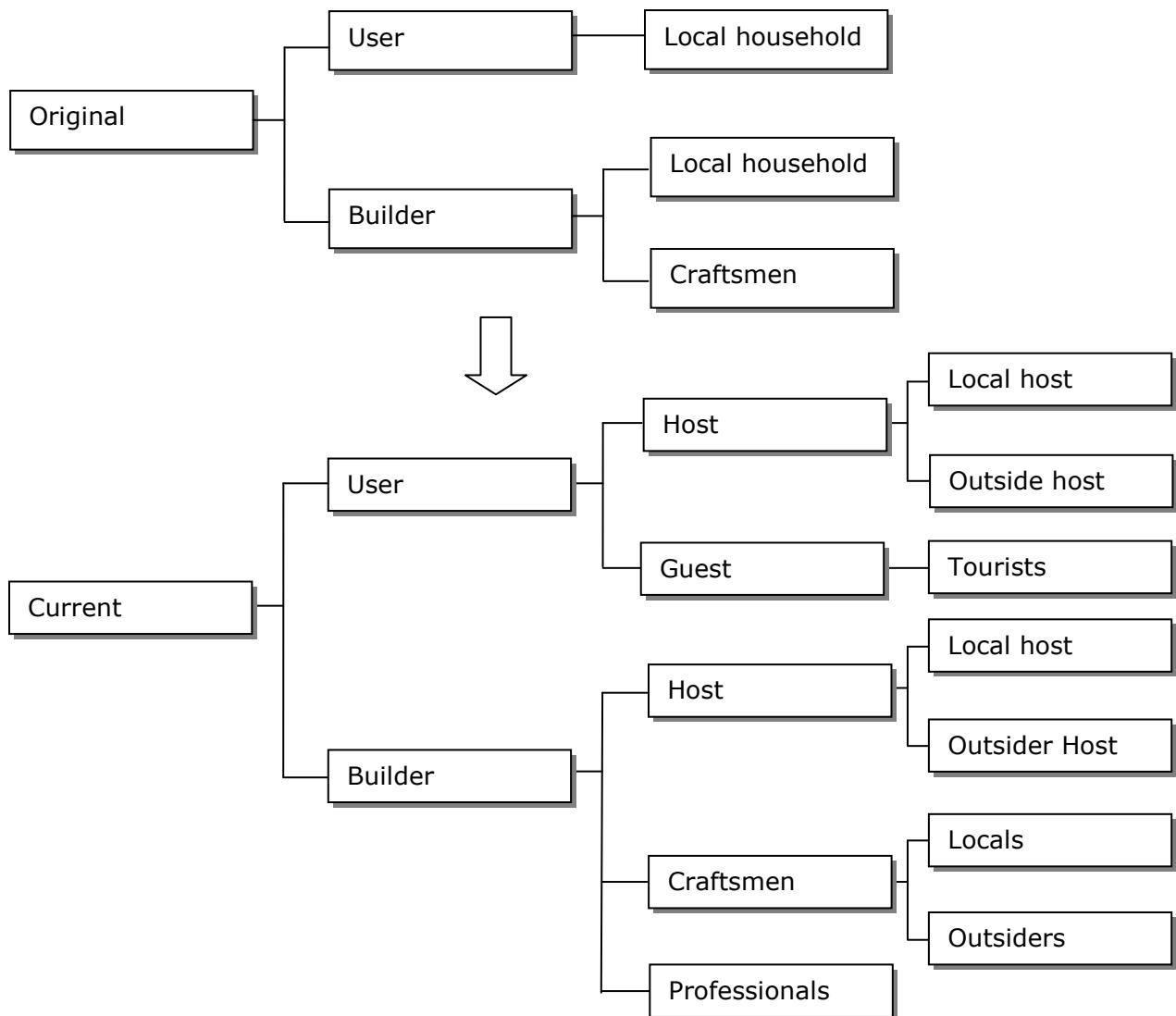


Diagram 4: Transition in builder-user system (drawn by author)

When ordinary vernacular dwellings become involved in tourism by being developed and transformed into guesthouses by local and outside households, the entire community is gradually opened up due to the immigration of outside households, arrival of tourists and

employment of outside craftsmen. The user-builder system is no longer confined within the local community. It becomes open to outside labour, technology, techniques and other construction resources. In terms of traditional vernacular dwellings, no matter what construction pattern is followed, the users of the dwelling are the households of the dwelling, and the builders are the households, craftsmen and other residents in the community. However, the investigation of the 30 cases shows that when a dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse, the vernacular dwelling is no longer merely a residential home for a household in the local community, but becomes an economic entity within the local economy. When tourism-related functions are added to the dwelling, tourists becomes important users of the dwelling. Thus, the user groups are split into households and tourists, comprising local households, outside households and a variety of tourists. Regarding builders, when a local or outside household transforms an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a guesthouse through construction practices such as restoration, rebuilding or renovation, both local and outside craftsmen are required to participate into the construction. In very rare situations, professionals such as architects may be requested to participate in the design process. Thus, the builder groups may be categorised into local households, outside households, local craftsmen, outsider craftsmen and professionals. In terms of the user and builder system, this comprises six groups of people, including local households, outside households, local craftsmen, outside craftsmen, professionals and tourists. Some new connections between builders and users due to the openness of the community will be discussed in the next section.

5.3 New connections between users and builders

5.3.1 Mutual dependence between local and outside households

Local households are normally local residents who hold ownership of the dwelling and bear strong socio-cultural connections with the local community. Local people are normally Naxi or Bai people, which are considered two of the 27 ethnic minority groups in the Yunnan province of China. These two ethnic minority groups have distinct language, food, costume, dwelling, festivals and customs. They are familiar with local cultural norms, rules and taboos. They have acquaintance with various craftsmen, and are capable to mobilize and utilize the resources they need to support the transformation of their vernacular dwelling into a tourism-related one. Two extreme situations can be identified in the 30 cases in terms of the financial dependence of local households on tourism business. One extreme situation is where the local household has little financial dependence on the guesthouse business; the other extreme situation is where the local household is highly dependent on the guesthouse business, and runs it as their main source of income. Most of the local households are in a situation between these two extremes and thus more or less dependent upon income from the guesthouse business. The degree of dependence determines the degree of change of the original function of the dwelling, as well as the relationship between the households and tourists.

Outside households are new settlers or immigrants to a local community. Their socio-cultural connection with the community is weak, and they are normally perceived as strangers by local residents. Most outside households are Han people, who comprise the majority of the population of China. Generally, local households are Naxi or Bai people who live in semi-isolated rural communities in the mountainous area of the Dali and Lijiang region, with a low degree of urbanization and modernization. Outside households mainly come from urbanized regions, with a relatively high degree of urbanization and modernization. There is a big social, cultural and economic gap between the rural communities and urbanized regions. This gap causes many differences between local and outside households, in aspects such as value systems, social relationships, rules and customs, standards of comfort and hygiene, aesthetic tastes and preferences in decoration. That is to say, local and outside households come from two different socio-cultural systems. Nevertheless, when the strangers become new settlers in the local community, especially when they have to engage in construction practice relevant to a type of building which belongs to a cultural system with which they are not familiar, they have to communicate and interact with the local inhabitants and build a social network within the locality. In terms of outside households who run a guesthouse business by transforming a dwelling rented from a local house owner, two extreme situations can be identified regarding the motivation of the outside household to run the business. One extreme situation is that the main purpose of the outside household is to seek a utopian lifestyle in a rural area. The other extreme situation is that the main purpose of the outside household is to obtain maximum financial profit from the guesthouse business. According to the investigation of the 30 cases, many outside households fall between these two extremes.

When the two groups of people meet within one community to develop ordinary dwellings into guesthouses, the socio-cultural relationship is complicated. On the one hand, local and outsider households are competitors in the tourism market in terms of running a guesthouse business. However, they are neighbours, as they are living in the same community. Outside households have advantages in aspects like their financial capability for investment, experience of an urbanized lifestyle, their ability to obtain information through various media and their ability to grasp the development tendencies of the tourist market. On the other hand, local households hold knowledge regarding the construction of a vernacular dwelling, such as its structural system, its symbolic system, approaches to maintaining and repairing it, as well as the local history and background associated with the dwelling. All of these aspects could be considered part of the local-vernacular tradition embodied in the vernacular dwelling. This knowledge is not only the basic knowledge required to transform an ordinary dwelling into a guesthouse, but is also knowledge in which tourists are interested. It is therefore necessary to accumulate knowledge and increase familiarity with the dwelling in order to both maintain a vernacular

dwelling in a good state and to create a unique cultural experience for tourists' consumption. The basic function of guesthouse determines that it is as necessary for outside households to learn from local household or locals as it is for local households to learn from outside households.



Figure 28: Bedrooms in the guesthouses (photos provided by www.ynguzhen.com, 2013)

With the different lifestyles and standards in terms of living conditions, it is very difficult for local households to imagine exactly what a guesthouse should be like. Initially, the guestroom

in a guesthouse run by a local household is simple, with two single beds and a small desk in the middle. There is no bathroom, no TV set and not even a chair. If tourists want to watch TV, they have to go to the main room downstairs, and watch with the household and other family members, as the whole family has just one TV set placed in the living room of the family. The guesthouse may just provide a basic service of simple accommodation and meals. Additional luxuries or consumer services are not available. In the low tourist season, the price of the guest room is only 15 Yuan per day, which is equal to approximately £1.50. When tourists have no choice, they have to stay in a simple guestroom in a local guesthouse, without a bathroom. However, when outside households modernize local dwellings, they equip them with bathrooms and modern facilities, and the majority of tourists prefer the latter.

Case 2-6 in Sideng is an example of a guesthouse run by an outside household. The householder of this guesthouse said:

Originally, those foreigners lived in my dwelling. The foreigners felt the dwelling is good. But gradually, many new things from outside were introduced here, for example, new idea of outsiders, who rent a dwelling here, or anyway. They built bathroom interiorly, which was preferred by guests.

Case 1-1 in Xizhou is run by an American and his family. The host of the guesthouse describes his accommodation as follows:

Bed and bathrooms include 14 double occupancy rooms, each of which consists of custom designed furniture built by local craftsmen, Western style mattresses, and fine cotton linens. No two rooms are the same, with varied layouts that take advantage of the original design features of the residence. Bathrooms have been customized with 21st century amenities using a Western design philosophy. All living accommodations have been decorated with exclusive works of contemporary art and priceless regional antiques to provide a completely unique and unparalleled experience in each room. Each guest room has a writing desk, wireless Internet, telephone, tea-making equipment, hair dryer, toiletries and smoke alarms. The Centre can hold 28 people, with 2 persons per room(Linden Centre, 2011).

The standard of bedding and amenities in guestrooms is in accordance with the criteria of Western design philosophy, with which local households are not familiar. In order to increase the competitiveness of a guesthouse run by a local household, it is essential to learn from outsiders.

Superficial imitation of the facilities and decoration of guesthouses run by outsiders can be observed. For example, in case 3-7 in Dayan, the standard guestrooms are on the second floor

of the main building, with two single beds, a TV set, a simple desk, a simple wardrobe and a bathroom. The bathroom is equipped with a shower, water heater, toilet, washstand, mirror, towel rack, toilet roll and two cups for tooth brushing. Decoration such as dolls and flowers indicates the intention of the host to add some aesthetic and romantic elements into the modernized living environment. Some Western cultural elements, modern elements and urbanized elements have been imported into guesthouses run by local households. It is clear that within the last two decades, the standard of accommodation offered in guesthouses in Dayan, Shuhe, Siding and Xizhou has been raised by outsiders. The guestroom in a guesthouse is the main body of a tourism product manufactured for tourists' consumption. The price of the room and the occupancy rate is directly influenced by the success of a guesthouse business. In order to increase the price of a guestroom, furniture in the guestroom must be fashionable and of high quality, and the bedding must be hygienic, comfortable and of a famous brand (see Figure 28). In addition, various styles of guestroom, of different sizes and with different themes, may be provided for tourists to choose. This method is adopted to cater for as wide a range as possible in terms of tourists' taste, in order to increase the occupancy rate. For example, the case 3-9 in Dayan provides seven unique guestrooms, including two Standard Guest Rooms, the Fashion Creative Room, a Romantic Japanese Room, a Warm and Fragrant Round Bed Room, the Warm and Fragrant Princess Room and a Large Honeymoon Suite. Meanwhile, the case 3-8 in Dayan provides eight unique guest rooms, including a honeymoon room for a couple, Happy Family rooms and an Eight-dragon-columns room. The prices of guestrooms vary according to the style of the room.

A bathroom is part of a guestroom and is also a key element to show the standard of accommodation of the guesthouse. High quality equipment and facilities can be seen in bathrooms, such as famous brands of toilet, ceramic basins, mirrored walls, stainless steel pipes, plastic pipelines and marble surfaces (see Figure 29). A high quality bathroom is a significant indication of a high standard of accommodation, so that the guestroom may attract a relatively high price. The case 1-2 in Xizhou is a good example. With the development of tourism, a standard room with bathroom has proved to be much more profitable than a simple room in the tourism market. Therefore, the middle generation of the family decided to add some bathrooms into the old dwelling and change some simple rooms into standard guestrooms in order to increase the family's income. The hostess of the guesthouse said:

These two rooms are originally simple guest rooms, which is of no bathroom. At the very beginning, we want to alter them into standard rooms with bathrooms, but the elderly oppose it greatly. They are afraid that the house would be damaged by the alteration. My father is the one who most treasured the woodcarving. The damage of it will break his heart. But gradually, it might

because the price of simple room is low and the price of standard room is better, he agrees to change [the house], so that we start the alteration.

Although the prices of guestrooms will fluctuate according the tourism season, in general, the higher the standard of the bathroom, the higher the price of the guestroom. In order to promote the competitiveness of their guesthouses in the tourism market, local households have to add bathrooms and equip the bathroom in accordance with the standard of Western style bathrooms. Some of the equipment and facilities are bought from big cities, either within China or even from abroad, to increase the standards of bathrooms.

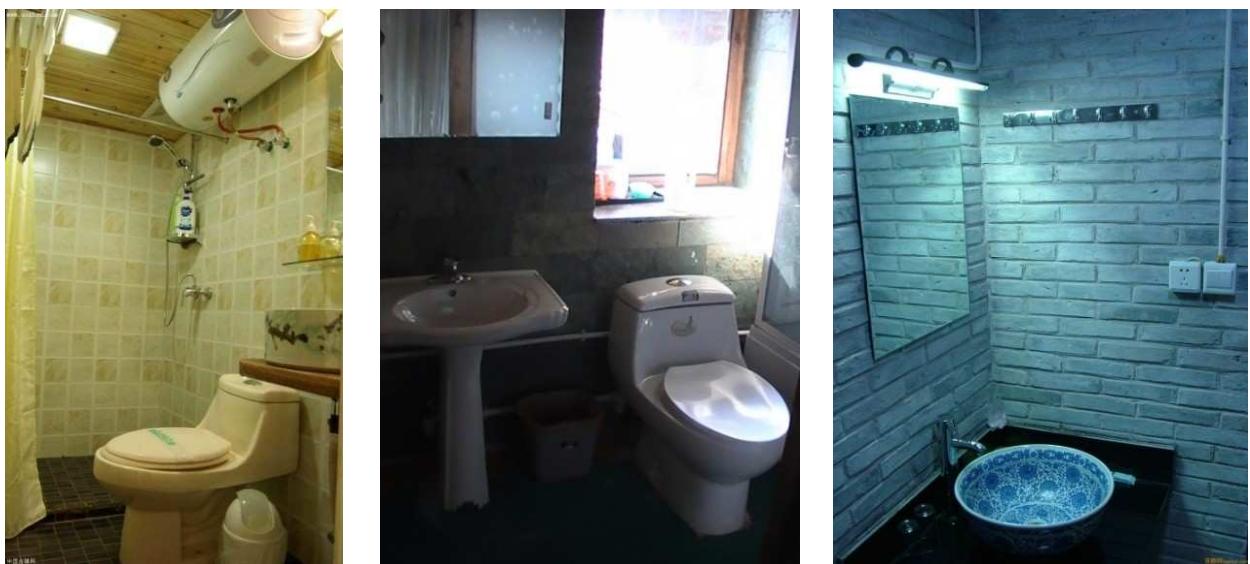


Figure 29: Bathrooms in the guesthouses (photos taken by author)

Clean, Western style bedding and bathrooms are necessary to increase the price of guestrooms. Apart from these tangible facilities, outsider households usually use some intangible elements to increase the commercial value of guestrooms. For example, various romantic names are given to different guestrooms, such as the 'Gentle Breeze and Swaying Willow room', 'Idyllic Song room' or 'Purple Memories room'. What is more, some guestrooms are named directly after the spatial characteristic of the room, like 'Luxurious Suite', 'Multi-floor Suite', 'Sunny Penthouse Suite' or 'Large Flat Suite'. The name assigned is partly designed to express the aesthetic tastes of households, and partly to present the characteristics and standard of the guestroom to tourists, thus facilitating their selection. These names enrich the cultural meaning and cultural experience offered by the accommodation. The different settings of the various guestrooms are designed to provide a degree of diversity, in order to cater for the differing tastes of various tourists. The diverse settings and guestroom names inspire the local households to establish different styles of guestroom and thus increase the competitiveness of their guesthouse in the tourism market.

In addition, many guesthouses run by outsiders declare that they can provide 'free luggage storage', 'free tourist information', 'free shopping advice' or 'free booking of airline tickets and tickets for admission to attractions and all sorts of performances', etc. Most of these free services are very small in scale but can offer much convenience for tourists. These services show the kindness and thoughtfulness of the households, and are an effective means of promoting a good relationship between households and guests. The free services proposed by outside households have prompted local households to improve their standards of service. In addition, some new services developed by outsider households, such as free bicycles, free local and long distance calls and free loan of laptops, have inspired local households to enrich the content of their own service. For example, they may provide a local meal, offer visits to the local open market or to local festivals, or send guests some free local products as gifts. Ultimately, many ordinary daily activities of local people are involved in tourism development.

In terms of running a tourist business, local households gain much inspiration from outside households in aspects such as updating intangible facilities, adding intangible cultural elements and developing new services. Conversely, in terms of knowledge concerning vernacular tradition, local households can provide a great deal of information and set good examples for outside households in relation to aspects such as being in harmony with nature, being happy in life and being flexible with tradition. In addition, the most important part of transforming an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a guesthouse is to use local socio-cultural resources to manufacture a product for tourists' consumption. Local households grasp the socio-cultural resources of the local community; they are acquainted with local craftsmen, they know who is the most responsible and skilled craftsmen in the locality, and can introduce them to outside households. Local households are also familiar with the means of obtaining cheap but high quality construction materials. Furthermore, they have comprehensive knowledge regarding vernacular know-how, which is the most important knowledge required in transforming an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse. The nature of the transformation determines that, in building and running a guesthouse, local and outside households are interdependent on each other. This mutual dependence between local and outside households has formed some new social networks between locals and outsiders on a community level.

5.3.2 Mutual trust and respect between tenants and landlords

In addition to the mutual dependence between local and outside households, the relationship between tenants and landlords is another key connection between users and builders. Unlike local households, outside households are normally immigrants from outside rather than the original residents of local community. According to the rules set by government, in principle, if an ethnic vernacular dwelling is designated as belonging to national or UNESCO heritage, it cannot be sold. Furthermore, in Chinese culture, the conservation of possessions inherited

from ancestors is an expression of respect towards these ancestors. As many vernacular dwellings are ancestral homes built by the ancestors of current inhabitants, they should be protected and well maintained, rather than being sold to strangers who could destroy the original features of the dwelling. Some first-level protected dwellings, in particular, are highly cherished by their inhabitants, and even flowers and grass areas in these dwellings are well preserved. Therefore, most local households prefer to rent their dwellings to outsiders rather than sell them, because the dwelling is not only a family estate, but also represents the history, pride and memories of the family.

When local landlords select tenants, they must be fairly prudent in making their decision. The selection of a tenant involves a complicated process of calculation and assessment. The ability to pay a high rental price is an important consideration for the local landlord, but it is not the most important factor to be considered. For example, the house owner of case 3-2 in Dayan rented his ancestral courtyard dwelling to an outsider who is a friend of the household. The householder said:

I don't worry, because, both of us, that he has good sense and perception. He often says something on television, and he writes some articles concerning the protection and development of the ancient town. He has very good view of his own. Therefore, I do not worry about him. Or else, in terms of rental, I, I, I, there are so many people want to rent the house. Somebody could pay a very high price, but I worry about them.

This indicates that the most important criterion for selecting a tenant is whether there is a close social relationship between the tenant and the landlord, such as that of a friend or relative. If the tenant is a friend of the house owner, even though he/she may pay less rent than a person who is not a friend of the house owner, the former will be given priority to become a tenant.

The householder of case 3-4 in Dayan is a young postgraduate student from Beijing, who has started his first enterprise in Dayan. He said:

[The dwelling] is preserved well to the present. And the elder people particularly do not want to leave the courtyard. Well, having feelings (with dwelling). There are more than one hundred people have talked about the yard with the house owners. All of them want to rent the courtyard. But it is some fate to determine the opportunity to become a tenant. We really do get well along with the elderly, and we do want to do [the business], so that the elderly is willing to allow us to develop it. Fate is a mystery, so that I start to do [the guesthouse]. Although it is shortage of investment, we still preserve the original main beam of the courtyard dwelling.

This care taken in the selection process means that most local household rent their dwellings to a person who has an established friendship with the household, even if the tenants are outsiders.

In addition, if outsiders want to rent a courtyard dwelling of high social, cultural and historical value, for instance, a key-preserved dwelling, the competition to become a tenant is even greater. The key-preserved dwelling is an authentic representation of 'heritage', a distinct focus for tourist gaze, and may attract a large number of tourists to come, so that many people want to rent it. The high commercial potential of the dwelling provides a good opportunity for the house owner to choose an appropriate tenant from a large number of candidates. Such a house owner will choose a tenant who is not only a tenant, but also a long-term friend of the family. Establishing a good relationship with the local house owner and showing respect towards local culture are preconditions of becoming a tenant. That is to say, some outsiders become friends with local people before they become tenants. If the tenant is a friend of the house owner, it indicates that mutual trust and mutual respect have been established between them, through which the suggestions and demands of the landlord will be accepted and respected by the tenants when they transform the dwelling into a guesthouse. In other words, if the tenants are friends of the household, it is much easier to achieve some consensus regarding several transformation issues, such as what is to be preserved and what may be changed, and how changes will be made, by what means, employing which craftsmen and so on.

Apart from some explicitly proposed requests and demands of the landlord, some hidden demands may have to be taken into consideration when the tenant transforms the dwelling into a guesthouse. The household of case 3-4 in Dayan said:

...we still maintain all the main beams of the courtyard house. All old frameworks and big sized components were maintained, and they were in good quality, including some smoked timber, which is anti-corrosion, strong and waterproofing. That is to say, we maintained as many as possible...I just renovate it according to its original style, doing some reinforcement and waterproofing, as well as painting. I made the best use of it, which relatively reduced part of my expenditure. After all, we considering firstly, the old courtyard dwellings are rare, and the elderly and his family have strong affection with them, who have lived in it from generation to generation. I think I should conserve the original form as much as possible. A wooden structure dwelling with adobe wall in the front courtyard is over one hundred years. The old wooden window, the old beam, and tiles are all maintained without any change ...regarding the guest room, it was actually influenced by it [the conservation], when you want to make double

floor guest room, or when you want to make out some innovative guest room [it is difficult].

This indicates that tenants will automatically maintain some original features of the dwelling which are regarded as holding special meaning for the landlord. Most of these are relevant to the pride, history, wealth representation and social status of the family. Maintaining the dwelling preserves the memory of the family who were the original builders and users of the dwelling. A good relationship between landlord and tenants facilitates the conservation of original features of the dwelling. The symbolic meaning embodied in features valued by the local house owner is sustained, and thus established as part of the memory of the current residents from outside.

The friendship and emotional connection between local house owners and outside tenants is not only a precondition for the outside tenants to construct a guesthouse, but it promotes mutual trust and respect between local house owners and outside tenants. It is important that the transformation of a vernacular dwelling is not mainly determined by outsiders, but is an agreement achieved through mutual respect and trust between the local house owner and the outsider tenant. This agreement means that the outside tenant keeps some of the original connection between the dwelling and the local house owner. Meanwhile, it enables local households to accept some new cultural elements brought in by outside tenants. As a result, the tenants will become familiar with the local culture, while the local house owners will accept some new perceptions from outside. Some socio-cultural connections between the dwelling and its owner are changed when the dwelling is transformed by an outside tenant. Nonetheless, two new connections are formed, between landlord, tenants and the dwelling. One is the connection between landlord and tenant; the other is the connection between the tenant and the dwelling. These new connections to some extent change the direction of transmission of the construction tradition, which is no longer a linear transmission from locals to locals, but from locals to outsiders. The new connections also change the quality of vernacular tradition, adding a degree of invention to the process when exotic cultural elements are brought into the local tradition. Nevertheless, this invention is based on respect for local culture and mutual trust between landlords and tenants. Therefore, the traditions invented are highly acceptable to the local culture and ultimately the newly invented traditions will become part of current local culture.

5.3.3 Constant communication between hosts and tourists

When an ordinary vernacular has been transformed into a guesthouse, tourists become important users of the dwelling. Unlike the other group of users - households, tourists are purely consumers of the dwelling, rarely participating in the construction of a guesthouse. They are just short-term residents, buying tourism-related services and products through the

usage of the vernacular dwelling. Although tourists vary from person to person, an awareness of the typology of tourists can help in understanding the diverse requirements of tourists in guesthouses. A typology of tourism is proposed by V. Smith (1989), categorised according to the volume of tourists and their adaptation to local situations. The categories of tourism types include Explorer, Elite, Incipient mass, Mass and Charter. Cohen (1972; see also 1979) lists a continuum of tourist types according to the degree of flexibility of the tourist and the extent to which they seek novelty and desire familiarity, including the organised mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter. Macleod suggests that the classification of various tourist types should be carried out according to "a particular phenomenon, usually motivation or behaviour" (2004, p.68). He categorizes tourist types roughly into two groups: one is called package tourists - these usually demand Western amenities, and are associated with rapid growth rates and often the restructuring of the local economy. The other type is referred to as independent tourists - these usually fit in better with the local environment and social structure, are associated with relatively slow growth rates and often lead to local ownership (Macleod, 2004, p.68). Most tourists in the 30 guesthouses in the case study may be described as independent 'alternative' tourists, rather than package tourists.

Local households who have little financial dependence on their guesthouse business normally have other sources of income, and do not want to change their current lifestyle too much to earn money through the guesthouse. Therefore, these local households regard tourists as friends rather than clients. They are delighted to develop an acquaintance with a variety of guests, and happy to communicate with them constantly. For example, the householder of case 3-2 in Dayan said:

When guests arriving, [they will] have a chat and drink some tea. Sometimes my wife cooks meal for them and we have a meal together, drinking some wine and talking. In this way, we find that we agree with each other so much that latterly, we start to write something to exchange with each other. Gradually, the information of Lijiang tourism increases and my dwelling is like a communication centre. Actually, the price of my guest room is low. My purpose is not for money. But at last I find it is very interesting. When the grandmother died, many people were flown over here as soon as possible. They got the message through a long-distance call, and they come here immediately. It is not a common relationship between guests and households; it becomes friends, or even relatives.

This shows that, because local households and outside tourists share the space of one dwelling, they have many opportunities to meet each other, have a talk, or even have a meal together. In most cases, the local household treats their customers as guests or friends of the family. In turn, some tourists also treat the local households as friends. The relationship between households and guest breaks down many boundaries between business operator and customer.

On the other hand, when the local household is highly dependent upon the guesthouse business, although the dwelling is still the local household's home, it is run as a serious business with the goal of increasing the household's income. The investigation of 30 cases showed that local households in this situation treat tourists partly as clients and partly as friends. The local households realize that they are providing a service to the tourists, who should therefore be treated as clients. Nevertheless, the local households and their clients live in one dwelling, which provides many opportunities for communication between them. With this increased communication, it is inevitable that tourists are treated as friends. In some rare situations, sharing space in a dwelling may cause conflict between the local household and the tourists. Under these circumstances, the local household has to treat the tourists as clients.

Some tourists want to gain genuine knowledge about local history and culture through talking to local people. Others are interested in experiencing local living conditions and the ordinary local way of life. These tourists would seek opportunities for in-depth interaction with the households, especially local households. As household and tourists live in one dwelling, there are many opportunities for outside tourists to participate in activities relevant to the daily life of the local household. It is common for tourists to help the household with housework, such as stripping peas, dealing with flowers and plants or buying goods in the open market. Some tourists are even allowed to attend some special activities within the family, such as visiting relatives, attending a wedding ceremony or celebrating festivals. These activities provide further opportunities for outside tourists to obtain in-depth knowledge and experience relevant to the local culture. With the development of tourism, more and more tourists prefer to gain an in-depth experience of local culture through tourism, which will lead to a more in-depth interaction between households and tourists. This interaction between households and tourists establishes a new channel for the transmission of tradition between local households and outside tourists.

Outside households who have little financial dependence on the guesthouse business are keen to spend their time in a leisurely manner within a beautiful environment that is very different from a modern urbanized environment. The primary goal of such outside households is to build a second home in which to live a free and leisurely lifestyle, so that earning money through the guesthouse business is not as important as enjoying an ideal lifestyle. The attitude of these households towards tourists is contradictory. As an operator of a guesthouse business, the outside household should treat tourists as clients. They have to provide a comprehensive service to their guests, such as meals, accommodation, hot tea and conversation. However, these tourism-related services may interfere with the household's pursuit of peace and leisure. For example, one outside householder in this situation said, "Some tourists are peculiar noisy

and bother me all the time. We do not want to make meal for this sort of tourists. Accommodation and having a rest in my guesthouse is welcome, but other services are not available for them." Occasionally, some tourists may be treated as friends of the household if the tourists respect their lifestyle. In this extreme situation, the guesthouse is more a spiritual resort for individuals, rather than a tourist product for public consumption. In an interview, the outside householder of the same guesthouse said that he is unhappy if all the guestrooms have been taken, as the demands of so many people with so many requests would affect the quality of his leisurely lifestyle. The purpose of altering the original dwelling is more to meet the needs of the outside household and the pursuit of their ideal lifestyle than to meet the needs of tourists.

Outside households with a high financial dependence on the guesthouse business are usually those of businessmen or entrepreneurs, whose main purpose is to gain maximum profit from the guesthouse business. These outside households regard the guesthouse as a profitable business within a tourist market which is worthy of investment. The primary purpose of this type of outside household is to run the dwelling as a profitable business, and to try their best to maximize the profits. The dwelling will be transformed into a purely tourism-based product for tourist consumption. Therefore, making the best use of the dwelling by all means which will stimulate tourist consumption is the essence of the transformation. In this situation, tourists are treated purely as clients. The more money they pay the higher the standard of service they will receive. Friendship or in-depth connections between these households and the tourists are rare. In comparison to the interaction discussed above, the interaction between this kind of household and tourists is relatively unstable and represents only a superficial relationship. As these households generally treat tourists as consumers who will stay in the guesthouse for a very short period of time, it seems to be very hard to establish a long-term relationship between the two groups.

It seems that the degree of communication between households and tourists varies. It is observed that the communication of tourists with local households who have little financial dependence upon their guesthouse business is much greater than that with outside households who have a high financial dependence upon the guesthouse business. The greater the communication between the households and tourists, the less separation there is between builders and users. The reason for this lies in the fact that some tourists convey demands and suggestions to the households, who will then make some adjustments to the guesthouses in accordance with these demands and suggestions. In this way, the tourists, as short-term users, indirectly participate in the construction process of a guesthouse. However, if there is little communication between the households and tourists, the separation between builders and users is obvious. There is almost no chance of tourists participating in the construction process.

In this situation, the tourist as user is separated from the builder. With the development of tourism, an increasing number of 'alternative' tourists seek to communicate with local households through living in a guesthouse for a short period of time. It is a good opportunity to obtain an in-depth experience of local culture. It may be argued that transforming a Bai or a Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse does not necessarily increase the separation between user and builder. If the guesthouse is developed in a proper manner, almost all users, including tourists, can participate in the building process.

5.3.4 Collaboration between local and outside craftsmen

When a Bai or a Naxi dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse, the builders of the guesthouse may be categorised as local or outside household, local craftsmen, outsider craftsmen and professionals. Local craftsmen are residents of the local community who have a strong socio-cultural connection with that community. They are part of the community, and their family, relatives and friends all live in the same community. They know each other quite well in terms of nature, temperament, skills and capabilities. Skilled and elder craftsmen are often highly respected in the community, as the building of a house is of significance for many generations of the family. In terms of know-how related to the construction of dwellings in a specific ethnic settlement, local craftsmen have more experience and a deeper understanding of this know-how with regard to details such as structural pattern, separation of space, materials, decoration, symbolism and hidden rules and taboos. In other words, local craftsmen should have the best understanding of vernacular know-how for the specific type of dwelling they build. Nevertheless, in response to tourism development, local craftsmen are no longer isolated from global communication, and they can also update their knowledge and skills to meet the needs of an ever-changing present.

Outside craftsmen are craftsmen who come from other communities. They are highly mobile. In comparison with local craftsmen, their socio-cultural relationship with a local community is weak, but they have more social networks in the world outside. The investigation of the 30 cases found that barely any outside households employed outside craftsmen, as they would not be familiar with the rules and construction norms of local dwellings. In most cases, outside craftsmen were only employed by local households who were local craftsmen themselves. In this situation, outside craftsmen are not necessarily able to understand the traditional vernacular know-how of the local area, but the household has a grasp of this knowledge. Nevertheless, more communication is needed between local households and outside craftsmen if the outside craftsmen are not familiar with the details of local construction. The primary task of outside craftsmen is to seek solutions in the application of new technology and techniques to solve problems in the construction of a guesthouse. A specific connection will be built between the local household and outside craftsmen during the period of construction, but this is

normally a temporary one, which will disappear when the outside craftsmen move on again to seek their next job.

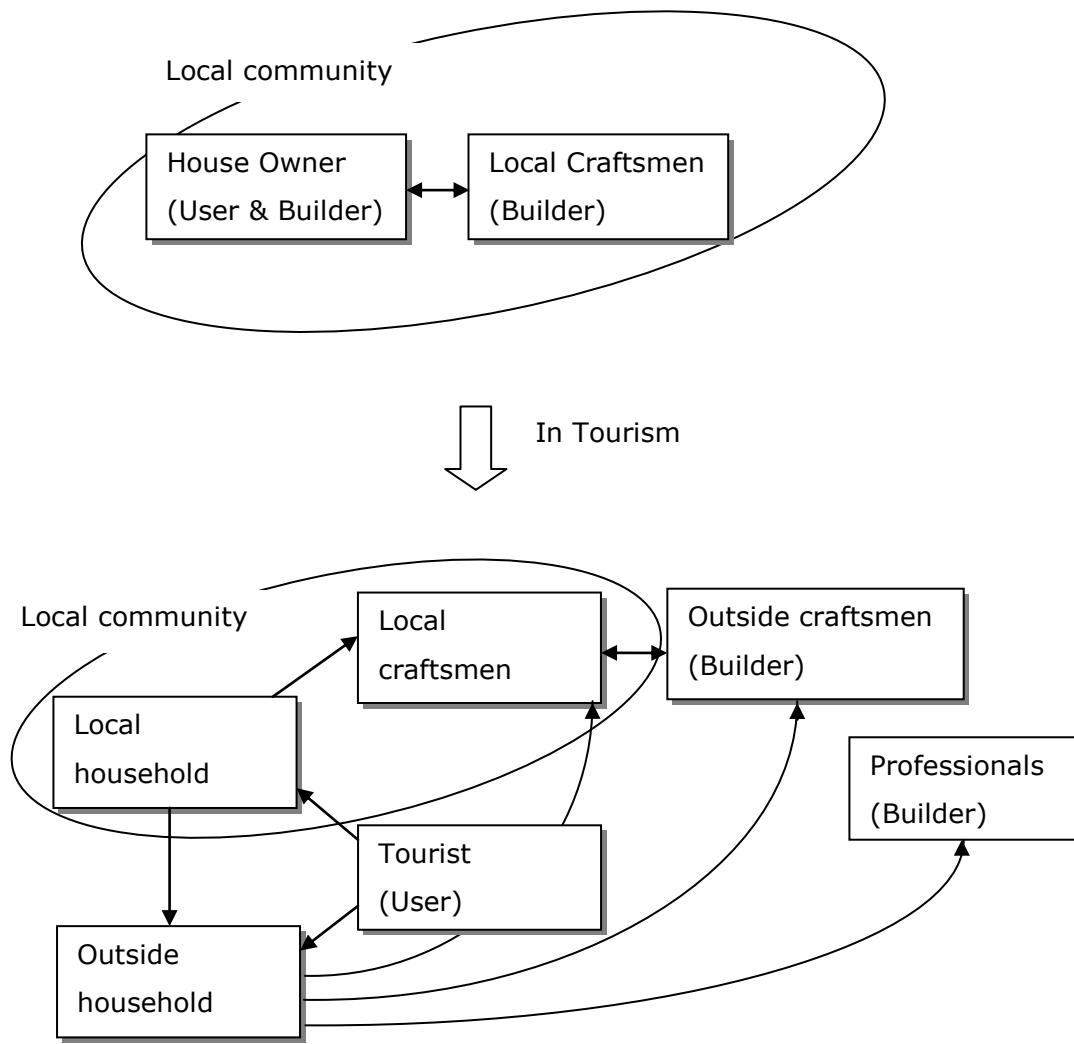


Diagram 5: Transition of builder-user connection (drawn by author)

Apart from craftsmen, some individual architectural professionals might be involved in the design phase, such as architects, interior designers and engineers. In most cases, both local and outside households might shun these professionals, as they often have little socio-cultural connection with the local community. In addition, the working pattern of such professionals is difficult to integrate into the working pattern of craftsmen. For example, professional designers usually apply the use of drawings and architectural blueprints to express their design ideas, as these are considered to be the principal media of communication between designers and builders. However, in the construction pattern of craftsmen, the architectural blueprint is rarely used to facilitate communication between designer and builders. Oral communication is more effective and flexible than drawings in dealing with issues which occur during the process of building an on-site design. Nevertheless, in some special situations, professional designers or

engineers might be involved in the transformation of guesthouse. The first situation is when some of these professionals are friends of the household, so the professionals might come to provide professional assistance to the transformation. The other situation occurs when professionals are employed by outside households, whose motivation is to obtain maximum profit from the guesthouse business. With abundant investment and limited time, such households might engage professional designers and construction workers to complete the transformation, though this might run the risk that the professional designer would decrease or distort the cultural meaning embodied in the original dwellings. In most cases, local craftsmen play the role of leader of a construction team, and then may employ some outside craftsmen to deal with issues regarding modern materials and new structures. If a professional participates in the construction, he/she is expected to collaborate with the craftsmen. The connection between these three types of builders will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, which will explore the transition in the roles of craftsmen and apprenticeships within tourism development.

5.4 Influence of tourism on user-builder connection

Before the development of tourism, the building of a Bai or Naxi dwelling was a community event based on social collaboration and cultural interaction between individual builders and users. Because the users of a Bai or Naxi dwelling also played the role of builders of the dwelling, the main users were the inhabitants of the dwelling, and the main builders were the inhabitants, together with some local craftsmen. Almost all builders and users belonged to one community. Due to this community-based construction, the craftsmen had multiple levels of socio-cultural connection with the main user. It seems that the users and builders of a Bai or a Naxi dwelling were not separate. However, when an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse, the original user-builder connection is altered. The tourism development of a Bai and Naxi dwelling deconstructs the original components of the builder-user relationship, and complicates the connection between users and builders. However, in building and running a guesthouse, local and outside households are interdependent in many respects. This interdependence between local and outside households establishes some new social networks between locals and outsiders on a community level. It is observed that the relationship between landlord and tenant is based on mutual trust and respect rather than on commercial benefit, because the dwelling is the ancestral home of the family. Therefore, when tenants transform a dwelling into a guesthouse, the suggestions and requests of the landlord will be accepted. That is to say, the landlord can indirectly participate in the construction process because of the close relationship established between them and the tenant (see Diagram 5).

In term of the relationship between households and tourists, some households treat tourists as guests, or friends. Only very few households treat tourists purely as clients. Therefore, constant communication occurs between households and tourists, through which tourists' demands and needs can be accepted by the households and introduced into the construction process. In this sense, tourists are not separate from the builders. Regarding the relationship between the three groups of builders, local craftsmen play a key role in the transformation of a Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse. Outsider craftsmen might be employed by local households to deal with issues associated with modern techniques and materials. Professionals have a limited opportunity to participate in guesthouse construction, especially professional designers. On a community level, local craftsmen, outside craftsmen and professionals grasp the distinctive skills and technology required in the construction of a guesthouse. The basic relationship between the three groups of builders is collaboration. It seems that the construction of a guesthouse is still heavily based on collaboration between user and builder on a community level. Although tourism development complicates the components of the builder and user relationship, and increases the openness of socio-cultural interaction between builders and users, it does not eliminate the social connection and cultural interaction between user and builder. Households still play the role of builder as well as user. Tourists, as short-term users, are able to participate in the construction indirectly. The building and usage of a guesthouse facilitates the establishment of new social networks and stimulates the diversity of cultural interaction on a community level. In this sense, transforming an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse does not change the community-based nature of construction.

Chapter 6: Transition in craftsmen's role and apprenticeship system

As confirmed by the literature review, craftsmen play a very important role in the construction of a vernacular dwelling, as they are the people who are able to grasp and apply vernacular know-how during the practice of construction. Vernacular know-how is perceived as a comprehensive knowledge system regarding local wisdom, experience, knowledge and skills. The vernacular dwelling built by craftsmen through the application of vernacular know-how represents the social reliance and cultural acceptance of the local community, because the craftsmen's role and competence is trusted by the community. More importantly, the apprenticeship system is an education system for craftsmen, through which the vernacular know-how can be transmitted from one generation to the next. The role and competence of craftsmen make the dwelling meaningful and appropriate to local residents, as both are deeply rooted in the socio-cultural complex. Meanwhile, the apprenticeship system facilitates the sustaining of this vernacular know-how. Therefore, the role of craftsmen and their apprenticeship-style education could be considered as aspects of the transmission mechanism of vernacular architecture, which relates to the sustaining of vernacular tradition. This chapter will investigate the transition in the role of craftsmen and the apprenticeship system in the four settlements under the influence of tourism development.

6.1 Transition in local craftsmen's role

6.1.1 Original role of craftsmen

Traditionally, various craftsmen played a significant role in building and maintaining vernacular dwellings in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng. That Bai and Naxi dwellings in the four settlements could be built to such a high standard is mainly attributable to the competence of the various craftsmen concerned, especially the masons in Xizhou and the carpenters in Sideng, whose skills and techniques are famous around Yunnan province. Building a dwelling requires various types of craftsmen to cooperate with each other. They are responsible for different parts of the construction. For example, a carpenter is responsible for construction relevant to timber, while a mason is mainly responsible for construction associated with stone and brick. A traditional team of craftsmen normally comprises six to eight craftsmen who are relatives or friends who trust and are familiar with each other (Tang, 2006, pp.31-32). Among the various types of craftsmen, carpenters play a significant role in the construction of Bai and Naxi dwellings. The role of carpenters can be divided into several aspects. In terms of design, the carpenters bear the responsibility for determining such factors as the basic building type, the planning and usage of space, the pattern of the timber framework and the size of each

component (Tang, 2006, p.32). Other types of craftsmen should follow the design and complete the project through cooperation.

The construction of Bai and Naxi dwellings is basically based on a technical system which has been sustained in similar form for thousands of years. The timber frame construction system is still widely applied by the craftsmen, who retain a set of local traditional construction techniques and skills. These construction techniques and skills are mainly handed down through oral transmission and demonstration teaching between masters and apprentices. The oral transmission refers to the transmission of oral formulae, poems and congratulatory speech relevant to the vernacular construction know-how. For instance, the craftsmen commonly compile construction dimensions into formulae using accurate and concise expressions which are easy to remember (Bin, 2012, p.587). To give another example, various rituals will be interspersed into the different stages of construction and usually the main carpenters will preside over these rituals. Such rituals are highly relevant to the safety and smoothness of the construction process. The main carpenter will make many congratulatory speeches to express good wishes for the construction process. Demonstration teaching mainly refers to the demonstration of various methods involved in construction, such as how to use tools, how to calculate the sizes and dimensions of a timber component, how to use a modular system, how to make an inked line drawing on a piece of timber and how to assemble a timber frame. In terms of ritual, the younger generation will learn how to preside over a ritual, how to make a congratulatory speech and what the meaning of the ritual is. These elements can only be learned through participation and observation on site, and the techniques and skills of construction are handed down and learned through continuous practice as well (Wang, 2003, p.26). It will take many years of building practice for an apprentice to grasp the whole set of techniques and skills. Ultimately the degree of mastery and proficiency in vernacular know-how is highly dependent on the talents and hard work of individual apprentices.

The set of rituals embodied in the construction of a Bai and Naxi dwelling is considered an integral part of the construction process. They are symbolic and participatory expressions of a collective identity and the psychological needs of local communities (Bin, 2011, pp.133-159). For example, at the very beginning of construction, the host will offer a sacrifice to the god of a mountain from which the host obtains trees for building; and then the main carpenter will offer a sacrifice to the god of land at the beginning of construction of a foundation; when carpenters start to make timber components, they will offer a sacrifice to the god of wood; and when all timber components are done, the main carpenters will worship their ancestors, expel evil spirits embodied in timbers and columns to wish for the safety and smoothness of the next stage of construction (Bin, 2011, pp.133-159). The origin of these rituals can be identified in the legends recorded in the book 'Mujing' (Bin, 2012, pp.587-591). For example, a legend in

Mujing records the origin of the ritual of expelling evil spirits embodied in timbers and columns. It said when Luban (the ancestor of all carpenters in China) built a large palace, in order to increase the construction speed, he made many wood-men who could help him to complete the construction. However, his witchcraft was recognized by his daughter, and in order to avoid it being recognized by others, Luban had to throw all the wood-men into a fire, thus causing the hatred of the wood-men. Some of the wood-men escaped from the fire, but became evil spirits embodied in the timber, who would cause trouble during the construction practices undertaken by Luban's posterity (Bin, 2012, pp.587-591). In order to avoid the trouble caused by the evil spirits, there is a ritual to expel the evil spirits after all the columns and beams are done, as the next step is to assemble timber frameworks and erect the frameworks through many works high above ground.



Figure 30: Main carpenters will read out a congratulatory speech (Jie, 2009, p.124)

In addition to the origin of the rituals, 'Mujing' records many oral formulae and poems associated with building techniques and skills. It also retains many legends of carpenters, which indicate many rules, norms and even taboos of carpenters. According to an interview with some old carpenters in Dali, 'Mujing' has essentially become an oral expression of the construction of Bai and Naxi dwellings (Bin, 2012, p.588). However, in the construction of Bulang dwellings, the main carpenters have a manuscript in the form of a manual, which records the essential techniques and skills, as well as some of the congratulatory speeches for rituals. The main carpenters will read out a congratulatory speech according to the manuscript during the construction ritual when necessary (see Figure 30).

The whole procurement of a building takes place under the control of a main carpenter, who is the commander and chief designer of a project, and will take charge of all phases of construction. The procurement procedure involved in building a Bai or Naxi dwelling includes several steps as follows. 1) One year ahead of construction, the host will invite a reliable 'Zhangmo Shanshen' (The main carpenter) to calculate and estimate the amount of timber usage. Since Bai and Naxi courtyard dwellings only have a few basic formats of timber framework, the host and the carpenter are able to set the format of the dwelling through selection before construction. If the main carpenter is willing to do the calculation and selection, it means that the main carpenter has accepted the commission. 2) The main carpenter will prepare the materials a couple of days before the start of building works according to the selected format. Then the main carpenter will allocate the usage of timber according to the

timber prepared. He will determine which timbers will be used to build the main wing and which timbers will be used to build the side wings or barns. Different materials will be stacked separately on site. 3) The main carpenter will start to draw an ink line on each piece of timber, following his own experience and extraordinary memory. Without complicated drawings and detailed calculation tables, the carpenter is able to precisely draw a blueprint directly onto the construction materials using only some mouldboards and rulers. The timber components will be cut according to the ink lines, and the overall design and the next stage of construction will be demonstrated on the cut timber components. 4) When all the timber components are processed, it is easy to assemble the timber framework. Many villagers will come to help on the day of assembling the framework (see Figures 31, 32 and 33). Under the direction of the main carpenter, all participants will cooperate with each other to assemble all the timber columns and beams into a spatial framework using mortise and tenon. The host will then prepare a feast with drinks to show appreciation for the help of the villagers. The next steps are to build walls and make windows and doors, as well as to cover the roof with tiles.

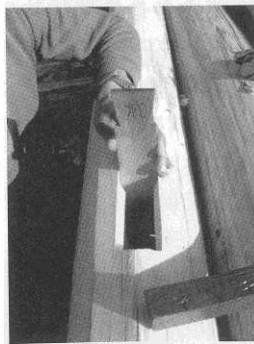


Figure 31: Drawing an ink line on timber
(Bin, 2011, p.130)



Figure 33: Erecting the timber framework and sticking couplings on the beams and columns (Bin, 2011, p.132)

In summary, carpenters are responsible for calculating and estimating the cost of the project, including the overall cost and the cost of timber (Tang, 2006, p.32). In a team of craftsmen, the leader is usually a main carpenter, who is in charge of the division of labour, management of the construction procedure, and making key decisions at different stages. The roles of the craftsmen are not only to build dwellings, but also to sustain a specific architectural culture

through the application of vernacular know-how. For example, the carpenters are sometimes requested to take charge of some of the ritual activities involved in the construction process, like settling the main beam on the framework. This ritual activity is believed to guarantee prosperity and well-being for the inhabitants. Additionally, the craftsmen may sometimes use specific decoration and patterns to express good wishes for the inhabitants in their pursuit of health and happiness. That is to say, the craftsmen are not merely technical assistants; they have many roles on multiple levels associated with the social and cultural issues embodied in building and using a dwelling. On the one hand craftsmen are able to deal with these issues relevant to social rules, cultural customs and beliefs that the dwellings are meaningful to the inhabitants. On the other hand the inhabitants are able to understand their cultural identity through the work and construction result made by the craftsmen. Through this way, the vernacular architectural tradition can be sustained from one generation to the next.

6.1.2 Roles of craftsmen in construction of a guesthouse

6.1.2.1 Provide traditional know-how

In the construction of a guesthouse, which is a mixture between a residential house and a tourism agency, the craftsmen face new challenges. The attraction of tourist gaze is the first task in the transformation of a Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse. As previously discussed in the literature review, one primary motivation for engagement in tourism is primarily to seek tourist gaze. In terms of the built environment, tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience (Urry, 2002, p.3). The attraction of tourist gaze depends upon non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness (Urry, 2002, pp.1-2). Therefore, some of the basic physical features of Bai and Naxi courtyard dwellings should be conserved, restored and even manufactured.

When an ordinary vernacular dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse through strategies like maintenance, alteration, extension, reconstruction, restoration or refurbishment, some vernacular know-how is required to confirm the validity of the design, particularly when the design involves structural changes to the original dwelling. With regard to rebuilding, renovation and restoration tasks, the construction is highly dependent upon the skills, experience and knowledge of local carpenters, masons and painters. In addition, traditional know-how relevant to belief systems, taboos and symbolic meanings are generally grasped and understood by local craftsman. Therefore, in terms of the choice of craftsmen, most households prefer to employ local craftsmen. This is especially true for outside households, who definitely need to become familiar with 'traditional' architectural language, but lack the channels to access it. Since this local traditional know-how is not acknowledged by the school educational system, local craftsmen have become the only channel through which outside

households can gain access to vernacular know-how. The householder of case 3-4 in Dayan said:

They are ethnic minority, who get pretty familiar with carpentry and crafts of creating patterns and forms, which were inherited only by their nationality. They know extremely well about a dwelling, the wooden framework, including when the entire courtyard dwelling is constructed, the obvious characteristics to reflect its construction age, its structure, its strong points, what repair the dwelling needs, and how to maintain and repair them.

This close relationship between vernacular know-how and craftsmen determines the necessity for the involvement of craftsmen in the construction process, especially when the process is carried out by an outside household. If craftsmen participate in the construction, they can give detailed suggestions regarding maintenance, alteration, extension, reconstruction, restoration or refurbishment. In addition, their comprehensive knowledge of the dwelling can provide new cultural elements to enrich the design of furniture, furnishings and decoration, such as symbolic meanings embodied in the features, the historical story behind a traditional pattern, or customs relating to the use of furniture. These meanings and stories can also enrich the experience of tourists, thus increasing the tourist attraction of the guesthouse. In this sense, most outside households would benefit from employing local craftsmen to complete the construction project.

6.1.2.2 Facilitate social connections

Employing local craftsmen not only helps outside households to gain technological assistance regarding local vernacular know-how, but also builds a channel through which the outside households can establish a social connection with the local community. For many outside households who have newly settled in the area, it is essential to establish new social networks with the local community in order to be accepted by the new community. Employing local craftsman is an effective way to establish these social networks. The householder of case 1-1 in Xizhou said:

A further complication was hiring the appropriate firm to help us restore the buildings. We were advised against using local labour, to avoid misunderstandings that could possibly affect our long-term acceptance in the community. People suggested bringing in workers from eastern China and Sichuan, areas where the workers were considered to be harder-working. However, it was always our desire to work with the locals. We felt that we were becoming part of the Xizhou community and thus wanted to support our neighbours. Throughout the ten months of renovation, we had over 100 workers on site, including a period of six months when 60 plus per day were in the complex. We have been overwhelmed by their diligence and commitment to our

project. They are now are neighbours, our advocates and most important, our friends. (Linden Centre, 2011)

Employing local craftsmen means providing jobs and increasing income for local workers, which is a kind of financial support for the local community. This support will help the local community to accept the outsiders. In addition, the process of construction provides the outside household with many opportunities to communicate and interact with local people. For instance, through the connection with craftsmen, the outside households can get to know each craftsman in the team, their families, and even their relatives and friends. Through these connections, the outside households can start to establish a social network with the local community and ultimately become part of the community.

In addition, as the timber structure of the dwelling needs constant repair and continuous maintenance, it is necessary to establish a long-term connection with the craftsmen. Once a friendship is established with the outside household, the relationship between the outside household and local craftsman is no longer a relationship between employer and employee, but one of interdependent friends. The outside household can introduce new clients and projects to the craftsman, and the craftsman can help the outside household to maintain the dwelling when necessary. For instance, the householder of case 3-4 in Dayan prefers to establish friendships with local craftsmen:

Yes, and after local craftsman become your friends, they do many things not because of money. Just giving a call, they know that you need help and they will come as soon as possible. This is the most important. In big city you could constantly complain, but it does not make sense.

This kind of friendship will facilitate the household's ability to seek help from the local community on a long-term basis. Sometimes, local craftsmen and outside households may hold feasts together, celebrate festivals together or exchange gifts. Through these interactions, the outside households gradually gain access to the local culture, and meanwhile the local craftsmen gain more connections with the world outside the local community.

6.1.2.3 Innovation of new traditional know-how

Changing an ordinary Bai or Naxi courtyard dwelling into a guesthouse is about more than attracting tourist gaze. A guesthouse is no longer a private house, but a tourism agency providing tourism-related services for tourists. Ironically, the majority of tourists seek a unique and exotic cultural experience through the accommodation, but at the same time, they cannot bear the lower living standards and inconvenience of rural residence. In order to meet the needs of tourists and their tourism activities, the construction of a guesthouse must import new equipment and facilities similar to Western style accommodation, and add some new space arranged purely for tourism-related activities. The new role of the dwelling may cause many

new technological and technical issues in the construction. It is clear that local households like to employ outside craftsmen because the households themselves are familiar with the vernacular know-how, whilst the highly mobile outside craftsmen have the advantage of being able to deal with issues regarding new materials and structures. However, this does not mean that local craftsmen lack the ability to deal with these issues. With the development of urbanization, many local craftsmen seek jobs outside their locality, and learn new technology and techniques by working in urban areas.

To transform an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a modernized guesthouse, the builder needs to solve many new construction issues. Such issues include how to add modern equipment and Western bathroom facilities into a timber-structured dwelling, how to avoid wood decay from moisture, and how to solve issues of sound insulation for timber floors. The bathroom must be piped, lined, waterproofed and moisture-proofed. Solving these issues not only needs vernacular know-how, but also modern construction technology and techniques. In most cases, a combination of these two types of construction knowledge is required to solve the construction issues. The combination of these two systems evokes innovation, integration and negotiation between local vernacular know-how and global modern building technology. For example, the householder of case 3-2 in Dayan said:

[Waterproofing] is not made directly on the wooden structure. There are many means to do it, which are used throughout the whole ancient city. It is not difficult, in fact, if you make it seriously. There are lots of experiences in this aspect...one thing is cement blocks, which is not allowed to place directly on wooden structure. A little gap is required between, and the cement blocks are cushioned by a stone, which does not absorb water. But cement block will absorb water, which will damage the timber. The stone cushion will separate the cement blocks from timber. Nowadays, there is wide variety of means to do it with various new waterproofing materials.

In addition to waterproofing, water supply and drainage systems, electrical engineering and noise proofing are all new building technologies which must be applied to the traditional timber structure. In order to meet the needs of the new function, the construction of a guesthouse facilitates innovation by combining new technology and techniques with traditional know-how. If such innovation is generally carried out and accepted by local craftsmen, there is a high possibility that it will become part of a new traditional know-how, as the local craftsman is the key person whose responsibility it is to transmit, accumulate, develop and sustain traditional know-how. That is to say, modern technology and techniques can become key ingredients and thus form new traditional know-how if the result of the combination is accepted by local craftsmen. In this way, the application of new technology will not only be accepted by the local cultural system of construction, but also become part of it.

6.1.3 Influence of tourism on the role of local craftsmen

Originally, the craftsmen were local residents with a stable social status in the local community. They were highly respected by local residents, as they helped their neighbourhood to solve issues with their homes. The community of craftsmen had a solid structure connected with local social networks, and they had earned a high level of authority to deal with issues relevant to construction practice. Since the 1980s, however, the mobilization of craftsmen has increased. The mobilization of craftsmen may not be caused by tourism alone. Rather, it has been caused by other social issues in contemporary China, for example the reduced need for labour in the agricultural industry, and increased demands for labour in the manufacturing and architectural industries to support urbanization and modernization in big cities nearby. This has led to mass migration of farmers to urban areas to seek jobs there. In addition, changes in the economy have resulted in a large number of farmers losing their land, so that they have had to leave agriculture and seek new approaches to earning an income. The demand for local construction projects has therefore decreased. The increased mobilization of craftsmen has caused the solid structure of the craftsman community to collapse, and decreased the authority of local craftsmen to deal with local construction issues. As a result, the role and status of local craftsmen in the building system of local communities have gradually decreased, and the local craftsmen are no longer able to provide an exclusive service for the community in which they live. The strong social link between craftsmen and the local community has been lost.

Nevertheless, altering an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse provides new opportunities for local craftsmen to utilize local traditional know-how in construction practice. It is also a chance for local craftsmen to return to their home and community to continue their role and responsibility in local construction practice. Particularly in situations where an outside household is transforming an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a guesthouse, the outside household is highly dependent on the skills, experience and local knowledge of local craftsmen. If outside households employ local craftsmen to complete the construction, the role and responsibility of local craftsmen will be revitalized to a great extent. Furthermore, the return of local craftsmen to their original jobs and their local community is a return to the traditional role and status of craftsmen in the vernacular construction system of the community. The return of craftsmen strengthens the fragile channels of transmission of traditional know-how, as the role of craftsmen and the apprenticeship system based on this role are the foundations for the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition from one generation to the next. More importantly, the new function of a guesthouse gives a platform for local craftsmen to test how to combine new technology and techniques with traditional know-how. The ability to combine traditional know-how and modern technology increase the ability of local craftsman to deal

with modern technical problems. This increase in technological skill promotes the stability of the status of local craftsmen in the dynamic building system of vernacular communities as they become involved in tourism. In this sense, tourism development not only strengthens the role and social status of craftsmen, who are defined by the nature of vernacular know-how, but also revitalizes the application and transmission of vernacular know-how during the process of transforming an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse.

6.2 Transition in apprenticeship system

6.2.1 Original local apprenticeships

Apprenticeships provided a special training system for craftsmen, and allowed a child or young man to learn a particular skill by working for a fixed period of time for a person who had this particular skill. In Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng, the original apprenticeship system can be classified into two categories. The first is where a building trade was a family-based business, and skills were passed from father to son, kinship being intimately tied to trade (Macleod, 2004, p.128). The other category of apprenticeship is where a craftsman would train someone other than his own son. Normally, the duration of a builder's apprenticeship was lengthy (Marchand, 2006, p.59). In Sideng, an apprenticeship normally lasted three or more years, depending on the age of the initiate. There was no contractual agreement for the apprenticeship, but the apprentice would normally be the son of one of the master's relatives or friends, so the character of the apprentice would be known. The apprentices were differentiated from normal labourers. They would be expected to provide free labour for the masters in exchange for the necessary vocational training (Marchand, 2006, p.51). During the whole training process, the apprentices had to be obedient to and respect their master. When the apprentices became craftsmen, they were not allowed to compete with their masters on the same project. If, at any time, the masters needed help, the apprentices were expected to come to assist them (Tang, 2006, p.30). In Sideng, once the master-apprentice relationship had been established, it would last until the end of the master's life. This indicates that the master-apprentice relationship was a long-term relationship, based on social connections between members of a community. It was a relatively closed system.

In the initiate stage of training, the apprentices would only be allowed to prepare tools, or even prepare meals, for the team of craftsmen. In the middle stage of the training, the apprentices could assist their masters directly in the building process. In terms of carpenters, the apprentices would learn the basic skills of timber work, such as cutting, shaving and digging. In the later stage of training, the master would give more complex tasks for apprentices to fulfil, such as making timber components or assembling a set of components (Tang, 2006, pp.30-31). When masters gave tasks beyond the capacity of the apprentices, the apprentices should accept the task firstly, and then try to fulfil the task through asking,

observing and constant practice. In most cases, apprentices could only learn basic skills and principles from their master. To obtain further skills and techniques, the apprentices would normally be dependent mainly on self-learning during their practice (Tang, 2006, p.31). In some situations, the masters would conceal some secrets in terms of skills and techniques, so that they could maintain authority over specific issues. These aspects of knowledge and skills could only be grasped through constant observation, consultation and practice. Therefore, different craftsmen would vary in their understanding of specific aspects of vernacular know-how.

The training process of an apprentice was focused on site participation and practice. The mason's knowledge was not privately concealed in his mind, but embodied in his skilled activities, social performance and the things that he made; therefore, the training of an apprentice was basically through participation, by assisting, observing, mimicking and practicing on site (Marchand, 2006, p.59). Vernacular know-how is not a series of rigid rules or norms, but a set of principles, rules or norms, which can guide the craftsmen in dealing with specific problems in various situations. Therefore, the understanding and comprehension of a specific aspect of vernacular know-how had to be gained through a participatory context. The trainee acquired basic techniques and understanding through listening to the negotiation and disputes of the masters with clients, suppliers, team members and other masons (Marchand, 2006, pp.51-59). This empirical learning and teaching was the essence of the training process of an apprenticeship. The masters normally corrected the apprentices' errors almost via means of demonstration. The aim of the apprenticeship system was to help the craftsmen to establish professional responsibility and win public recognition of their social position. If a craftsman were trained through an education system other than an apprenticeship, the validity of his skills and technical knowledge would be doubted by the local community. In this situation, it would be difficult for the social position of the craftsman to be recognized by the local community. It was the apprenticeship system that guaranteed the validity and consistency of vernacular know-how in a specific region. Through this mechanism, vernacular know-how could be transmitted from one generation to the next, but would still be able to facilitate solutions that were 'meaningful' and 'appropriate' to the local culture. Therefore, in the four settlements, the apprenticeship system was a key mechanism in facilitating the sustaining of local vernacular architectural tradition.

6.2.2 Transition in apprenticeship system in tourism development

6.2.2.1 Revival of apprenticeships

Since the 1980s, with the development of urbanization and modernization, the building trade has increased dramatically in the Dali and Lijiang urban area. A significant proportion of village and town craftsmen, including many skilled carpenters and masons, have left their home town

to find work in larger cities. The growth in the construction industry as a result of urbanization has provided a large number of opportunities for craftsmen to work in urbanized areas. As the income in urban areas is higher than in rural areas, most of the skilled craftsmen prefer to go to the urban areas and work there. In addition, some unskilled young men who have graduated from junior high school avoid agricultural work on plantations and on the terraces, as it is hard work for little pay. They are eager to go to urban areas to earn money through construction work. Urbanization requires a large number of craftsmen and labourers and therefore, even if they are an unskilled young man they can, if they like, find some hard but unskilled work in a construction team. Under these circumstances, the young men are able to obtain skills and knowledge regarding construction and building without being an apprentice. This loss of skilled craftsmen and the sluggish building market in local communities has basically caused the collapse of the apprenticeship system in the four settlements.

The increasing development of local tourism, the commercialization of vernacular settlements led by the government, and the growing number of tourists provide many good opportunities for a host community to change their own dwellings into tourism-related products. New building commissions and activities related to the tourism industry have gradually increased. During the last two decades, the prosperous guesthouse business has increased the price of local land and dwellings, which has ultimately increased the labour price for craftsmen dramatically, especially the labour price for skilled carpenters. In Shaxi, the labour price for a skilled carpenter is even 50 Yuan per day higher than that in Kunming - the capital city of Yunnan province. Therefore, many skilled craftsmen, especially carpenters, have returned to their home town to complete projects relevant to transforming an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a guesthouse. These carpenters returning from outside with newly acquired skills are capable of dealing with issues involved in requests for 'modern' materials and new technologies. Because those local carpenters are familiar with both 'traditional' and 'modern' skills and technology, they take precedence in being hired by both local and outside households.

With the return of skilled craftsmen, the increase in the building trade and the increased labour price for craftsmen, more and more local young males would like to learn skills from a local craftsman through an apprenticeship. There is an obvious revival of the apprenticeship system in the four settlements, but the master-apprentice relationship is altering. Providing free labour for a couple of years in order to learn specific skills and knowledge is not acceptable to the contemporary young generation in the four settlements, because many young men could learn skills and earn income simultaneously if they worked in an urban area. Although during the training process of being an apprentice, the apprentices still learn skills and knowledge from their masters, the masters now have to pay a salary to the apprentices. The master-apprentice

relationship is no longer that of trainer and trainee, but has partly become one of employer and employee.

6.2.2.2 Change in master-apprentice relationship

In addition, most of the young men only want to learn basic skills and principles from their master. After six months or one year of training, most of them try to obtain construction work by themselves. This shortening of the length of training indicates at least two facts. One is that the young apprentices are able to find work in the local construction industry, even though they are not skilled craftsmen. The other is that the young apprentices are able to receive further training through independent work, rather than an apprenticeship. The master-apprentice relationship is therefore no longer a long-term relationship, but has become a relatively short social connection during the construction process. In different construction projects, a young man may have more than one master, and a master may have more than one apprentice. The social connection between the master and the apprentice has become open and flexible, and is not as close and stable as it was.

Apprenticeships are not only open to local young men, but to almost all people who would like to learn skills and local knowledge from on-site practice. In some situations, outside households may become apprentices of local craftsmen, and learn the basic skills and technology regarding vernacular know-how from local craftsmen during the process of construction. Becoming a builder and working together with a local craftsman on site during the transformation of a dwelling into a guesthouse is a good opportunity for outsiders to gain an understanding of local construction know-how. For example, the hostess of case 3-5 in Dayan said:

But I feel that, it is, you did not know the dwelling, and you want to know it. You have to [renovate] it from the most basic thing. And then you could learn lots of things from local craftsmen, carpenters and masons, through working together with them every day.

Although the willingness and enthusiasm for learning local vernacular know-how varies from person to person, communication and interaction between outsider households and local craftsmen is inevitable if the outside households employ local craftsmen to complete the construction. This communication between them will, to some extent, facilitate the transmission of vernacular tradition from local craftsmen to outsider households, embracing factors such as technological know-how, cultural symbolic meaning, vernacular conventions and construction rules.

Sometimes skilled craftsmen may learn new technology through the help of outsiders. For example, in terms of refurbishment, modernization and updating facilities, the construction of

guesthouse depends greatly on the accessibility of modern construction resources. An outside household is relatively more familiar with the channels for accessing modern construction knowledge, such as through computer skills and usage of the internet. The main task of constructing a guesthouse determines that local craftsmen and outside households can have a strong interdependent relationship regarding technological assistance and construction resources. According to an interview with a local master craftsman, who has completed nearly four guesthouse constructions in Sideng village, local craftsmen can benefit from interaction with outside households:

Q: Do you have any benefit from doing construction for outside households?

A: Of course. They have broad vision, although they do not know the specific approach to make things out.

Q: How do you find out the specific approach?

A: One way is to ask [the seller] when I buy the construction material. The other way is to ask the manager of the rehabilitation project to look up through the internet.

If a local craftsman lacks experience and knowledge of new techniques or technology, he may seek a solution either through connections with other craftsmen who can obtain the new knowledge or technology concerned, or through an outside household which is able to access the modern knowledge and technology on the internet.

While a young man may learn and receive training from local craftsmen, he may sometimes also gain such training from outside households. In consideration of the long-term maintenance of a guesthouse, some outside households might train local craftsmen in new skills, and convey new concepts to them through the construction process. The aim of this training is to cultivate a local technician to maintain the dwellings in the long term. For example, the manager of case 2-4 in Sedeng said:

They were basically all local people...Because our boss is a designer, he told craftsmen what to do according to his own ideas, and taught them how to do it... in fact, one of the main purposes of my boss was of course to operate this guesthouse to gain financial profit. The other purpose was to transfer some specific knowledge to local people, and improve their understanding...it was like that, my boss taught craftsmen face-to-face how to renovate the dwelling in detail, like how to build sewage system without damage the old dwelling. Therefore, the main purpose [of my boss] was in these aspects.

As well as training local craftsmen through the construction process, outside households provide an opportunity for local craftsmen to seek technical solutions and experiment on site with ways to deal with newly-emerged construction problems. In order to maintain the

openness of this communication channel, local craftsmen are willing to build good relationships with outside households.

"The master-apprentice relationship and continued mentoring process were fundamental not only to learning technical skills but also to the social development of both men involved" (Marchand, 2006, p.59). The training processes between local craftsmen and outside households, between local and outside craftsmen, and between local households and outside craftsmen facilitate mutual learning from each other. This learning occurs not only because they are technologically interdependent, but also because they are socially interdependent. When the interdependence has been established, the results of such training are meaningful for, and easily accepted by, the local community.

6.2.2.3 Changes in vernacular know-how

The changing master-apprentice relationship also influences the transmission of vernacular know-how. Because the apprenticeship system has become increasingly open, the skills and knowledge transmitted through apprenticeships are not limited to traditional vernacular know-how, but open to modern building techniques and technology. The skills and knowledge that apprentices choose to learn are those that are useful for builders and meaningful for the contemporary users, rather than because the skills and knowledge are authorized by their master as vernacular know-how. For example, in the construction of a guesthouse, the useful skills and knowledge include both vernacular know-how in dealing with the issues of a traditional timber structure, and new technology and techniques for dealing with new issues such as heat insulation, sound insulation, noise reduction and waterproofing. Thus, traditional vernacular know-how is not static, but open to innovation to meet the needs of constant changes in life. In fact, the transmission of tradition can be achieved through learning modern technology and the creation of new traditional know-how through innovation. However, this can only happen if the learning process and results of innovation are carried out on the basis that local craftsmen's skills, knowledge and roles still function in the building system, because the local craftsman still plays a key role in defining what tradition is and how it is transmitted within the local community. If innovations are generally carried out or accepted by local craftsmen, who are the key people with responsibility for transmitting, accumulating, developing and sustaining traditional local know-how, there is a high possibility that such innovations will become part of the new local vernacular know-how. The master-apprentice relationships between local craftsmen and outside households, between local and outside craftsmen, and between local households and outside craftsmen not only facilitate the transmission of vernacular tradition from a local to a global context, but also promote the combination of local traditional construction knowledge with global modern construction

knowledge, in order to create new vernacular know-how addressing construction issues within tourism development.

Although the content of vernacular know-how and the transmission channels for the know-how have changed due to the openness of the master-apprentice relationship, the learning of vernacular know-how and the transmission process is still based on on-site participatory learning and training. The main reason for this is that traditional know-how is fused into the skills, experience and knowledge of craftsmen, who accept the traditional know-how through practice rather than through school education. Marchand has stressed that the pedagogy of apprenticeship training was not language based, nor was it prescribed in concrete terms by an officiating body, but rather, skilled performance and embodied practices were taught and learned in a participatory forum located 'on-site', and the standards of the apprenticeship-style training were negotiated and maintained within a hierarchical context of professional interactions between builders (2006, p.47). In the construction of a guesthouse, both local and outside craftsmen are the principal builders due to the main tasks involved in the construction of a guesthouse (attracting tourist gaze, providing tourism-related services and maintaining the residential function). The key role and importance of craftsmen in the construction of a guesthouse determine that if a person wants to learn skills and knowledge from a craftsman, he/she has to follow a similar training process to that by which the craftsman has been trained. Again, if someone wants to train a craftsman in new skills or technology, the training process should be set in an on-site context to facilitate participation and demonstration rather than only a language-based teaching and learning process. This sustainment of the distinctive training process for craftsmen will facilitate the dynamic and responsive transmission of skills-based knowledge from one generation of builders to the next (Marchand, 2006, p.47).

6.2.3 Influence of tourism on apprenticeship system

Originally, the apprenticeship system in the four settlements was based on relatively closed social relationships within the local community, such as kinship relationships. The master-apprentice relationship was a stable and long-term social connection, and the master had the authority to obtain respect, obedience and free labour during the training process. The skills and knowledge learned by apprentices during the training were based around traditional vernacular know-how, and the teaching and learning was a participatory on-site process. Through the master-apprentice relationship and the on-site participatory learning, much of the vernacular know-how was transmitted from one generation to the next. However, the investigation has shown that, before the development of tourism, the apprenticeship system in the four settlements had already collapsed because of the loss of a significant population of craftsmen, who had moved into urbanized regions to seek new jobs and a higher income. The development of tourism, especially the booming of the guesthouse business, has made the local

construction industry prosperous again, which has revitalized the role and status of local craftsmen, as well as that of the apprenticeship system in the four settlements.

Nevertheless, some changes have occurred in the apprenticeship system in the four settlements due to the influence of tourism. For instance, the apprenticeship system embodied in the construction of a guesthouse in the four settlements is by no means a closed system, but is becoming increasingly open towards communities outside. The master-apprentice relationship is open to outside as well as local craftsmen, and is even open to non-craftsman members such as outside households. This open master-apprentice relationship allows more people to access the skills and knowledge of vernacular know-how. In addition, vernacular know-how is no longer transmitted through the masters' authority, but is determined by the real needs of apprentices in the building trade. Through the increasingly open apprenticeship system, many innovations in technology and skills are integrated to deal with issues in the construction of a guesthouse. In terms of learning pattern, apprentices still learn skills and knowledge through practice, observation and consultation on site. It seems that the basic nature of apprenticeships has not changed due to the construction of guesthouses. Actually, the tourism-based nature of a guesthouse determines that local craftsmen and their vernacular know-how regarding the building and using of a traditional Bai and Naxi dwelling play a principal role in the construction of a guesthouse. The necessity for the craftsmen's role and status in the construction of a guesthouse ultimately sustains the basic nature of the apprenticeship system during tourism development.

Chapter 7: Transition in open-ended design

According to the literature review, the design process in vernacular architecture is different from that of modern architecture. The design of a vernacular dwelling is not design-based, but is based on the selection of an existing model and making appropriate adjustments. The selection and adjustments are done through on-site communication and negotiation between builders and users, which leads to consistency in architectural style but diverse solutions in dealing with differences in site, inhabitants and builders. The dwelling is not only a shelter for housing, but also a symbol expressing the value system of the users. It is different from the formal design process of modern architecture, in which a 'star designer' is valued, standard solutions are universally applied and cultural sensitivity is ignored to a large extent. In contrast, in vernacular architecture, there is no explicit designer in the design of a vernacular dwelling, and there is no boundary between the design phase and other phases. For instance, the design phase interweaves with the implementation phase and even extends into the using and maintaining phases. In this sense, vernacular design is an open-ended process (Oliver, 1969, p.6). It is this openness and on-site design process that facilitates the intimate relationship between the dwelling, the value system and dynamic life in an ever-changing present. That is the reason why vernacular design values adherence to established norms rather than innovation and creativity (Davis, 2006, p.237). Therefore, the open-ended design process of a vernacular dwelling can be perceived as an important aspect of the transmission mechanism for vernacular architectural tradition. This chapter will investigate the transition in the nature of the open-ended design process when a Naxi or Bai dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse under the influence of tourism.

7.1 *Transition in open-ended design process*

7.1.1 Original local design process

In Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng, the main constraints in the design process came primarily from the physical features of the site and the economic capacity of the household. The chief craftsman who was employed or invited by the household would discuss the basic arrangement of the dwelling according to the basic model for a Bai or Naxi courtyard dwelling (as introduced in Chapter 3). This discussion could be perceived as part of the design process, as the typology of special layout and basic structural pattern of the proposed dwelling would be determined. For example, the courtyard dwelling of Y-J-H-Y, which was built in 1925 in Dayan, is a complex comprising two courtyards and five house wings. Its plan pattern belongs to qian-hou-yuan(前后院). The front courtyard and houses combine into Si-he-wu-tian-jing (四合五天井), which has a closed yard with 3-bay houses at all four sides, and four nooks (usually composed

of a lower room and a small yard) in four corners. The back courtyard is a garden, where various kinds of flowers and trees are planted. All the houses in the front courtyard have two storeys. The main house in the front courtyard facing east has a wooden structural pattern 'Qi Sha lou' (骑厦楼). The house opposite to the main house, called 'down house', has a wooden structural pattern called 'Liang Mian Sha' (两面厦:一面辟, 一面骑). The other two sides, facing south and north, have the same structure, called 'Min Lou Diao Sha' (明楼吊厦). There is only one wing in the back courtyard, which is a 3-bay bungalow (Zhu, 1988, p.97). It is unique in that the entrance to the front courtyard is not close to the main entrance of the whole complex, which is just at the side of a main road. Therefore, when one enters through the main entrance, there is a very narrow lane paved with slate and bordered by flowers. At the end of the passage, turning right, another entrance painted in red can be seen (Ayican.com, 2011). Nevertheless, it does not mean that there is no innovation or creativity in the design process of a traditional Bai and Naxi courtyard dwelling. Some innovation and creativity would be needed to adjust the basic typology and structural pattern to meet the specific situation of a construction. For example, if the site was irregular in shape, the arrangement of the wings of the house would not need to be symmetrical. A wing (fang) of the dwelling could be rotated at an angle and the plan of the courtyard might not be a regular one. As a result, the composition of house wings, screen-walls, courtyards and entrances might be adjusted to suit the site or various different situations. In Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng, the basic architectural style of a Bai or Naxi dwelling never varies, but there are no two dwellings which are exactly the same as each other.

It is important to note that the design was not always 'design based' (Latter, 2006, p.253). On the level of basic architectural style, the main designers only selected from existing Bai or Naxi dwelling models, rather than coming up with new ones. This direct use of precedence was encouraged, and was quite different from the design process in modern architecture. However, stereotyped or fixed application of the basic dwelling models is seldom observed in the construction of a Naxi or Bai dwelling. The flexibility of a vernacular dwelling is accepted and agreed by local inhabitants. For example, changing the spatial arrangement of a dwelling is a traditional approach to meeting new needs of a family or when adding some new function into the dwelling. The host of case 3-2 (in Dayan) said:

In fact, it is allowed in tradition. There is not fixed pattern, but there are some standards and rules on the basic structure, such as the pattern of the courtyard. If you want to move a room forward here or there, it is allowed. In the tradition, we local residents could change the plan of the dwelling constantly to meet the needs of family. There is nothing could be maintained without any change, except the basic pattern of the dwelling.

This indicates that a dynamic process of invention is allowed within local tradition, which leads to an extreme diversity of architectural expression in Naxi dwellings in accordance with the variety of individual builders and users. The diversity of expression on an individual level does not destroy uniformity, but maintains and even reinforces the uniformity on a community level.

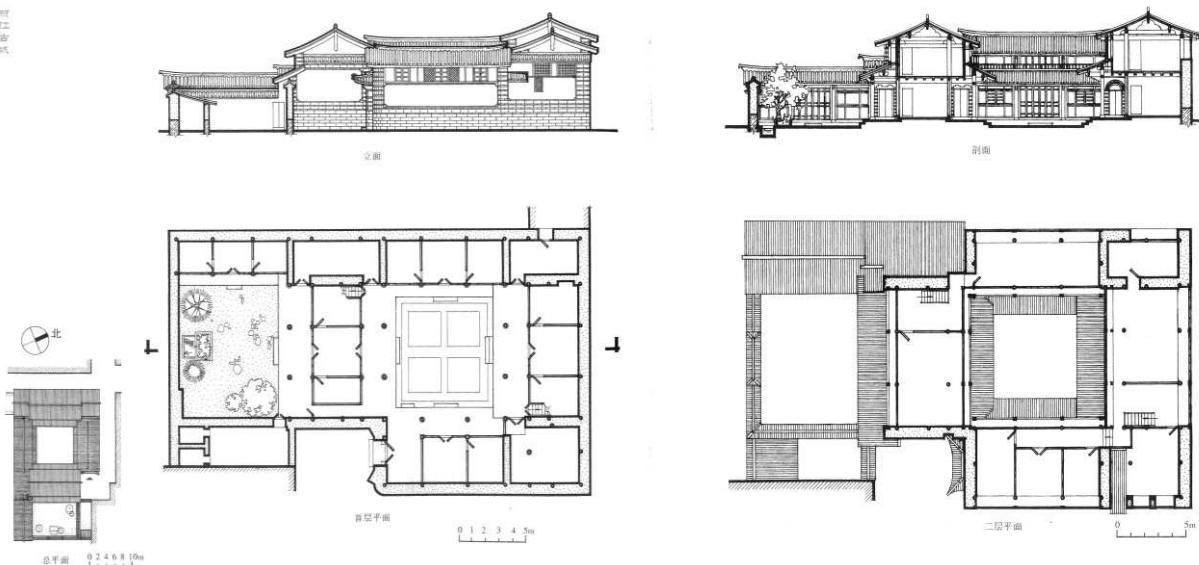


Figure 34: Elevation, section and floor plans of case 3-12 (Zhu, 2005, pp.96-97)

Another example is the hanging fish, which is a distinct feature of a Naxi courtyard dwelling. It appears in the middle of the fascia board under the roof of the main house of each courtyard dwelling. In Dayan and Shuhe, the forms of hanging fish are extremely diverse in that almost all hanging fish are slightly different from each other. Through these differences, the social status of a local household can be identified, and it makes it easier to distinguish each dwelling at the very first glimpse (see Figure 34). Paul Oliver has noted that only a limited degree of design is embodied in the construction of a vernacular dwelling (2006, p.5). The result of this limited degree of design may be consistency as far as overall type is concerned, but diversity in terms of actual, detailed form. Basically, the design of a Bai or Naxi dwelling focused on dealing with practical solutions in the building process, rather than on seeking new ways to express an individual's artistic ego.

The design process of a traditional Bai and Naxi courtyard dwelling was principally conducted via collaboration of craftsmen and local inhabitants. It is clear that constant communication and discussion between the inhabitants and craftsmen penetrated the whole process of design as well as implementation of the design. The design was mainly achieved through oral communication rather than blueprints or drawn plans. The designers did have a 'blueprint', which was obtained from two sources: participation in such construction as a youth, and the prevailing designs of other dwellings they had seen in their community (Bronner, 2006, p.30).

By these means, the blueprint was stored in the designer's mind. Although drawings were sometimes used to facilitate the design, since the design was normally done on site, in parallel

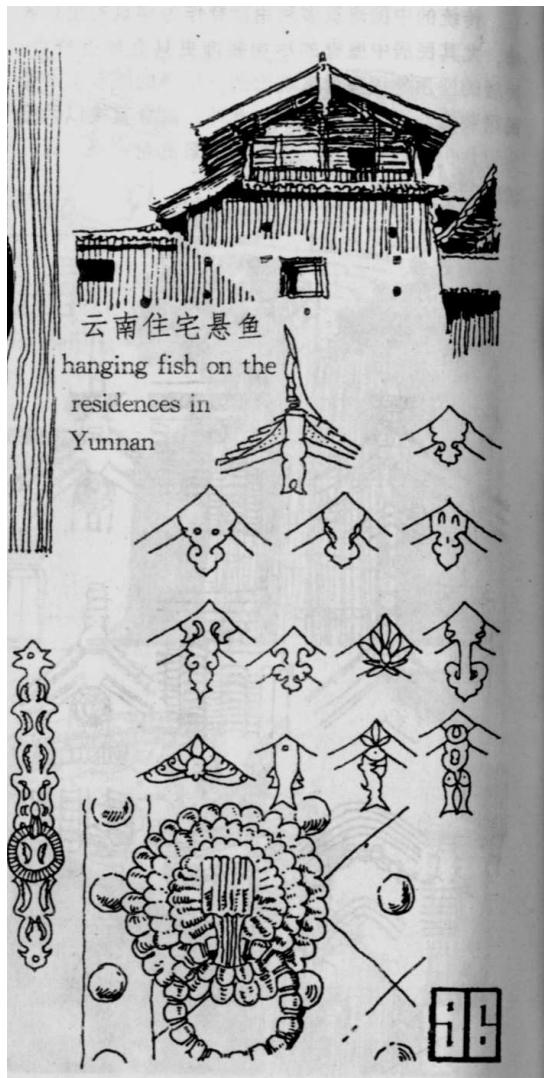


Figure 35: Hanging fish on a Naxi Courtyard dwelling (Jin & Zhang, 2007, p.129)

with the procedure of construction, oral communication was the most effective and efficient way of dealing with the dynamic design process. If any agreement was needed, negotiation and consultation had to be involved. It seems that the design process was not separate from the implementation process, and the designer was not separate from the inhabitants and craftsmen. There was no person who could be called a designer, who was solely responsible for 'design' in the whole construction, and no planning was determined before the construction process began.

Because the design process depended on on-site collaboration and communication, it was able to address some of the deep and complex cultural issues associated with building and housing. In a Bai or Naxi dwelling, a series of symbolic meanings can be perceived from the calligraphy and paintings hanging on the wall, from the furniture and furnishings in rooms, from the delicate wood carving on doors, windows and beams, and even from the puppy reared under the shelter. That is to say, the dwelling was not only a residential house to shelter the inhabitants, but a symbolic system to express the household's

values and beliefs in daily life. For example, in the dwelling of case 3-12, calligraphy is applied to the middle collars of each wing with good luck words and wishes for the New Year, which will not be changed until the next New Year. There are two boards with inscriptions hung above the doors of the east and west wings, which are: '兴学育才, xin xue yu cai', which means 'initiate education and foster talents' and '上善若水, shang shan ruo shui', which means 'as good as water's sublime virtue' (see Figure 36). Two cultural values are expressed through this calligraphy: one is stressing education and talents and the other is the value and virtue of water. Water is praised in Chinese culture as it nourishes everything without any question, and reaches spots lower and lower down. The two tablets hanging there year after year remind

generation after generation of the two cultural values that are embodied in them. The design process therefore represents an intimate correspondence between the cultural needs of inhabitants and the physical features of a dwelling, through which the dwellings' distinctive physical features are meaningful to the inhabitants.



Figure 36: Two boards with inscriptions hung above the doors (photos taken by author)

7.2 Characteristics of design process of a guesthouse

7.2.1 The main designer

In terms of the design process for a guesthouse based on a Bai or Naxi dwelling, the situation varies, as there are at least five transformation strategies. By taking into account the main task and main strategy for transforming an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse, some characteristic elements of the design process supporting the transformation can be identified. In the strategy of maintaining an original dwelling or altering the usage of a dwelling, the design is related to adjustments in the usage of space according to the original situation of a dwelling. For example, the design will consider what changes need to be made to empty rooms, how all sorts of existing furniture and furnishings will be arranged, and what parts of the dwelling need to be repaired or restored in a manner that is able to meet the needs of real life as well as attract tourist gaze. The designer should be the person who is most familiar with the current situation of the dwelling. In addition, various families have different ways of achieving a balance and maintaining flexibility between different functions. There is no standard model for the design. The design must depend on the specific situation of each family. Therefore, the household and family members, who are the main users of the dwelling, become the appropriate designers for the adjustment. They may have some suggestions and advice from craftsmen, but the main designers are the household and family members.

In the situation of building a new dwelling in traditional style, the design process is quite similar to that for building an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling in the normal way, which is by using universal models and making adjustments for variations (Rapoport, 1969, p.5). As the

design is based on a basic model of architectural style, there is little to be determined on the architectural level; adjustments only need to be made to meet tourist accommodation demands, such as changes in the size of rooms, changes to the height of the roof or adding a bathroom into a bedroom. As the basic traditional architectural mode is very well acknowledged by both local inhabitants and craftsmen, the design is commonly done through the cooperation of the household and craftsmen. Nevertheless, the main designer is the household, who will determine issues like where the bathroom should be, who the potential users of the space are, and what new facilities and equipment should be added.

In the restoration strategy, there are not even any changes to the physical features of the original dwelling. The main task is to restore the original features of the dwelling. Therefore, the design will focus on furniture, furnishings and decoration, aspects which belong to the field of interior design. Some households may employ a professional designer to do the interior design, but this will increase the investment cost. In most cases, the design is done by the household themselves. They can express their personal aesthetic tastes through the interior design, and the design process is a good opportunity for outside households to integrate some exotic cultural resources to create a distinctive cultural product. For example, the householder in Linden guesthouse exhibits his collection of souvenirs from various parts of the world in the guesthouse, which creates a new attraction for tourists.

In the situation where an outsider household is renovating a rented dwelling to create a combination of guesthouse and their utopian holiday home, the main designers are also the household and family members, as these are the main users of the dwelling in the low tourist season. If the household members design the guesthouse by themselves, this can decrease investment costs and maintain considerable flexibility to balance the changing usage of the dwelling. Many outside households like to add some elements of personal taste and preference to the dwelling to create a unique attraction for tourists. Some households fulfil their artistic dreams when they use the dwelling to express their personal tastes or personality, and some decorate and furnish the dwelling to reflect their pursuit of a utopian lifestyle. In the situation of refurbishing a rented dwelling, the most appropriate designers are the members of the household.

It seems that, although the transformation strategies vary according to the specific situation of the dwelling and the motivation of the household, the main designers do not vary so much. In all five transformation strategies, the main designers are the long-term residents of the guesthouse, including local house owners, outside tenants and their family members. The involvement of craftsmen in the design process is necessary, but most of them just provide suggestions and technological advice to the households. Their role as designer is not as

important as that of the long-term residents. The reason for this might be that the emphasis in designing a guesthouse is on the restoration, refurbishment or extension of an existing dwelling, and most of these tasks can be done by the residents themselves. Tourists, as short-term users, have little opportunity to participate in the initial design process, but their demands, requirements, imagination and expectations become important considerations for the builder in guiding the construction. For example, the demands of the majority of tourists require that a guesthouse is modern enough to meet the standards of urbanized accommodation, whilst also being unique enough to provide a different cultural experience for tourists' consumption. Therefore, the guesthouse should express factors like 'modernization', 'comfort' and 'hygiene' at the same time as stressing 'local', 'exotic' and 'ethnic' themes. In this sense, the tourists may influence the design of the guesthouse. It seems that the first characteristic of the design process of a guesthouse is that the main designers are the long-term residents, but the process is still dependent on the cooperation of craftsmen, and is greatly influenced by the demands of tourists.

7.2.2 Independence from professional designers

The transformation of an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a guesthouse is a new experience that most local and outside households have never done before. Professional designers have the advantage of being able to solve problems relevant to spatial arrangements, organization of functions, the creation of an artistic atmosphere and the application of new materials and facilities. However, most households shun professional designers, preferring to seek help from craftsmen or their family members. The reasons why local household shun professional designers can be categorized into three factors. Firstly, many local households maintain the view that professionals from outside do not understand the realities of their community, so they cannot work alongside and within a community in a helpful way (Davis, 2006, p.232). Secondly, most local households cannot afford to hire a professional designer due to limited financial resources. Thirdly, even if local households can afford to employ a professional designer, the designer might come up with drawings or blueprints which are unfamiliar to the local households and which are of little use in a construction process led by craftsmen. In most cases, design ideas coming from professional designers might stress innovation and creativity rather than adherence to established norms which are valued (Davis, 2006, p.232). In schools of architecture, culture is often narrowly defined as a special interest in the 'arts', and it seems that vernacular architecture is disassociated from the study of architectural practice (Latter, 2006, p.247). For local households, it would be running a huge risk to engage a person who is unfamiliar with their social rules and cultural norms to design a dwelling which should embody the values and belief system of the household.

Regarding outside households, while most have enough financial resources to afford the fees of a professional designer, most prefer to employ local craftsmen rather than hire a professional designer. Craftsmen can be responsible for both design and construction, but professional designers are only responsible for creating ideas and drawing plans, and have little to do with construction. Therefore, the households would have to employ another group of people to complete the construction. In addition, when outside households apply a restoration, renovation and refurbishment strategy to transform a dwelling into a guesthouse, the transformation is highly dependent on vernacular know-how regarding traditional skills and construction knowledge. This knowledge is primarily grasped by local craftsmen rather than professional designers. Therefore, outside households still shun professional designers and depend instead on local craftsmen. In addition, professional designers would attempt to exert their own will upon the outside household (Davis, 2006, p.232), and such attitudes are perceived as inappropriate for guesthouse projects.

For example, the hostess of case 3-5 in Dayan, who is an English lecturer at a university in a big city in China, expressed her views on the issue:

Q: Why did you not employ an architect, or a professional?

A: You see, if the design is done by other else, how he or she would make out style just we want? You had to propose a plan and discussed it with him or her. How to do it? We contacted a refurbish company in Lijiang, they, we thought they could not [understand] what we said. He said, 'Is it good enough?' He always wanted to do a modern design. He said, 'This is quite good, why you do not like it?' And then we found it is not working after we contacted the company for a couple of days. We can make design by ourselves and it will be much better than this. And then we seek craftsman, who carry out their work according to our requests. Later, we found a very good carpenter, who could understand our thoughts quite well.

This implies that the reason why outside households choose to do the design themselves is not that there is no professional assistance available. On the contrary, it is because the assistance is 'over-professional', and the insistence of the professionals on modern designs conflicts with the ideas of the household. Agreements can be achieved much more easily between an outside household and a local carpenter than between the outside household and professional designers.

Essentially, the reason why both local and outside households shun professional designers is that the construction of a guesthouse is based an ordinary vernacular dwelling, which is a construction result of the vernacular building system. This system is different from the urbanized building system in many respects, such as skills and technology, organization and

management, as well as working patterns and working procedures. For a professional designer to successfully participate in the vernacular design process, his/her role, duty, skills and knowledge would have to change in order to be able to collaborate with other designers and builders of the vernacular building system, rather than expecting to lead the whole construction. The Bai or Naxi dwelling is co-designed by many people, including households, family members of households, craftsmen, relatives and even friends. That is to say, the design of Bai or Naxi dwelling is based on the cooperation of members of a social network, rather than on a single professional. It can thus be seen that the second characteristic of the design process is independence from professional designers.

7.2.3 On-site design

The third characteristic of the design process is relevant to the working patterns of designers. According to the investigation of the 30 cases, almost all of the designers had conducted their designs on site. When outside households design a guesthouse through restoration, renovation or refurbishment, the design does not necessarily change the basic framework of an original dwelling, it only involves making some adjustments or adding some modernized spaces into the framework. The design of case 2-2 in Sideng was done by its hostess. She explained:

I did not have design plan. I sold construction material previously, and I prefer refurbishing a house. It was just every day; my ideas were around in my mind. I would go to tell him [craftsman] how to do it. We did not have blueprint at all. He could understand what I mean. That is to say, we did not have blueprint. It was sufficient to do it in this way. Almost all parts in detail were done through the way that I myself measured the size of the construction components, and then have a general direct of how to do it. Later we found that this was the best way to refurbish the dwelling.

Actually, the timber framework is normally complicated in structure, which is difficult to express clearly through a two-dimensional drawn plan. If the design is done on site, the timber framework itself is a three-dimensional physical model. With reference to the model, the design can be done much more easily, especially for outside households who are not familiar with the structure of an ethnic dwelling. Furthermore, most outside households do not have any design background and find that it is difficult for them to express their design ideas through drawings. Most design ideas are recorded in the householder's mind, and must be expressed very explicitly on site in order for the craftsmen to understand what the idea is. Therefore, carrying out the design process on the site is a practical and effective method.

When local households build a new dwelling in traditional design, the basic architectural style, the structural pattern, the materials and the means of decoration are well understood by the

local household and craftsmen, so that they can exchange their ideas for design using architectural language with which they are familiar.

We don't have blueprint. If we want to build a house like that, we would employ a carpenter, almost all craftsmen could build it... The design is based on the site and your own thoughts. You design what you want to build, and transfer the thoughts to the local craftsman. We have many local carpenters. I tell them my own ideas, and they can build the dwelling according to the ideas. (host of case 2-6)

When a local household alters the usage of a dwelling, the design process is also an on-site one. This is because the local household and craftsmen are all familiar with the construction process, and fully aware of the result of the construction. Therefore, verbal discussion and communication is much more effective than blueprints and drawn plans in achieving agreement and solving construction problems. On-site design facilitates the design process being interwoven with implementation. It is not necessary to set out a pre-determined design outcome before starting the implementation process. Design ideas may focus on one part of the dwelling, like a wall, and then move to the next part after the design of the wall has been implemented. This kind of design process is suitable for the working pattern of craftsmen, who learn skills on site, find solutions on site and communicate with users and other builders on site. The main designer's ideas can be transmitted to the main builder directly and explicitly, as required, via the on-site design. In addition, the validity of the design idea can be tested immediately through experience on site.

In order to run the dwelling successfully, the households have to obtain responses, assessment or comments from tourists on the architectural expression, in order to adjust the balance between the two functions of expression. These assessments, feedback, and comments on the construction result are important indicators of whether the construction result should be maintained, adjusted or altered in the next round of construction. Generally, a dynamic process of adjustment will be carried out in the guesthouse to achieve a balance between the demands of tourists and the cultural requirements of residents in terms of architectural expression. In this way, tourists indirectly participate in the design process of a guesthouse. It must be noted that if the design of a guesthouse is not extended into the usage and maintenance phases, the feedback of users cannot be directly returned to the builder and main designer, and making continuous adjustments in response to the demands and requests of tourists would be impossible. In this sense, there is no end to the design process of a guesthouse, and no end to the implementation of the design. These two phases are open-ended evolving processes involving constant adjustments to cater for the ever-changing demands of family members and tourists. Therefore, the outcome of the design is a dynamic situation, rather than a static result.

7.2.4 Culturally associated design

The main aim of transforming a Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse is to create not only the required material product, but also a spiritual product with distinctive physical features that are capable of providing unique cultural meanings. It is essential for both local and outside households to make use of the original cultural elements, or to add some new ones into the design of a guesthouse, in order to run the guesthouse business successfully. Adding cultural elements into the design of a guesthouse will not only attract tourists, but also express the household's values and beliefs in their daily life. That is to say, cultural associations are the fourth characteristic of the design of a guesthouse.

7.2.4.1 Main entrance



Figure 37: Distinctive features of original dwellings (photos taken by author)

The investigation of the 30 cases revealed that each guesthouse has a distinctive name and each shows a unique cultural theme that the guesthouse will intensively express. The main entrance plays a significant role in showing the theme emphasised in a guesthouse. For example, the main entrance of case 2-1 in Dayan is beside a river, which is a feature of Dayan settlement, and the main entrance of the case 3-11 in Dayan is beside a three-hole-well, which is a distinctive water facility for Naxi people. In addition to special physical features, the high reputation of the original family is another element to be stressed in the main entrance (see Figure 37). For instance, the case 3-9 in Dayan is so named because the 'Lai family' is of high social status in the local area. Naming the guesthouse after its original family name would increase its distinctiveness in the tourist market. Another case is 2-4, which is named to emphasize the historical link between the original dwelling and the current guesthouse. The manager of the tourist vernacular dwelling said:

The reason that the touristic vernacular dwelling is called old caravansary is because the original dwelling itself is a caravansary in the historic period time of Tea and Horse Caravan. The original function of it is a caravansary; we just

restore it as the previous, and restore some existing culture and stuff previously, such as caravan culture and its pattern, and so on. Therefore, the name of it could be considered as a memory of the past.

The elements emphasised in main entrances have the potential to express the characteristics of the guesthouse. They are chosen to construct links between environmental features, historical reputation and the character of the guesthouse. In essence, this is a method to increase tourist attraction as well as the competitiveness of the guesthouse in the tourist market.

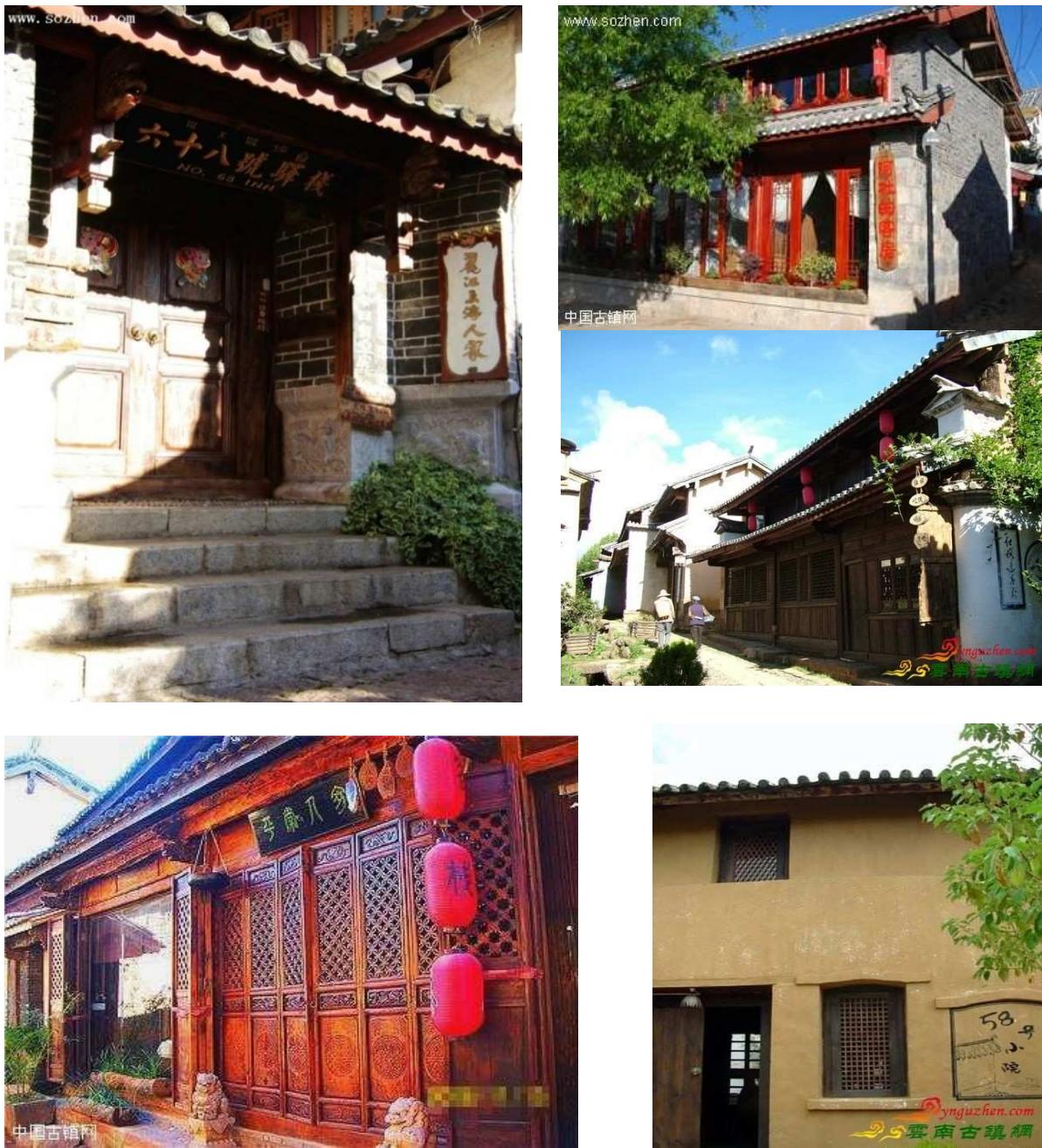


Figure 38: Main entrances of guesthouses (photos provided by www.ynguzhen.com, 2013)

Apart from emphasis on the features mentioned above, stressing the long history of the original dwelling is another approach adopted by households (see Figure38). The case 3-8 stresses the words 'Old' and 'House' in the tourist name, to emphasize that the house is a traditional and ancient one. The main entrance of case 3-10 has kept the old door of the original dwelling, which has not been painted for a long period of time. The host has deliberately kept the old version of the door to create an atmosphere of returning to the past. The main entrance of case 2-1 is similar, in that the main door leaves are maintained so that they look like the original ones. The same feature can also be found in the main entrance of No. In case 2-1, where the unpainted door and windows, and the mud paste walls, are all used to produce a feeling of the past. However, the main entrances of case 4-2 and case 2-2 have not been kept so closely the same as the original ones, but instead have been intentionally designed to make tourists feel that they are new. Nevertheless, they have kept the traditional form and style of the original dwellings, only adding some modern elements to them, such as floor-to-ceiling windows.



Figure 39: Courtyards of guesthouses (pictures taken by author and by www.ynguzhen.com 2013)

7.2.4.2 Courtyard

In Naxi and Bai culture, being at peace and in harmony with nature is a principal philosophy of daily life. In Naxi and Bai courtyard dwellings, the courtyard is the most important space in which to express the relationship between residents and nature. "These courtyards were the centre of people's daily activities...People in local neighbourhoods often got together to share their gardening experiences, to play cards or mahjong, or to have dinner parties together in their courtyards"(Lee, 2007, p.42). Natural elements are commonly used to decorate the courtyard, such as pots of flowers, hanging plants, flower arbours and even fish. The courtyard is usually the most beautiful space and place in a Bai or Naxi courtyard dwelling. The floor of the courtyard is paved with tiles and pebbles into a lucky pattern, such as the word '福' (good fortune) or '寿' (longevity).

Inspired by local households, outside households commonly learn to express their value and preference for nature through the design of their courtyards. Natural elements are again commonly used to decorate the courtyard, such as pots of flowers, hanging plants, flower arbours and fish. In addition to plants and flowers, furniture made of natural materials is commonly seen in the courtyards of guesthouses run by outside households, such as hand-made wooden desks, hand-made wooden chairs and benches, and rattan lounge chairs. Although the furniture takes different forms and styles, it is a symbol of nature, and indicates a close connection between the household and nature. In addition, the furniture chosen and furnishings set in the courtyard should be compatible with the main theme of the design. For example, the furniture in the courtyard of the case 3-9 is wooden and of ethnic style, which is intended to show that the guesthouse originally accommodated a Naxi family with wealth and a high reputation. Different households may use different ways to express their love of nature. For example, case 3-10 in Dayan, run by an outside household from Shanghai, and case 4-2 in Shuhe, run by an outside household from Chengdu, both follow the ways in which local people express their respect for nature. Others prefer to show this in a more creative way, like case 2-1 in Sideng, run by an outside household from Chengdu, and 2-4 in Sideng, run by outside household from Taiwan (see Figure39). Such households may create their own decoration or furniture for the courtyard setting. For example, the paving of the courtyard in case 4-2 still uses pebbles, but the traditional good luck image composed by the pebbles has been changed into a new lucky image. Although the image may have changed, the cultural function of the pebbles used to pave the courtyard dwelling is maintained.

Apart from showing a connection with nature, the courtyard is also a platform to exhibit the architectural details of the guesthouse. In most cases, old furniture, old decoration and even old cloth are valued by the hosts, who use them to express their nostalgic emotion towards the old times and old lifestyle. For example, the windows in case 4-1 and case 2-4 are all made from abandoned windows collected from other local dwellings. It does not seem pleasant to

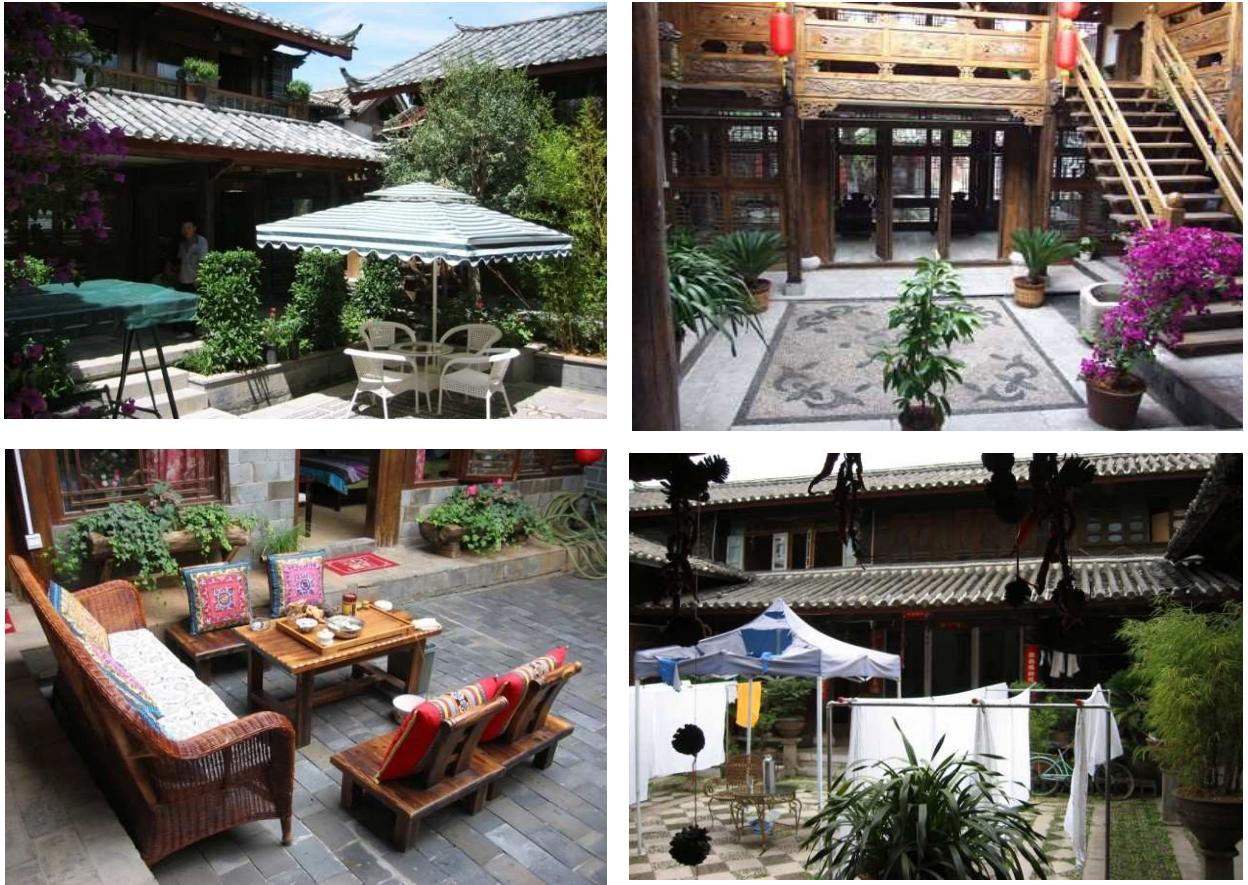


Figure 40: Courtyards of guesthouses (photos taken by author)

see new things in the guesthouses. If desks are newly bought, the host may darken them by the process of smoking the wood. The hostess of case 3-5 in Dayan said:

In terms of the face of the dwelling, it must be made of timber, and must be an old stuff. The components of the face of my touristic vernacular dwelling are collected outside. The timber is collected from countryside. And the woodcarvings on windows are all old...Because we like Naxi dwellings, we drive to countryside, collect old components and reassemble them together. In addition, some old woodcarvings on the original dwelling are all conserved well... the desk of reception is made into a form of traditional tea table. Initially no one in Dayan make such desk. We shorten the traditional tea table, and make it like this. We just finish a work of ourselves, and to be honest, we do not consider how tourists will think about it.

The courtyard of case 3-8 is too small for any furniture. However, when standing in the courtyard, the well-preserved features of the dwelling can be seen, such as the pebble-paved floor in the garden, six delicately carved doors, and various pots of spiritually symbolic plants. The preference for old materials indicates a feeling of nostalgia among the households. In fact, behind this nostalgia is an anti-industrialization feeling. The countryside is not only seen as being opposite to the city, it also still maintains many characteristics of an agricultural lifestyle,

such as a slow tempo of life, a close connection with nature, autonomy over work time and relatively simple relationships between people. Therefore, some households prefer using rural elements to express this nostalgia. For example, in case 3-7 in Dayan, strings of red chillies and pine cone chains hang around the columns of the courtyard. Yellow corn can also be seen as an element commonly used to decorate the columns of courtyards, especially in guesthouses run by local households, such as case 4-4 in Shuhe, and case 4-3 in Shuhe (see Figure 40).

7.2.4.3 Tea Bar



Figure 41: Tea bars in the guesthouses (photos taken by author)

Unlike the ordinary Bai or Naxi dwellings, tea bars are commonly seen in the guesthouses. In the 30 cases, every guesthouse had a tea bar. The bar not only provides various items for consumption, but also symbolizes freedom and leisure time in daily life. In Chinese culture, if people can spend time in a tea bar, it means they are free and have leisure time. People can spend their time according to their own will, rather than in strict accordance with a timetable formulated by other people. Therefore, the main task of the design of a tea bar is to create a leisurely atmosphere. For example, the tea bar of case 2-4 has soft music, artwork, books and book shelves, tea sets, wild flowers and wireless internet. These things qualify as symbols of a life of leisure.

In terms of furniture and furnishings, ethnic elements relevant to the local culture are the main resources for design. For example, the setting of the tea bar in case 3-10 shows a strong mixture of Naxi and Tibetan styles, including a Tibetan style ceiling picture hanging on the door, a Tibetan style table and a Naxi style red back cushion. The Tibetans are an ethnic minority close to the Naxi minority in terms of geography, and they have many similarities in aesthetic expression. Other examples are the furniture in the tea bars of case 2-2 and case 2-4, where the tea table is made from an old window, which reveals the host's worship of old and traditional materials and expresses that the design is connected with local culture (see Figure 36). The theme of the Ancient Tea and Horse Caravan Road has been commonly applied as a main cultural element in the design of tea bars. For example, the droplight in one tea bar is made in the shape of saddle, the backdrop wall of the tea bar is made of tea bricks and pictures of stations on the Ancient Tea-Horse Road are hung on the walls. A map of the Ancient Road has even been made into a screen in a tea bar.

The tea bar of case 3-4 was designed by a young couple who rent a Naxi local courtyard in Dayan. The design creates a strong link with local Buddhism. According to the interview with the host of the guesthouse, the guesthouse, 'Miaoyuan', was named by a famous local Buddhist, which suggests an extraordinarily predestined relationship. There is a worship hall in the tea bar of the guesthouse, in which bookshelves containing books and discs concerning health and Buddhism are placed. The designers have chosen a lamp in the shape of Buddha's hands to show the connection with Buddhism. This indicates that the creation of a link with local culture in the design of a tea bar will help to strengthen the features of the guesthouse. The design of a tea bar is a significant part of expressing the main cultural theme embodied in the guesthouse. Nevertheless, cultural elements should be added appropriately to the design according to the specific circumstance of the household and the dwelling. The hosts of case 3-4 said:

Too much unknown ethnic elements put into the design will spoil the culture itself, unless you have a very clear theme embodied in the design. And the theme must be very clear and distinct. Otherwise the design will become chaos. Culture elements could be added into to design appropriately, and it should consider the specific condition of individual.

This description of designs shows that both local and outside households aim to integrate many local cultural elements into their designs in order to forge the distinctiveness of the guesthouse. However, too many local cultural elements applied to a tea bar without a sense of logic will spoil the integrity of the whole theme that the guesthouse is trying to express. Gaining further understanding of the local culture is the most valid way of successfully integrating local cultural elements into a modern tea bar..

7.2.5 Expression of cultural identity

This focus on the design of main entrances, courtyards and tea bars reflects the fact that in order to forge the distinctive character of a guesthouse, designers will integrate various cultural elements into the interior design of the public areas of a guesthouse. It has been observed that outside households imitate the usage of many local cultural elements in the design to forge this distinctive character. For example, inspired by local people's lifestyle, many outside households use the design of a courtyard to express their perception of the people-nature connection. It can also be observed that local cultural elements are constantly applied in the design of main entrances and tea bars. The use of these elements related to local culture indicates that the designers want to express a cultural identity which bears a connection with local culture through the design of the guesthouse. In terms of the identity of the household, local households have a different sense of identity from those of outside households.

Before the development of tourism, the cultural identity of an ethnic group was not seen as a source of pride, and was even seen as shameful by some ethnic people, as ethnic minorities were always associated with poverty and economic under-development. However, with the development of tourism, ethnicity has become an attractive word which indicates exotic, distinctive and indigenous cultural elements. Being 'ethnic' people indicates that the hosts are more familiar with ethnic culture than outsiders are. With the development of tourism, being part of an ethnic group has become an attractive and popular identity, as it has become a potential advantage as a means of attracting tourists. It was observed that local households constantly mentioned their nationality as Naxi or Bai people during their interactions with tourists, and stressed 'Naxi' or 'Bai' cultural elements in the design of their guesthouse. For example, the host and hostess of Case3-6 in Dayan are very proud of their identity as Naxi people and original residents of Dayan Old Town. They perceive their guesthouse as a window for tourists to experience local culture through interacting with real Naxi people in Dayan. Although they showed their disappointment at the decline in the price of guestrooms in the face of competition with outside households, they also showed a confidence that their unique identity would help them to compete with guesthouses run by outsiders. That is to say, local households recognize that their unique identity can help them to increase their appeal within the severe competitiveness of the guesthouse business. In this way, tourism development has promoted the ethnic identity of local Bai and Naxi people.

Being local residents in the local community is an identity that most outside households are also willing to emphasize in the design. Because most outside households are immigrants from other cities or regions in China, and most of them are Han people, this means that they have

only a weak linkage with ethnic groups and their culture. Nevertheless, these outsiders are residents of the current community, and have lived amongst the ethnic group of people for a period of time. Compared with tourists, they are local people, but in comparison to real local people, they are outsiders. Being a local resident is the only identity which outside households can stress to show a linkage with the local culture. For example, the hostess of case 3-1 perceives herself as a local person, as she has lived in Dayan for more than five years. Dayan has become her second hometown. Therefore, in guesthouses run by outside households, some cultural elements reflecting the connection with local culture can also be identified. Tourism enforces the outsider households' identity as local residents, which can increase their competitiveness in the tourism market. Consequently, their identity as local residents will increase the outsiders' responsibility for the issues of the local community. Tourism development has changed the identity of both local and outside households. It has established a connection between the two groups of people in terms of cultural identity, but also retained the distinct qualities of each group. Thus, despite the increase in consumption and commoditisation of tourism development, individual communities often show a tendency to value their uniqueness and differences in the era of globalization.

7.2.6 Distortion of local cultural elements

Although tourism development promotes cultural identity associated with local culture, it also provides many opportunities to interpret and reinterpret this cultural identity. It has been seen that many local cultural resources are not directly applied as design elements, but have been manufactured and re-manufactured during the design. Decorative components, in particular, such as stair handrails, window lattices, woodcarving and courtyard floors, have clearly been manufactured to incorporate some new design elements into the design of guesthouses. However, with loose restrictions on construction, and a superficial understanding of local culture and traditional know-how, the misuse and distortion of local cultural elements is constantly seen. Most of these distortions are created by outside households. The hostess of case 3-6 (in Dayan) gave some comments on the handrails in a guesthouse run by an outsider household:

You see now, the handrails that outsiders made on the stair do not in consistent with [the traditional style of dwelling]. This is called plum window, and should be appear in window frame. But now it is neither fish nor fowl. The outside tenants who run a guesthouse locally do not understand [the tradition], they assume that old stuff is beautiful. In fact, it does not match [with the dwelling]. Do you think they are matching? We use the stuff as window traditionally, rather than using them on stairs.

Another example of the 'invention' of tradition is the furniture in the tea bars of case 2-2 and case 2-4 in Sideng. The tea tables are made from old windows, which is a misuse of window

material. In the eyes of local households, this misuse and distortion shows little respect for their traditional local culture. However, in the eyes of outsider households, these adaptations are the result of artistic creation, through which outside households express their personal understanding of local culture.

Apart from decoration, furniture and furnishings, some of the main themes of guesthouses show a distortion of local culture. For example, some words like '福' (fortune), '禄' (prosperity), '财' (wealth) and '府' (mansion) are commonly used in local culture in the names of guesthouses, which are designed to indicate that the guesthouse provides luxurious service as well as high-price accommodation. However, '福' (fortune) indicating good luck, '禄' (prosperity) indicating high social status, '财' (wealth) indicating good economic capability, and '府' (mansion), indicating a large complex, are all cultural elements originally intended to express good wishes for the life and high social status of a family. They were never connected with luxurious consumption. The interpretation of these words in their application to guesthouses has distorted the original meaning embodied in the words. It has also caused tourists to misunderstand the local culture. Another example is that promoted by a popular TV drama filmed in Dayan. The romantic landscape of Dayan has been interpreted into themes like '爱' (love), '邂逅' (encounter), '遇' (meet) and even '艳遇' (romantic affair). Lately, these words have constantly appeared in the names of guesthouses. Additionally, in order to attract more tourists to Dayan, some developers have made use of this romantic theme and named Dayan 'Romantic Affair City' in many advertisements. The emphasis on this interpreted element shows little respect for the local community and gives tourists a false impression of Dayan and its local culture. It must be noted that it is difficult for the local community to accept this misuse and distortion of local cultural elements, and the issue has received much criticism from both local and outside communities who respect local culture. The emergence of these cultural themes reveals that in China's tourism market, the tastes and preference of tourists are widely diverse, sometimes even opposite to each other. Nevertheless, in the long run, the design of a guesthouse based on the misuse and distortion of local cultural elements might decrease its connection with local culture, so that it may lose its competitiveness in the tourist market.

7.3 Influence of tourism on design process

The discussion above has shown that the design process of a Bai or Naxi dwelling is, as Rapoport notes, one of selecting models and making adjustments for variations (1969, p.4). Because the basic models are acknowledged by inhabitants and craftsmen, the main task of design focuses on making adjustments according to the specific situation of a household, including family structure, economic capacity and other constraints on the site. The main task

of construction and the familiarity of the basic model determine that the design is normally done through the collaboration of inhabitants and craftsmen via oral communication and negotiation on site. The design process is interwoven with the implementation process and extended into the usage process. Through this open-ended on-site design, the Bai or Naxi dwelling can be culturally appropriate and socially acceptable. That is to say, the design process of a Bai or Naxi dwelling is socially collaborative and culturally sensitive, which makes the dwelling meaningful to its inhabitants.

Nevertheless, when an ordinary vernacular Bai or Naxi dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse, some changes occur in the design process. On an architectural level, the basic architectural style of a guesthouse is based on that of a traditional Bai or Naxi dwelling, which offers a limited range of models. In terms of furniture, furnishings and decoration, however, the design of a guesthouse is no longer limited to a number of models, but becomes diversified into various distinctive styles. The direct use of precedence is to be discouraged, as the main task of the design is focused on the creation of a distinct tourist appeal to attract tourists. The creation of tourist appeal depends on the creation and interpretation of a unique and distinctive cultural theme. In order to do this, both local and outside households gain inspiration from each other and add individual uniqueness into the design. The design is no longer a process of seeking architectural solutions (Oliver, 2006, p.4), but a scheme to provide inspiration and express some artistic creativity. On the level of interior design, innovation and creativity are valued, rather than adherence to established norms (Davis, 2006, p.237).

In the construction of a dwelling, the main design is conducted through cooperation of inhabitants and craftsmen on both an architectural and interior design level. In the construction of a guesthouse, because of the importance of creating a sense of distinctiveness, the household plays an important role in the design process. They have to take complete responsibility for decisions about the main theme expressed through the guesthouse, the standard of the accommodation, the space provided for tourists and the distinctive style of the interior design. In this sense, the main designer of a guesthouse is the household- the long-term residents of the guesthouse. Nevertheless, the design of a guesthouse is still highly dependent upon the skills and knowledge of craftsmen, especially local craftsmen. The craftsmen, as technical assistants and cultural consultants, are required to participate in the design process. In some special cases, a professional designer may participate in the design process of a guesthouse, but in general, both local and outside households see professionals as people who will attempt to exert their own will on inhabitants (Davis, 2006, p.232). Although professionals have knowledge and skills regarding modern architectural and interior design, both local and outside households prefer to cooperate with craftsmen rather than professionals.

In this sense, the design of a guesthouse is completed through the cooperation of long-term residents and craftsmen.

In terms of the manner of design, the transformation of a Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse does not change the basic character of the vernacular design process. The design of a guesthouse is still done through communication and negotiation between households and other builders, and the design is still completed on site, interweaving with the implementation process and extending into the usage process. The open-ended character of vernacular design is sustained. In addition, through the dynamic and open-ended design process, cultural sensitivity is maintained in a guesthouse, but it is also open to cultural systems from outside the local community. As a result, diversified styles of interior design have been integrated into the limited architectural model of Bai and Naxi courtyard dwellings. A hybrid result is unavoidable, and this reflects the complicated value systems and belief systems of the inhabitants. It is similar to the design of an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling, in which creativity and tradition are intertwined, as innovation is based on an understanding of precedents, through the complex processes by which humans express themselves to others in ways that carry value and meaning (Bronner, 2006, p.26). However, during the integration of both local and outside cultural elements, some misuse and distortion of local cultural elements is observed. In the long run, this misuse and distortion will diminish the competitiveness of a guesthouse, as it is difficult for the local community to accept it.

In summary, the process of designing a guesthouse led by individual households is interwoven with the usage phase, which makes it an open-ended evolving process. In contrast with hotels designed by professional designers, the guesthouse is a dynamic product that can be updated at anytime. The modification and adjustment of the design of the guesthouse can be done constantly according to the dynamic needs of tourists and residents. There is no end to this process in the developing model led by individual households. During the design process, the designer and user are not separated to a large degree, which means that the result of the design is able to meet the requirements of the user accurately and in a timely manner. Through the constant improvement and adjustment of a guesthouse, the guesthouse will be able to continuously improve and adapt to suit the tourist market.

7.4 Case of vernacular dwelling developed by areal estate develop company

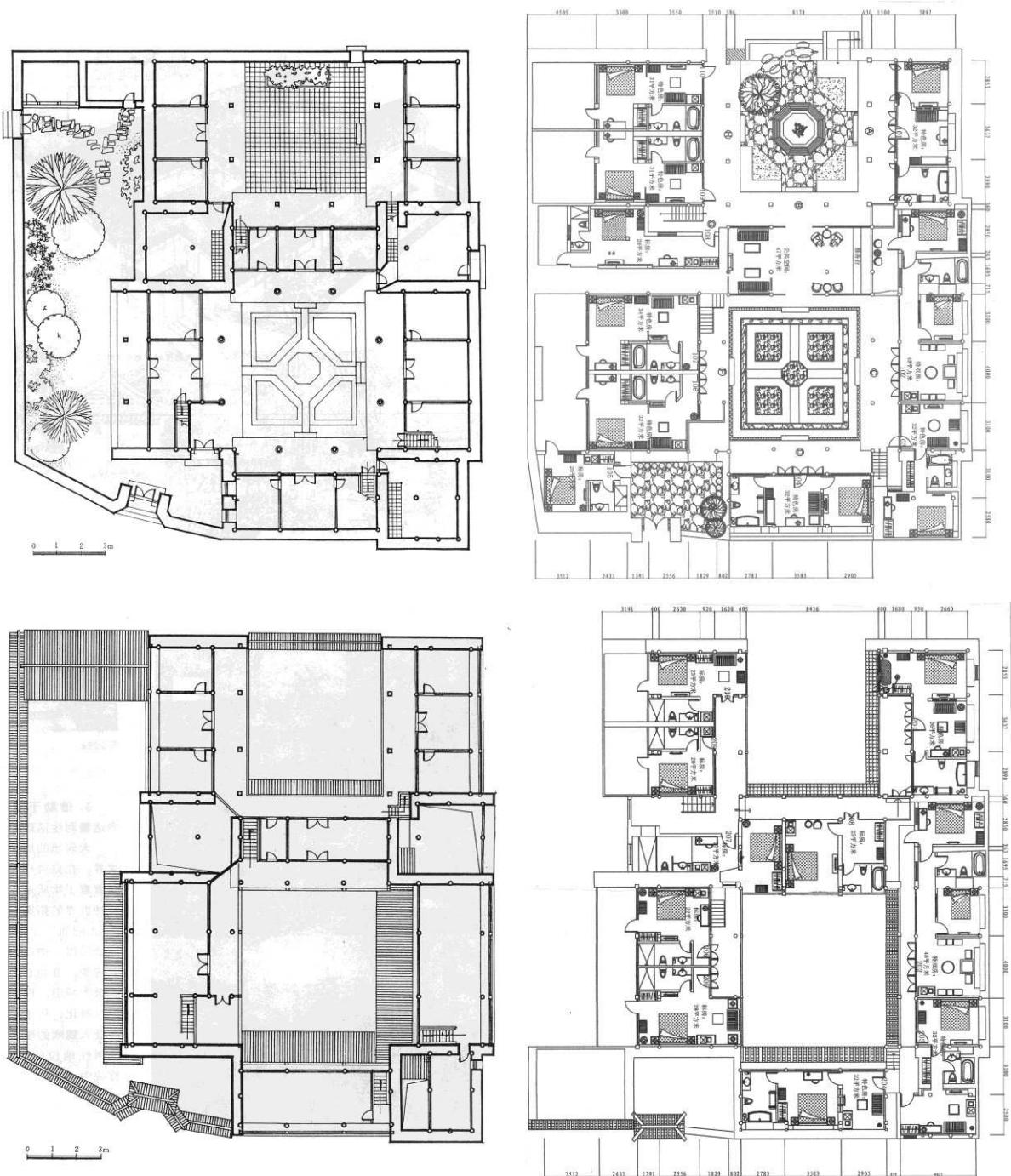


Figure 42: Comparison between the original plans of San-Yan-Jin hotel and the ones designed by professional designers

In comparison with the design process of the guesthouses discussed above, the design process of some small hotels based on vernacular dwellings bears many different characteristics. The tourism development of an ordinary Naxi dwelling in Dayan into San-yan-jing hotel is a good example. The original dwelling of the San-yan-jing (Henghehao) hotel was designated by the government a Key Conservation Vernacular Dwelling in Dayan Old Town of Lijiang. There is a

three-eyed well (San-yan-jing) in front of main entrance of the dwelling. The dwelling is a typical Naxi courtyard dwelling in qian-hou-yuan (前后院) format, which is composed of two yards and more than six house wings. The three-eyed well, and the well-preserved buildings, distinguish the dwelling from other dwellings in the area. It had considerable potential as a successful tourism development project. The development company for San-Yan-Jing hotel is Lijiang Yi-Bang Tourism Investment Co., Ltd, which has rented the house from the local house owner for a period of 15 years. The development company commissioned Shanghai Jushi Environmental Art and Engineering Co., Ltd. to design the hotel. According to an interview with the main designer, the construction company has a long-term cooperative relationship with the design company, and the heads of the three companies enjoy good private relationships. Therefore, the design company was selected by the development company and the construction company was selected by the design company. The main designer explained that the house owner had signed a contract with the development company, but that there was almost no direct or regular communication between the developers and the house owner. This was because, firstly, the old dwelling had been divided into parts belonging to different descendants of a large family. Secondly, the house owner spoke Naxi language, which made communication between the house owner and the developers difficult. Most importantly, the developer was too busy to contact the house owner personally, as the San-Yan-Jin hotel was only a small project among many other development projects. The owner signed a contract with the development company, in which he required that the external appearance of the dwelling must retain its original condition when the dwelling is returned to the house owner after the 15-year rental period. The house owner could only contact the designer and other officials concerned. However, the designers were responsible to the development company, not to the house owner. There was no necessity to have deep or regular communication with the house owner. As a result, direct communication and interaction between the house owner and the professional designers were rare.

The development company required the professional designers to keep the appearance of the vernacular dwelling as it was, meanwhile developing its interior facilities and space according to the standards of a four-star-hotel (see Figure42). The design style designated was modern Chinese style. According to the explanations of the main designer, the so-called 'modern Chinese style' meant that traditional Chinese elements would be applied, but the patterns would be relatively simplified, looking less complicated and depressing. The style of the indoor decorative elements in this typical traditional Naxi courtyard dwelling is no longer limited to the Naxi cultural elements of the Lijiang area, but has been magnified into a Chinese style. Such random magnification usually occurs in designs created by professional designers who have a shallow understanding of local culture. Although this magnification may be acceptable to tourists, it is normally difficult for it to be accepted by the local community. Of course, many

local cultural elements have been integrated in the design, especially the interior design. The designers recognized that elements relating to the Ancient Tea and Horse Caravan Road should be main design elements, because the original family living in the dwelling was engaged in the caravan business along the Ancient Tea-Horse Road. For example, the droplight in the guestroom is made in the shape of saddle; the backdrop wall of the reception area is made from tea bricks; the 20 guestrooms are named after the 20 stations on the Ancient Tea-Horse Road; and each room has a sketch map of the station as a background behind the bed head. That is to say, the designers have integrated many symbols, events and names representing local culture into the interior design, but according to the logic of the designers rather than the user of the dwelling.

The purpose of the integration is to attract tourist gaze associated with local cultural tradition for tourists' consumption. However, the essence of such a design is the professional designers' attempt to interpret regional tradition, with which they are unfamiliar, so they are only able to interpret it from the perspective of outsiders. William Somerset Maugham stated that an "architect puts himself into the shoes of his characters; but there are shoes he cannot get into...when he describes them he will describe them from the outside, and the observation divorced from sympathy can seldom create a living being" (cited by Heath, 2009, p.59). Individual households are not only able to apply tangible cultural elements to the design, but can also explain the design and show the social, cultural and historical links between the design and the local culture. They are able to interpret the local culture from inside, as they are part of the community. The cultural experience provided by a hotel designed by professional designers is weak and limited in comparison with that provided by a guesthouse designed by individual households.

In terms of the construction process, according to the interview with the main designer, the construction team is a long-term cooperative partner of the design company. The communication between the designers and construction workers was basically through working drawings which had been drawn by the professional designers. Essentially, the construction had to be strictly in accordance with the working drawings. If the design needed to be modified during the implementation phase, it would have to go through a complicated process and be examined and signed by the managers. However, the headquarters of both companies are based in Shanghai. It would be a lot of trouble to change the design after it had been finished. Although local craftsmen could be employed during the construction process, they had no right to design, and no connection with the future users of the dwelling. Most of them were contracted to do some woodcarving, make timber furniture and deal with issues associated with the timber structure.

The dwelling has ultimately been developed into a hotel – a purely tourist product for tourist consumption. It no longer holds a residential function, there are no residents living in it and tourists have become the only users of the dwelling. As consumers of the dwelling, tourists have barely any opportunity to establish direct interaction with local residents. They can only gain a relatively superficial cultural experience from the dwelling. According to interviews with tourists staying in the hotel, they were not fully satisfied with this type of consumption. They said that there were too many items for which fees were charged, but that only a limited experience of local culture was offered. As there were no 'hosts' living in the dwelling, they could neither have direct communication with hosts nor enjoy an in-depth experience of the local lifestyle. It seems that when a dwelling is developed into a purely tourist product, in comparison with a guesthouse, the communication and cultural interaction between users and builders decrease dramatically.

The transformation process of San-yan-jing hotel may be considered a representation of the tourism development of a vernacular dwelling led by outside capitalists or real estate companies. Only one case of a hotel was chosen in the study, because the design and construction process of a hotel is a universal model commonly applied in the design and construction process of urbanization, and the characteristics of the model are familiar to scholars and professionals in the field of architecture. Thus, the thesis should leave more space to discuss the transformation process of guesthouses developed by individual households on a community level. However, the case of the hotel is important as some conclusions will be drawn from the comparison between tourism development projects led by individual households and those led by outside capitalists or real estate companies. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

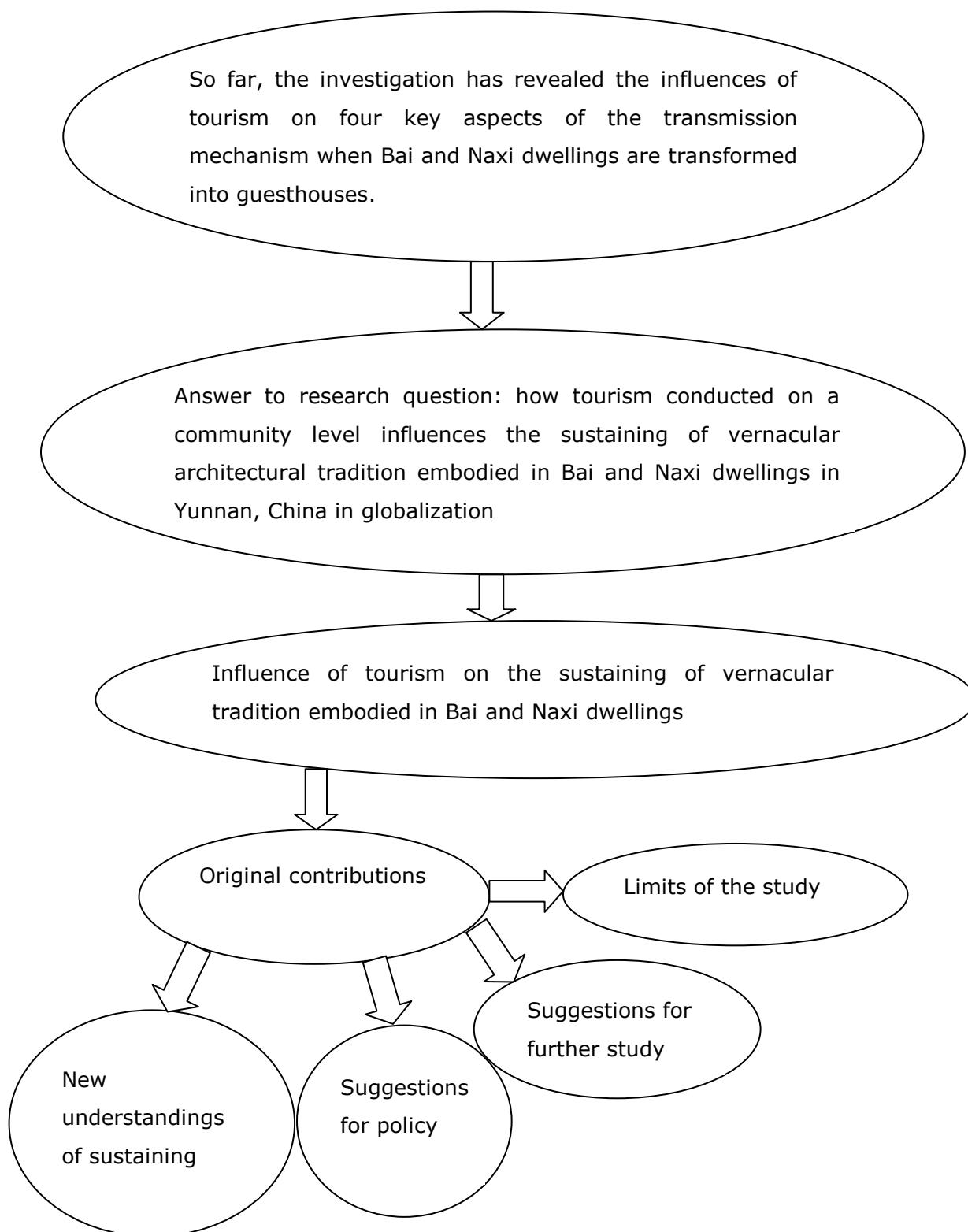


Diagram 6: Framework for discussion and conclusion (drawn by author)

Thus far, this dissertation has presented an overview of the influence of tourism development on the transmission mechanism of Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, with emphasis on transitions in four key aspects of the transmission mechanism for vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings when the dwellings are transformed into guesthouses. The four key aspects embrace authority and control, the user-builder connection, the role of craftsmen and the apprenticeship system, as well as the open-ended design process. Based on the theoretical findings in the previous chapters, this chapter will give further arguments addressing how tourism influences the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, in the era of globalization. The argument is able to answer the research question posed in the introduction chapter. In addition, the answer to the question will shed light on further understanding of the interrelationship between tourism development and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in the four settlements in Yunnan, China. Based on this understanding, suggestions for policy will be given regarding how to achieve a balance between the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition and tourism development in ethnic minority settlements in contemporary Yunnan, China. Finally, the chapter will present the original contribution of the study, the limits of the study and suggestions for further investigation (see Diagram 6).

8.1 Answer to research question - how tourism influences sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition

In order to answer the research question, this section will clarify the interrelationship between tourism development conducted on a community level and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China.

8.1.1 Tourism reinforces foundation for transmission

According to the analysis in Chapter 4, before the development of tourism, almost all the authority for a Bai or Naxi dwelling was primarily in the hands of grass-roots inhabitants. They were able to make decisions to determine the construction organization, management and strategy, as well as with regard to modification and maintenance during the usage of the dwelling. However, when a Bai or Naxi dwelling becomes involved in tourism development and transformed into a guesthouse, the authority for building and using a Bai or Naxi dwelling becomes complicated. The discussion in Chapter 4 has demonstrated that the demands of tourists for an in-depth experience of local vernacular architectural culture make the guesthouse business prosperous in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng, in Yunnan, China. The guesthouses are tourism products based on Bai and Naxi dwellings with distinctive cultural elements. It seems that, although tourism development in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng

changes the function of the Bai and Naxi dwellings when they are transformed into guesthouses, the Bai and Naxi dwellings remain family properties, rather than properties of government and development companies. The construction, rental and purchase of the dwelling are part of the community's economy, rather than part of the external capitalist economy. Therefore, it is the individuals who own or rent the dwellings in local communities who hold considerable authority to control the tourism development of the Bai and Naxi dwellings.

The vernacular settlements that the Bai and Naxi dwellings belong to are designated as cultural heritage by the government, which exerts rules and restrictions on the alteration, restoration, renovation and reconstruction of a Bai or Naxi dwelling. Therefore, part of the authority for building and using Bai and Naxi dwellings is in the control of the government. Despite this government control, individual households are still able to conduct a series of construction strategies to transform a dwelling into a guesthouse, as the government rules and restrictions do not change the individual households' ownership of the dwelling. The dwellings are still the family property of the households. The rules and restrictions of the government only limit the right of the households to change the dwelling randomly. In order to deal with the rules and restrictions on construction, various construction strategies are applied to transform a dwelling into a guesthouse, including altering the usage of a dwelling, building a new dwelling in 'traditional' style, restoring an old dwelling and altering its function, and renovating and refurbishing a rented dwelling.

Within the different construction strategies, varying degrees of authority to control the tourism development of the Bai and Naxi dwellings emerge. It seems that the construction and usage processes are supervised by the government's administration department. Nevertheless, grass-roots inhabitants are still able to control specific issues regarding building and usage. This indicates that when the ownership of a Bai or a Naxi dwelling is in the hands of individual households, the authority for building and using the dwelling cannot be removed by rules and restrictions. The individual households, at grass-roots level, still hold considerable authority to control the construction and usage of the dwellings they own or rent. If the ownership of a dwelling were transferred to the government or a development company, the individual household would lose the authority to control the building and usage of the dwelling. It is tourism development, especially the prosperous guesthouse business, which makes individual households realize the importance of ownership of a dwelling. Consequently, it is more difficult for the government and development companies to take the ownership of a dwelling away from individual households. That is to say, tourism development promotes the awareness of individual households that they need to keep the ownership of their dwellings in their own hands and as a result, to keep the authority for building and using a dwelling in their own

hands. In this sense, tourism development strengthens the individual households' authority to control the tourism development of the Bai and Naxi dwellings.

When the authority is mainly held in the hands of grass-roots individual households, they are able to choose an appropriate construction pattern to complete the tourism development which will be efficient and effective for them. In this study, most individual households had chosen self-employment and community cooperation as the main construction pattern to complete the development. The construction pattern consequently determines a set of issues, such as whether the development will employ craftsmen or not, who the main designer and main builder will be, how various construction resources will be accessed and utilized, what the relationship between builder and user will be, as well as how to conduct the design process. The answers to these questions are closely associated with other key aspects of the transmission mechanism. This indicates that the individual households' authority to control the construction and usage of a dwelling sets the foundation for the performance of other aspects of the transmission mechanism. Therefore, the findings of the study demonstrate that tourism development has reinforced the foundations of the transmission involved in the adaptation of Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China.

8.1.2 Tourism extends channels for transmission

The study finds that when authority for tourism development is controlled by individual households, whether they are local or outside households, most of them choose self-employment and community cooperation to complete the development. The main reasons for this lie in the fact that, firstly, transforming a Bai or a Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse is a small-scale development project. In order to reduce the budget, meet specific needs for residence and create a sense of distinctiveness for the guesthouse, most households prefer to complete the development primarily by themselves. Secondly, various construction resources that individual households require to complete the development belong to the local community, such as the knowledge of skilled craftsmen, sources of construction materials, assistance from the neighbourhood, local skills and knowledge, and the tools and instruments used for construction. In order to access and use these construction resources, individual households have to build a social network with the local community. That is to say, the construction of a guesthouse has to be highly dependent upon the social, cultural and technical resources of the community. For outside households in particular, if they want to live happily or run a business successfully within the local community in the long term, it is essential to become familiar with the local culture and establish connections with local social networks. Transforming an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling into a guesthouse provides a good opportunity for both local and outside households to become members of the user-builder system of the local community. Once they become part of this local user-builder system, they will be able to interact with various groups

of people within the local community, build different social relationships with other members of the local community, become familiar with the local culture and ultimately become part of the community. Only when the builder and user becomes a member of a community, can the social rules and cultural norms of the community be respected and transmitted by new members.

Tourism development brings tourists, immigrants and outside craftsmen to local communities, and changes the social structure of the communities. As a result, the user-builder system changes as well. The original user-builder system consisted of local households and local craftsmen. When ordinary Bai or Naxi dwellings are transformed into guesthouses, the user-builder system is deconstructed into six groups of people under the influence of tourism, comprising local households, outside households, local craftsmen, outside craftsmen, outside professionals and tourists. Consequently, social networks between builders and users are complicated and diversified, including relationships between family members, between households and craftsmen, between house owners and tenants, as well as between households and tourists. These complicated social networks create new socio-cultural interaction between builders and users, which facilitates the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition in tourism development.

For example, cultural interaction between local households and outside households in the process of building and using a guesthouse is one of mutual learning and inspiration. Differences and contradictions between locals and outsiders may be observed during the integration of cultural resources. Nevertheless, in most cases, locals and outsiders learn from each other and each sets the other as a point of reference. In terms of running a tourist business, local households obtain much inspiration from outside households in aspects like updating intangible facilities, adding intangible cultural elements and developing new services. Meanwhile, in terms of knowledge concerning vernacular architectural tradition, local households can provide much information and set good examples for outside households in aspects like being in harmony with nature, being happy in life and being flexible with tradition. This mutual inspiration, learning and referencing between local and outside households forms new channels for the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition between locals and outsiders on a grass-roots level. More importantly, it allows more people from other cultural circles to become acquainted with local culture. Through these channels, vernacular architectural tradition is transmitted from locals to outsiders.

In addition, interaction between local craftsmen and outside households facilitates mutual learning from each other. This learning occurs not only because they are technologically interdependent, but also because the result of construction through this mutual learning is

easily accepted by the local community. It would seem that the transmission of tradition can be achieved through learning modern technology and the innovation of new traditional know-how, but only if the learning process and result of innovation are carried out on the basis that local craftsmen's skills, knowledge and role still function in the builder-user system. It has been observed that the local craftsman still plays a key role in defining what tradition is and how it is transmitted within the local community. If the innovation is mainly carried out or accepted by local craftsmen, there is a high possibility that it will become part of a new vernacular know-how, as the local craftsman is the key person who is responsible for transmitting, accumulating, developing and sustaining local traditional know-how. Traditional know-how is transmitted on the basis of revitalization of local craftsmen's role and status in the builder-user system. The mutual learning between local craftsmen and outside households is a new transmission channel, which facilitates the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition from locals to outsiders. It also promotes the combination of local traditional construction knowledge with global modern construction knowledge to create a new vernacular know-how in addressing the construction issues of tourism development.

Another example is the cultural interaction between landlords and tenants. The friendship and emotional connections between local house owners and outside tenants is not only a precondition for outside tenants to construct a guesthouse, but it also promotes mutual trust and respect between the local house owners and outside tenants. It is important that the transformation of a vernacular dwelling is not mainly determined by outsiders, but is an agreement achieved through mutual respect and trust between local house owner and outsider tenants. This agreement ensures that outside tenants maintain the original connection between the dwelling and the local house owner. Meanwhile, it encourages local households to accept some new cultural elements brought in by outside tenants. As a result, tenants will become familiar with the local culture, while local house owners will accept some new perceptions from outside. Mutual respect and trust is the crucial transmission channel between local house owners and outside tenants, and this facilitates the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition from locals to outsiders. Some socio-cultural connections between the dwelling and its owner are changed when the dwelling is transformed by an outside tenant. Nonetheless, two new connections are formed between landlord, tenants and the dwelling. One is the connection between landlord and tenants, and the other is the connection between tenants and the dwelling. These new connections change the direction of transmission for some aspects of construction tradition; it is no longer a linear transmission from locals to locals, but from locals to outsiders. The new connections also change the quality of vernacular architectural tradition, when some exotic cultural elements are brought into the process and invention is added to local tradition. Nevertheless, this invention is based on respect for the local culture and mutual trust between landlords and tenants. Therefore, the traditions

invented are highly acceptable to the local culture. Ultimately, the newly invented tradition will become part of current local culture.

Regarding the interaction between local households and global tourists, households generally treat tourists as consumers. Nevertheless, the guesthouse dwelling is not only a place providing a unique cultural experience for the global tourist, but it is also, at the same time, the home of a local household. In most cases, local households treat their customers as guests or friends of the family. In turn, some tourists also treat the local households as their friends. The relationship between hosts and guests breaks down many boundaries between the business operator and customer. In addition, with the development of cultural tourism, more and more tourists seek opportunities for in-depth interaction with households, especially local households. As the household and tourists live in one dwelling, there are many opportunities for global tourists to participate in activities relevant to the daily life of a local household. It is common for tourists to help the household with housework, such as stripping peas, dealing with flowers and plants or buying goods at the open market. Some tourists are even allowed to attend special activities within the family, such as visiting relatives, attending a wedding ceremony or celebrating festivals. These activities provide more opportunities for outside tourists to obtain in-depth knowledge and experience relevant to the local culture. The interaction between households and tourists establishes a new channel for the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition between local households and global tourists.

The four types of cultural interaction discussed above indicate that the new social connection between builder and user has stimulated a series of new social and cultural interactions, which have formed a set of new transmission channels. Through these transmission channels, vernacular architectural tradition is transmitted between local households and outside households, between local craftsmen and outside households, between local landlords and outside tenants, between two generations in a family, as well as between local households and global tourists. Tourism development does not cut down the channels for transmission of vernacular architectural tradition; rather, it changes the direction of the channels, extends the social connections between the channels and creates new channels to facilitate the transmission. The direction of transmission of vernacular architectural tradition is not a one-way transmission from local to local, but a bi-directional communication from local to global and from global to local. The individual user and builder make use of tourism to extend their grass-roots social networks and cultural interactions, in order to transmit and adapt vernacular architectural tradition in a way that is meaningful for their current life in the era of globalization. In this sense, tourism development promotes the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, in the era of globalization.

8.1.3 Tourism revitalizes education system for training and learning

As members of the user-builder system, local craftsmen play a most important role in the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China. They are not only the members of the community who comprehensively grasp the vernacular know-how of local dwellings, but also the practitioners who apply the know-how in real construction practice and educators who train the new craftsmen of the next generation. Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter 6, before the development of tourism, the role of craftsmen in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng was in decline. The main reason for this lies in the fact that the urbanization and modernization of big cities nearby had absorbed large numbers of local craftsmen into the urbanized region. The loss of a significant population of local craftsmen from the local community had lessened the socio-cultural links between craftsmen and the local community, and caused the apprenticeship system based on these links to collapse. The development of tourism, especially the booming of the guesthouse business, has made the local construction industry prosperous again.

Tourism provides many construction jobs for local craftsmen, so that they can return to their homes and communities to continue their role and responsibility in local construction practice. In addition, in order to build a guesthouse based on a traditional Bai or Naxi dwelling, traditional know-how is required to restore traditional features into the guesthouse. Local craftsmen who comprehensively grasp the vernacular know-how will be employed by both local and outsider households. Outside households in particular, when they transform an ordinary vernacular dwelling into a guesthouse but have little understanding of the vernacular know-how, have to depend heavily on the skills, experience and knowledge of local craftsmen. As a result, the role and status of local craftsmen in local construction practice have been revitalized. More importantly, the new function of a guesthouse gives an opportunity for local craftsmen to combine some new skills and techniques with traditional know-how when they deal with issues relating to the new function, such as adding waterproofing to timber structures. Through this combination, the ability of local craftsman to deal with modern technical problems is increased. In turn, this strengthens the role and status of local craftsmen in local construction practice.

The role of local craftsmen becomes important in the construction of a guesthouse. As a result, the labour price of local craftsmen has increased, because the guesthouse business is increasingly prosperous. Consequently, more and more young men in local communities prefer to become apprentices of skilled local craftsmen. Thus, the apprenticeship system in the four settlements has been revitalized as well. This revitalization of the role of craftsmen in local construction practice reinforces the application and learning of vernacular know-how, which

ultimately revitalizes the education system for the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in the new circumstances. The analysis in Chapter 6 shows that the basic pattern of learning and training based on the apprenticeship system has not changed, and is still conducted through practice, observation and consultation on site. Additionally, the skills and knowledge regarding vernacular know-how are still accessible and available to grass-roots builders and users if they have local socio-cultural connections. In turn, the revitalization of the apprenticeship system will promote the socio-cultural connections between builders and users.

Nevertheless, some changes have occurred in the apprenticeship system in the four settlements due to the influence of tourism. For instance, because outsiders have become part of the local builder-user system, the master-apprentice relationship is open to outsiders as well as locals, so that an increasing number of grass-roots individuals are able to access skills and knowledge regarding vernacular know-how. Tourism development has increased the accessibility of vernacular know-how for both locals and outsiders, and has made them realize the value of vernacular know-how to the biggest industry in the era of globalization. This increased accessibility of vernacular know-how strengthens the authority of individual households to control the building and usage of a dwelling. In addition, vernacular know-how is no longer transmitted through the masters' authority, but depends on the real needs of users and builders in the building trades. Therefore, the standards applied in the use of skills, technology and resources, decisions regarding alterations or the adoption of new technology, as well as the means of transmission of traditional know-how may all be determined by the individual user and builder at a grass-roots level. Thus, the adaptation and transmission of vernacular architectural tradition becomes meaningful to the builder and user on a community level. In summary, tourism development has led to the return of craftsmen to local communities, which has revitalized the fragile education system for learning and training in the vernacular architectural tradition. Thus, tourism development promotes the transmission of vernacular know-how from one generation to the next in a way that is meaningful for the current generation. The revitalization of the role of craftsmen reinforces the social connections between builders and users, and strengthens the authority of households to access and obtain the skills and knowledge to deal with issues involved in building and using their dwellings.

8.1.4 Tourism maintains appropriate manner of updating

As discussed in Chapter 7, the design of a guesthouse is not merely intended to create a distinctive and unique tourism-related product to attract tourists; rather, it must also meet the specific daily living requirements of the household. In order to meet the residents' specific needs, most individuals prefer to do the design themselves. In consideration of the safety and practicality issues of the design, local craftsmen are required to participate in the design

process. In very rare situations, a professional designer may participate in the design process, but most local and outside households shun professional designers because they are neither able to provide vernacular know-how to assist the design, nor able to help the households to establish socio-cultural connections with the local community. Therefore, the design is mainly conducted by the households with the assistance of craftsmen, who normally rely on on-site communication, consultation and negotiation to complete the design. The design process is not merely a design practice, but a process of communication and interaction with the local community. It is an effective and efficient way of meeting the expectations of tourists as well as the specific needs of residents. In addition, if the guesthouse is to be able to meet the specific and dynamic needs of its residents in their daily life, as well be updated to meet the constantly changing needs of tourists, the design process has to extend into the usage process of the guesthouse. In addition, local and outside cultural elements bearing traditional meanings are commonly applied in the design of a guesthouse.

The result of the design demonstrates the cultural identity of the main designers. With the development of tourism, an increasing application of local cultural elements, such as features related to 'Bai', 'Naxi', 'Lijiang', 'Dali' and the 'Tea and Horse Caravan Trail', can be observed in the guesthouses. The increasing use of local cultural elements in the design of a guesthouse demonstrates a change in cultural identity for both local and outside households. On the one hand, local households are increasingly willing to emphasise their ethnic identity. The cultural qualities of 'ethnic markers' often become accentuated in comparison with those of other cultural groups (Macleod, 2004, p.218). As a consequence of tourism, Bai and Naxi people "have become increasingly aware of their individuality and group identity" (Macleod, 2004, p.218). In this sense, cultural diversity is made plainer (Macleod, 2004, p.218). On the other hand, in order to increase the competitiveness of a guesthouse in the tourist market, more and more outside households are willing to perceive themselves as local residents. This change of identity changes the responsibility of the household in relation to local affairs. In order to run a local guesthouse successfully in the long term, individual households need to gain further understanding of local culture and interpret it in a way that shows respect for the local culture. In this way, outside households can belong to, and become part of, the local community. In addition, outside culture which was once considered alien to the local culture can be incorporated into local culture, and thus become part of the new culture of the local community. It is clear that tourism development increases awareness of the value of being 'different', 'unique' or even 'exotic'. In this sense, cultural diversity is enforced.

The study has identified that the whole design process of a guesthouse is similar in many respects to the design process of an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling. For example, the inhabitants are the main designers; the design is normally done through the collaboration of

builders via oral communication and negotiation on site; the design process is interwoven with the implementation process and extended into the usage process; and the design process for a Bai or Naxi dwelling stresses the symbolic meanings embodied in the dwelling. However, when an ordinary vernacular Bai or Naxi dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse, some changes occur in the design process. The basic architectural style is still limited to traditional models for Bai and Naxi dwellings, but in terms of furniture, furnishings and decoration, the design of a guesthouse is no longer limited to specific models, and integration of both local and outside cultural elements is observed. Although craftsmen still participate in the design process, the main designers are the households, who prefer to mark out some distinction through their personal understanding of local culture. This reflects a tendency to emphasise difference and uniqueness in the design process. Nevertheless, some of the local cultural elements may be distorted or misinterpreted in the designs of outside households, due to a lack of deep understanding of local cultural elements. It is difficult for some of these elements to be accepted by the local community because they show no respect for local culture. The development of the tourist market will decrease some of these distortions and misinterpretations. When an ordinary Bai or Naxi dwelling is developed into a guesthouse, it still functions as a cultural container embracing multiple levels of symbolic meaning through architectural expression. However, the essence of this symbolic meaning is not only a reflection of the identity of a household within the local socio-cultural complex, but also a reflection of local identity within the continuous cultural exchange of globalization. In addition, the symbolic meaning which is expressed not only depends upon the socio-cultural needs of residents, but also upon the cultural expectations of tourists. The demands of tourists for a unique cultural experience, and their assessment of the cultural expression of a guesthouse, influence the sense of identity of the household, which strengthens the linkage between household and local community.

It must be pointed out that the open-ended design process is supported by the role of craftsmen, cooperation between builders and users, and the considerable authority held in the hands of the builders and users. In turn, the application of the open-ended design process will reinforce the authority of individual builders and users, stimulate more dynamic socio-cultural links between individual builders and users and enforce the role of craftsmen in the building and usage of a dwelling. It could be said that the open-ended design process is an appropriate manner, selected by both local and outside households, by which to facilitate the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in the Bai and Naxi dwellings being constantly updated to adapt to the ever-changing present.

8.1.5 Influence of tourism on the transmission mechanism

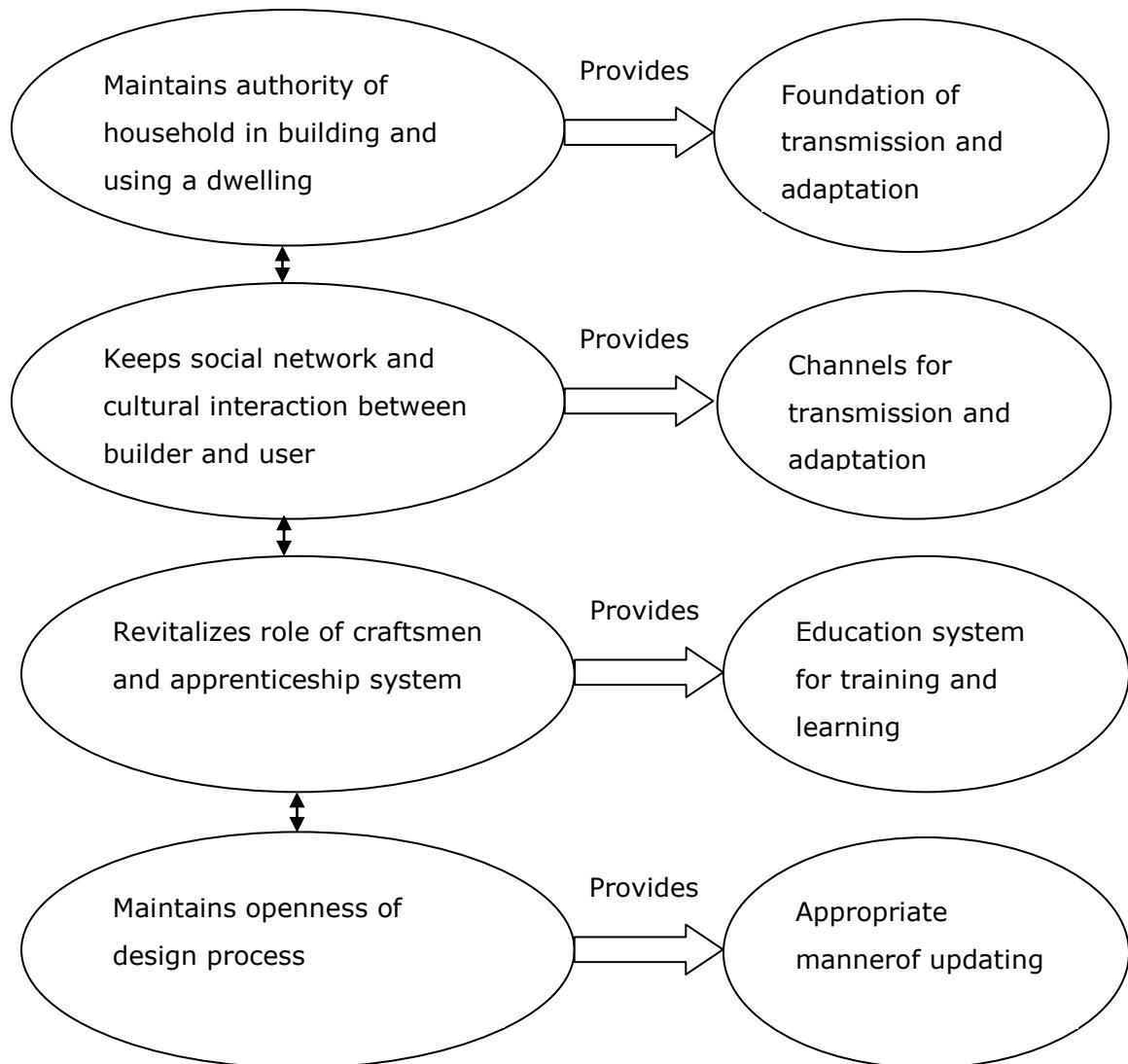


Diagram 7: How tourism influences transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings (drawn by author)

The findings regarding the influence of tourism on the four key aspects of the transmission mechanism for Bai and Naxi dwellings indicate that the four aspects of the transmission mechanism are interrelated with each other, and each of them plays a distinctive role in the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings. Firstly, tourism development maintains the authority of individual builders and users in building and using a dwelling, which provides a foundation for the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings. Secondly, tourism development maintains social networks and cultural interaction between builders and users at a grass-roots level, which provides a set of transmission channels for the transmission and adaptation of the tradition in a new socio-cultural context. Thirdly, tourism development revitalizes the role of craftsmen and the apprenticeship system, which provides an education system for training and learning in the vernacular architectural tradition. Lastly, tourism

development maintains the openness of the design process, which provides an appropriate manner of updating the vernacular architectural tradition to adapt to the dynamic present (see Diagram 7).

In comparison with the transmission mechanism for vernacular architectural tradition embodied in ordinary Bai and Naxi dwellings, the basic principles and forces embodied in the transmission mechanism when traditional Bai and Naxi dwellings are converted into guesthouses are not significantly different. Among the four aspects, maintaining the authority of individual builders and users in building and using a dwelling is a key element in sustaining the operation and performance of the other three aspects of the transmission mechanism. So far, the study has revealed that if tourism development is conducted on a community level, the commercialization and consumerism embodied in tourism do not decrease, deteriorate or break down the operation or performance of the transmission mechanism. Rather, they revitalize some of the basic forces and principles of the transmission mechanism. In addition, the operation and performance of the transmission mechanism have improved in many respects by adapting to the new circumstances. These improvements include diversifying the authority for construction to meet different restrictions and rules; opening the builder-user connection to the outside community; increasing craftsmen's ability to deal with new construction issues; extending the apprenticeship system to outsiders; and promoting diversified cultural interaction between local and global elements during the design process. As a result, the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwelling scan still be transmitted and adapted amidst tourism development in a way that is meaningful for individual builders and users. In other words, tourism development promotes the ability of the transmission mechanism to facilitate the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, in the era of globalization. Thus, the study can answer the research question by arguing that tourism development conducted on a community level is capable of increasing the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, in the era of globalization. The answer to the research question leads to a new understanding of the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition in the process of globalization in Yunnan, China.

8.2 New understanding of sustaining tradition

Situated in the qualitative paradigm, this study is interested in discerning and accounting for the particularity of human experience in a specific context rather than in arriving at generalizations or universal rules (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The specific goal is to provide a plausible understanding and interpretation of the interrelationship between tourism development conducted on a community level and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, in the era of globalization. The

study is unique because of its specific position in time and place - Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, in contemporary China, a society undergoing profound social transition in an increasingly globalized world. The interrelationship between the tourism development and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition reflects and embodies the traits of this particular time and place. Additionally, the study is distinctive because of the communities' relatively peripheral situation within the biggest developing country in the world. Many of the phenomena occurring in the communities have been especially powerful, partly due to the small scale of the society, the pressure on resources, the increased potential for dependence, the fragile infrastructure, the limited financial and cultural capital and related issues (Macleod, 2004, pp.225-226). It is a case reflective of a specific situation in the world. It is this distinctiveness that enables the study to make an original contribution to human knowledge. The specific local knowledge identified in the study can lead us to consider the importance of these findings for other similar communities, and to contemplate the profound cultural changes occurring in relation to vernacular dwellings through tourism development.

8.2.1 Sustaining is determined by construction pattern

According to the previous discussion, when tourism development is conducted by individual households in a community, they will select a construction pattern based on self-employment and community cooperation to complete the tourism development. The development of Bai and Naxi dwellings is highly dependent upon various social capital, cultural connections and technical resources on a community level. For instance, in terms of organization of the construction, individual households are highly dependent upon skilled craftsmen, trained workers, acquaintances and friends, and other social capital in the community. In terms of technology and technical resources, individual households are highly dependent upon skills, knowledge, building materials, techniques and technology that can be obtained and accessed through the community social structure. Regarding the design process, a range of cultural elements commonly acknowledged in the community can be applied in the design to create unique tourism-related dwellings; such elements include architectural style, decorative detail, handicrafts, historical events, stories, language, festivals and customs. In addition, the operation and performance of the four key aspects in the transmission mechanism all depend on the socio-cultural complex created by the community. Furthermore, the transmission mechanism itself can be perceived as part of the social structure of the community. This indicates that the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings can be promoted by tourism development because the tourism development is conducted on a community level. If the tourism development were not conducted on a community level, but on a government or capitalist level, the relationship between tourism development and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai or Naxi dwellings might be different.

The comparison between the development of guesthouses and that of a small hotel based on vernacular dwellings (in Chapter 7) shows that when a Bai or Naxi dwelling is developed by a real estate development company, the construction pattern selected by the real estate development company is quite different from the one adopted when the dwelling is developed by individual households. The former mainly relies on the design company and the construction company, while the latter relies on self-employment and community cooperation. The former could be termed a modern-construction-pattern, while the latter could be termed a vernacular-construction-pattern. The two construction patterns are extremely different in many respects, such as in the authority for construction and usage, the organization of labour, the design procedure, the relationship between design and implementation and the interrelationship between designers, builders, users and the local community. In the modern-construction-pattern, the construction authority is primarily in the hands of real estate development companies, and usually transferred to different institutions concerning the construction, such as a professional design company and a construction company. The design company holds the authority for design, and the construction company holds the authority to implement the design and complete the construction. Most of these institutions have a commercial relationship with, and provide a direct service for, the development companies, but have little connection with the local community. As a result, the individual local and outside households, the local and outside craftsmen and the tourist users are excluded from the development process. Thus, these individuals have no right to make any decisions on the building and usage of a dwelling. That is to say, the foundation for the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings disappears.

In the design phase, the main design company principally depends on the professional designers' skills rather than cooperation between the household and craftsmen. The professional designers are highly dependent upon their knowledge of modern architecture rather than knowledge of vernacular architecture. Although it is important "to find ways of integrating the 'creative energy' inherent in vernacular spatial languages and forms into the development programs that are aimed at planning new settlements or at upgrading of existing ones" (Payne, 2006, p.14), these factors are isolated from the living socio-cultural elements which still function in the current construction of vernacular dwellings. The main strategy of urban design is simulation. The characteristics and features selected for simulation, how they are simulated, and the purpose of the simulation are all determined by professional designers. "Some architectural scholars believe that it is essential to study only the historic precedent of unaltered building types as source material for authentic regional insights" (Heath, 2009, p.xiv). However, design and planning has "often ignored complexity, especially the web of economic, ecological, health and other social characteristics of the built environment"

(Lawrence, 2005, p.124). Without the participation of the local community in the design process, without direct interaction and communication with the people who actually build, use and maintain the vernacular dwelling, without learning from local craftsmen with their expertise and vernacular know-how concerning construction, the design and planning process can only remain at the superficial level of simulating some of the physical features created by the vernacular-construction-pattern.

Again, in the implementation phase, the construction company is highly dependent on modern technology and techniques rather than on local vernacular know-how and local craftsmen. That is to say, the design and implementation phases in the modern-construction-pattern can basically be done in isolation from the social networks, cultural interaction, vernacular know-how and other resources of the local community. Thus, the construction process is unable to establish any real in-depth connection with the socio-cultural complex of the local community. The social networks and cultural interaction between builders and users on a community level are seldom established. Therefore, the transmission channel based on interaction and communication between users and builders, which is fundamental to the vernacular-construction-pattern, is not identifiable in the modern-construction-pattern.

In the modern-construction-pattern, the real estate development company, the design company and the construction company are able to complete the development process independently from the construction resources and cooperation of the local community. Thus, the role of craftsmen and vernacular know-how is not as important and useful in the modern-construction-pattern as in the vernacular-construction-pattern. In the modern-construction-pattern, blueprints and working drawings are the main media for communication between designers and construction workers. However, craftsmen primarily use oral language and communicate with other builders to complete the design. When blueprints and working drawings take the place of on-site communication and negotiation, it is difficult for craftsmen to become main designers in the modern-construction-pattern. In addition, each construction company has their own employed workers. Local craftsmen have little chance of getting work with the construction company. The company may employ some local craftsmen when the development project is required to include some local architectural features created through local skills, like woodcarving, or if it involves dealing with specific construction issues relevant to local timber structures. In such situations, the role of the craftsman as a main designer and builder in the vernacular-construction-pattern is degraded to that of an artisan who merely provides some techniques and skills lacking in the modern architectural system. Because the role of craftsmen is decreased in the modern-construction-pattern, this could influence the apprenticeship system based on the role of craftsmen. The young generation would go to school to learn modern architecture, rather than being apprenticed to craftsmen. As a result,

the education system for training and learning in the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings would deteriorate.

In terms of the open-ended design process, the design and implementation in the modern-construction-pattern are two different construction activities and completed separately in different phases. The design company is exclusively responsible for the design and planning phase, while the construction company is in charge of the implementation phase. A definite boundary exists between the design and implementation phases. This separation between the design and implementation phases may improve the speed and efficiency of the construction, but it decreases the socio-cultural interactions between builders and users. The communication and interaction between designers and construction workers are dramatically decreased in comparison with those in the vernacular-construction-pattern. In addition, during the construction process, there is rarely any interaction or communication between designers and tourists, or between construction workers and tourists, who are the main builders and users of the tourism-developed products. This lack of communication and interaction between builders and users may cause problems such as excessive design by designers, and it is difficult for tourists' dissatisfaction with the construction result to be communicated to the designers in time. Even if the information were communicated successfully, there would still be many barriers to adjusting or improving the construction result according to the tourists' feedback after the design and implementation phases have ended. That is to say, the vernacular dwelling developed through the modern-construction-pattern is a relatively finished product, which it is difficult to modify after the completion of the various phases of construction. In contrast, a guesthouse developed through the vernacular-construction-pattern is a living product with flexibility and adjustability, which are two characteristics that the construction result of the modern-construction-pattern lacks.

Thus far, the study has identified that when tourism development is conducted by real estate development companies, they will choose a modern-construction-pattern to complete the development. However, in this pattern the foundation for the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings does not exist, the transmission channels do not occur, the education system for training and learning in vernacular know-how is isolated from the construction process, and the methods for updating also do not work in the modern-construction-pattern. It seems that the transmission mechanism does not function in the modern-construction-pattern, and sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in the Bai and Naxi dwellings is based on vernacular-construction-pattern.

8.2.2 Sustaining depends on grass-roots social level

As the tourism development of vernacular settlements is considered an efficient route to promoting the local economy, the government will continue to increase its efforts to develop the local tourism industry, including building a tourism infrastructure, improving municipal construction and providing better economic conditions for the development of the tourism industry(He, 2001, p.72).Lianghui He (2001),the deputy secretary of Lijiang Naxi Autonomous City, has said that Lijiang should actively participate in domestic activities relevant to the promotion of international tourism, and should at the same time compete for opportunities to hold large theme events in Lijiang and explore resources to create more unique tourism products(p.72).It is inevitable that the involvement of large real estate companies will be required to complete such development projects. The tourism development model led by the government could be termed a top-down approach. Although many tourism development projects led by the government have attempted to take into full consideration the balance between protecting an old district and developing a new one, the planning and design process is only a strategy proposed by professional designers based on the interests of the developer, and according to the design requirements and code formulated by government. Due to the employment relationship between government and developers, the final plan must allow the government and developers to be the primary beneficiaries. Thus, the interests of the community are commonly put aside and may even become victims of the development project. Therefore, the top-down approach clearly has many disadvantages in terms of sustaining local vernacular architectural tradition.

With the increased understanding of tourism development, more and more governments and academics know that community participation "can serve as vehicles for identifying what local residents consider as key issues concerning the renovation and upgrading of existing buildings and urban neighbourhoods" (Lawrence, 2005, p.126). Nevertheless, there are many barriers to community participation in real estate development projects carried out in contemporary China. In a climate of rapid economic development, the speed and efficiency of a project is the issue to be considered as a priority. The participation of the local community will slow down the process of design and the entire project, which is commonly seen as unacceptable in a development project led by a real estate developer. To balance the defects of the top-down approach to tourism development, a bottom-up approach should be encouraged on a grass-roots social level. The bottom-up approach can be characterized asa situation in which "priorities are to be determined by the communities of the areas they serve, they are to be involved in carrying out the actions which flow from these priorities and they are to be the primary beneficiaries of same"(Stocks, 2000, p.236).It is different from the top-down approach whereby tourism development is led by the upper social level with participation from grass-roots social level. The bottom-up approach is a tourism development model which is led by the grass-roots social level, and which directly benefits that social level. If participation is allowed

to follow the bottom-up approach, it is not the community that participates with the government; rather, it is the government that participates with the community.

In terms of tourism development, especially in projects highly relevant to the vernacular architectural tradition, the best approach is to encourage the grass-roots social level in a community to control and manage the whole development process, and to make the construction process become part of local customs and practices.“This process is grounded in realities and could help to retain the integrity of local cultures and heritage through the sympathetic development of ‘bottom-up’ tourism”(Stocks, 2000, p.241).In addition, the bottom-up approach requires that the authority for building and using a dwelling should be held by grass-roots builders and users, who are the majority of the community; the skills and knowledge should be accessible to, and acknowledged by, grass-roots builders and users; and the designer should work with, or become part of, the grass-roots social level, rather than merely imposing his/her design from a higher social level. Correspondingly, the transmission mechanism for vernacular architectural tradition should still operate, and be applied, through a social structure at grass-roots level. In this sense, the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings is highly influenced by the grass-roots social level of the main developers.

8.2.3 Sustaining depends on living socio-cultural interaction

This study has shown that when Bai or Naxi settlements have already been perceived as cultural heritage, or have potential to be perceived as cultural heritage in the future, in order to maintain the sustainable development of tourism based on this cultural heritage, the government may assign a set of regulations and restrictions on changes to the physical features of the vernacular settlements. In contemporary China, the higher the standard of heritage designated by government, the more severe the regulations and restrictions will be that are exerted upon this heritage. The main purpose of these regulations and restrictions is to keep the original features and maintain the authenticity of a certain heritage. In terms of the conservation and management of cultural heritage, these regulations and restrictions are necessary. Nevertheless, “what have been selected for conservation are the physical shells of the traditions, i.e. the buildings, rather than the cultural values and practices underlying them” (Özkan, 2005, p.108).This sort of strategy of conservation attempts to make the Old Town of Lijiang ‘static’, in order to meet the criteria of a ‘World Heritage’.

In fact, a living old town cannot be ‘static’ anyway, even if it is under the control of the strictest regulations. The units within the vernacular settlements are Bai and Naxi vernacular dwellings, which have proved that living culture involves a dynamic cultural process of transmission, adaptation and updating. Lawrence has noted that “the members of human

groups and communities co-operate successfully to sustain themselves because there is a social order founded on implicit or explicit conventions, customs and norms that regulate human activities, including the sharing of information and tacit knowledge" (2005, pp.124-125). This social order is not sustained by depending on rules and regulations imposed by government, but by its reliance on the conventions, customs and norms designated by communities through living socio-cultural interaction. Vernacular tradition stems from the lives of individual residents on a community level. It is not a creation of policy or regulation assigned by government. Rather, it is the living norms and rules which are tools for individual residents to adapt themselves to an ever-changing socio-cultural complex. The existing and sustaining format of vernacular tradition is its flexible and dynamic integration with real life. Therefore, the transmission of vernacular tradition also happens on a community level, with similar flexibility and dynamicity.

The study shows that, when vernacular communities based on historical vernacular settlements become involved in tourism development, tourism increases the openness of the vernacular communities, and brings tourist consumption, commercialization, constant cultural change and even cultural misinterpretation into the local communities. The builders and users, the cultural elements employed in the designs and constructions, and the techniques applied by the craftsmen are no longer purely native. On the contrary, tourism stimulates a tendency for constant communication between local and global cultural elements. The communities can no longer be static and the vernacular architectural tradition needs to update to adapt to new circumstances. It has been observed that the constant communication does revitalize many local vernacular architectural traditions; it acquaints more people with traditional technologies and embodied cultural meanings, mobilizes more commercial resources to the restoration and renovation of heritage in danger, and increases the value of local vernacular architectural tradition. It is for this reason that if people want to attract tourist gaze, whether they are from the local area or outside, they have to cooperate with each other and be interdependent on each other's resources in order to create high quality cultural products that have deep connections with the locality while meeting the needs of modern life. The study also reveals that many new social networks between locals and outsiders, as well as many new cultural interactions between them, occur due to the development of tourism. Through these socio-cultural connections, new transmission channels, and new norms and rules seem to be developing. In this sense, the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition depends on living socio-cultural interaction between builders and users.

8.2.4 Summary

In China, with its rapid economic development, the tourism industry represents a force of globalization which will inevitably change the way of life in historical vernacular communities.

When an ethnic settlement becomes a tourist attraction, the ordinary lifestyle of local people is bound to be disturbed by the mass arrival of tourists. Taking Dayan as an example, the rapid development of tourism since 1997 has reshaped the built environment of the old town, as well as the lifestyle of the local people. Within less than 20 years, Dayan, a fairly old residential town has been transformed into a tourism spot for tourist consumption. A growing number of cafes, shops, restaurants, guesthouses and hotels have replaced the original residential dwellings used for ordinary life. Noise, water pollution, crowds and increased prices of commodities are the focus of constant complaints by local residents. Under these circumstances, many local residents have chosen to move to the new city in the urban area, while at the same time, increasing numbers of people living in the urbanized region have fled to the historical settlements to experience the local lifestyle. Many academics have criticized the immigration of outsiders and emigration of local people due to the development of tourism, asserting that the commercialization and consumption caused by tourism development undermine the local culture, especially its traditional cultural identity (Wang, 2005, pp.14-18). The competition between locals and outsiders, financial conflicts between landlords and tenants, the dissatisfaction of tourists, the misinterpretation of local cultural elements, and the increasing confusion of local identity have all been identified through this study. It is inevitable that tourism development, especially some inappropriate and excessive tourism development, does have many negative influences on local culture.

However, it has also been observed that a large quantity of vernacular dwellings which were in danger have been restored and repaired because of tourism development, many traditional architectural types and forms have been preserved and even regenerated due to tourism development. More importantly, the role of craftsmen and their working pattern, as well as the traditional vernacular know-how they employ, are increasingly valued and emphasized due to tourism development. In addition, some of the cultural meanings embodied in the building and using of vernacular dwellings continue to be meaningful for, and bring benefits to, the people who value those vernacular traditions. That is to say, some aspects of vernacular architectural tradition and craftsmanship have shown a tendency to be revitalized because of tourism development. Thus it is evident that at least parts of the vernacular architectural tradition in Yunnan, an economically underdeveloped area in China, can be sustained through an appropriate tourism strategy. There are both opportunities and challenges involved in sustaining vernacular architectural tradition through tourism development.

The study gives a new understanding that it is the construction pattern rather than the construction result that determines the sustaining of tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings; it is the social level of the developer rather than the economical capacity of the developer influence the sustaining of the tradition; it is the authentic, living cultural process

rather than the authenticity embodied in the result of the process that promotes the sustaining of the tradition. It indicates that it is the tourism development model, rather than the tourism itself, which influences the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China. The transmission of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings amid tourism development is not only about culture and authenticity, but also about social structure and construction authority. In other words, in considering the influence of tourism on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings, we should pay more attention to who conducts the tourism development, what construction pattern they use, what social level they belong to, and what type of socio-cultural interaction they create during the tourism development, rather than merely paying attention to the commercialization, consumerism and cultural changes caused by the tourism development. The findings can help researchers, practitioners and policy makers in China, and also in other countries in similar circumstances, to gain a new understanding of the interrelationship between tourism development and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in vernacular dwellings in the era of globalization. Additionally, the findings might make it possible to find means to counteract the problems of commodification, exploitation, fossilization, commercialism or plain destruction of cultural heritage through inappropriate tourism strategies (Stocks, 2000, p.241).

8.2.5 Suggestions for policy makers and professionals

Based on the new understanding discussed above, some suggestions for policy makers and professionals are listed. Firstly, the study shows that tourism development conducted by grass-root communities is a development model that can achieve a good balance between the sustaining of culture and economic development in local communities. The economic benefits obtained through this development can directly increase the income of individual households, and thus directly improve the living conditions of local residents. In addition, the choice of an appropriate construction pattern to support the tourism development can promote the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings. Because the tourism development is spontaneously initiated by, and of direct benefit to, individuals in the communities at grass-roots level, the result of the tourism development is accepted by the local community. The local people are not simply passive recipients of the influence of tourism; they have also shaped their community's development and engaged with a global exchange network by actively becoming involved in tourism development (Macleod, 2004, p.217). In terms of the tourism development of Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, the government should encourage the grass-roots communities to conduct the tourism development of Bai and Naxi dwellings, and limit the role of capitalists or real estate development companies in the tourism development of the vernacular dwellings. In addition, the government should promote the individual household development model, rather than

merely introducing large capitalists and real estate companies from outside to develop the Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China. In terms of the role of governments, they should not assume total control, but instead, need to see the tourism industry as part of a larger, natural process that allows the actions of thousands of individual players to be coordinated (Davis, 2006, p.235).

Secondly, considering the complexity and dynamic nature of the heritage, regulations and restrictions should be established in such a way that they do not damage the operation and performance of the transmission mechanism embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, especially with regard to the four key aspects of the transmission mechanism. 1) The regulations and restrictions assigned by the government should not damage the basic authority of individual households to control the building and usage of a Bai or Naxi dwelling. Thus, the individual households should be able to determine the organization of construction and usage of resources, as well as other important phases in the construction and usage of a dwelling, such as management and maintenance. 2) The regulations and restrictions should not break down the builder-user connection which functions at grass-roots community level. Rather, they should promote more social networks and cultural interaction between builders and users at grass-roots community level. Consequently, the transmission channels can be increased and extended to promote further transmission of the vernacular architectural tradition. 3) The regulations and restrictions should not decrease or put aside the role of craftsmen in a tourism development project, especially the role of local craftsmen. Rather, they should enforce the role and status of local craftsmen by encouraging the employment of local craftsmen in tourism development projects. This encouragement will lead more people of the younger generation to become local craftsmen, so that the apprenticeship system will be revitalized and the education system for training and learning in the vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings will be sustained. 4) The regulations and restrictions should not diminish the openness of the open-ended design process in a tourism development project. In other words, the policy of the government should also not focus on the role of professional designers, construction teams or drawings and blueprints in tourism development projects. Rather, they should allow the design pattern to be based on oral communication and negotiation between builders and users on site, and allow the design process to be interwoven with the construction process and even extended into the usage process, so that the result of tourism development can be updated constantly to meet the needs of the ever-changing present. As vernacular dwellings are representations of living cultures, the sustaining of the vernacular architectural tradition lies in a living socio-cultural interaction between the stockholders of the Bai and Naxi dwellings rather than the preservation of physical features of the vernacular dwellings merely.

Thirdly, educators should pay attention to the revitalization of craftsmanship in the vernacular-construction-pattern widely applied in the tourism development of Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan. The revival of traditional craftsmanship can inform contemporary architectural education in China in many ways. Traditional craftsmanship has clearly developed in direct response to specific users and real issues in daily life. However, most architecture schools in China deal with abstraction and idealization, with the result that universal design solutions are emphasized. In addition, the current curriculum in the architectural educational system in China has become increasingly narrow in focus, paying too much attention to new forms and high technology. The architectural educational system in China should learn from craftsmanship, which can give insight into building traditions regarding how to satisfy needs, to employ available resources, to resist extremes in climate, to deal with geological hazards and to accommodate local conditions. Architects must respond not only to physical and environmental determinants, but also to cultural contexts. "We are losing the diversity of distinctive cultures due to universalism, globalization and the hegemonic pressure of western influence... I believe that only the understanding of local vernacular contexts can help stave off the distortions of globalization" (Latter, 2006, p.253). The current architectural educational system in China should provide a wide education in the humanitarian aspects of architecture, emphasizing a culturally sensitive approach and a culturally appropriate manner, and paying attention to social structures and the cultural behaviour embodied in architectural practice, in order to more specifically address local needs.

More generally, the revitalization of craftsmanship is of importance to the development of contemporary building practice in China, especially in rural areas. China is a developing country with a relatively low degree of urbanization. Rural areas occupy a dominant proportion of China. Vernacular techniques and technologies are significant to the sustainable development of the built environment in rural areas, as many new technologies and techniques are neither affordable nor environmentally friendly for these areas. Academics in China are gradually paying increasing attention to the collection, collating and investigation of these techniques and skills, aiming to update and develop this vernacular expertise to meet the needs of modernization in contemporary rural construction, while at the same time minimizing the influence of construction on fragile local environments(Wang, 2003, p.52). Additionally, the revitalization of craftsmanship can provide another source of construction solutions for the prevalent construction patterns in urban areas in China. Many modern architects of contemporary construction in urbanized regions have learned from vernacular craftsmen in relation to aspects like usage of materials, choice of structures and formulation of forms, as well as in finding some detailed solutions. Much traditional vernacular know-how has been incorporated into modern environmentally friendly and culturally associated techniques. The integration of vernacular techniques with modern architecture in contemporary China has

proved to be a successful route in the field of regional design. Moreover, the rituals, skills, pithy formulae, poems and songs, as well as some of the manuals embodying the traditional craftsmanship in various vernacular constructions, have been perceived as non-material cultural heritage by the Chinese government. With the development of tourism, an increasing number of communities based on vernacular settlements will become involved in tourism development. The revitalization of craftsmanship is especially important to the redevelopment of these historical settlements in contemporary China, and at the same time will enforce the conservation of the living culture embodied in the settlements. The traditional craftsmanship of Bai and Naxi dwellings should not be seen as a form of 'resistance', but should be perceived as an objective model that can be applied in other locations in China with a similar situation.

8.3 Limits of the study

Like any other research, this research bears some limitations, which mainly come from the research design and the researcher. The first limitation is caused by the selection of cases, in that almost all cases are guesthouses. Guesthouses are only one type of touristic-vernacular-dwelling. Other types, such as the combination of a vernacular dwelling with a bar, a restaurant, a museum, a manual workshop or a cultural exchange centre, are also tourist vernacular dwellings. However, a guesthouse bears more association with residence than the other types of tourist-vernacular-dwelling. If a tourist-vernacular-dwelling has no function of residence, but only bears a commercial function, the social network and cultural interaction between builders and users might be different. Although guesthouses are the most complicated type, if there had been other types of tourist vernacular dwelling in the collection of cases, the results of the analysis would be more convincing. Additionally, the second limitation is caused by the selection of interviewees. Although some craftsmen, tourists, government officers and neighbourhoods have been interviewed in this study, the primary interviewees are from the households of the guesthouses. The category of interviewee should have been more diversified, and more local craftsmen should have been interviewed, so that the collected data could reflect more comprehensive views, ideas and perceptions of different groups of people. The third limitation in the study is caused by the fact that only one case of a tourism development project led by a real estate company is discussed in the study. If four or five cases had been discussed in the thesis, the conclusion would have been more reasonable. However, this might have influenced the discussion on the cases of guesthouses. A good balance should be achieved in the analysis of these two types of tourism development project.

Although the current study has these limitations, they are not essential issues in the study. The cases of the guesthouses are able to represent the main characteristics of other types of vernacular dwelling involved in tourism development. The number of interviews with craftsmen

has provided enough data to support the conclusion drawn in the last chapter. Although there is only one case of a hotel developed by a real estate company discussed in the study, the development model is a common model with which academics and professionals in the field of architecture are familiar. The number of cases developed by real estate companies will not influence the validity of the conclusion. Although I did not participate in the entire tourism development project of a Bai or a Naxi dwelling, when I conducted research for my masters degree, I lived in an ethnic minority village in the Yunnan province of China for more than six weeks, and participated in much construction practice in that village. This experience allowed me to understand the basic characteristics of the vernacular-construction-pattern and its transmission mechanism. This understanding has given me confidence in doing this study, and makes the result of the analysis more reliable.

8.4 Further investigation

This study shows that because the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings is supported by the vernacular-construction-pattern, it is difficult for professional architects belonging to the modern-construction-pattern in China to participate in, or play a very important role in, tourism development projects conducted on a grass-roots community level. It should be noted that professional architects are perceived to be part of the modern-construction-pattern, and it has been proved that the modern-construction-pattern is unlikely to promote the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings during tourism development. However, this does not mean that professional architects cannot be part of the vernacular-construction-pattern, or that they cannot promote the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition in Bai and Naxi dwellings during tourism development. If the role, status, knowledge system and working patterns of the professional architects were adjusted to adapt to the rules and nature of the vernacular-construction-pattern, they could also play a role in promoting the sustainable development of vernacular architecture.

It shows how this transmission and adaptation has occurred during the tourism development conducted by communities in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng, and how the transmission mechanism has operated and performed during the tourism development conducted by these communities. Based on this knowledge, it suggests that, if professional architects want to promote the operation and performance of the transmission of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, they should firstly understand that the authority to control the construction and usage of a Bai or Naxi dwelling should be in the hands of the individual household who may be the developers of the project. Therefore, the role of the professional architect should not be as the main designer, but as a member of a group of designers. Because the main designers are normally the main users of the dwelling,

such as local and outside households, the professional architects should cooperate with other builders, such as local and outside households, and local and outside craftsmen, to complete the design. Secondly, the professional architects should build social connections and cultural interaction with the local communities, so that they can gain a deep understanding of the local culture and become part of the user-builder system in local communities. It is only if the professional designers become part of the community-based construction system, that their work will be accepted by the local communities, so that they can build new transmission channels for the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings. Thirdly, as the design has no boundary separating it from the construction process, and is even extended into the usage phase, professional architects should follow the working pattern of craftsmen and become a member of the group of builders, rather than being only a designer. To be a builder, the professional architects should learn from the craftsmen, especially regarding vernacular know-how. Although it might be difficult for professional architects to grasp such skills and techniques during a short period of time, it is possible for them to learn to acknowledge the rules, norms and cultural meanings embodied in the skills and techniques. During the construction process, professional architects should respect the role of craftsmen in the builder-user system, and cooperate with them rather than replacing that role. Lastly, if professional architects wish to work as designers on tourism projects conducted by grass-roots communities in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou or Sideng, they should know that the design process in a vernacular-construction-pattern is an open-ended design process, based on constant communication and negotiation between builder and user rather than depending only on drawings and blueprints. The findings of the study shed light on the study of appropriate manner for professional architects to participate in tourism development projects conducted by grass-roots communities in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng. This manner would help the professional architects to contribute to the sustaining of vernacular architecture embodied in Bai and Naxi dwellings during tourism development in Yunnan, China, in the era of globalization.

Based on this study, a suggestion for further investigation would be to explore how professional architects could change their urban construction system working patterns, so that tourism development projects conducted by capitalists or real estate development companies can decrease their impact on the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in vernacular Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan. In addition, this study only provides local knowledge regarding the influence of tourism development on sustaining the cultural tradition of Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China. Within the larger spectrum of vernacular dwellings throughout the world, this study can only be considered as the investigation of one case of the interrelationship between tourism development and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in vernacular dwellings. Further investigation could be conducted on the

interrelationship between tourism development and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in other types of vernacular dwelling. The methodology of the study could provide some inspiration for other studies of a similar type but in relation to different socio-cultural circumstances. Through further investigation, the interrelationship between tourism development and sustaining the cultural tradition of vernacular dwellings elsewhere in the world could be explored. This study only discusses four aspects of the transmission mechanism embodied in the Bai and Naxi dwellings. A further investigation could identify more basic principles and forces supporting the transmission and adaptation of vernacular architectural tradition in other socio-cultural contexts. After testing the validity of new aspects of the transmission mechanism in a specific context, a more comprehensive understanding of the interrelationship between tourism development and the sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition embodied in vernacular dwellings throughout the world could be achieved.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Sample interview with an outside household

老马店沙溪 2011-10-05

老板：（S）我们现在所做的就是，在没有变格局的前提下，做了一些改造，就是房间里加个卫生间什么的呀！我们就是在不变格局的前提下加一些卫生间，然后产权就是属于政府，现在是完全属于政府。我们老板台湾人，像那个，在向政府租了这个差不多十年的租期。

问：我知道你们老板是台港人，然后是两位老板合作的。那么他们是怎么经营的呢？一个人经营一段时间吗？

老板：（R）他们基本上都不在，全部都是交给我来做。都交给我们一起在做，他们基本上，基本上很少会回来。因为他们也有自己的一些事情在忙，或者怎么样。

问：（R_工）你是当地人吗？

老板：对！

问：你经手的这个客栈多长时间呢？

老板：（R_工）我从修复这个房子，装卫生间的时候我就在，一直到现在这样。

问：所以整个装修过程你都很清楚？

老板：对对对。

问：那当时装修的时候是请了当地的工匠还是外地的？

老板：（S_工）当地的工匠。包括所有的员工和维修的人基本上都是当地的人。然后老板会用他自己的意愿。（人）因为我们老板是一个设计师，他就是按自己的意愿去告诉他的工匠说要怎么做。就教他们怎么做嘛。是这样子。所以现在挺不错的。他其实怎么讲呢，我们老板他过来做这个店呢，他主要的目的是说，最主要的目的，当然找钱是一个，就是要提高当地人一种另类的知识，跟那种素质。就相对来说像我们这样子，他是在给我们培训，受训之后再过来就是做这些接待啊什么东西的。（S_D）（S_工）像那种，当时做这个店的一些工匠，也是他自己完全亲的在教他们说怎么做，就细节到什么程度就在说要保护这个老房子的时候，做下水啊应该怎么做怎么做，所以他最主要的是，主要的层面是在这些方面。

问：当时动这个老房子的时候有没有一些条款规定地些可以动，哪些不可以动。

老板：（G）有。很清楚，不管是我们老马店，或者铺面，因为沙溪是一个濒危的建筑遗产，可以说不管做什么事情都要经过管委会的同意，（S_D）（A）所以说，主要的目的就是能够保存最老的东西。一定要不能被破坏，当然你实在用不了的东西你换个新的，但是新的就是新的，你不要去说，支欺骗人家，我在修旧如旧，或怎么样。他们是该新的就是新的，该旧的就是旧的。（A）像这样的墙你看，那些老的，就能保存就赶紧保存。一定要给他保存。没办法了我们就给他做新的。新的就是新的。这样子。

问：你说这堵墙。

老板：（S_D）（A）对这堵墙是新的，这些都是老的，这些木板啊，这些那个。

问：你刚才您提到这是你接受过训练，然后再过来。是在哪里受训，然后训练的内容大概是些什么？

老板：（R）我们是在店里受训的。老板，老板娘他们主要是在跟我们讲一些细节的事情。主要是做细节，像那个接待的细节跟那个就是服务的一些细节。还有一些卫生的标准。怎么办，跟客人应该怎么去沟通啊，有些像英语的东西。

问：你还记得卫生的标准的细节，详细的一两条，大概是什么？

老板：（R）主要的，大概这么说吧！主要的不管在任何一个角落，老板的意愿就是说不管在房间的任何一个角落，不能有任何味道、灰尘、蜘蛛网，这些。卫生间的话能够做到说可以在里面睡觉。就这么简单。

问：（S_卫）加卫生间也是当地人在加？

老板：对。

问：我知道加卫生间要做防潮处理，它本身的结构是另外一种结构，不是土林结构。

老板：（S_卫）对，卫生间的话他必须要存在于那种，就是会有一些混凝土啊，一些磁砖，之类的东西。但是木质板的结构你不可能完全一次性就把那个东西就放看，就是这样子放看，然后咱们做一个浴室。那不行，一定要做严格的防潮和过水处理。就是不能在做卫生间的前提条件下不能让它那个影响到它那个木板，包括漏水、滴水这样子。

问：（S_卫）那卫生间还是架在木结构上？没有说它自己起一道墙一直落到地面上？

老板：没有，因为那样子做的话，你基本上就得把原来的墙壁重新给，你只能是把原来的那墙墙挖了，重新建筑新的。

问：木板上会要挖一个洞。

老板：（S_卫）对！那样的话会存在两个矛盾，第一，那堵老墙就没有了。第二的话像那个，如果咱们重新再，就是不破坏原来那个墙的情况下再建一座墙，那样的话房间基本上就没有空间了，所以说我们后来就是，其实我们在做那个卫生间，首先就是在那个后面上面放一个浴室，我们会有一个大概的估算跟计算，说能够承受吗这个，这个木板可以承受？我们才会做。像有一些房间我们没办法做那个卫生间，那个房间我们就没有做是这样。

问：那你们有没有做隔音。因为以前的木质墙它不隔音。

老板：（S_物）没有做隔音。

问：屋顶有没有做隔热保温处理。

老板：（S_物）屋顶也没做太大的改变。屋顶是说把那个瓦片，或什么东西，就是跟漏水，主要我们是在处理漏雨的那种，漏水漏雨的情况下比较严格，其它的不怎么改变。

问：你们是马店，它是不是你们客栈的一个主题？

老板：没错，没错。

问：那你们的装修风格是否是围绕这个主题来做？

老板：（S_S）我们这个客栈主要的那个主题就是说在没有破坏那个原来格局的前提下，能够做出让客人感觉舒适的空间，跟环境，就这么简单。那么沙溪老马店，取名沙溪老马店它是这样子，就是因为它的前身跟历史本身就是个马店，就是在茶马古道那个时候，它的本来面目就是一个老马店，我们只是像恢复以前一些，能够尽可能的在恢复以前的已有的一些文化，一些东西。像以前马帮的文化，格局，一些什么东西这样在做，所以它的名字就像一种，就是对以前的一种记忆吧！

问：请问你们的床上用品和卫生间的设施的话有没有定星级？是一个什么样的标准？

老板：（S）我们会有一个模糊的概念，差不多 4 星左右。但是我们没有去很在意那个星级的标准和评分。我们主要是能够舒适、安静跟就这样子简单。我们主要是能够细节做到最好，我们是一直在追求的事情，包括装修，包括服务，包括在各方面我们都是在，我们一直都是这样子在追求，没有去说我们要去评个多高的星级，怎样怎样。没有去那个来衡量我们。我们主要是看客人需要什么，我们应该什么。

问：卫生间的设施是在当地买的，还是要去大城市买？

老板：（S_卫）这个东西我们就是一定要去城市里面买，因为当地没有这样一种好的一些情况。它们是有些也是从国外进口。我们主要是，（S）老板就是，考虑在质量比较好的情况下，认为那种东西如果是质量不好，说实话它偶尔会漏水、漏水。虽然漏水我们会去修理，但是，不管这是，它质量不好的话，就是会在修理一次的情况下，那个老房子的寿命会短了一点点。说实话，所以我们一定要做好的那个。（S_卫）（Consume）卫生间这方面为什么我们的房间会这么贵呢，说实话就是卫生间很严格，所以说有独立卫生间跟我们没有独立卫生间的价差差不多在八到九倍甚至 10 倍。所以说这样的情况下是的确就是说，作为卫生间是很严格，而且是很费力的事情。

问：能否再描述细致一点，就是是怎样的严格，当时做是怎么费力的呢？

老板：（S_卫）怎么说呢，就是简单的吧，咱们先比个例子，比如说做一个那个简单的淋浴房跟马桶，跟面盆，就是这，卫生间最起码的三样东西，首先我们要，就是最底我们要就是做那个管。我们现在所有的房间里面像那个下水，下水管要做到那个污水处理池里的那个下水。（S_{卫 W}）一般情况下，所有的客栈他们都会是宾馆会是埋在墙里面，就是看不到下水，但是考虑到说我们这样做会破坏到那个老墙。我们就直接露在外面。虽然是看起来很不好看，但是没办法。就是我们跟，就说主要的前提就在那个保护的下做最好的卫生间。是这样子！（S_卫）所以说细节的话像那个，像做那个卫生间，我们需要一些和泥的东西，一些瓷砖，那么需要拌那些灰浆啊什么的，我们是在那个把所有的木板铺好的情况下，在底下拌好，那个沙灰沙浆，然后再提上去。或者再贴，工人进去也是，就是在他们做工的时候，我们是要求他们不能抽烟。还有就是像那个，所有的木地板，我们那个卫生间，第一道手续就是要涂一层防水料，再铺一个防水的布料，差不多这么厚，差不多 5—10mm 的厚，再去涂一层柏油或者是防水涂料。（S_卫）我们再去上面去贴那个墙砖。就是尽量的减轻那个，就是既能减轻重量，又能想办法能够防水。然后我们就是直截贴墙砖，咱们贴了再安放那个洁具，什么东西。

问：回方街周边的老房子是瑞士人来修复的，那么老马店是不是一部份也是他们修复的？老板：（P）对，整个老马店也是他们修复的，他们的一期工程就是兴教寺，戏台，还有老马店，是这三样，那我们来做就是，（S）我们来经营这个客栈是主要就是说在即能够保护它，又能够去经营它，让它成为一个真正的马店。当时的理念也是这样子，（G）跟那个官方的要求，也许就是这样子。所以说其实保护是最主要的，营利是第二。

问：就这几年沙溪变化很大，你是当地人，你从小在沙溪生长。你觉得旅游给沙溪带来的变化当中，最令你……（电话）

老板：（变）的确有改变。就直截了当咱们能够看到的就是说，卫生，说实话在沙溪人里面的概论当中，在以前，当然当地政府一直在宣传说要保护环境、爱护卫生，怎么样，怎么样，但是没有太大的效果。但是沙溪游客一多起来，很多人都成为，游客好像成了他们自己的监督人。他们就会自然不自然的把那个垃圾不会乱扔，一定要收集到那个垃圾箱里。这就是改变最大的一点。如果是受益方面的话。

问：如果是跟民居有关的呢？

老板：（变）居民的话现在还没有体现太大的一些体现。没有像大理丽江那样的丰富，那样的直截了当的去会收到收益。

Appendix 2 Sample interview with a local household

祥和客栈大研 2011-10-03

问：就是还是想继续住在这个院子里？

赵叔：（P）不住了，我们要迁昆明？孩子们都在昆明嘛！

问：那您找的合作者是怎么找到的呢？

赵：（人）（C）原来就是朋友！

问：他是外地人，还是？

赵：（人）他是外地的！他们在这已经搞了其它的，也有其它的他们搞的其它企业呀，或者什么呀（生意）。

对丽江很熟，还是文化人。他们是原来华东师大的老师，所以对丽江的情况也很了解。有自己的看法。

问：如果他们接手这个屋子，有没有什么限制，例如哪里不能动？

赵：（G）有啊，我们这儿是重点保护民居，他有保护条例嘛。重点保护民居的保护条例，有技术规范，专门有册子的。技术规范有图。哪些能做，哪些不能做，哪些必须保留，哪些可以轻微地改动。里面呢要求什么！因为现在，这个政府，这个角度。（G）就要能提升丽江旅游的品味，是吧！这样子要求在古城呢，现在有很多呢，就经过提升他们的一个服务水平，提升他的一个软件的设施，这样以后呢，就走向一个什么呢？要把这个服务和整个，各个方面的要求呢，就是要提高这个档次。提高档次以后就不是完全的走那种低端的东西。特别这种保护民居吧。要求呢就是接待的，特别接待团队的这种能力要提高，服务水平要提高，现在不是搞一个是标准化嘛，现在在搞旅游的标准化。另外一个就是说，如果是四合院，保留四合院风格的同时，也提高接待的水平。这样呢，就是在古城这个范围里面，叫做申报什么绿色五星呀还是什么的呀！就这样一搞，整个这个水平就提高了！（G）就特别是这个大假，我了解的情况，确实是政府搞这个，丽江还是个试点，云南省的，你可能了解，标准化这一块。所以说这样，我们到不接待了，我们很快就要搬了。但我了解了一下情况，这个活动挺好！

赵：（G）（变）就把整个服务的水平就整个推上去了。原来来的客户么也就分得的（区分开来），因为这个有各种层次体现出来了，一般的，中端的，像有些就是这种庭院，搞好了，他们投资的力度够了，他们的设计方案都好了，这样呢就以后呢就要成为高端的啦！（Se）下大力气的。他们单单设计费都一百多万啦！

问：做完设计了吗？

赵：（Se）做完设计了！

问：那他们整个的预算大概是多少？

赵：（Se）可能五六百万以上吧！他们投资很高的。

问：可是如果要加卫生间的话，多多少少会动到这个木结构的啊！

赵：（S_上）不动，不用动。这个有办法，这个我们都做中尼！结构不用动，就防水处理，高垫的时候做防水处理，都可以做。我原来也做过。

问：你原来做的是单独加了一个卫生间，还是？

赵：（S_卫）单独加卫生间或者以前公共卫生间都是在原有结构上做的！

问：在木结构上可以做吗？

赵：（S_卫）可以做啊！不是直接在木结构上，它都有办法的。这个办法很多，整个古城都在做。这不难，其实你认真一点不难。还有很多经验的这个里面。

问：您能不能讲一两条

赵：（S_卫）担的一个东西就是像水泥块，水泥搬直接别搭在那个最简木结构的那个上面，给他一点空隙。完了以后你就怎么的，搭一点石块，或是石板给他垫着。石板它不怕。石板不吸水，水泥块他都直接，已是吸水以后呢，它呢潮湿。它就直接对木料有影响。拿石块一垫，也没什么了。现在可以做的各种各样的方法多，现在防水的材料也多嘛。这样以后呢保留这些东西也比较好。反正各式各样的都有！越来越有经验了，应该说。新型材料多嘛现在，很简单的就是有些工程，有些做的呢方法复杂一点，没问题。工程板，工程板是防潮的，工程板上面搞那个防潮的水泥板。他本身那个水泥板制出来的时候就有防潮层嘛。这儿一搞，或者在下面加上点防潮少料啊什么的，铺上去以后打个洞不就是卫生间了嘛！这没问题！这都可以这办法很多。

问：像您以前经营这个客栈经营了那么久，为什么没有想到转手给其它人？是不是因为老人？赵：（P）以前啊，我们搬不走，一个是这个，说实话，我们不是为了完全寻求那个利益，（人）一个我本来是搞文化的，原来搞这个客栈初衷也是政府动员我们搞。本来我不想做。（G）政府动员，那几年不是少吗？（电话）那就政府要求我们做；在这那个时候客栈很少，几乎没几家，酒店宾馆也少。说一说，一下99世博会，以来以后不是大量游客来到丽江，就接待了，这个这政府造成压力。政府就动员机关，也好，机关单位也好，家庭也好，能有一间房的就腾出来。先为政府排忧解难。完了就动员你做。

（P）（人）所以我们在恢复重建过程当中没想过要做这事。因为我们也刚刚退休么，家里面两老人么，我们就陪老人吧，我们退休以后就陪老人了，恢复重建完了也就这么回事。就政府拉着催促我们做。我们也就做下来。简单的先做起来。一做就歇不下来。我们做呢主要呢就是因为丽江的旅游刚刚起步才开始的时候啊，那个时候开始活起来的时候，我们做为文化部门，以前我也接触旅游方面的一些规划啊什么的，也做过。

（论）（S）我们觉得要有一种，特别像丽江啊这些地方，你不用一种民族文化的东西，传播民族文化的东西，没有这样的一种信息。带给别人。那丽江是什么呢？单纯是风光不行啊，风景啊，不是观光型的，在丽江要有一种文化的享受，要有一种文化的氛围，要有文化的含量，这样才能持久嘛，当时我们的意识上就是这样。

（T）那旅客来了以后，那个时候旅游的人很多，应该说不像现在那种休闲游啊，不是当时也就是满地跑的那种，也是我们中国旅游的，一些可以说是年轻的有知识的。是那些人是应该中国旅游，整个中国旅游业的发展当中是，那些人是先锋啊！能吃苦，能了解，能写东西。而且比较真实地反映各个地方的东西。它也带动了很多地方旅游民的一种民族文化传播呀，什么的结合起来啊，那种现在工作做得很好的那些人。这些人有些的，他这方面已经不做了。但有些人在整个旅游界，挺有名的。有些人。就像那个时尚杂志社的，旅游那一块的那个一直担编辑嘛。他原来是新浪那个“协和”版和那几个民居几个的版主。那个时候搞的什么驴谈啊。驴谈挺有名的嘛，那个时候。驴多了，但那些人呢起了一个对旅游，整个，特别西部旅游儿都到，徒步的，还有特别多，就那个就叫，叫汪宏宇吧。

问：他来过您家住吗？

赵：（T）住啊！在这儿住不是一次两次啦。

问：他是怎么知道您家的呢？

赵：（C）（Sn）来了他不是以处走，到处看嘛，来了以后，我家里年轻人多。来了以后大家聊聊天，喝喝茶，有的时候呢阿姨给他们做个饭大家聚一聚是吧！喝喝青稞酒啊，什么的，就那样聊起来，大家合拍了。就这样，都写东西互相交流，互相那样是吧！这样以后就对丽江旅游就传递的信息就多起来了。那我这儿呢就成了一个好像交流的中心。我其实收费很低。我也不是为了赚钱。但最后觉得这个东西挺有意思。

问：您是从这个方面看。

赵：（R）唉，是这样的。刚开始是这样的。当然你说不赚钱不可能，因为我自己的家喽，我不用出房租。低价一点有时候以房养房是可以过的，说是这样下去，往后呢就这样做下来了。

问：后来是怎么停的呢？

赵：（变）主要是这个老人病了，奶奶高龄了。90 多吧，你说旅客来了，怎么的啦，奶奶不安静，最后几年么要给她安安静静的过。我们也没有那么多精力了，又有病，又要那些旅客啊。（C）我们就一般不接旅客了！除非就是太熟的那些原来的旅客，机乎成为朋友或者亲戚一样的。像你看奶奶去世都飞过来的人多呢！一知道消息就飞过来。而且互相之间他们一通，奶奶去世的长途电话一下就飞过来好多人。这个已经成了一个不是一般的客户之间的关系。成了一个朋友，成了一个甚至有点亲戚这程……（回阿姨话）阿姨她也身体不好。（P）完了奶奶去年去世，去世完了，我们丽江不是你们也了解吗，守孝要得一年啊。我们这个是，我们家庭里的一个，也可以说我们传承家里的一种传统的东西。（R）（C）就不接客，当然有些不断的来，有时候，住这儿，有时候不住这，简单也住。那就是成了朋友亲戚之类的，那样的，除了这些以外我们不接待了。阿姨身体又不好。

问：如果这个院子以后给外人，给朋友经营了以后。您有一些什么担忧吗？

赵：（人）没担忧。因为我们俩，那个，他也是这个意识很好。经常在电视台讲一些东西的，他写文章啊什么的啊，对古城的保护啊，发展啊。这些他自己有很好的看法，见的。所以我对他放心。不然给的租金。我，我，我，想要来租这个房子的人多。有些人租金给得很高，我不放心。

问：（S）如果是有两种方案，大的方案来改造您的老宅子。一个是基本上都不动，内外都不怎么动。稍微的加一加。另外一种就是像他这样投大量的资金进来。但外面看着还是原来的古香古色，里面的话完全更新。

赵：（Sd）（Ss）就是设施要更新。局部要做。比如说你搞个套房嘛，一间是不够的几间连起来搞的。就这样是必需的。这个没有什么，这根传统的房子的涵意就一样。要瞧那个房子，我们家以前经商的嘛，有些房子就一连着打开的。因为客户中了什么呀，是吧，家里边，有客户要接待客户。会客呀，你搞，你有讲洽谈啊，是不是。那些都是随着自己家庭的需要，有时候房间的功能经常要改变的。有时候你挪出去一截啊，那些都允许的。

(Sd) 其实传统也是允许，没有一个完全固定的模式，但基本的结构呢，比如说这四合院吧，那是有规范的东西。但你说这个挪出来一间，那边挪出来一间。这样都可以的。都是允许的应该说。在传统呢，居家户么，我们家需要怎么的，在基本格局里面随时有变化，也不是有变动的。没有一成不变的东西。但基本格局不会变。

(G) 而且这个东西呢是古管局在管。古管局严着呢！严着呢！就施工期间不断有检查人员来看的。完了你搞完了还要按照古管局的基本要求。你做完了来检验，验收。你验收不合格重来！不乏味气的，毫不客气，管理非常严的。

问：一开始应该是有一个申请吧！

赵：(G) 肯定要搞手续嘛，这个手续很严格。我们在先是整改了以后（恢复重建），报批，是吧！这要跟他们沟通，他们要来人看，他们都知道的。这些都是严格的。（人）而且就是我的朋友嘛，在这方面，反过来他还提了很多建议给政府，提了建议，书面的。他还在电视台上搞讲座，他对这些东西熟得很！

问：如果这个宅子到时候有了很大的变化，有些东西不见了，您最心疼什么东西不见？

赵：不会不见啊。

问：比如说这些雕刻啊，门啊！

赵：(Ss) 雕刻这些其实不是最古老的。这是我们这个因为年代久了吧，应该讲这些门啊窗啊这些木质的东西它会损坏。特别是经过大地震，有损坏厉害了。那天你想象不到的。你看汶川那个地震在电视台放出来。根那个差不多。

问：跟汶川地震差不多啊？

赵：(变) 因为我们是因为这种结构。如果是汶川的那种结构肯定也是一片平的。七级啊！七级而且是浅震缘。所以这个损坏是很大的。你看一下老照片，你想不到。

刘：好的，我看一下老照片。

赵：(变) 这就是，那一角（入口），全垮了，垮得啊，压得一塌糊涂。通了，是这种废墟堆里给它重修出来的。

刘：我的天啊，哇塞，真的，啊！想不到，我还以为这个宅子有好长时间呢！

赵：(Sm) 就包括每一个院子。保得住一点的院子就通过不断的维修，不断的维修，不断的修整，才能保下来。不然不说这种院子，隔上个一两年，没人管，完了。

问：这个维修的话很费钱吗？

赵：(Sm) 维修就是小的维修每年都要做。大维修三年，五年都要做。因为木结构的东西年代长了。不是这儿有问题，就是那儿有问题。像这个屋面啊，三五年就要翻一次。门窗哪儿不对了就要换。这些门窗是换过的，就那个没换过。

问：那六扇？

赵：(Ss) 就那个没换过，这些都是换过的，这地震以后，挤破的挤破，这些挤破的啦，怎么的啦这么多。

问：那个庭院呢？

赵：（Ss）庭院也是，以前那种镶嵌的那种东西啊，年长了以后你还得，还得做，像这个六角砖，原来，进来那是大的，那是最老的啦。但年代长了还是得换。这是恢复重建的时候，我专门跑到剑川订了一套砖。这样做出来的。像我这样做的人不多，说实话，他们都用水泥来铺。或者呢用现在的花岗石啊，大理石之类的，或者是地砖啊，那些铺出来，因为那些好搞卫生啊。

刘：材料也好找

赵：（Ss）（A）材料好找。搞出来也是平整。但是我呢，因为我是搞这一行的，我们要搞最起码得修旧如旧嘛。专门去订，我跑到剑川去订的。专门让他们烧了一窑。试烧，试烧完了以后可以了，我专门订了一窑，多给钱。是这样订过来的，是这样修的。

问：你是怎么看古城里当地人已基本上迁出去，

赵：（论）很多人都走了，特别是地段比较好的地区嘛。因为这个东西我管不了了，这房子。你说叫我做什么呢？有人做不是很好吗？

问：那他是外地人啊！

赵：（论）（C）一样，外地人做，谁做，只要你做好就行。不分外地人当地人。（P）因为，丽江这个地方以前有茶马古道的一个重要的集散地嘛。（论）所以丽江人接触不单是讲本土的人，要跟外界打交道。你跟其它民族其它少数民族打过通的，内地的商人打交道的，那个传统的。那应该说是传统的。再加上历史上杜司也是提倡的是跟内外要有交流。这就是一个民族的发展，你不通过这个东西为发展不了的。你要保留自己的东西你不跟别人交流，你自己保留绝对不可能的！你过门外汉，通过吸收别人的文化，取长补短，那么我自己的文化怎么发展，怎么保留，没有发展就没有保留。所以通过不断门外汉的过程当中，自己的文化发展嘛。自己经济发展嘛，那么自己的文化也保留下来了，只能这样。超级大国就是说华生的那个原始形态，你老是原始形态封闭的地方是要消亡的！印第安文化不就是这样消亡的吗？是不是。玛雅文化多辉煌。多辉煌怎么啦？是吧，消亡就消亡。这个是历史规律。

问：前一阵子的话丽江不是被定为艳遇之都？

赵：（论）唉啊！谁定啊？这都是网上乱说，什么叫艳遇，你艳遇什么？这就是网上小年轻喜欢这样炒。还有一些记者，是不是为了就推动这个东西，搞一些这些东西，我认为，这，这，这个，也不是说不允许，但是以此来对丽江搞这么一个定位我认为不妥，什么是艳遇啊！哪儿都可以艳遇，两情相悦那就是艳遇嘛，它现在是跑调了！

问：那您刚才说来丽江应该有一个文化氛围，您的心目中那个文化氛围应该是一个什么样的东西。

赵：（论）文化氛围是什么？文化氛围是我们把自己当地的东西要实实在在的，充分地展示出来，这是一个民族文化的传承，其实是一种民族精神是吧？

问：但是当地人都走了呀？

赵：（论）走了还是有，不全部都走嘛，是不是，当地人很多就抱怨话商业，你搞旅游本身就是商业嘛，你没有商业氛围谁喜欢来？吃的，吃不上，睡的不好睡，是吧，交通不方便，购物不方便，谁愿意来，是不是。而且这整个社会经济，社会经济最靠流，那就是商业，哪个地方你流通环节搞好了，商业发展了，那么人才能找到钱。大家的生活才能有所提高。是不是，我都开玩笑，以前的，就说泸沽湖怎么怎么了，哪儿怎么啦。我就说你就是去那儿又不是去第二动物园，你就希望人家天天过那个落后的，不文明的日子啊？是不是？大家都要往前奔，过上好日子，好日子么就要有现代一些东西来充实自己。改变自己的生活环境，这才是好的方向。

（论）你老是希望我不点电灯喽，我点个明子火把，油灯，那你本人愿不愿意呢？不愿意嘛，肯定不愿意嘛，是不是？现在喇吗寺里面的那些和尚都是有电视机，有电脑，可以上网的，是不是，这是现代生活。而文化这个东西并不受这个的改变的。我的信仰，我们传统的东西。那有些是家庭的传承，社会的影响。当然也会有所改变，你不能说民族文化一成不变，那也不可能，那本身文化是在发展的。

（论）文化不是一个死的东西，如果文化是个死的东西呢，咱们这个人类呢可能还茹毛饮血，是对是，不就那回来。所以对待这些东西我对有些舆论当然，有些说出来就这样了，说有些可能是做过份了，有些呢是民族文化的伪文化，它乱炒作。是吧！这个也很不可取的。这个说实话，就像泸沽湖走婚呢。走婚是一个以前的婚姻形态。你现在老走婚啊？不是那回事。是吧，你不要把一个民族传统的一些东西，历史文化的一种现象不能扭曲的！

刘：不要定格

赵：（论）唉，不要定格，不要炒作，炒作对一个民族极端不尊重。我是这样认为的。我和大家交流主要是说自己的想法，是不是？

问：再请教赵叔一个问题就是开客栈，你觉得外地人来开和本地人来开，他们各自的优势有哪些？

赵：（Se）（人）本地人开么，其实你优势不是体现得特别有差异。其中有差异像要搞高端的，投资力度要有。本地人呢就是有限，这个几百万一拿不出来啊！是不是。

问：这是因为本地人的生活水平还是？

赵：（人）不是，在开客栈的人是什么呢？我，一般来说呢就是他的职业原来没有什么固定职业，有房产，或者我租租的东西我来解决一下。解决下我的生活啊，是吧，是这样的，还有的像我们家一样，我们是退休的。除了政府动员我们做以外，其实我不想做。也没有能力做，你说孩子们可以做。孩子们也有自己的事业呀！他可能来做吗？不可能，是不是，即使我有投资的能力，我老了，我没这个精力来管，是吧！

（Se）（人）完了呢，现在特别这两年，内地这个发达地区，内地有些地区说实话，投资环境不是很好。那么他们拿一点资金过来这边投资呢，其实是他换一个方式，那边环境不怎样，我有点钱来搞一搞这个东西对他不影响，信许他在这个里面有乐趣在里边，是不是，他这个资金拿来这边投一块，你那个搞企业家也好，什么也好，我有钱我不投我搁那儿，他不会的，任何人都不会的，他就要找他自己投资的方向。那么他们来投，有想法。

（人）比如说，杜五连，跟我合作的那个人一样，他有自己的想法。那么我认可了呀，我做他做一个样啊，是不是，他还比我有精力啊！这样不是挺好嘛，是吧！而且他认可了我们丽江当地的一些民族文化，传统的一些东西他认可的，他也会按照这个去做的。那很多人都这样在做。其实这这挺好的嘛。是吧，这个你分当地，

外地过于不能分的。真的。从历史上来说，来丽江做搞商业的，做生意的，是吧，不单是丽江人在搞。全国各地的人都有。

（论）是不是。包括外国人也有。所以不管是任何地方要有民主，这个东西要有一个包容性。包容当中呢就会有一些融合，当然丽江纳西族从历史上到现在来看，很多东西呢并不是被其它民族同化，而是交融。如果交融了，自己民族文化也得到发展。这是一个挺好的现象，是吧。

问：开客栈当中有没有什么有趣的事情，给我讲一讲。

赵：（人）一时半会儿讲不完。他们都鼓励我，要我写点东西。这两年我事情太多了，家里边也是，奶奶又病，阿姨也病。锁事多，静不下心来。以后看吧，以后写点小东西。

赵：（C）结识那么多人，我们做点儿对社会有意义的事情。做点社会工作，那么有心人也很多的。境外的，各地方的，有些有点儿钱的，或者是一般学生都对他工义事业有一种很好的想法，通过我们在这儿聊或者底下考查看了以后，捐助学校的，这个给学校修那个的，这些已经做了好几年了，所以这几年一直延续在做的呢是图书捐赠，是一个行动，是一个企业家联系谊会搞的一个工义基金会。工义基金会通过企业家，企业家就是支援、赞助，赞助以后能就从丽江开始。这个行为是全国性的，但是从丽江开始，也做了几十家了。今年的第一百家要在丽江，达到第一百家还要搞一个聚会就 11 月 7 日。

问：您以前参加过这个活动？

赵：（C）一直在参加，我还是他们的一名理事呢！所以这个事都是通过我跟那什么有关的一些部门沟通以后成为一个长年的一个活动。图书捐赠的已经是 100 多万了嘛，今年更多啦，今年可能要超过 200 多万。

问：册还是？

赵：（C）金额，什么时候就已经寄书给学校了。

问：那它跟丽江这些客栈有没有联系呢？

赵：（C）没，没联系，跟客栈没关系。我们这个呢是因为呢原来是一个澳门的人在损，捐资助学，就是搞真正的一个学校的教学楼，一直在完善那学校到今年最后的一个放棚，就前几天才完成。这些都是他们在搞，也通过我，还起到一些爱心的，像他们的图书室的书架呀，这个太阳能的热水器啊，浴房啊，床啊什么的，我这儿的我也尽量给，我这儿不做客栈了，前面曾经给过一批那个床上用品吧，这回我也给了 30 几套，给他们住校生用的。因为农村的很可怜，都很单薄，就都给他们。能给的我们都给。把一个学校呢自始致终给它搞完善起来。一步一步完善嘛。

赵：（C）（Sn）就这样的话影响了很大一批人。对，有些就是一千块，两千块，啊就搁我这儿啦，什么也不要，您看着办。能做什么你帮我做一下。我都集中起来做一件事。这样在给他们做。然后觉得挺有意思这个事。因为通过这个客栈里也跟着别人接触聊天，互相交流以后。像他们那企业家联谊会他们老总啊，是个学者那么他通过他上课过错了，他自己也有企业嘛，他不是靠一个人的力量，是靠整个一个企业，企业家。企业家呢还基本上都是私企的，那些。通过那些呢你也不是说你要在门坎多少，没有，你一千也行，五千以上，五千也行，

一万也行。是吧！多的也不限制。那么通过这个搞了一个基金会。通过这个基金会首先是从西部开始，就，这个叫做朱光图书行动。就是给中小学捐赠图书，这个呢不是说你有几本书拿来，全新！这个跟出版社订。而且要分层次。就是小学就是小学啦，小学分年级，初中就是初中，高中就是高中，是这样分的。完了以后教、辅、读物这些呢就是通过专家来给你把那个书目给你，那么就紧了的分，分层次分年级。然后就跟当地的教育主管部门联系好，就是常年的。联系好哪个学校。这一批是给哪几个学校的。下一批给哪几个学校，完了回过头来，前面给的那些，读书要补的给他们补，如果时间长了，五年以上的，那么就，因为现在知识更新的周期比较短了，那么又再给他们一些新书，是不断的这样完善。这是一个长期的，我在想呢，其实我开客栈最有意义的就是这一类的事。

问：当时这个房子整个重建的时候是请了当地的工匠还是外地的工匠？赵：当地的。问：有没有请剑川的，还是就是丽江的。

赵：（S 工）不请，搞议事厅的大师傅，那大门就是他做的，就全是当地的嘛。那些师傅，师傅现在动都动不起了，都已经老了。

问：有徒弟吗他们

赵：（S 工）有，但是他们不这儿做了，他们做其它的去了，他儿子也是一个传承者，但是儿子听说是搞什么去了，也没见他，老爷子挺利害，木府恢复重建就木府的几个大建筑都是老爷子做的，因为老爷子年轻的时候我们都是朋友，认识。他给我当呢，起过房子，所以他来给我做的。

问：他们对丽江的发展前景很感兴趣吗？

赵：（研究）是感兴趣呀！甚至他们说丽江是一个没有可比性的地方，很独特的，很有代表性的，说他们是四个点，是以丽江为中心来研究的。

问：还有哪几个点？剑川？

赵：（研究）剑川不是世界遗川，福建有一个点，越南一个点，还有什么地方有一个点，四个。

问：他作对比。

赵：（研究）他是以丽江为中心作为一种模式来研究的。当时不是世界遗产的有一个学术研计会呀，在丽江开嘛，他们都参加了，以后他是提出了一个丽江古城的保护，丽江古城的一个模式。

问：是怎样的一个模式。

赵：（研究）是这样一个模式。当然他们搞的那些详细的东西呢，是只有他们那种数据。是吧，所以丽江保护模式是怎么在保护当中发展，是这么一个东西。那发展当中又要更加保护，他是通过这么一个关系来确认丽江的保护。得到肯定的。说他们呢通过这个以后呢，给日本政府申请这个项目。日本政府就给了钱。这北大来的时候用的是日本人的钱啊，日本呢，本身这个世界遗产的概念，提法是日本提出来的。所以日本对这个东西是当作他们自己的一个件事。也就说政府给钱的，这都舍得给钱的。所以他们就来而且是四年连续干了四年。一直就在这儿，需要跑其它地方的时候又去，那边搞了对比以后又回来这边做，这个，日本的那边一伙搞了四上，北大张老师，把北大的一些学生也带过来共同在搞这个事。

问：结题没有？

赵：（研究）项目做完了呀！

问：只是他们想接着再做。

赵：（研究）接着要做，原来他们有打算做三江并流区域的世界遗产地的一个研究。但这个哟相对呢就要比丽江这个项目大，资金投入要更多，最后，这个没能够定下来。还有一个就是那几个学者，他们的时间问题。因为他们还带了研究生，还要上课啊！他们还最后没定下来。可能就是说经济的问题也有一点吧！

问：赵书搬到昆明去的话如果我还有问题想请教您怎么跟您联系呢？

赵：电话

Appendix 3 Sample questionnaire for households

Questionnaire for Households

I am Naxi people / I am Han people

I am a local people/ I am a outsider

I am a resident of the dwelling / I am a boss of the business

I am a descendant of the family who own the dwelling / I am a stranger of stranger of the family who own the dwelling

Many people in the same situation of me / seldom people in the same situation of me

Phase 1 ---- Before construction

Assumption of tourist gaze

Value self decision		↔	Value authority's decision	
The opening of guesthouse is by host's decision		1 2 3 4 5	The opening of guesthouse is suggested by the government	
I will comply with restriction of construction rule		1 2 3 4 5	I will break some restriction of construction rule	
I care about the punishment of the authority		1 2 3 4 5	I do not care about the punishment of the authority	
Value leisure		↔	Value income	
The opening of guesthouse will help to enjoy life		1 2 3 4 5	The opening of guesthouse could increase family's income	
I want receive large number of tourist		1 2 3 4 5	I want receive small number of tourist	
I live in here because of healthy environment		1 2 3 4 5	I live in here because of commercial potential	
Value old		↔	Value young	
When change the dwelling, I will follow the suggestion of old family member		1 2 3 4 5	When change the dwelling, I will follow the suggestion of young family member	
I will keep my old family member living with me		1 2 3 4 5	I will keep my young family member living with me	
Value continuity		↔	Value change	
I want to change the dwelling		1 2 3 4 5	I want to change the dwelling	

just a little bit		fundamentally
I will keep original furniture and equipment	1 2 3 4 5	I will change all original furniture and equipment into new one
I will keep the guesthouse during the cold season of tourism	1 2 3 4 5	I will go to travel during the cold season of tourism
I will prepare small budget for the construction	1 2 3 4 5	I will prepare large budget for the construction
I live in the dwelling for more than 5 years	1 2 3 4 5	I live in the dwelling less than 3 years
Value rural	↔	Value urban
I am longing for rural life	1 2 3 4 5	I am longing for urban life
Value tradition	↔	Value modern
I will hire local craftsmen to carry out the construction	1 2 3 4 5	I will hire outsider's work to carry out the construction
I want tourist to be interested in the history of the family	1 2 3 4 5	I want tourist to be interested in the design of the guesthouse.
I will use traditional elements to decorate	1 2 3 4 5	I will use fashion elements to decorate
Value individual	↔	Value collection
I will live alone or live without my core family member	1 2 3 4 5	I will live with my core and extended family member
I care my friends and relatives live near with me	1 2 3 4 5	I do not care my friends and relatives live near with me
Low commercialization	↔	High commercialization
I have many ways to advertise my guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	I have little way to advertise my guesthouse

Phase 2 ---- During construction

Transformation strategy and construction methods

Value self decision	↔	Value authority's decision
Follow my duty to protect dwelling	1 2 3 4 5	Follow the rule of authority to protect the dwelling
Value DIY	↔	Value Commission other people
The style of the guesthouse is designed by me	1 2 3 4 5	The style of the guesthouse is design by other people
Decoration is mainly chosen by	1 2 3 4 5	Decoration is mainly chosen by other

me		people
Value continuity	↔	Value change
The framework of the dwelling is preserved	1 2 3 4 5	The framework of the dwelling is reconstructed
The depth and width of rooms are maintained	1 2 3 4 5	The depth and width of rooms are changed
The original material on the faces of the dwelling are not covered	1 2 3 4 5	The faces of the dwelling are covered by new material
Value special	↔	Value similar
I hope my guesthouse is different from other one		I hope my guesthouse is similar to some high standard hotel in big city
Local know-how	↔	Modern technology
There is no suspended ceiling in guest room	1 2 3 4 5	There is suspended ceiling in guest room
construction doesn't involve waterproof, heater isolation, sound isolation	1 2 3 4 5	construction involves waterproof, heater isolation, sound isolation
It mainly uses traditional material brick, tile, mud, wood	1 2 3 4 5	It mainly uses modern material like concrete, steel, glass
Local craftsmen	↔	Outsider construction crops
The main construction depends on local craftsmen	1 2 3 4 5	The main construction depends on outsider construction crops
personal experience	↔	Professional design
The design of guesthouse depends mainly on craftsmen	1 2 3 4 5	The design of guesthouse depends mainly on professional designer
Keep budget Over budget	↔	
The expenditure of construction is close to expected budget		The expenditure of construction is over expected budget
Value continuity	↔	Value change
The original space arrangement is kept	1 2 3 4 5	The original arrangement is changed
The courtyard is kept in original style	1 2 3 4 5	The courtyard has been repaved
The original size of the courtyard is kept	1 2 3 4 5	The original size of the courtyard is changed
Value personal taste	↔	Value public taste
The style of the decoration is	1 2 3 4 5	The style of the decoration is

according to the taste of host		according to the taste of tourist
Value luxury	↔	Value simple
The equipment of the dwelling is high standard	1 2 3 4 5	The equipment of the dwelling is simple
The furnishing in the dwelling is famous brands	1 2 3 4 5	The furnishing in the dwelling is not famous brands
The furniture in the dwelling is expensive	1 2 3 4 5	The furniture in the dwelling is cheap
Value nature	↔	Value human-made
There are many nature elements in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many human-made elements in the decoration
Value tradition	↔	Value modern
There are many traditional elements in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many fashion elements in the decoration could be seen
There are many traditional value could be detect	1 2 3 4 5	There are seldom traditional value could be detect
Value pure	↔	Value hybrid
There is a main theme in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many themes in the decoration
Value DIY	↔	Value standard products
There are many DIY stuff in decoration	1 2 3 4 5	Almost all the decorations are bought from market

Appendix 4 Sample questionnaire for tourists

Questionnaire for Tourist

I travel much / I seldom travel

I intent to live in here for () days

I know the guesthouse through: internet/ friend / magazine / visiting

Phase 3 ---- After construction

Meaning in the built environment

Value leisure		↔	Value income	
The space is mainly used by host		1 2 3 4 5	The space is mainly used by tourist	
The kitchen is used by host		1 2 3 4 5	The kitchen is used by tourist	
Value tradition		↔	Value modern	
I prefer the guesthouse in architecture style of traditional Naxi house		1 2 3 4 5	I prefer the guesthouse in modern architecture style	
I prefer the interior of the inn is typical Naxi style		1 2 3 4 5	I prefer the interior of the inn is typical modern hotel style	
Value special		↔	Value similar	
I want the style of the dwelling is different from other guesthouse		1 2 3 4 5	I want the style of the dwelling is similar to other guesthouse	
Value old stuff		↔	Value new stuff	
I prefer the dwelling is an original one		1 2 3 4 5	I prefer the dwelling is a rebuilt one	
Value distinguishable		↔	Value mystique	
The character of the guesthouse could be known from the name of it		1 2 3 4 5	The character of the guesthouse could not be known from the name of it	
Value luxury		↔	Value simple	
The equipment of the dwelling is high standard		1 2 3 4 5	The equipment of the dwelling is simple	
The furnishing in the dwelling is famous brands		1 2 3 4 5	The furnishing in the dwelling is not famous brands	
Value nature		↔	Value human-made	
There are many nature elements in the decoration		1 2 3 4 5	There are many human-made elements in the decoration	
Value tradition		↔	Value modern	

There are many traditional elements in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many fashion elements in the decoration
There are many traditional values that could be detected	1 2 3 4 5	There are few traditional values that could be detected
Value pure	↔	Value hybrid
There is a main theme in the decoration	1 2 3 4 5	There are many themes in the decoration
Value residence	↔	Value commerce
There is no advertisement on the wall	1 2 3 4 5	There are many advertisements on the wall
There is no consumption menu	1 2 3 4 5	There is a long consumption menu
Value even	↔	Value gap
The equipment used by tourist are still used by host	1 2 3 4 5	The host does not use the equipment used by tourist
The lifestyle of host is similar to tourists'	1 2 3 4 5	The lifestyle of host is different from tourists'
The gap of living standard between host and tourists is small	1 2 3 4 5	The gap of living standard between host and tourists is large
Value emotions	↔	Value income
Constant communications are seen between host and tourist	1 2 3 4 5	There is little communication between host and tourist
Host often tell us some history of Lijiang	1 2 3 4 5	Host never tell us some history of Lijiang
The host treat tourist as friend	1 2 3 4 5	The host treat tourist as customer
There are no conflicts between host and tourists	1 2 3 4 5	There are some conflicts between host and tourist
The host employ outsiders to run the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	The host employ local people to run the guesthouse
The hospitality of host does not change after I live in the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	The hospitality of host has changed after I live in the guesthouse

Authenticity

Stress objective heritage	↔	Stress constructive heritage
I can see some true heritage in the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	I can see some heritage in the guesthouse, even though they are

		fake ones
Stress meaning embodied	↔	Stress information embodied
I can read much meaning embodied in the built environment of the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	I can read much information embodied in the built environment of the guesthouse
Value inter-existential authenticity	↔	Value external- existential authenticity
I feel true-self when I am alone in the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	I feel true-self when I talk with other tourist living in the guesthouse

Consumption pattern for tourists

Spiritual oriented service	↔	Physical oriented service
Many services are mainly for spiritual require	1 2 3 4 5	Many service are mainly for physical require
The environment fit for reading and thinking	1 2 3 4 5	The environment is not fit for reading and thinking
The environment fit for relax my spirit	1 2 3 4 5	The environment fit for relax my body
Local-related consumption	↔	Universal consumption
The consumption items are mainly relevant to local culture	1 2 3 4 5	The consumption items are mainly not relevant to local culture
Low commercialization	↔	High commercialization
The price of the guesthouse is low	1 2 3 4 5	The price of the guesthouse is high
There are less than four consumption items in the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	There are more than six consumption items in the guesthouse
There are many stuff available in the guest room need extra fee	1 2 3 4 5	There is no stuff available in the guest room needs extra fee
I could book guest room through internet	1 2 3 4 5	I could not book guest room through internet
Weak link interdependence	↔	Strong interdependence of other touristic agency
Tourist could book ticket of other touristic activities through the guesthouse	1 2 3 4 5	Tourist could not book ticket of other touristic items activities through the guesthouse