

**Rural Community Participation in Tourism Development:
Cases from Hainan Province, China**

by

Yang Wang

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Abstract

Western academics have long recommended community participation in planning as one most important element to induce an equitable distribution of development benefits. However, its implementation at destinations with different political, socio-cultural or economic conditions is hard to guarantee. Furthermore, it is useful to make a distinction between participating in planning and participating in development to share in the benefits; either of which can theoretically occur as means or end in development. Based on literature, a Participatory Spiral is presented as an hypothesis suggesting that planning for disadvantaged social groups' participation in development may be initiated through benefit-sharing, gradually proceeding to shared decision making and planning. It is expected that people will become more and more capable through participating in benefit-sharing activities and then their interest in and capacity to participate in decision making will increase. Moreover, the hypothetical spiral suggests that the planning process may be viewed as having several stages. Initially, those receiving the negative influences of development as "impacted" might first become "beneficiaries" through the provision of compensation for losses and by involving them in various activities to share in the benefits. Local capacities may then become strengthened and participation may be enhanced so that the "beneficiaries" become "clients" who have more initiative and control over development. Eventually they may become "owners" of development interventions. This does not mean that they actually "own" everything, rather it means that they can collectively exercise the right to determine decisions that affect their lives.

This study examines the hypothesis at four rural communities in different ethnicities in a tourism development context at Hainan Province, China and explores the initial stimulus, current level and future trend of participation in tourism development among rural communities which successfully participate in tourism development. The fieldwork was conducted in 2005, using methods of literature review, participatory research, survey, key-informant interview, face-to-face

interview and on-site observation.

The research verifies that participation in development should be planned in stages. Furthermore, it supports the principle that initial planning should promote sharing in benefits. Once capacities have been strengthened, shared decision making may then be considered. It is suggested that the spiral model adopted in the study as theoretical hypothesis has great instructional significance. Many outside factors, however, can influence the continual improvement of community participation toward a sharing decision-making end. Therefore, as a theoretical model, it must be acknowledged that such a complicated social phenomenon as community participation in development cannot be successfully reduced to simple spiral model. However, the research results do show that the participation of rural community's in sharing the benefits of development as "beneficiaries" can be promoted successfully in previously poor villages. The concept is easy to be accepted and understood by traditional decision makers and by the rural people themselves. Research also provides hints that some communities might become "clients" if current progress continues and more outside assistance is provided. On the other hand, rural people and traditional decision makers generally lack understanding about the concept of sharing decision-making power and do not ascribe great importance to it. Even so, some actions occurred in the Ya Zi and Dong Yu cases suggesting that people's concerns could be collected and considered in making decisions. Such embryonic initiatives could eventually become a small-scale process of consultation focusing on specific issues and carried out by the traditional decision makers. Furthermore, the study does not verify the whole spiral process due to the constraints of the local situation: none of the communities studied have a high level of participation.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Context

1.1.1 Rural Chinese Population in Current Development and Planning

“For more than a generation, we have heard the word ‘development’ in the discourse of political leaders, bureaucrats, publicists, social scientists, philosophers, and ordinary citizens. They have used it as a body of doctrine but also as an expression of hope and aspiration. It has shaped the purposes and efforts of states, and of great public as well as modest private organizations... Development, in short, has been a major ideology of our times.” (Sutton, 1990, p.33). In China, after Deng’s policy: “a part of the population will become rich first” (一部份人先富起来), the top government officials decided to encourage large-scale, rapid development with a main purpose of stimulating growth. Despite the successes of growth in GDP (gross domestic product) and obvious improvement in quality of life in urban areas, “development” in China has met another problem: a seriously unbalanced development between urban and rural areas, especially with respect to rural areas in poor provinces (Han, 2004). Debbink and Ornelas (1997) suggest that, “development”, when development means outsiders imposing their ideas without understanding local conditions, it is undesirable. Development is positive when it involves local people and is based on their resources and knowledge. From that perspective, some “development” in China is not positive.

More than 800 million people live in the rural areas of China; they account for over 65% of the total population in the country. Because some rural areas are remote and lack basic infrastructure and development opportunities, and because poor people in rural areas lack tangible resources, such as capital, the rural poor have typically been left behind in the fast growth of China. Studies in 1999 showed that the growth elasticity of income of the lowest quintile of the Chinese population was only 0.308, suggesting that the poor did not benefit even half as much from growth as the richer segments of society did (Gang & Kruse, 2003). Within that section of the population,

42 million were in absolute poverty in 1999 and another 350 million were labelled as poor (Chen, 2002). Most of these people live in rural areas where limited natural resources set considerable constraints on agricultural potential (Chen, 2002). Table 1 indicates that, the quality of life for rural people is generally much lower than that of the general urban population in China (Han, 2004).

Table 1: Comparison of general situation between the urban and rural populations in China

	Urban	v.s.	Rural
Annual Revenue in 2002	3.1	:	1
Currency Income in 2002	4.1	:	1
Net Income in 2002 (including the welfare subsidy)	5.6	:	1
Educational Level (% of population have junior middle school education or above in 2000)	75.4%	:	29.1%
% owned medical subsidy (fee-for-service paid by medicare) in 2000	40%	:	0%-10%

Source: Han, J., (2004).

Growth and expansion-led development sometimes have the potential to further impoverish marginalized populations and regions (HDDR, 2003). Resources, opportunities, techniques, skills, natural resources and capital are pulled away from the peripheries towards the cities and from smaller to larger urban centers (Chambers, 1983, 1997). Yet, the rural people became more disadvantaged and marginalized in development. As Han (2004) pointed out, from 1987 to 2001, the land for non-agricultural construction on previously arable land reached 1.6 million hectare, which meant that 34 million farmers lost all or part of their arable land because of land expropriation. It was estimated that from 2000 to 2030, the land for non-agricultural use on previously arable land will reach 3.6 million hectare. Over 78 million farmers will no longer be able to support themselves through agriculture. This section of the population, if not properly compensated, will have no land to farm, no job to work at and no chance to obtain the subsidies that urban populations have access to, such as the unemployment benefits or hospitalization insurance (Han, 2004).

From a political perspective, rural people are often excluded from the planning process. They do not have a Dan Wei (collective workplace) to report their concerns to, and they live far

away from big urban areas – the places where decisions are made. Rural people spend most of their waking time in their community, suggesting that rural people should be studied in the context of their ‘community’ territory; the existence of strong family and community networks is a central facet of life for them (Kaufman, 1997). Community denotes actual groups of people coterminous with village, neighborhood, or ethnicity or living in the same locality (Jamal and Getz, 1995). More specifically, community in this study is defined as an aggregation of local people settled in a tourist zone (Joppe, 1996). In terms of administration, the community is the lowest level of the administrative hierarchy in China – the village.

Very little planning in China have followed a Western participatory style of planning; especially when poor rural populations have been involved (Davies, 2003). Among several documented cases in China that have had some involvement of local people in decision making, most have been with urban residents. For example, various urban districts, streets, offices and business associations participated in decisions on the new land regulations in a community-based land-use planning case in Shanghai, the wealthiest and most modern municipality in China (Zhang, 2002a).

Two cases were found involving rural Chinese in decision-making. One was a stakeholder-based strategic tourism planning case which was undertaken in Le Shan (Zhang, 2003c). Funded by the United Nations, this project incorporated various stakeholders (government, local business, residents, etc.) through focus groups, surveys and household interviews and identified a series of strategies to protect a World Heritage Site. Another rural case was an IDRC-funded agricultural planning project in Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces (Vernooy *et al.*, 2003). Rural people were actively involved as part of the planning process in identifying present situation and urgent needs regarding improvements of household livelihoods, and in formulating action plans. Both of the two participatory planning cases in the literature on rural China had external assistance. In these cases, the life-span and long-term effects are hard to determine. As Pretty (1995) argued, local people often cannot maintain participatory practices once the flow of external incentives

stops.

Urban planning in China dates back to the imperial era, when grand capital cities were constructed in accordance with the feudal ideology of social order and hierarchy (Yeh & Wu, 1999). In the People's Republic of China, planning has been under a continuing reform (Table 2). It was not until 1989, however, that the *City Planning Act* established a comprehensive urban planning system in China, to prepare 'rational' city plans to meet the needs of developing socialist modernization (Zhang, 2002b). Comprehensive planning in China has emphasized the formulation of land-use plan documents with different levels of detail and functions using a top-down process (ranging from Urban System Plans to Detail Construction Plans). Differing from Western rational planning, comprehensive planning in China has attempted to manipulate regional spatial development. There have been no concrete measures to link planned 'structures' with resource allocation, socio-economic policies, or the enforcement of development control (Yeh & Wu, 1999).

In the past twenty years, with a stronger emphasis on economic development, severe competition between municipalities to attract external investment, pressure to speed up development, and an urgent need to have better performance, government officials have had to accept investors and developers as an influential group in the planning and development processes in China. Planning institutions have gradually become more independent of the government sector, and correspondingly, services provided by planners have become more user-oriented (Zhang, 2002b). The prevailing closed-door plan-making process (i.e. no public consultation) and a lack of effective monitoring have often given politicians and planners an excuse to bypass planning controls in favour of catering to developers (Yeh & Wu, 1999). In order to reduce the pitfalls of minority domination by development interests, a greater awareness of the need to promote popular participation and monitoring within the planning process is now emerging as desirable, however, so far, the idea has remained largely theoretical in China (Zhang, 2002b). Zhang's (2002b) interviews with Chinese planners showed that they generally had more interest in sharing power with the top than with the bottom segments of society. In Yeh and Wu's (1999, p.236) words:

“In the top-down plan making process, there is inadequate public participation. This does not mean that public participation is explicitly prohibited. But, due to the extremely immobilized local politics, the channel for public participation does not exist and public participation has no real meaning in a context where negotiations mainly take place among government agencies or between government and private investors.”

Table 2: Four Stages of Planning in China

Stages	Influential Events	Planning as Profession	Function of Planning	Role of Planners
1950s	Corporation with Soviet experts working towards industrialization.	Not professional, but a management tool of the socialist government.	Served for planned economy and national industrialization. Intended to realizing socialist ideology.	Planners followed the decisions of officials and implemented the decisions.
1960 - 78	Cultural Revolution	Land-use planning did not existed	Political instrument	None
1979 - 89	Economic Reform (including housing and land reforms)	1) Decentralizing planning and approval system to local levels of governments. 2) Emphasized on physical development planning.	To define the size, economic orientation and structure of the cities, to realize the economic and social development of the cities with tools of master plan and detail plan.	Served for not only central government but also levels of local government for preparing the master plans for provinces and cities.
1989 -- 90s -- Present	1) Planning Act 2) Deng's Southern China tour called for accelerating the pace of reform. 3) Development projects booming with large amount of non-government investment 4) Continuing release from planned economy. 5) Recently, a call for "people-centered" development.	1) Generally emphasis on physical planning with a strong economic purpose. 2) Planning institutions gradually separate from government and serve development projects in the marketplace. 3) General lack of social consideration in planning practice. 4) Recently, some planning practices opened to public participation, mainly in large urban areas.	1) Encouragement for economic development of cities with various planning tools, such as zoning and urban system planning and district planning. 2) Specific projects. 3) General lack of public participation in planning, consulting and monitoring. Some exceptions in large urban cores.	1) Serving developers of projects, however, the objects of the services were cities or projects, not human beings directly. 2) Planners worked as experts or negotiators between officials and developers, not representatives of the popular public, or of the disadvantaged groups.

This is not to say that political decentralization has not been happening in China; the country has long made arduous efforts in this direction. Since the economic reforms in 1979, administrative decentralization has taken place from national to provincial and municipal government levels (Lau,

2003). Provincial and municipal governments have gained more power to decide their own policies and plans of development independently from the central governments, including related issues such as resource allocation, redistribution of authority, responsibility, and financial resources for providing public services (World Bank, 2002). This point is further demonstrated by the village self-management movement in China. The Village Self-management Movement (SM) is a top-down program that was initiated in the belief that many rural problems were rooted in the lack of a democratic regime, especially at the village level (Liu, 2004). SM encourages rural participation in decision making within village territories, attempting to provide rural populations with the opportunity to choose local leadership, to be involved in village management, to watch results, and to participate in village decision-making processes (Yang, 2003). However, after 14 years of SM, a study by Yang (2003) found that the movement was sustained in only 10% of the original villages, whereas most of the villages abandoned the program even without saying so openly (Yang, 2003). The reasons for the lack of success were varied. The SM offered no tangible supports, such as funding; the concept of “decentralising management power” was paid little more than lip service (Chen & Chun, 2004). The community-based participatory programs require a case-by-case process of organising, popular education and negotiation (Jenkins & Henry, 1982) which has not taken place in SM; widespread poverty among the participants and a lack of education (also seen from Table 3) and awareness of democratic principles were other reasons for the failure of SM (Yang, 2003). Over 80% of the ongoing SM cases occurred in the top five wealthiest provinces in China (Yang, 2003). Successful SM projects also showed that the program, at least at the initial stage, should be subsistence-related. According to Ghai (1989), provision of material benefits to members plays an important role in participatory initiatives. People need motivation and incentives that relate to their needs in order to generate action. Yang (2003, p.136) indicated that the elected village committees in the ongoing cases in China normally united the villagers through collective income-generating activities. Ghai (1989) also notes that the people who guide or direct the movement should deeply understand and support participatory initiatives,

know about the present situation of the people and inspire trust and confidence among participants. But this has not been the case in most of the SM projects in China. These conditions have not been present in most of the SM projects. For example, bribery in village elections has been worked as common (Chen & Chun, 2004) and the influence of clan¹ has been described as obvious (Yang, 2003). Villages leaders have often been co-opted by elite groups, especially traditional leaders from minority clans (Yang, 2003). If the village leaders do not represent the people, the SM program becomes meaningless.

Table 3: The Educational Level of the Rural Labourers in China (%)

	Illiteracy	Primary-school	Middle-school	High-school	Technical secondary school	College and above
1990	20.73	38.86	32.84	6.96	0.51	0.1
1996	11.23	35.52	42.83	8.91	1.2	0.31
2001	7.69	31.14	48.89	9.34	3.73	0.61

Sources: Chinese Village Statistics (2002); The Investigation of Chinese Rural Residents (2002).

The idea of ‘scientific development’ in China, put forward by a new generation of national leaders in 2003, created expectations for the rural Chinese: the goal of future development should not be simply economic growth but also the well-being of human beings through involving them in development and fulfilling their needs (Wen, 2004). In the new ideology that “development should be people-centered”, rural poor people have been identified as a priority in development over residents of urban areas (Wen, 2004).

1.1.2 Rural People in Development of Tourism in China

Tourism in China, a country with rich tourism resources, has become an enormous catalyst for future economic and social development (Beijing Time, October, 2003). WTTC, World Travel and Tourism Council, (2003) reported that the rate of annual increase in the visitor number in China would reach 10.9% in 2013, contributing 105 billion US dollars to GDP and 16 million employment opportunities. Tourism provides a good opportunity to encourage people to participate

in development, especially the rural poor communities residing in remote but beautiful places. Some successful projects have occurred in Zhang Jia Jie tourist zone in Hunan Province, Da Li, Li Jiang, Shi Lin (Stone Forest) tourist zones in Yunnan Province, and Huang Shan (Yellow Mountain) in Anhui Province (Swain, 1989; Bao & Chu, 1999; Bao, 2000; Gang & Kruse, 2003). Development of these tourist zones has brought large economic benefits to local communities and the surrounding regions. For example, the Bai minority peasants in Da Li Tourist Zone successfully broke away from economic poverty and also gradually improved their education, communication and business skills through involvement in tourism projects (Bao & Chu, 1999). This encouraging success has not been widespread however, because tourism development in China has emphasized growth with almost no concern for the distribution of benefits and costs. Too much emphasis on increasing visitor numbers, attracting new markets, diversifying tourism products and constructing tourism zones has undermined fulfillment of local needs and interests. A recent study by Gang and Kruse (2003) revealed that in 100 surveyed Chinese nature reserves, less than one-fifth of the local families had benefited from reserve-based tourism and approximately 23% of the reserves had not generated any obvious local economic benefits.

It is necessary to explore the situation of tourism development and tourism planning in China in order to understand the reasons why local rural people lack the opportunity to share the benefits of tourism development to improve their quality of life. Tourism development in China has experienced five stages as summarized in Table 4. Briefly, tourism before 1977 was a political instrument rather than an economic activity. After the “open door” policy in 1978 and until 1985, tourism became a way of earning foreign exchange. During the second half of 1980s it was used to encourage national development and to accelerate regional development in the 1990s. Under a political ideology which long had ignored the local needs in development, tourism policy focused on increasing economic growth, enlarging visitor numbers and facilitating development of luxury tourist zones. When investment was emphasized in development, distribution of benefits was overlooked, because those who had resources were those who participated in development and

enjoyed its benefits. One section of the population, among others, that has been left out of this type of tourism planning and development is the rural population in poor regions.

Table 4: Development of Tourism in China

	1949-1977	1978-1985	1986-1991	1992-2003	2003-present
Goal and Objectives	Promoting Socialism and expanding political influence	Accumulating foreign exchange	National economic growth	Market Economy under Socialism and regional development	Poverty reduction and regional development
Main Events	National level organization (CBTT) was first set up to control tourism in 70s, and was unable to separate government and business / enterprise functions.	Set up local tourism bureaus. Separated government functions (CNTA) from business. Introduced tourism planning and education.	End business monopoly of the planned economy. Profit-earning organizations became economic independent. Strengthening of management and regulation in the tourism industry. Promoted domestic tourism.	National government took a regulating role and continually decentralized planning, marketing, promotion and pricing roles to local governments. Tax allowance for foreign investment in resorts. Encouraged outbound tourism.	Call for "people-centered" development. The role of tourism in poverty reduction has gained increasing recognition in the academic cycle and among some insightful officials.
Planning & Participation in Planning	Did not exist	Planning was first issued at national level in 1983 (CNTA).	Planning purely emphasized economic aspects; had no theoretical support or unified standards, mainly based on urban planning and emphasized facility construction. Local government could issue tourism plans for the areas.	Planning works to balance market supply and demand and emphasize growth, employment, foreign exchange, and regional development. Luxury resort development gave the chance for investors to have a voice in planning for the resort.	An emerging awareness of environmental protection. Human issues continually ignored in planning. Completely silent on distribution issues. Planning is an expert' task. Community planning and management remain largely unknown.
Development & Participation in Development	Tourism facilities and services funded and operated by central government.	Local government established local tourism bureaus and were allowed to operate tourism-related businesses. Foreign investment in hotels was allowed. Collectives could invest in and operate hotels and other tourism projects. Jobs in tourism were assigned to individuals by the state.	Tourism-related training and education and relaxing controls opened the opportunity of self-chosen employment in tourism for ordinary citizens. However, tourism, for most Chinese, served as little more than employment.	Resort tourism and large-scale construction provides the opportunity for foreigners, wealthy Chinese and adventurers to rapidly benefit from the industry. Large-scale development further plundered the opportunity for normal people equitably sharing the benefits. Some small-scale businesses operated by local Chinese emerged in some relatively developed tourism destinations.	Continuing resort tourism. However, a gradually growing awareness about poverty elimination in poor rural regions through encouraging people's participation in tourism development, may generate the opportunity for broader scale participation.
Problems	Non-profit, poor service quality and infrastructure.	Lack of planning. Rapid decentralization, which led to a lack of coordination and central-control, resulting in disorder in tourism and keen competition among regions.	Lack of tourism planning expertise and trained staff. Unbalanced investment and poor service quality. Lack of popular participation in benefit-generation activities.	Unbalanced regional development and ownership. Underestimation of the importance of locally-owned small enterprises for improving people's lives in most of the destinations.	Training provided by employers limits possibilities other than on-the-job training. Tourism Planning focuses on tourism sector, which limits its spill-over effects to other related trades and to distribution of benefits among people.

References	Ritcher, 1983, 1989; Sofield & Li, 1998; Zhang & Chong, 1999; Zhang, 2003.	Choy & Gee, 1983; Gao & Zhang, 1983; Choy <i>et al.</i> , 1986; Uysal, Wei & Reid, 1986; Zhang & Chong, 1999; Zhang, 2003.	Sun, 1989; Tisdell & Wen, 2001; He, 1992; Zhang & Chong, 1999; Lindberg <i>et al.</i> , 2003; Zhang, 2003; Liu & Wall, 2005.	Bao & Chu, 1999; Zhang & Chong, 1999; Gang & Kruse, 2003; Yu <i>et al.</i> , 2003; Zhang, 2003; Zhang & Lew, 2003.	Gang & Kruse, 2003; HDDR, 2003; Lindberg <i>et al.</i> , 2003; Zhang, 2003; Liu & Wall, forthcoming.
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Tourism planning in China, defined in *Management Outline of Tourism Planning* (National Tourism Administration, 1999, p.2), refers to “a process of establishing the development goals according to the history and present situation of the tourism industry and the requirement of the market; and coordinating and managing the main factors of the tourism sector² in order to achieve those goals.” From this statement, it can be seen that tourism planning in China has been technically-oriented, market-oriented and tourist demand-oriented. Socio-cultural considerations have been neglected and especially, distribution concerns have not been included. As Wall (1995) argued, comprehensive tourism plans in many less developed countries, like China, focus mainly on physical planning and formal sectors and are formulated to satisfy higher level administrations and to attract investors. As shown in Table 4, starting in the 1980s, tourism planning has been developed without conceptual supports or unified standards; planners made plans that reflected their disciplinary backgrounds (Bao & Chu, 1999). The specialty of urban planning, emphasizing infrastructure construction, had the biggest influence on tourism planning before the mid-1990s (Bao, 2000). Plans concentrated on hotels, water and electricity supplies, roads and transportation (Cai, 1999). As the problems of such tourism developments were increasingly recognized - especially issues associated with ‘blind growth’, discussion about market supply and demand and the main elements of the tourism sector, such as transportation, accommodation, tours, entertainment and shopping, increased (Bao & Chu, 1999). Under the influence of the catchword “sustainability”, tourism planning at the turn of century also began to focus on the use and protection of natural resources (Bao, 2000). No obvious intent to share decision-making power with broader and lower levels could be perceived. Moreover, the adopted planning approach, silent on the negative social impacts of tourism and on distribution issues, was limited in its capacity to

improve ordinary people's lives (HDDR, 2003). Recently, an ideological change in a political perspective and an increasing recognition that tourism can be a means of reducing poverty, have occurred. This may eventually lead to a corresponding change in the tourism planning process.

1.1.3 Rural People in Tourism Development in Hainan Province

Hainan Province, an island in the south of China, was chosen to be the study area for this research (Figure 1). The island remains one of the poorest and most rural provinces in the country (Table 5). The 2001 annual net income per person among the rural people, which comprised 76% of the total population in Hainan, was RMB 1826 (Can\$304); 31% of that among the urban population of the province. The unemployment rate in the rural areas was extremely high, reaching 50% of the rural workforce, 1.3 million, in 2002 (Huang, 2004). On the other hand, as one of the few tropical islands in China, Hainan Province is one of the most famous tourism destinations in China. The economic system is now dominated by the tertiary industries, with tourism as the leading component (Xue, 2003). Although tourism has a great potential to involve the rural community in development to improve their lives³, poverty exists in many of the rural communities, especially among the ethnic minority groups (Wall, 2000). The task of finding ways to encourage community involvement in tourism development and improve the quality of people's lives has been high on the government agenda in the province since 2003. This was partly the reason why agencies assisted the researcher in her fieldwork, in establishing local contacts and in responding to interviews and any emerging questions. A decision was made to locate the research in Hainan Province also because the researcher comes from Hainan and her Master's fieldwork was completed there in 2001 and 2002, facilitating the undertaking of a subsequent study in 2004 about community displacement in tourism development and the doctoral research project. From the researcher's Master's fieldwork in 2001 and Hainan Province, the researcher found that communities had a strong desire to participate in tourism development in Hainan to improve the quality of their lives.

Figure 1: Map of Hainan Province

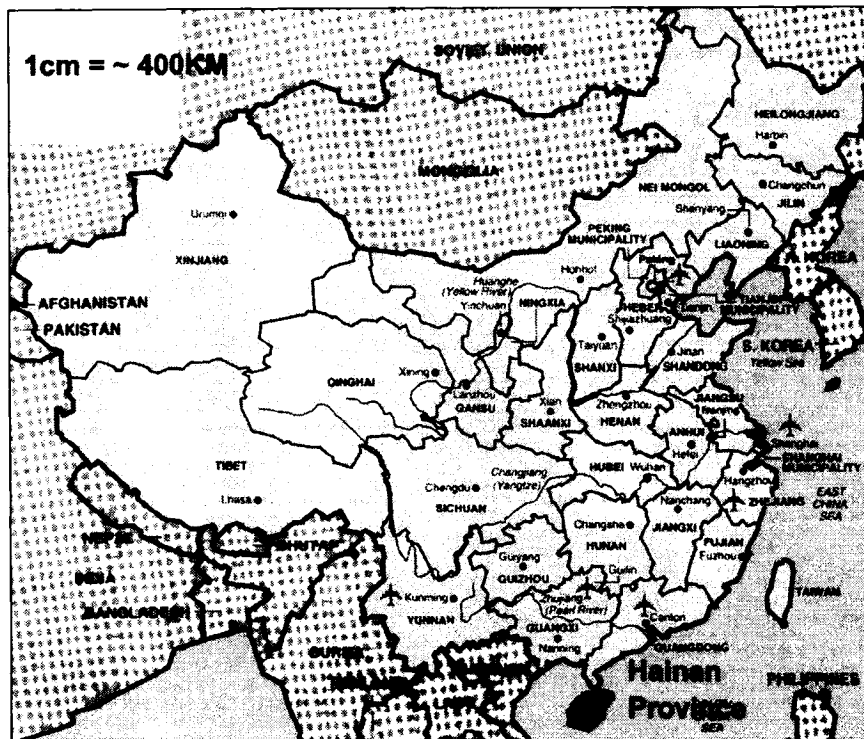


Table 5: Comparison between Hainan and Some More Advanced Regions in China

	2001 GDP per person (RMB)	Proportion of rural population in 2001 (%)	2001 net income of the urban population (RMB)	2001 net income of the rural population (RMB)	2001 net income of the rural population working in the primary industry (RMB)	2001 occupations in the secondary and tertiary industries occupied by rural people (%)
Hainan Province	6894	76.23%	5,838.80	1,826.00	1,570.71	13.7
Average in China	7078	62.34%	6,859.60	2,366.40	1,126.54	32.71
Shanghai Municipality	34547	24.72	12,883.50	5,871.00		
Beijing Municipality	22460	30.51	11,577.80	5,025.50		58.79
Tianjin Municipality	17993					
Zhejiang Province	13461	76.86	10,464.70	4,852.00		66.46
Jiangsu Province	11773	65.14	7,375.10	3,984.70		44.89

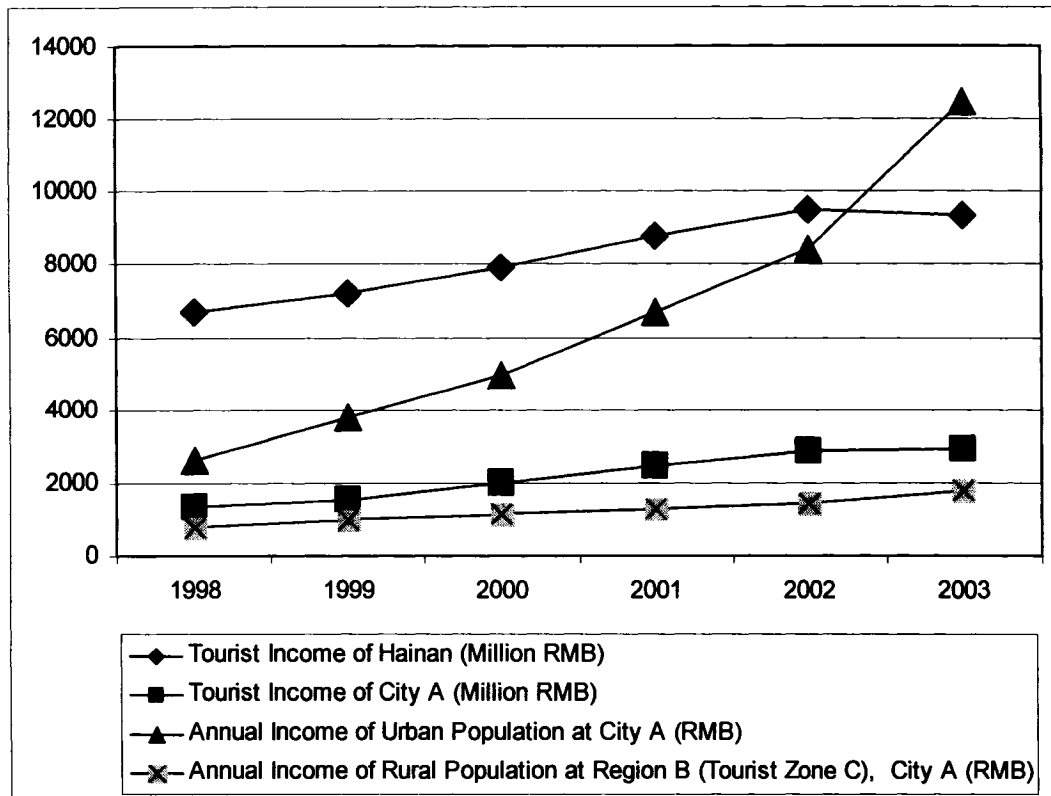
Source: *The summary of Chinese Statistics 2001 (2003)*; *2001 Chinese Statistics (2002)*; *2001 Chinese Village Statistics (2002)*; *The 2001 Investigation of Chinese Rural Residents (2002)*; *2001 Beijing Statistics (2002)*; *2001 Shanghai Statistics (2002)*; *2001 Hainan Statistics (2002)*; *2001 Zhejiang Statistics (2002)*; *2001 Jiangsu Statistics (2002)*; *2001 Guangdong Statistics (2002)*;

Rural people in Hainan Province generally lack of formal education. According to provincial statistics (2002), 11.32% of the rural labour population, which was a much better educated group comparing with the general rural population, were illiterate; 24.78% of the rural workforce had only completed primary school education; 51.12% had completed middle school education; 9.21% had completed high school education; 3.3% had completed technical school education and merely 0.27% had completed either college or university education. Rural families typically adopt traditional family-farming which emphasizes on subsistence, conservatism and isolation in production and life generally (Chen, 2002). Marx (1975, p.693) points out that a home-scale peasant economy “has no varied productive relationships, needs no cooperation and division of the work and, does not require many scientific techniques and different talents... This way of production limits the development of people”. Therefore, features of poverty, such as lack of resources, limited education and advanced awareness, were also the roots of poverty (Wu, 2001). The only way of erasing poverty among the rural poor at Hainan Province will be to involve the people in an advanced development process in a sustainable manner (ESCAP, 2000; Wu, 2001).

As a 2003 annual (government) work conference, a huge gap between the situations of urban and rural populations in the province was identified. Mitigating the gap was recognized as a priority on the government agenda. A series of studies were undertaken by government departments with assistance of research or educational institutions such as Zhong Shan University of Guangdong Province. Reports or plans, such as *The Investigation of Hainan National Farms* (2003); *Report of Water Conservancy of Hainan Province* (2004), *Report of Social Insurance System and Cooperation with Rural Population* (2004); *Report of Agricultural and Oceanic Industries & Finish Machining: Comparison between Urban and Rural Areas in Haikou City* (2004); *Master Plan of Urban & Rural Regions in Hainan Province* (2005) were drafted. Several studies concluded that widespread tourism development in Hainan Province might induce improvements to rural communities residing close to tourist zones. Also, some studies suggested that encouraging rural villages to participate in development, especially tourism development, might help to mitigate the

gap between urban and rural regions. The Tourism Bureau formulated a subsequent study in 2004 about investigating the spill-over effects of tourism in a famous tourist destination at the province. Because of the confidentiality of the data, the researcher can only allowed access to partial information for this unidentified study site (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Analysis of Tourism Development Spill-over Effects in Hainan Province, 2004



Source: Tourism Development Spill-over Effect Analysis in Hainan Province, 2004

It is clear from Figure 2 that tourism returns increased substantially in both the province and in the City A, indicating that tourism can be an important component in development. Moreover, annual income increased greatly among the general urban population of City A., however, incomes improved little among the rural population residing in the Region B⁴ where a famous Tourist Zone C was located. This information was confirmed during the researcher's interviews with scholars and officials who participated in the 2004 investigation: although certain villages participated in

tourism development under specific circumstances which helped to improve their economic situations, many rural communities do not have that opportunity. Villagers were mainly involved in manual agricultural-related jobs with low returns. The report concluded that it is necessary to involve rural people in tourism-related businesses in order to improve their situations, especially those residing close to tourist zones (Tourism Development Bureau, 2004); therefore, encouraging rural community participation in tourism development became one of the highest tasks on the bureau's agenda. Several activities were undertaken in the province⁵: some special policies were developed for rural people at certain developed destinations to facilitate local employment or home businesses; close cooperation was established among the Tourism Bureau, the Development and Reform Bureau and the Planning Bureau to facilitate the making of new tourism policies and plans; workshops with various government departments and research institutions to formulate or renew plans for tourist zones were held. A government group also visited other provinces, such as Yunnan, to learn about their experiences in promoting community participation in tourism development.

Although obstacles exist, tourism development in Hainan does have great potential to help people to improve their quality of life. Distinctive tourism resources abound in Hainan Province: it is noted for its tropical climate, white beaches, mountains, wildlife reserves, water-eroded caves, hot springs, historical sites, distinctive minority cultures and golf resorts. Attracted by its natural beauty, luxury resorts and sport facilities, 14 million tourists (hotel registrations) were recorded in the province, which generated tourism income of 11.1 billion RMB (Can\$1.8 billion) in 2004 (Provincial Tourism Statistics 2004, 2005). Compared with 2003 (9.35 billion RMB [Can\$1.5 billion] and 12.6 million over-night tourists), tourism income increased 18.7% and the number of tourists increased 11%. That the degree of increase in income was greater than that in visitor numbers was identified as an encouraging improvement by Mr. Wu, the director of Tourism Bureau of Hainan Province. He viewed the change as resulting from a qualitative improvement of tourism development in the province. Moreover, as Mr. Wu suggested, although the main purpose for visiting the province was still sightseeing (70.7% of the tourists; the other purposes were leisure

and recreation 19.4%, business 3.7%, conference 1.8%, sports 1.6% and others 2.8%), it had declined 7.1 % compared with 2003. This shows that tourism in Hainan is gradually breaking away from a simple pattern of sightseeing and becoming more diversified.

Tourism development in Hainan has experienced four stages until the early 2000s (Zhang, 2000). The germination stage (1978-1987) was a preliminary stage building up some tourist facilities. Tourism was not recognised as an industry during this period. In the pre- start-up stage (1988-1992), the potential and advantages of Hainan tourism were recognized. The post- start-up stage (1993-1997) was a period of rapid development; tourism became an important industry in the economic development of Hainan Province. In the next development stage until the early 2000s, along with building of resorts and golf courses, some efforts were devoted to improve quality of services. Through the four stages, tourism in Hainan changed from emphasizing sightseeing tourism to holiday and leisure tourism and the tourist economy switched from emphasizing growth to emphasizing benefit generation.

Compared with many other tourist destinations in China, Hainan is just beginning and many problems are being experienced in its development. From a government perspective, failing to appraise the rapid speed of tourism growth accurately, the province did not set up a tourism bureau when it first separated from Guangdong Province to become an independent province in 1988. A semi-governmental organisation, the Tourism Association, was set as a supervisory organisation but was powerless to regulate tourism enterprises and lacked the authority to negotiate with other industries and government departments. Tourism planning and management, therefore, happened in a policy vacuum. In 1992, the Tourism Administration (currently the Tourism Bureau) was set up to rectify problems, however, some mistakes, such as overuse of resources, over-building of facilities and damage of valuable natural environment, had already occurred. Even after the establishment of the bureau, tourism development in Hainan continued to be problematic, emphasizing a rapid increase in visitor arrivals (Li , 2003). Also, it had been planned and developed in an isolated fashion which limited its spill-over effects to related industries (Cai, 1999). The over-development

of luxury resorts including hotels, clubs, golf courses, restaurants and other expensive facilities occurred at many destinations in the province. Such development failed to recognise and incorporate the interests of local communities, especially those residing in the tourist zones that had previously been remote rural areas. Resort tourism, as noted by many Western researchers, seldom has been successfully controlled by a local communities (Gill, 1997), since planning for resort tourism is normally a top-down process (Philp & Mercer, 1989; Joppe, 1996; Sindiga, 1996; Trask, 2000; Brand, 2001; Joseph & Kavoori, 2001). Resort tourism takes away resources from other socially profitable uses (Bryden, 1973), harming most local residents, especially the poor (de Kadt, 1976). Self-contained resort complexes provide all-inclusive services which undermine opportunities for residents to profit from tourism, except for some simple wage-related services (Nettekoven, 1979). This was particularly true in Hainan Province. Planning efforts, directed towards the tastes of an international clientele, left very little room for involvement of the local people in tourism commerce in Hainan (Liu, 2002). The poor minority groups especially, although they are one-eighth of the total population, mainly reside in the vicinity of tourist zones, have distinctive traditional culture and handicraft skills and appear prominently in tourism publicity, fulfill only a marginal role as employees in and beneficiaries of tourism (Wall, 2000). Nevertheless, displacement was seen as an “easy” and “necessary” procedure for relocation of local communities, especially minority groups out of the tourist zones, to “sanitize” the landscape, upgrade the reputation of the destination and facilitate the luxury resort developments (Wang, 2003). Tourism in Hainan Province was “tourism for outsiders”: the major beneficiaries of the tourism development were tourists and investors, whose profitable experiences were achieved at the expense of local communities, especially those who lived in the tourist zones (Du, 2000).

1.1.4 Summary

The economic-oriented tourism planning approach in China has blocked a comprehensive understanding of costs, benefits and distribution issues in the industry and has isolated it from the

broader development arena. It has emphasized tourism market supply and demand and has focused purely on regulating and designing the main factors of the tourism sector, such as transportation, accommodations, tours, entertainment and shopping. Tourism Planning in China demonstrated, using Burns' terminology (1999), a "tourism first" perspective, concentrated on developing tourism by locating suitable sites for the development of resorts, hotels and other tourist attractions to fulfill the tourists' demands.

At the same time, the deteriorating situations of rural poverty in some poor regions of China and increasing polarization between urban and rural areas has raised a strong demand for poverty reduction through development. With a growing awareness of the need to share benefits of tourism development among people, especially among previously disadvantaged groups, the idea of "people-centered development" has been raised by central government. Nevertheless, community participation in planning and decision-making processes continues to be largely unknown generally in China and, specifically, in Hainan Province more. Only the future will tell whether the changing development ideology in China will lead to a further evolution toward local participation in tourism planning and decision-making processes.

1.2 Brief Introduction to Previous Research

The researcher's previous research on tourism development-induced community displacement stimulated the researcher to explore whether and how tourism development might benefit rural people, instead of merely negatively influencing their formerly peaceful village lives.

The earlier study was conducted at Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone, Sanya City, Hainan Province as a project funded by the Ecoplan China through the Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo. That two-year research project explored the social impacts of tourism development-induced community displacement of Li minority village, Tang Fang Village, encompassing both before-displacement (in 2001) and after-displacement (in 2002) impacts. The

village was relocated because of construction of a golf resort in the tourist zone. From that fieldwork, the researcher found that villagers seldom took any action to get benefits from the tourism development to improve living situations. In 2002, the researcher observed that some participation in tourism development had been initiated by villagers after a move to a new village, including tourism-related employment and home businesses. The fieldwork however, came to an end several months after the villagers had been relocated. At that time they were still stressed from the displacement and had not yet completely recovered from the shock of relocation. The study, therefore, was unable to conclude if or how participation in tourism development would help villagers to revive their village lives.

A two-month follow-up monitoring study was conducted in 2004 at the same village to track the situation two years after displacement and resettlement. Detailed information about the 2004 monitoring study will be discussed in Chapter 4. In brief, the researcher noted that villagers had generally recovered from the shock of being displaced and were starting to rebuild village life, depending on many new livelihoods and to further improve their living situations. Villagers' participation in tourism development still encountered obstacles and the pace of improvement was assessed as slow by the villagers themselves. Villagers expressed a strong desire to enlarge, deepen and accelerate their participation in tourism to continually improve their lives. At the end of the monitoring study, the researcher decided to include Tang Fang Village in future fieldwork in 2005. Ultimately, the village met formal selection criteria and was selected as one of the four study sites for the 2005 fieldwork.

Given the pressing needs for the improvement of livelihoods and living situations in rural Hainan Province and taking into consideration the great opportunity afforded by tourism development to contribute to poverty reduction in such rural communities, the thesis will explore the participation in tourism of rural communities that are located in tourist zones. The focus will be especially, but not exclusively, on ethnic minority groups in Hainan Province who are among the poorest of the poor. Bearing in mind the great emphasis that is placed on public participation in

Western decision-making and planning processes, the study will explore the potential of rural communities in Hainan to participate in tourism development from the dual perspectives of sharing in benefits and decision-making power. A theoretical framework will be developed and tested using methods of participatory research, surveys, interviews and on-site observation in rural communities in Hainan Province. Recommendations will be made for the improvement of participation in the study sites as well as in the province as a whole. Detailed information on the goal and objectives, the theoretical framework and the various research methods will be introduced in detail in later chapters.

1.3 Organization of Thesis

The thesis is comprised of seven chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical context for the study with a hypothetical model, based upon which frameworks for the field investigations were generated. The chapter also provide further details on the research goal and objectives which not only closely relate to the situation of study site as introduced in Chapter 1, but also strongly link with the theoretical frameworks which will be introduced in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 outlines the research methods used in the fieldwork undertaken in 2004 and 2005. This chapter also presents detail information, from a theoretical perspective, on the research methodology, procedures and criteria for selection of study sites that were used to fulfil the research goal and objectives. Chapter 4 reports the results of key-informant interviews with government officials and village leaders, as well as surveys conducted among villagers in the four selected communities in Ya Long Bay, Dong Tian, Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zones in Sanya City and Boao Tourist Zone in Qionghai City. Chapter 5 describes collaborative study programs (participatory research) conducted at two of the four communities to further understand how villagers take advantage of tourism development to improve their lives and what would be necessary for rural people to initiate and enhance their participation in tourism development. Chapter 6 summarizes research findings and analyzes them according to the theoretical hypothetical framework for the study. As well, the chapter uses the

research findings and the theoretical analysis to generate recommendations from policy and planning perspectives. Chapter 7 offers conclusions and presents some further research recommendations.

Notes

1. Clan refers to a traditional social group based on descent from a common ancestor. In China, clan refers to a patrilineal and patrilocal group of related Chinese people with a common surname and sharing a common ancestor and, in many cases, an ancestral village. Clan loyalties tend to be very strong in the south of China, and to a large extent are reinforced by ties to the ancestral village, common property, and often a common spoken Chinese dialect.
2. The six main factors were “accommodation, foods, transportation, tour, shopping and recreation”.
3. Fourteen of eighteen famous tourist zones in the province were located in remote rural areas as shown in the map in Chapter 2.
4. The Region B was under the jurisdiction of a town which belonged to the sampled City A.
5. Changes in planning process were even obvious on urban planning issues: the Master Plan of Haikou City experienced public questioning and discussion in 2004 after sections of plan were published in local newspapers. Workshops among planning institutions, various government departments and other social groups were conducted in planning Haikou Volcano National Geological Park in 2005. The renewal plan of Sanya eastern and western rivers was exhibited in open houses and suggestions from city residents were collected in 2004.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Context and Hypothesis

2.1 Theoretical Context

2.1.1 Planning Theories and Models of Tourism Planning

The term “tourism planning”, although often seen in the literature, has not been frequently defined. Gunn (1988) and Hall (1999) defined planning and Inskeep (1991) listed the eight elements of tourism planning, the authors did not directly define the term in their books *Tourism Planning*. In the limited numbers of works including a definition, tourism planning has been defined in various ways. Some definitions are economy-oriented; they refer to tourism planning as guidance for the use of tourism assets and the development of tourism in a marketable way (such as Lickorish & Jenkins, 1997). Some emphasize the scope of tourism planning, such as Evans (2000, p.308) which was modified from Page (1995) as: “a process of considering social, economic and environmental issues in a spatial context in terms of development, conservation and land use.” Sometimes tourism planning has been defined from mixed perspectives: Wahab and Pigram (1997, p.279) defined it as a process that leads development to be “adaptive to the needs of the tourists, responsive to the needs of local communities, and socio-economically, culturally and environmentally sound.” Timothy (1999, p.371) defined from the perspective of host groups: “tourism planning is viewed as a way of maximizing the benefits of tourism to an area and mitigating problems that might occur as a result of development.” It was suggested by Wall (1996, p.41) that planning is a political process that “empowers some and disadvantages others,” and that maximizing benefits and minimizing costs cannot happen at the same time. Timothy’s definition is not clear on this point. For this research, the definitions of Murphy (1985, p.156) and Getz (1987, p.409) have been combined: *Tourism planning is concerned with anticipating and regulating changes in the tourism system and with integrating tourism with broader-scale development planning. It is a process that seeks to optimize the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality.*

The origin of tourism planning closely relates to the histories of planning and tourism. In the West, modern planning arose at the turn of the 19th century (Campbell & Fainstein, 1998). During World War II, planning was established as a profession and the Rational Comprehensive Planning Model (RCP) became the prevailing theoretical foundation of planning (Klosterman, 1998). In the 1960s and 1970s, a host of problems, such as slum clearance, urban sprawl and inadequate housing, stimulated demands for public participation in planning (Hall, 1980; Lanfant & Graburn, 1992; Taylor, 1998). The emergence of the “participation era” (Grant, 1989) or the “return to the local” (Lanfant & Graburn, 1992) ultimately established public participation as one of the most important components in the Western planning process. Out of this period evolved Incremental Planning (Lindblom, 1959), Advocacy Planning (Davidoff, 1965), Transactive Planning (Davidoff 1975), Integrated Planning (Conyers & Hills, 1986), Strategic Planning (Kaufman & Jacobs, 1987), and Collaborative Planning (Healey, 1992). Each of these approaches, to varying degrees, encourages planners to create a more meaningful role for the public in decision making and in planning processes.

Burns (1999) and Costa (2001) reported a similar path in the evolution of tourism planning. In the 1960s, disposable income and technological progress (e.g. aircraft) encouraged mass tourism. Master planning or rational comprehensive tourism planning emerged without a critical analysis of the tourism sector at the end of this period. With the continual growth of mass tourism, master planning reached its apex in the West in the 1970s, although there was a lack of political will to shape development to the destination’s own needs (Burns, 1999). Many tourism destinations formulated their master plans (e.g. 1976 Tourism Master Plan of Israel; Tourism Development Plan 1981-1985 in Jordan) during this period. In the 1980s, a decade after their urban planning counterpart, alternative tourism planning approaches were developed because of the growing awareness of negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts at destinations, and the emerging demands for more than the ‘four Ss’ of tourism (sea, sand, sun, sex) among experienced tourists (Burns, 1999; Costa, 2001).

Table 1: Tourism Planning Approaches

Approaches	Definition / Utilization	Roots	Principles	Main Steps / Tools	The Role of Participation	References
Comprehensive	Conventional RCP is to stimulate growth; Reformed approach is to plan the fragmented but interrelated components in tourism system and to link tourism sector with larger scale development.	Rational Comprehensive Planning (RCP) & / or principle of participation	Conventional RCP or Reformative Comprehensive Planning ("the third way of planning"): mainly follow the conventional RCP's steps to comprehensively explore the situation in a participatory way.	Preparation; Set goal; Survey & data analysis; Synthesis and select from alternatives; Plan formulation; Implementation; Evaluation and monitoring.	Goal setting is undertaken in a consultative way with clients (i.e. tourism authorities, project developers, community members, etc.); In the reformed approach, the ideas and concerns of local people, NGOs, and entrepreneurs will be carefully examined in the planning process.	Jenkins, 1980; Baud Bovy, 1982; Getz, 1986; Inskoop, 1991; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998; Costa, 2001; Burns, 2004, p.24.
Community (Collaborative planning; Community-based planning & Stakeholder-based planning)	A process of joint decision-making among key stakeholders of a tourism domain to resolve problems of the domain and / or to manage issues relating to planning and development of the domain.	Transactive (Participatory) Planning; Advocacy Planning; Collaborative Planning	Public participation is the main component of this planning approach; Participation is suggested to start at the beginning of the planning stage to permit broadly based planning goal and objectives; Ideally, two-way communication and positive participation of various stakeholders should be encouraged during the process.	Different planning methods are adopted based on the case situation; the familiar techniques include group setting inquiry; round table discussion, community consulting meetings, in-depth interviews, etc.	Community approach is not only relevant to participation in its principles, also, its techniques (planning tools) are mainly participatory in nature. This approach, theoretically, is the sharing decision-making and planning processes with whoever being affected by or interest in the decision or plan, thus, it is fundamentally inclusive. However, its practicability is sometimes limited because of the political, social, cultural and economic constraints at destinations.	Murphy, 1985; Haywood, 1988; Fischer & Forester, 1993; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Clarke, 1996; Healey, 1998; Reed, 1997; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Manning, 1999; de Araujo & Bramwell, 2000; Kumar & Paddison 2000. Mitchell & Reid, 2001.
Integrated	To respond to different sets of values and objectives and to the demand of interconnectedness. The approach is often adopted when preparing background information for further detail plan formulation or policy making.	integrated Planning: planning of a specific project requires inputs from different sectors.	Two implications in tourism; external integration: implies the integration of the tourism sector into the macro system (regional / national development or international market). Internal integration: integrates various components of tourism (e.g. transportation, accommodation), balances demand and supply, and incorporates the public and private sectors.	Identify the key issue(s) or goals; Share experiences and exchange ideas, provide strategies or recommendations collectively. Discussions are mainly taken in workshop setting, such as stakeholder meeting.	Participation is often limited within the government scope but among various sectors; or between the public and private sectors to facilitate partnership.	Conyers and Hills, 1986; Inskoop, 1991; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; ESCAP, 1996; Marcouiller, 1997; Gauteng Tourism Authority, 2003;

Strategic	"A continual, iterative process that creates a feasible match between internal needs and resources and external environmental conditions".	Originated from private sector; Strategic Planning (SWOT analysis).	Two scales in tourism; at site scale: oriented to an organization / site's mandate or needs, such as conservation, environmental protection, impact minimization. Regional scale: provides generalized regional information and guidelines either to foster tourism growth or to recommend on management.	Environment scan; Select key issues; Set goals/vision; External and internal environment analyses; Develop strategies; Develop implementation plan; Monitor, update and start another scan.	The key issues are identified by the client organization; Coordination with local policies and political structure is important. Community participation in collecting the information is necessary in this planning approach.	Mill & Morrison, 1985; Kaufman and Jacobs, 1986; Gunn, 1988; Seasons, 1989, p.20; Baker, 1992; Alipour, 1996; Fletcher and Cooper, 1996; United Nations, 1999; Baidal, 2004.
Alternative	A continuous research and feedback process that is adaptable and able to respond to rapidly changing environments with generating small changes in steps.	Concept of alternative development; Incremental Planning.	Starts at deciding about choosing alternative development. Planning is then undertaken in determining various aspects of the sector: such as small-scale, locally owned accommodations. 'Authentic' cultural and natural attractions. Year-round market. Minimal imports. Public participation in planning and impact analysis.	Identify appropriate style of alternative development (e.g. Ecotourism). After it has been accepted, a plan to regulate the scale and form of the development will be formulated. Series of strategies will be decided to implement the plan.	Theoretically, it is an approach with greater possibility to facilitate the wellbeing of people because it calls for small scale, native development. Community participation is a main principle in this approach. However, these cannot be guaranteed: sometimes, alternative development is decided top-down as a complementary part of mass tourism.	Lindblom, 1959; Getz, 1986; Ritcher, 1989; Wilkinson, 1989; Chowdhry, 1990; Lanfant & Graburn, 1992; Gunn, 1994; Weaver, 1995; Busby & Rendle, 2000; Clarke, <i>et al.</i> , 2001; Telfer, 2002.
Sustainable Development	"The approach proposes to carry developmental achievements in such a way that it fulfills the present human needs but will not worse off the future generations".	Sustainable development (more like a concept than a planning approach)	As a concept, sustainability becomes one of the most used words in tourism planning, mainly from environmental (conservation) and community (sharing benefits and mitigating negative impacts) perspectives. However, very few cases show the procedures of this approach (if it is) and little evidence exists to determine how this "approach" is being used in practice.		The concept strongly relates to community participation in planning and development activities since the successful implementation of the concept depends on the full support of the people in the domain. However, the practicability of the concept is questioned especially among the communities living on the margin of basic needs: it may not realistic to expect them to consider future generations' welfare before they can make the ends meet.	Chambers, 1987; WCED, 1987; Pigram, 1992; Joppe, 1996; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998, p.103; Hardy, <i>et al.</i> , 2002; Timothy, 2002; Baidal, 2004.

Major tourism planning approaches are summarized in above Table 1 to facilitate synthesis and comparison.

As Haywood (1988) and Wall (1996) pointed out, comprehensive tourism planning commonly exists in less developed countries. The national tourism development plan of Fiji in 1973 is one example (Inskip, 1991). A planning team (including UNDP/World Bank experts) examined the physical environment and recommended various physical aspects of beach tourism development. Although the district governments were carefully consulted, public participation did not occur in the Fiji case, partly because the master plan was at the national level. A different case of comprehensive tourism planning occurred in Alberta, Canada (Gunn, 1988). The planning task was to prepare a master plan, including a comprehensive review of tourism in Alberta, and to understand its history, marketing and world position, and to identify its future potential. During the planning process in 1984, significant involvement of the private sector was pursued, which helped to achieve a greater understanding between the public and the private sectors.

The community approach has three sub-approaches, as shown in the table. Although the three terms are sometimes used interchangeably (such as in Jamal & Getz, 1995), cases introduced here separate them according to the way the original authors used them. For example, a collaborative approach was used in formulating the Hope Valley Visitor Management Plan in Britain (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999). The planning process, including a series of collective discussions, involved many relevant stakeholder groups and adopted various participatory techniques. The authors concluded that residents broadly supported the plan. An oft-cited successful community-based tourism planning case was in Waikiki, Hawaii. Sheldon and Abenoja (2001) commented on extensive efforts, such as a large number of long-term resident attitude studies that were directed towards involving local residents in planning in Waikiki. Successful round-table stakeholder-based tourism planning was also undertaken in several sub-regions in British Columbia (Murphy, 1988). Stakeholder workshops brought various stakeholders in the tourism industry (mainly community NGOs and business groups) together to discuss their own

expected futures. According to Murphy (1988), a synergistic partnership was established, which helped to balance gains in development.

An integrated planning approach was adopted by the Republic of South Africa as a tool aimed at integrating sectors, geographic areas and the private organizations in a way that would promote sustainable tourism (Gauteng Tourism Authority, 2003). The planning task was undertaken with the assistance of, and under the consultation of, the British Department of International Development. Out of the planning process, three-dimensional guidelines (economic, social and environmental) were formulated to direct future tourism policy making.

As Fletcher and Cooper (1996) introduced in their discussion of a strategic planning case in Hungary, the main goals identified by local tourism authorities were to reduce the pressure of tourism on Budapest by increasing the regional distribution of tourists and spreading economic benefits. Szolnok County was chosen after an environmental review. Tourism attractions and facilities were 'discovered' while related problems were identified during a community survey, which was conducted together with local NGOs. The development goals were identified afterwards as the development or redevelopment of facilities and attractions to meet development needs, while mitigating the risks of social and environmental damage. Short-, medium- and long-term action strategies, which presented a close relationship between tourism authorities and local organizations, especially the local entrepreneurs in the implementation, were then formulated (Fletcher & Cooper, 1996).

Alternative tourism planning approaches vary and include ecotourism planning and green / rural / agricultural tourism planning. One case of alternative tourism planning was the development of ecotourism in Montserrat (Weaver, 1995). After government sectors (Tourism, Agriculture, Trade and Environment) agreed to promote ecotourism, detailed studies were carried out and plans were formulated by external agencies (UNDP) together with local NGOs. In another example, the Korean government decided to promote rural tourism because they were impressed by the successful experience of Japan (Hong et al., 2003). Aiming at both economic returns and raising

cultural awareness among urban and rural people, some environmentally-friendly small-scale development projects with special events were organized by the Korean government together with resident groups.

Sustainable development was identified as one tourism planning approach by Tosun and Jenkins (1998), Hall (1999) and Baidal (2004). Its use as a tourism planning approach, however, is questionable, because the authors did not suggest a procedure or planning tools for using this 'approach', and no planning or tourism planning cases were found in the literature. As shown in Table 1, sustainable development has often been treated as a concept in tourism planning, rather than an implemented approach.

A recurring theme within the above approaches / concepts, as summarized in Table 1, is advocacy of participation in decision making and in planning processes.

2.1.2 Community Participation

Participation is a rich concept that means different things to different people in different settings (Ghai & Alfthan, 1980; World Bank, 1996). Ghai (1989) considered "participation" as a decentralisation process through which resources, opportunities, education and decision making power may be distributed to broader and lower levels so that people may have a more effective role in development. This interpretation is adopted here because encouraging participation is a top-down process in China, where the standpoint of a decision maker has implications for the type and level of community participation. It is worth pointing out that two very different dimensions of participation exist: 'in the decision-making process' and 'in sharing the benefits or taking advantage of development opportunities' (Wall, 1995; Din, 1998; Timothy, 1999). Many researchers fail to distinguish them (Din, 1998).

2.1.2.1 Participation in Sharing in Decision-making and Planning Processes (PDM)

Participation in planning and decision making is a concept that emerged from the situations

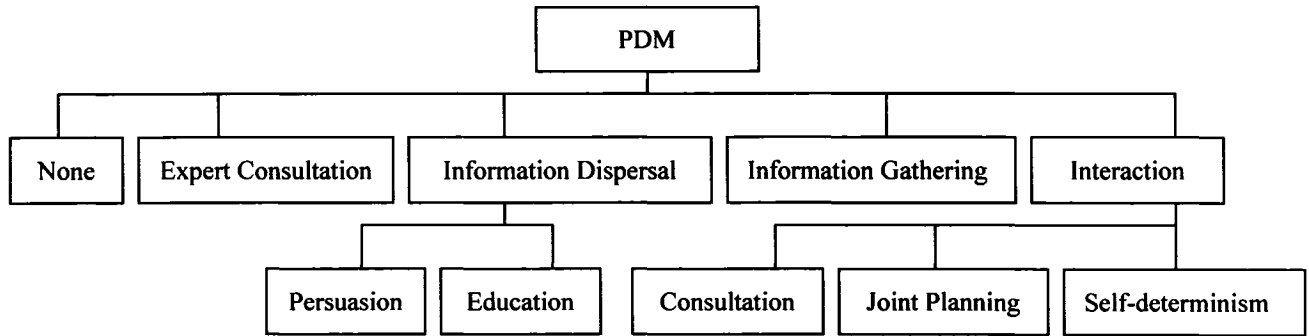
prevailing in the developed world (see Murphy, 1985, 1988; Haywood, 1988; Keogh, 1990; Inskip, 1991; Simmons, 1994). As Tosun (2000) argued, it emerged due to the needs of governments to respond to community actions since the 1960s. Participation in decision making (PDM) has often been identified as being one goal of social change and as a method of bringing about change (Kaufman, 1997). It is normally defined as collaborative influence and control over decisions by stakeholders (*participatory or collaborative planning*) (World Bank, 1996) or redistribution of power that enables those who hitherto were excluded to control the political process (*Advocacy Planning*) (Arai, 1996; Kaufman, 1997). However in most cases, PDM is a process or activity directed or permitted by decision maker(s) who are legally higher in the hierarchy of power for a specific development issue or project, with the intent of sharing decision making (Cuthbertson, 1983; Potter and Norville, 1983; Roy, 1998). PDM, for this study, is defined as *activities undertaken by a planning or management agency to provide opportunities for local communities to influence decisions regarding the developments which affect their lives*. PDM is a political process that enables people to gain a measure of control over the development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them. PDM in this study focuses on regional and community development rather than family-scale improvement programs.

PDM is advocated to promote new social orders and to solve social ills (Lanfant & Graburn, 1992). It is widely believed that PDM corrects social and political problems, fosters a continued democracy, enhances social peace and political legitimacy, gains public acceptance and builds public trust, increases administrative attentiveness to neighborhood needs, improves the quality of plans and decisions, informs and educates participants, develops neighborhood leadership, develops support for implementation, and promotes community cohesion (Laeshire, 1969; Altshuler, 1970; Cole, 1974; Biliiana, 1976; Cupps, 1977; Bronfman, 1983; Daneke, 1983; Freudenburg, 1983; Garcia, 1983; Trist, 1983; Thomas, 1990, 1993; Jamal & Getz, 1997; Long, 2000). In the tourism field, PDM has been suggested as one way to promote sustainability, balance economic and social development, integrate destination planning, ensure a 'sense of place,' foster a better understanding

of complex situations, develop a common value base, guarantee an equal distribution of benefits and increase recognition of interdependence among destination stakeholders (Amore 1983; Murphy 1983, 1985, 1988, 1992; Haywood 1988; Ritchie 1988; Keogh 1990; Bramwell & Lane 1993; Gill 1997; Jamal & Getz 1997; Wall 1997; Timothy 1998; Bahaire & Elliott 1999; Hall 2000). These interpretations are not to say that PDM is merely a means; as a sign of democracy, it is an end in itself (Kaufman, 1997).

Researchers agree that decision making-related participation in a given development issue may vary in extent of community involvement and potential influence (Vroom & Yetton 1973; Timothy, 2002). The intensity of decision making-related participation ranges through many levels, starting with autonomous decision making with no participation (Thomas, 1993), through expert-consultative decision making when the manager seeks information from segments of the people, but decides alone in a manner that may or may not reflect group influence (Thomas, 1993); through information dispersal (Sewell & Phillips, 1979) which is either used to convince the community to support a given development, or at least remain neutral, or is used to inform the community so that the people can respond knowledgeably to what has been planned for their area (Goldenberg & Frideres, 1986). The latter level involves legitimate endeavors to change people's attitudes without raising public expectations of participating in the planning process (Sewell & Phillips, 1979). A fourth level is information gathering as a process to request people's feedback on a given development (Sewell & Phillips, 1979); while a fifth level, interaction, is a two-way communication and problem-solving process, in which people are involved as actors instead of spectators in the decision making (Goldenberg & Frideres, 1986). Three dimensions of interactive participation, as suggested by Sewell and Phillips (1979), are consultation in which formal dialogue is used to gather reactions to given development issues; joint planning which is a shared decision-making process; and self-determinism in which the planning and decision making is undertaken by the community members themselves. Levels of decision making-related participation are organized in Figure 1; below.

Figure 1: Dimensions of Participation in Decision Making (PDM)



Source: Summarized from literatures

In designing PDM, the different dimensions of sharing in decision making can only be adopted and implemented successfully based on a thorough understanding of feasibility for specific case contexts. Even though encouraging community participation in planning and decision making is now widely advocated as a philosophy and means to promote development (Cernea, 1991), the gap remains wide between rhetoric and field reality (Chambers, 1994). There is a risk that participation remains irrelevant and inert as a feasible policy option for real-world planning, especially in a fragmented activity, such as tourism (de Kadt, 1976; Hughes, 1995), or in politically centralized or “growth” contexts (Din, 1998; Yuksel & Yuksel, 1999; Tosun, 2000; Zhang, 2003), such as in China. Conflicts and resistance can emerge at any stage of the process because of power relations, local political regimes, local beliefs and culture, the complexity of operating PDM, the nature of the target groups, and the prevailing economic conditions (Pigram, 1991, 1993; Reed, 1997; Bahaire & Elliott, 1999). Some researchers argue that encouraging disadvantaged groups, for example the rural Chinese, to participate in PDM processes suffers from many weaknesses (Din, 1998; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000). Table 2 summarizes the obstacles preventing the practice of PDM in top-down political environments, such as China. The earlier discussion about the Village Self-management Movement (Chapter 1) also identified the difficulties in promoting a shared decision making program among the rural poor.

Table 2 suggests that, it can be seen that efforts to increase popular power face enormous

Table 3: The Obstacles of Practicing PDM among Rural Poor Communities in a Top-down Political Environment

Perspective	Obstacles	References
Government	Power centralization and the powerful may be reluctant to relinquish or dilute their power.	Chambers, 1983, 1997; Green, 1979; Garcia, 1983; Haywood, 1988; de Kadt, 1992; Butler, 1993; Jamal & Getz, 1994, 2000; Clegg & Hardy, 1996; Elander, 1997; Ornelas, 1997; Bahaire & Elliott, 1999; Timothy & White, 1999; Long, 2000; Tosun, 2000; Timothy, 2002; Lindberg <i>et al.</i> , 2003.
	PDM may be decided from the 'top' to confirm political support or effective implementation	
	Fragmented and complicated government structure.	
	Distance from local communities, both geographically and psychologically.	
	The reluctance to slow down the development speed or accept an alternative development.	
The reluctance to cooperate with groups lack of development resources (such as capital).		
Private Sectors	Dominant-subordinate relationship exists in PDM because some participants (e.g. business group) are better organized, educated, informed and with greater skills and resources.	Elliott, 1983; Freudenburg, 1983; Reich, 1985; Brett, 1987; de Kadt, 1992; Hall & Jenkins, 1995; Wall, 1996; Reed, 1997; Wanhill, 1998; Tyler & Dinan, 2001.
	Investment power ensures their interests and a certain level of decision making power which they may not want to share with others.	
	In an immature business environment, business group may prefer large-scale development then they can influence the decision making and expect a rapid return on invested capital.	
	In an immature business environment, business group may not be spontaneously sensitive to ecological or local issues. They may merely prefer to see their privileges continue.	
	The reluctance to share the power with the bottom.	
Planning Experts	Hard to convince various interests.	Chambers, 1993; Pigram, 1993; Reed, 1997; Yuh & Wu, 1999; Hall, 2000.
	Hard to find common ground among diverse interests in organizing PDM.	
	Hard to blend the ideas of citizens and experts in proceeding PDM.	
	Hard to convoke the least effective participants who lack of resources in advocating PDM.	
	Revolutionizing the political structure in a country to decentralize administration goes beyond the control of the planners.	
Community / Policy Takers	Psychologically reluctant to participate because they want to make ends meet and benefits occurring at present. Also, PDM may not be part of their culture.	Maslow, 1943; Ghai & Alftan, 1980; Chambers, 1983, 1986a, 1995; Doyal & Gough, 1991; Friedmann, 1992; Wall, 1995; Din, 1998; Pei, 1998; Boniface, 1999; Timothy, 1999; Reed, 2000; Tosun, 2000.
	Lack of information, education and resources to act.	
	Lack of local associations and mutual-aid business network to solidarize to struggle for greater power.	

obstacles from a government perspective. Community participation in planning and decision making has to be politically acceptable to governments (de Kadt, 1976; Bahaire & Elliott, 1999) in location such as China. However, PDM is an empowering process in which the public assesses, plans, manages and controls collective actions (Askew, 1989); thus, it is a tool to rebalance and decentralize power (Willis, 1995; Tosun, 2000). Community participation in decision making may meet immediate obstacles in top-down political situations in which the powerful may be reluctant to relinquish or dilute their power (Tosun, 2000; Timothy, 2002). Moreover, Lanfant and Graburn (1992) note that participation in many developing tourist destinations is passive and decided from the “top”. Thus, an increased level of citizen activity does not necessarily mean that the degree of citizens’ impacts on planning decisions is increased as well (Priscoli, 1983a; Jamal & Getz, 2000). PDM may be initiated either as a confirmation of political support and/or as an essential ingredient of more effective implementation to promote vested interests (Oakley & Marsden, 1984, Clegg & Hardy, 1996). Moreover, considerable geographical and psychological distance may block communication between the traditional decision makers and the regions of development and their people (Chambers, 1983, 1997; Butler, 1993; Ornelas, 1997; Timothy & White, 1999).

Fragmentation of government responsibilities is another constraint, especially in planning which is dispersed throughout government structures (de Kadt, 1992; Elander, 1997; Horvath, 1997; Pickvance, 1997; Tosun, 2000). This is particularly true in China, where political norms and complex institutional arrangements hinder high levels of community participation (Lindberg et al., 2003). Even worse, tourism sometimes has been promoted in government mandates to speed up economic development and to increase the likelihood of gaining political prestige. These goals may leave no space to involve diverse decision makers, especially those who have the potential to suggest alternative development forms (Garcia, 1983). Also, in stimulating growth, governments privilege the participation of those who hold the resources needed to achieve certain policy agendas (Long, 2000). In these cases, the public sector decision makers respond primarily to elites and social groups with large stakes in the tourism sector, such as high-level employees and consumers

(Green, 1979). This type of “community” participation in decision making can only reinforce rather than counter-balance the inequities present in existing political arrangements, and provide already powerful groups with an even more direct way to make their voices heard and to turn private concerns into “appropriate” subjects of public action (Freudenburg, 1983; Reich, 1985; Wilkes, 2000).

It is a traditional problem of PDM that the most effective participants are those who are better organised, better educated, better informed, and “participate” with greater skills and resources (Freudenburg, 1983; Reich, 1985). An ideal of equal decision making seldom exists in reality and is likely to involve some form of dominant-subordinate relationship (Wall, 1996). For example, business groups are traditionally strong players who tend to dominate the policy process (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). They use their lobbying capacity and the influence of investment power to collaborate with like-minded groups to ensure that their needs are met ahead of others’ (Tyler & Dinan, 2001). Business groups, especially non-locals, prefer large-scale developments because of the combination of real-estate speculation and the prospect of a rapid pay-back on invested capital (Wanhill, 1998). Especially in an immature business environment, private investors will often not be spontaneously sensitive to ecological or local issues and will not be concerned that their projects yield benefits for the host region’s development in general and for the poor in particular. Those who get benefits and power from existing arrangements prefer to see them continue (Brett, 1987; Reed 1997); thus, private investors may take initiatives to protect established interests, thus generating further obstacles for local participation in decision making (de Kadt, 1992; Elliott, 1983).

From the perspective of planning experts (Table 2), convincing various interests and identifying who has the right to participate in PDM in a complex political structure are complicated tasks (Pigram, 1993; Reed, 1997). The challenge of finding common ground among diverse interest groups in such a complex operational environment, especially in tourism development, is daunting (Pigram, 1993; Hall, 2000). Talking about blending citizens’ and experts’ interests is easy but doing it is difficult (Priscoli, 1983b). It is difficult to advocate a program including those who need the

additional political protection the most but are the least effective participants because of lack of information, knowledge and resources. Furthermore, maximizing local participation has the potential to paralyze administration and could potentially revolutionize the entire political structure of a country (Chambers, 1993), moving it far beyond the control of political scientists and sociologists in academia, or planners in practice.

Even from the perspective of a community, bottom-up responses may be hampered by limited knowledge, apathy, misinformation, and resistance to change (Pigram, 1990). From a psychological aspect, people, especially those most disadvantaged, may be reluctant to participate since most of the so-called 'participation', 'community involvement', 'co-management' and 'joint decision-making' programs are processes initiated by outsiders seeking to change things (Chambers, 1983). In fact, change will not occur if the promotion of the changes does not mainly come from part of the population themselves (Doyal & Gough, 1991; Tosun & Jenkins, 1996). From a motivational aspect, Maslow (1943) argued that an individual will satisfy lower motivational levels, such as physiological and safety needs, before higher-order needs will emerge. Although under some specific situations, people act differently (Doyal & Gough, 1991), such as people who give up their lives to strive for freedom in wars, most researchers still agree that under normal situations, poor people will likely want livelihood items such as food, clothing, shelter, work, health, education and water supply more than power or other higher-order satisfactions (Streenten & Buriki, 1978; Ghai & Alfthan, 1980; Chambers, 1983, 1986a; Doyal & Gough, 1991; Friedmann, 1992; Lara & Molina, 1997). This helps to explain why disadvantaged groups place less value on long-term planning which means benefit a long time in the future when what they need is benefits at present (Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000). Some case studies also show that ordinary people feel they should not be involved in sharing in decision making (such as Timothy, 1999; Wilkes, 2000; Wang, 2003). Another explanation for this is that PDM may not be part of people's culture (Boniface, 1999). Community "participation" may take different forms reflecting varied cultural attributes. It may not always follow the Western paradigm of sharing in decision making (Wall, 1995; Tosun,

2000). As Chambers (1983, p.144, 165) stated:

“Outsider academics, especially social scientists, often assume that what the poor people’s priority is to confront their powerlessness by occupying more decision making power. But they do not know that when landless people in Bangladesh were asked their priorities, the answers clearly referred to ‘activities which would generate more income.’”

“Changing power relations and the distribution of wealth may often be a necessary condition for major improvement. But any strategy towards that goal which in the short-term makes life appear worse for those who are poor needs very, very careful scrutiny. It is safer and more humane to proceed by short steps into what can be foreseen than by long leaps into the unknown, in the meantime gaining experience on the way. Without perceiving this, outsiders’ interventions are all too easily propelled in directions which leave people worse off in their own eyes than they were before. We cannot add our own value upon other groups’ desire and life priority.”

Moreover, resource-poor groups often lack access to information and the will and capacity to act on that information, which greatly constrain active participation in planning and decision making (Reed, 2000). It is also a challenge to raise political awareness among the rural population in China who, for centuries, have been made to believe that decision-making power belongs in the hands of others. Another constraint is that the local associations and mutual-aid business networks do not exist to a significant extent, mainly because the subsistence mode of production does not require networking for purposes of sharing capital and business intelligence (Din, 1998; Tosun, 2000). This is true that civic associations in rural China are normally small in scale, lacking in membership, mainly scholarly-based, not directly oriented to local needs and always concentrated in industrialized provinces (Pei, 1998). In the absence of such fraternities, the host communities normally lack solidarity in struggling for greater decision-making power. On the other hand, the belief in community participation that “the people” can do no wrong is itself wrong. Different social groups within a community are likely to see the situation from their own perspective and contend over the same and always limited resources, leading to conflicts (Friedmann, 1992).

These obstacles restrict adoption of shared decision-making and planning power as an initial means of improving people's lives, especially if the development is rapid and on a large scale as is often the case in China. The PDM concept remains largely an academic exercise if it is imposed. Broader, more inclusive theoretical paradigms need to be considered in order to understand and advance community participation in China. This is not a reason for questioning the fundamental validity of PDM, however patience and a grounded approach are needed in practical initiatives.

2.1.2.2 Participation in Benefit Sharing (PBS)

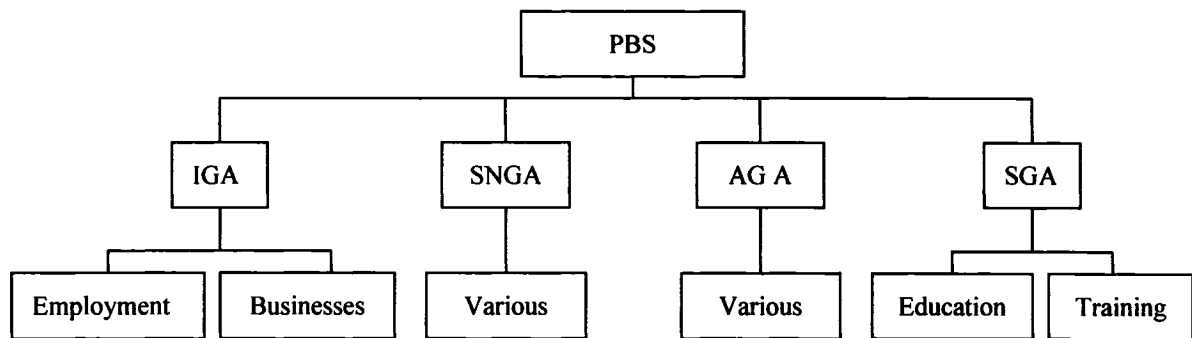
Community participation in tourism development can be viewed from another perspective: participation in benefit sharing, or PBS (Timothy, 1999). PBS reflects an interest in finding forms of development through which benefits actually reach the majority of the population (Hall, 1994; Simmons, 1994; Kaufman, 1997), along with a moral requirement that a large number of people should not be systematically excluded from development nor become the unwitting victims of other people's progress (Friedmann, 1992). PBS is defined here as *a process or activity through which people participate in opportunities to acquire material wealth, such as in economic activities, and in opportunities to develop human capital, such as in education, training, awareness-generation, social communication and network expansion.*

PBS, especially among the poor, can contribute to development by enhancing generation of resources, making people more productive, mobilizing local knowledge, and increasing the development potential of an area (Chambers, 1983; Friedmann, 1992; Remy, 1995; Kaufman, 1997; Reed, 2000). PBS provides good opportunities for people to help themselves instead of being helped once in a while by others, such as being provided with subsidies (Rein, 1976; Chambers, 1987; Remy, 1995). In tourism, PBS may help to sustain local cultures, craft skills and common properties, if people see these as being in their interest (Garrod & Fyall, 1998; Hall, 2000b). Case studies also show that the opportunities resulting from PBS in tourism encourage people to invest in health, education and other social facilities (de Araujo & Bramwell, 2000) and to improve people's

technical, communication and business skills (Gang & Kruse, 2003; Lindberg et al., 2003).

PBS includes four dimensions (Figure 2). The most widely understood types of PBS in tourism development are income-generation activities (IGA), such as employment and business; skill-generation activities (SGA), such as education and training and social network-generation activities (SNGA) (Timothy, 1999; Hall, 2000c). An additional means of sharing benefits of development is identified as awareness-raising. Lynn (1992) recognized it can be important in that it assists community members to know about opportunities and to benefit from development. Also, participation in awareness-generation activities (AGA) helps communities to be aware of the impacts of development (Timothy, 2000).

Figure 2: Typology of Participation in Benefit Sharing (PBS)



Sources: Summarized from literatures

PBS is an ideology traditionally accepted in China: the feudal dynasties in China emphasized benefit-based participation among the agricultural populations. This idea of participation was first generalized 2500 years ago by Confucius as: governors should let the people get the most from their production... they need to observe and hear the situation of people to get to know, then to solve, their problems (*the Analects •Yan Yuan*¹). The dynasties of the feudal age, no matter how they acted, all called for the adoption of Confucius' idea as the foundation of national development policy. However, in tracking historical documents, it is clear that although emphasis was given to benefit sharing, participation in political affairs was ignored. Guan Zhong, the famous politician and ideologist of The Spring and Autumn Period (722BC-481BC), advocated making

people rich and satisfied, and living and working in peace as the foundation of stable society². Shang Yang, the famous prime minister in the Qin Dynasty (221BC-206 BC), asserted that by distributing the benefits, more people could be attracted to participate in agriculture³. *The National Policy of Zhen Guan*⁴ in the Tang Dynasty (618-907), *The Book of Song*•*The Wen Emperor*⁵ in the Song Dynasty (960-1279), *Brief Points of Agriculture, Silkworm, Cloth and Food*⁶ of the Yuan Dynasty, (1279-1368), *The Record of Hong Wu*⁷ in The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and *The Statement of Agriculture and Silkworm*⁸ of The Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) all emphasized the importance of sharing the benefits of development among the general public, especially the agricultural population.

Encouraging PBS is practical, as shown in Table 3. It provides good incentives for both decision makers and rural people themselves to accept the concept in development. In addition, activities undertaken to share the benefits of tourism development may also benefit the tourism industry.

From a government perspective (Table 3), poverty reduction through economic and social development is high on the state agenda in almost all less-developed countries (ESCAP, 2000). Promoting PBS in initiating community participation in development may thus face fewer political obstacles than PDM. Moreover, improving the resource and knowledge bases of the poor will allow them to be more economically effective and self-reliant, making them more productive not only in the market sense but also in terms of their contribution to the whole society of which the government is a part (de Kadt, 1976; Friedmann, 1992). The local community's PBS also helps in the generation of modest local businesses which reduces leakage and stops benefits from flowing outside the immediate region in contrast to large-scale developments (de Kadt, 1976; Richter, 1989; Timothy, 2002). Moreover, PBS may help to increase the spillover effects of the development to other related industries or local trades.

From the tourism sector's perspective, local people's participation in tourism activities helps

Table 3: Impetus and Incentives of Practicing PBS among the Rural Poor Communities in a Top-down Political Environment

Perspectives	Impetus & Incentives	References
Government	Poverty reduction through economic and social development is high on government agenda.	de Kadt, 1976; Richter, 1989; Friedmann, 1992; ESCAP, 2000; Timothy, 2002; HDDR, 2003.
	PBS of the rural poor allows them to be more productive and self-reliant which also contribute to the whole society.	
	PBS is consistent with the new development direction in China - "people-centered" development.	
	PBS helps to relax the existing hazard of urban-rural polarization in China.	
	In tourism, PBS helps to reduce leakage and enlarge spillover effects of development at home.	
Tourism Industry	PBS helps to diversify the tourist products and enrich the tourists' experiences.	de Kadt, 1976; Wilson, 1979; Murphy, 1985; Simmons, 1994; Wall, 1997; Manning, 1999.
	Opportunities of PBS can enhance local hospitality.	
	PBS helps to balance the cost, impacts and benefits of tourism development.	
Rural Communities	Rural People normally have the desire for material wealth and social improvement.	Valk, 1990; Echtner, 1995; Long & Wall, 1995; Burns, 1999; Timothy, 1999; Hall, 2000c; Walker <i>et al.</i> , 2001; Cukier, 2002.
	PBS informs a better understanding about the procedures of participation because it relates to villagers' daily life and can germinate from their own traditional and local knowledge.	
	PBS provides the opportunities for the rural poor to get involve in tourism employment which is often accorded a relatively high status and remuneration compared with traditional options.	
	PBS lets tourism-related small businesses which are small in scale at the beginning to avoid attracting the attention of the outsiders to plunder the opportunities.	
	PBS helps the rural people to acquire new skills, knowledge and experiences which make them gradually stronger along the way of "exercise".	
	PBS also helps the establishment of the local cooperative organizations and other mutual help social networks and enhances the local awareness about participation and tourism development.	
	An opportunity of PBS helps the rural people to demonstrate their knowledge, creativity and intelligence which helps to revise the negative impression about the rural poor among other stakeholder groups, which may eventually open the door of PDM in front of the villagers.	

to diversify tourist products and enrich tourists' experiences (Wall, 1997), especially among minority communities who traditionally have good handicraft skills and/or distinctive lifestyles (de Kadt, 1976). Moreover, opportunities for PBS can enhance local hospitality which is very important for a tourism destination (Wilson, 1979; Simmons, 1994). Consequently, participants in the tourism industry must be knowledgeable and sensitive about the values of all stakeholders at a destination, among which the interest of local residents are especially important (Murphy, 1985; Manning, 1999).

From a community's point of view, especially among marginalized groups, participation will only be exercised when there is a clear link among the desire, understanding and resources to participate, the act of participation and the achievement of desirable outcomes (Valk, 1990). Starting participation from benefit-sharing activities should be much easier than starting with PDM activities among the rural poor, especially for those with few economic options. First of all, motivation for practicing PBS can be very strong among the rural people who are likely to have a desire for upward material wealth and social improvement (Burns, 1999; Walker *et al.*, 2001). Traditional experiences and knowledge of the local community can be used as the starting point of their participation in tourism development (Hall, 2000c). It is easier for participants to understand participation which is closely related to their daily lives (Valk, 1990), even though they might have never been involved in tourism before. The act of participation can be easily called up in activities to share in benefits of development because resources, experiences and skills are accumulated. Moreover, a well-designed PBS process can help people to develop and to demonstrate their power, creativity and intelligence which, ideally, may be used to open a communicative channel with planners and traditional decision makers (Hall, 2000c).

2.1.2.3 Initiation from PBS to PDM and Empowerment of the Rural Poor

PBS is not only a means of gaining financial resources, but also a process contributing to increase of information, knowledge, a sense of self-confidence, and a strengthening of social

relationships. Can PBS work as an initial means for encouraging greater participation of rural people in tourism development and even finally enhancing the level of participation in the planning and decision making processes? Some Western studies suggest that it can, but the idea does not seem to get the attention that it deserves in the planning field. Arai (1996) argued that empowering people in economic and social dimensions has a great impact on political dimensions of empowerment. Farrell (1992) and Boniface (1999) pointed out that, through a strengthened economic position and enhanced awareness and skills, people will spontaneously and confidently demand improved access to decision making. Ghai (1989) argued that provision of economic benefits to members plays an important role in participatory initiatives; people need motivation and incentives that relate to their needs in order to generate action. As summarized in Friedmann's (1992, p.34) words: "giving full voice to the disempowered population tends to follow a certain sequence." Acquisition of financial and human resources may be an initial requirement for effective participation in politics (Friedmann, 1992). At the same time, when people get some control, such as when they are provided with the power to decide part of the planning process, a product that is more closely related to their needs may be developed (Ghai & Alifthan, 1980). People then may become more developmentally independent (Farrell, 1992). This independence may be accompanied by a wish to be in a position to supply a much greater proportion of the required goods, resources, services and management talent, which, in turn, will reinforce the PBS process. In short, it is suggested that PBS (participation in benefit sharing) and PDM (participation in decision making) form one interrelated process through which rural people will be progressively empowered (World Bank, 1996). The separation of PBS and PDM in the above discussion is employed to facilitate discussion. It is suggested here that PBS may be initiated first to break some of the local political, social, cultural and economic constraints on participation and that, thereby, opportunities for PDM may be generated. In turn, PDM may reinforce the success of the PBS in the long run.

Participation in development helps participants to achieve more control over economic resources, build confidence and reduce dependence, bring about enhanced group relationships, and

increase individual intellectual, moral and technical competencies (Ghai, 1989). Participation in development can help to empower people and to enhance motivation and capability of participants to pursue higher levels of participation (Arai, 1996). Empowerment, in this study means that *people, especially poorer people who do not enjoy access to resources and suffer as well from a lack of membership in society, are able to take more control over their lives and to secure a better livelihood* (Rein, 1976; Chambers, 1993). Therefore, empowerment is a process in which people get stronger through participating in development to share in benefits and power. The process of getting stronger may occur spontaneously or under an outside impetus.

Scheyvens (1999) suggested that people may become stronger along four main dimensions through participation in tourism development: economic, psychological, social and political. The four dimensions are adopted for this study to classify participatory enhancements in the field and to highlight areas requiring particular attention if participation is to proceed. Taking into consideration other related literatures, illustrations of the four main dimensions are organized in Table 4, below:

Table 4: Strengthening Toward Future Participation

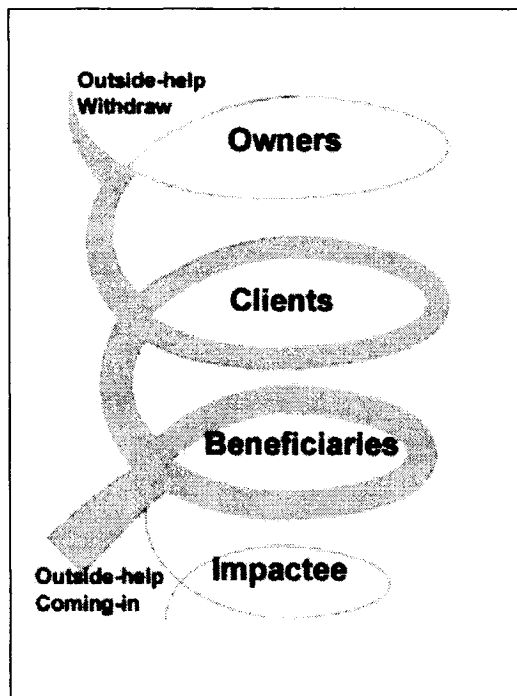
Economic Aspect	Psychological Aspect	Social Aspect	Political Aspect
Access to the means and resources of production and physical livelihood	Confidence	Co-operation, communication and leadership skills	Political awareness
Jobs	Self-esteem	Cohesion	Information
Other financial benefits, such as businesses	Pride in traditional culture	To develop and practice skills	Decision making skills
Improvement in local services and infrastructure *	Aspirations	Status and social identities	Political power and involvement in decision making
		Social support networks	Legal rights
Labonte, 1990; Couto, 1998; Scheyvens, 1999	Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988; Spreitzer, 1995; Zimmerman, 1995; Scheyvens, 1999	Neilson, 1986; Rappaport, 1987; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988; Labonte, 1990; Parsons, 1991; Zimmerman et al., 1992; Zimmerman, 1995; Pilisuk et al., 1996; Couto, 1998; Scheyvens, 1999	Rappaport, 1987; Labonte, 1990; Zimmerman et al., 1992; Zimmerman, 1995; Couto, 1998; Scheyvens, 1999

2.1.3 Theoretical Hypothesis – Participatory Spiral

Advocacy of participation in development, especially among disempowered populations, should be planned in stages in a top-down political situation. In many large-scale development projects, residents may be displaced and the resources supporting traditional livelihoods, such as fishing and farming, may be expropriated (Wang, 2003). This chain of events has occurred in tourism development in Pakistan, Burma, Laos and America, and in many other places in the world (Roville, 1988; Philp & Mercer, 1989; Wayakone et al., 1998; Trask, 2000), as well as in Hainan Province (Wang, 2003). This displacement, without a proper compensation or resettlement plan, only worsens residents' immediate situation as they seldom share in the benefits. Local communities may thus become the 'impacted' of development. Once this problem is perceived, and the public sector and / or the communities themselves have the desire to change the situation, people may initiate new livelihoods by taking advantage of the compensation resources or resources obtained in other ways. The poor may be introduced into the development process as "beneficiaries" – recipients of services, resources, training, information and development interventions (World Bank, 1996). Noted by World Bank (1996), as the capacities of the previously poor are strengthened and their voice begins to be heard, they may become "clients" who are capable of demanding and paying for goods and services provided by the government and the private development sectors. Active participation in decision-making and planning processes among the previously poor people then might be initiated (Rein, 1976). Although the voices of people at this stage may not yet have an influence equal to those who are more powerful politically (Abers, 1998), they have essentially become partners in development, and are not merely another resource (Farrell, 1992). With investment power, these people may have the confidence and resources to ask to be better "heard" in initiating development activities. When people further strengthen their capacity, they may ultimately become "owners" and managers of the development activities. Previously poor people will then have obtained the highest level of participation (World Bank, 1996; Boniface, 1999).

Local communities, especially the majority of the rural poor, rarely act spontaneously (Friedmann, 1992; Din, 1998) because they lack innovative leadership, adequate financial, material and technical means, and training (ESCAP, 2000). They may be unable to take advantage of the opportunities and resources that are available through decentralized mechanisms that may exist at the beginning stage of the development processes. Just as pupils require a teacher, the poor may need outsiders to take initiatives and to work with them (Abers, 1998). As part of the process, participation may involve consultation or collaboration with diverse individuals and groups from outside of the disempowered communities (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Empowerment is not a process of treating the poor as “objects” or “target groups”, however, genuine and lasting participation must be a process undertaken for oneself (Lather, 1991; Friedmann, 1992). Based on the above discussion, the participatory spiral model is formulated below in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Spiral of Rural Community Participation in Development.



The spiral hypothesizes that encouraging rural community participation may start with PBS and proceed to PDM. People may initially have no share of the tourism-generated benefits, then

progress through participation in benefit-generation activities to gain resources, knowledge, information, confidence, etc., to control of the development initiatives and eventually to being in charge of planning and decision-making processes. Increased effort, along with achievements and progress in economic, social and political dimensions, which in turn reinforce each other, might move the community through the participatory levels in the model. The rural community members in the development process may switch from an initial role as impactee, to beneficiary, to client and ultimately to owner. Moreover, the model adopts the concept of 'outsiders' entry phase' and 'withdrawal phase' to show that outside help can be provided at first. Then, outside influence may be gradually reduced, and eventually withdrawn when local people are capable of carrying on alone. This model also accords with human needs in sequence: human needs are presented not in a static manner, but as evolving over time in line with the growth of the economy and the aspirations of people (Ghai, 1980; Doyal & Gough, 1991; Kaufman, 1997; Taylor, 1998).

2.2 Research Goal and Objectives

Based on the situation of rural people in China and, more specifically, in Hainan Province introduced in Chapter 1 and the discussion on theoretical frameworks for promoting community participation in development in Chapter 2, a question was raised regarding how to initiate and enhance participation among the rural communities in tourism development in a given society and culture. This research will not be able to answer this question completely. Rather, it will explore the initiation of rural community participation in tourism development in Hainan Province, China and trends toward enhancement of participation at this tourism destination, where top-down political mechanisms have traditionally been in place.

The research goal has two main aspects. From a practical perspective, the study explores the initial forms, current level and future trends in participation in tourism development among rural communities in those tourist zones which have successfully promoted participation of rural communities, especially ethnic minority communities, in Hainan Province. From an academic

perspective, this study questions the conventional wisdom in planning that community participation in development should be initiated by sharing decision-making power, especially given a different political, socio-cultural and economic environment than in the Western countries. The study includes four objectives:

- (1) To evaluate the tourism plans. Tourism plans were assessed to explore whether and how community participation was emphasized in development of tourist zones in rural Hainan Province. Based on certain criteria, tourist zones that had strong sections in their plans about promoting community participation in tourism development were selected as study areas.
- (2) To select study site. Based on key-informant interviews, one community (natural village) in each of the four tourist zones was picked as a study site representing the most successful cases of community participation in tourism development in those areas.
- (3) To explore the current level of participation and the present role of the village participants in the tourism development at the four study sites and to investigate the initiation of community participation and the role of the participants, as a test of the spiral hypothesis using PDM and PBS frameworks introduced earlier. Moreover, this study has explored the lessons and experiences at the four sites that may be useful at other tourism destinations.
- (4) To understand how villagers can take advantage of tourism and how to facilitate their participation in tourism development using participatory research and accompanying interviews. Whether or not villagers had been empowered to pursue even higher levels of participation in tourism development was also explored through participatory research. Taking advantage of participatory research as a two-way learning process, rich research results about rural life were generated which did not only focus on “participation in tourism” but enabled the latter topic to be placed in a broader context.

2.3 Summary

Shared decision making in planning among various stakeholder groups is a major concept in

prevailing Western tourism planning approaches (Hall, 1999), although the extent of participation, the influences of the participants, and the groups involved are variable. Moreover, shared decision making in planning has been treated as a means to pursue more equitable tourism development and to balance tourism-led benefits among various stakeholder groups. However, participation is an issue that goes beyond the techniques of a planning approach; it is determined by power relationships, cultural and democratic values and awareness, structures of public governance, and institutional arrangements at varied destinations. In the West, some of these external determinant factors are at least partially satisfied, creating an environment more conducive to the promotion of shared planning and decision-making processes.

The Western style of shared decision making and planning is not viable as an initial means to encourage rural communities' participation in China, where tradition prescribes a top-down politics. PBS may be practical in China because it faces fewer obstacles from political, social, cultural and economic perspectives, compared with practicing shared decision making at this stage. A Participatory Spiral Hypothesis has been formulated, which suggests that, in a top-down planning context, PBS in development activities among the rural poor can start first and then gradually proceed to shared planning to improve people's lives. As shown in the Spiral Hypothesis, people may start with having no share of the tourism-generated benefits, then progress through participation in benefit-generation activities and, finally, come to control development initiatives and to take charge of the planning and decision-making processes. Because poor people rarely act spontaneously, it may be necessary that they obtain some outside support. Planners can provide opportunities for the poor to share in benefits by participating in tourism development and mitigate some negative impacts of the participation to the best of their abilities. They can also report these people's situations and concerns to decision makers whenever there is an opportunity and call for more support to be provided from various social groups.

Notes

1. Some age-old Chinese books cannot be cited in regular reference format since publication information is unknown and these were learned in Chinese classes in middle school.
2. *Guang Zhong • Managing the Country*, the Spring and Autumn Period (722BC-481BC): “Making people rich, satisfied, living and working in peace are the foundation of stable society”. [管子-治国:民富则安乡重家, 安乡重家则敬上畏罪, 敬上畏罪则易治也].
3. *The Book of Shang Yang • Outside and Inside*, the Qin Dynasty (221BC-206 BC): “It is necessary to distribute the benefits to encourage more people participate in agriculture”. [商君书: 内外:食者贵则田者利, 田者利则事者众]
4. *The National Policy of Zhen Guan*, the Tang Dynasty (618-907): “People are the foundation of a nation and the nation will be consolidated only after the people’s basic living needs are satisfied”. [贞观政要: 有国者, 必以人为本。固本者, 必以食为先].
5. *The Book of Song • The Wen Emperor*, the Song Dynasty (960-1279): “People are the foundation of a nation and their basic living needs have to be satisfied”. [宋书-文帝记: 国以民为本, 民以食为天].
6. *Brief Points of Agriculture, silkworm, Cloth and Food*, the Yuan Dynasty, (1279-1368): “People will only accept the education and management after getting enough living resources. A national can only be stable and peace after the people get education”. [农桑衣食撮要: 食足则民可教以礼义, 民可教以礼义则国家天下可久安长治也].
7. *The Record of Hong Wu*, the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644): “People will be close to a nation if they are rich in living resources and they will deviate it if they are poor, therefore, the living quality of the people has great relationship with the stability of a nation”. [洪武实录: 民富则亲, 民贫则离, 民之贫富, 国家休戚系焉].
8. *The Statement of Agriculture and Silkworm*, the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911): “The most useful and important method to stabilize a nation has long been recognized as people obtaining enough living resources”. [农桑论: 自古国家久安长治之谟, 莫不以足民为首务].

Chapter 3 Research Method and Study Site Selection

This chapter introduces the research designs for: first, a two-month monitoring project conducted in 2004 to track the displacement impacts at Tang Fang Village two years after resettlement; and second, eight-month field study of community participation in tourism development undertaken in Ya Long Bay, Dong Tian, Tian Ya Hai Jiao and Boao Tourist Zones, Hainan Province, China. Section 3.1 mainly introduces the research conducted in 2004 to explore displacement impacts after Tang Fang Village had been resettled for two years. Section 3.2 presents the design of the fieldwork in 2005. The theoretical approach to selection of research methods in 2005 is presented in Section 3.2.1. The results of the tourism master plan evaluation that were undertaken to guide the selection of tourist zones and the key-informant interviews that were used to select one community/village in each chosen tourist zone are outlined in section 3.2.2. Section 3.2.3 provides detailed information on the surveys that were conducted among the residents of each village. Section 3.2.4 describes the workshops and accompanying interviews that were conducted among villagers at two of the four selected villages. A brief summary of the chapter is provided in Section 3.2.5.

3.1 Research Design 2004: a Monitoring Study about Displacement Impacts

A study of the social impacts of tourism development-induced community displacement was developed as a longitudinal study: the exploration started in 2001, a year before the displacement happened and was completed in 2002, several months after resettlement in Tang Fang New Village, Ya Long Bay Region, Hainan Province, China. This place was selected again as a study site for fieldwork in 2005. In order to develop an understanding of changing social impacts of community displacement in Tang Fang Village (see Wang, 2003), a monitoring study undertaken in 2004 to continue to track village two years after resettlement. The monitoring study adopted conventional research methods that were pre-determined by the researcher prior to the

commencement of the fieldwork based on her knowledge of the study site. Research began with an initial survey, followed by group discussion and interviews.

A survey (see Table 1) was undertaken to acquire demographic information on village residents two years after they had been displaced by tourism development. In this survey, 56 responses were obtained from 75 families for a response rate of 74.7%. Of the remaining 19 households, 11 had no-one at home and 8 refused to cooperate.

Table 1: Survey Respondents in Tang Fang by Age Category, 2004

Age Category	Male	Female	Total
15-25	9	11	20
26-35	7	4	11
36-45	13	8	21
46>	1	3	4
Total	30 (53.6%)	26 (46.4%)	56

Source: Constructed from the survey data.

In order to generate an in-depth discussion about the situation of the village and to provide villagers with a chance to freely express their opinions, a workshop was held at Tang Fang New Village on May 11th, 2004. Fourteen people came voluntarily, following an announcement to all household heads in the village. The group was composed of five female villagers, nine male villagers and the researcher as facilitator and recorder. The other two participants undertook the roles of timer, conflict-eraser to mitigate hot arguments or conflicts. Interestingly, all five female villagers were aged over 45 and all the males were younger than 35. This may be because the invitation was sent to “household heads” in the village. For those households that were newly established after relocation, heads generally were young males. For more mature families, it seemed that females were more active in research than their male counterparts. The workshop lasted approximately six hours from 1:00pm to 7:00pm. The main objectives of the workshop were decided upon by the researcher but agreed to by participants: 1) To explore the current situation of Tang Fang Village, including living situation, employment, businesses and social relationships; 2) To explore the major current concerns of the families; and 3) To explore opinions concerning

participation in the surrounding tourism development. As requested by two participants, an additional sub-theme was added with respect to the current situation and that was the possibility of cooperating in business. Discussion proceeded from topic to topic in order. Group members expressed their views in turn. When any conclusions were made, group members raised hands to show how many of them supported the conclusion.

The interviews (see Table 2) were started after the workshop to verify theme raised in group discussion. Mainly composed of open-ended questions, thirty interviews were conducted based on household units, with family members who were older than 15 but who were not family heads. Households were convenience sampled from the families that had no-one participating in the workshop. Therefore, another 30 families were contacted in addition to those 14 families included in the workshop. Respondents were composed of 15 males and 15 females. Most of them were relatively younger females and older males to counterbalance the age bias in the workshop. Questions in the interviews mainly focused on the situation of village lives and villagers' attitudes to participation in tourism development, and were designed to follow the topics discussed in the workshop.

Table 2: Interview Respondents in Tang Fang by Age Category, 2004

Age Category	Male	Female	Total
15-25	4	5	9
26-35	2	4	6
36-45	3	4	7
46>	6	2	8
Total	15 (50%)	15 (50%)	30

Source: Constructed from the interview data.

The monitoring project influenced the researcher's study in 2005 in two ways. First of all, villagers' answers to the question of "attitudes to participation in tourism development" both in the workshop and the interviews showed a great willingness to be involved in development and a strong dissatisfaction with the current participation situation. Knowing that the researcher would conduct another study to research ways to promote community participation in tourism

development, villagers insisted that the researcher should conduct her future fieldwork at their village. That potentially required that the researcher to select Tang Fang Village even if it would not be selected as a study site from master plan evaluation and key informant interviews in 2005. Second, the use of a workshop in 2004 fieldwork generated an interest of the researcher to also conduct group-setting enquiry in the 2005 fieldwork. Moreover, the success of the 2004 group discussion showed that villagers had the ability to organize their ideas and a willingness to raise ideas for others to consider. This finding encouraged the researcher to attempt to use research methods that were even more participatory in nature in designing 2005 study.

3.2. Research Design 2005: Community Participation in Tourism Development

3.2.1 Theoretical Approach to Research Method Selection

In aiming to generate relevant knowledge concerning rural community participation, qualitative and participatory research approaches were mainly adopted in a fieldwork process involving key-informant interviews, open-ended questionnaire surveys, participatory observations and workshops.

Fieldwork involves full and long-term immersion in the communities being studied to discover a wide variety of information about the communities and their people (Rubinstein, 2001). Fieldwork provides both data and experience of “away at the field”, during which researchers participate in and observe the activities of the people being studied (Rubinstein, 2001). It involves a series of strategies to gain a fuller understanding of how people organize themselves as they interact with their environment, how they learn ways of thought and behaviour, and how they see what they do as meaningful and significant (Rubinstein, 2001).

The research approach was determined to be qualitative in nature because qualitative methods to generate deep insights in investigations of social phenomena. Qualitative research approaches stress the socially constructed nature of reality and the situational constraints that shape the enquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Established in the field of sociology in the 1920s and 1930s,

qualitative approaches can be used to acquire an in-depth understanding of phenomena in their natural settings (Smircich, 1980; Philliber, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Investigators are not external observers, measuring what they see from a distance. Rather, they involve collaborative inquiries with those who are being researched and employ research techniques appropriate to that task (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). As suggested by Jamal and Hollinshead (2001), qualitative approaches are frequently adopted when the studied issues are highly context-dependent or the context is highly complicated, such as a study of community participation (the topic is highly context-dependent) in a tourism development setting (the context is highly complicated since various activities can occur and diverse players can be involved in a tourism development). Qualitative approaches can help in the acquisition of information on human activities and some deep and rich information i.e. concepts, beliefs and values (Harrison & Burgess, 1988; Gergen & Gergen, 2000). It is now widely accepted that the research participants themselves should take a more active role in shaping the research: research then becomes a practice with and for people rather than on them.

It was subsequently decided that the research approach would be participatory in nature. This decision was made because of the ability of participatory methods to contribute to the creation of an enabling environment for the studied groups to learn to identify and interpret changes for themselves and then to facilitate future actions. Estrella (2000) summarized four common features for participatory evaluation which the researcher also considered to be useful attributes of participatory studies: participation, learning, communication and flexibility. A participatory approach encourages the studied community to participate actively throughout the research. As to learning, participatory research enables people to reflect on past experiences, to examine present realities, and to define future strategies (Estrella, 2000). Moreover, it is underpinned by the idea that local people possess the best knowledge about local situations. Participatory research generates opportunities for researchers and the researched to cross-check and correct each other in the research process (Chambers, 1994). As to communication, the “facts” must be discovered and

understood specifically using interactive communication (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) through which ideas may be shifted, lessons may be learned, strategies may be identified, and actions may be taken together (Healey, 1992). As to flexibility, involving the studied groups usually requires a shift from a pre-defined and 'objective' investigation to a context-specific investigation (Blauert & Quintanar, 2000; Guijt, 2000). Participatory approaches provide a platform which allows the studied group to articulate their needs and concerns and, based on these, the issues that are studied can be identified collaboratively with the researcher (Estrella, 2000). By bringing research subjects into the design process, the researcher can avoid imposing the mode of enquiry and research results as an outsider (Philliber, 1998). Participatory research has long been identified as being capable of leading to actions: participation in the mutual learning process encourages the use of results by the participants (Mercier, 1997). Furthermore, as Debbink and Ornelas (1997) pointed out, actions may happen not simply because people become "educated", but rather the actions will be driven by people's perceived needs which, through the research, have been identified in a collective learning process.

Although there are various benefits to adopting qualitative and participatory approaches, they are not free of problems. One major concern is that it is extremely difficult for the researchers to maintain a neutral role in the enquiry because of their involvement. However, as stated by Jamal and Hollinshead (2001), no study can be totally scientifically objective. Full immersion was important in this study of community participation, which like others of its type, was highly context dependent and involved myriad ethnic, political and socio-cultural elements as well as local mores (Weiss, 1995; Connell & Kubisch, 1998). As Brown (1995) suggests, the best way to undertake research in such a situation is to explore the studied cases with a greater-than-normal degree of engagement. Full immersion also meant being open to ways of exploring the research topic and of gaining first-hand information, and to learning to behave properly within the communities and keeping rapport with the villagers. At the same time, surveys, especially closed-ended questionnaire surveys which have long been perceived as being fairly neutral, were adopted in the study to

complement the participatory methods.

Another problem of qualitative and participatory research may be unbalanced participation so that the information gained may not be representative since the insights of specific groups are absent because of their lack of participation. This research was conducted partially through the use of workshops; therefore, each workshop was fully announced at the villages. Moreover, female villagers were visited in person to encourage their participation, especially in Ya Zi Village where females were obviously passive in terms of participating in a research project in comparison with their male counterparts. As the senior villagers seldom participated in the workshops, they were interviewed after the workshops. Moreover, casual informal discussions were initiated with others who seldom participated in workshops as they went about their daily activities.

Of considerable importance is the fact that the feasibility of various participatory methods could not be determined in advance. As the study progressed, the researcher learned that villagers relatively easily accepted formal group methods of enquiry, such as site visits and workshops. They generally refused to attempt the game- or drama-style enquiries that have been suggested in literature (see IDRC et al., 1998). Of course, the problem of raising conflicts among participants was another major concern in the study: this happened, sometimes seriously, during the workshops. Using some conflict-mitigation skills that the researcher had learned in a planning course (UW, 2001) and from the book *Participatory Methods in Community-based Coastal Resource Management*, some guidelines for group discussions were prepared by the researcher collectively with participants in advance (see Chapter 5 for discussion).

Another concern with qualitative and participatory approaches is that they are resource-intensive and time-consuming. The research activities were sometimes constrained by the lack of resources and time available to the researcher. The approaches that were employed called for empowering the researched and generating action. These give rise to a major challenge in that the research could change personal attitudes and raise aspirations about future action. Subsequently, people may be disappointed when a researcher is no longer able to work with them. Seymour's

(1997, p.63) experience in Northern India provides an example of this:

“I felt trapped by time, allowing it to dictate my approach and expectations. I suffered by a feeling of guilt, because participating women would gain nothing from the project. I would become yet another researcher floating into their lives for a fleeting moment and then floating out again.”

This concern was shared with villagers at the beginning of the participatory research at two sites in order to obtain their understanding and to encourage preparation among them. In fact, during the participatory research at two villages, the researcher was anxious about the potential lack of time to complete all the decided discussion topics. Especially she found that discussions proceeded slowly when study programs were collectively designed with villagers. That led her always to schedule each workshop as early as possible. Although fortunately all in-room discussions were completed and the decisions on actions were made before the departure of the researcher, she still lacked sufficient time to accompany villagers to participate in the short-term actions that had been designed. However, the researcher found that villagers were well organized and confident about carrying out actions without the researcher. They had taken actions that were identified to be started soon and were progressing successfully.

The researcher learned from the fieldwork that the level of participation expected in the research should reflect and build on local capacities. Adopting improper or aggrandized collaborative methods might not only lead to mendacious research results but also lead to time insufficiency. In this study, the researcher could not collaborate fully with the villagers on every aspect of the research. For example, pre-designed surveys and interviews were adopted as part of the research procedure and a pre-designed goal and objectives dominated the research agenda. Therefore, a wide variety of research methods was adopted in the study to fulfil the research goal and objectives.

Evaluation of tourism master plans was used to guide study site selection. Tourist zones were selected when their newest plans had a strong emphasis on promoting community participation in tourism development. Plan evaluation (discussed in detail in Section 3.2.2.1.) was conducted

mainly following the scanning-theme method suggested by Berke and French (1994) and Berke (1995). This approach, although somewhat mechanistic, is useful in evaluating a large number of plans (Berke & French, 1994). Moreover, this attribute did not greatly influence the quality of the research when it was adopted merely to guide the selection of study sites.

Key-informant interviews with government officials at various levels were conducted to generate background information on tourist zones. Based on these interviews, a village was selected from each of the chosen tourist zones, representing communities that had the most successful experiences with participating in tourism development. Communications with municipal officials were largely facilitated by government departments affiliated with this study, such as the Provincial Tourism Bureau and the Department of Development and Reform of Sanya City. The two departments provided the researcher with telephone contacts of other departments and sometimes introduced her directly to potential official respondents. Participation of key informants was voluntary. The researcher called the respondents in advance to reconfirm the schedule of interviews. They were told at the beginning of interviews that they could refuse to answer any questions and that they could stop the interview at any point during the process. In order to generate a comfortable and relaxed environment for discussion, the researcher encouraged the interviewees to tell her as much as possible about a specific tourist zone or village. The researcher only interrupted the conversation to raise more questions or to explore a specific question in greater depth. A list of key-informant interviewees is presented below, in Table 3.

A questionnaire survey, a method suggested as neutral to a certain extent (Garcia & Daneke, 1983; Simmons, 1994; Zhang, 2003), was administered to villagers. It was comprised of both closed- and open-ended questions. Surveys, a well established research method, allow researchers to use a sample to describe the characteristics of a larger population (Babbie, 1990; Palys, 1997; Robson, 1997; Singleton & Straits, 1999; Balso & Lewis, 2000). A variety of questions can be included in the questionnaire to obtain relatively comprehensive background information about the research topic and those being researched (Balso & Lewis, 2000). Surveys were conducted among

the villagers of four selected communities to collect demographic information and to gain information concerning participation in tourism development at the villages. A pre-test of the questionnaire was conducted at Ye Zi Yuan Village at the Nan Shan area in Sanya City. Before the formal survey was conducted, the villagers were informed about the nature and possible

Table 3: Key-informant Interviews in 2005

Officials at Provincial Level	Director of Tourism Bureau	Face-to-face Interview
	Director of Development and Reform Bureau	Telephone Interview
	Vice-director of Agricultural Bureau	Telephone Interview
	Ex-General Secretary of Hainan Province	Face-to-face Interview
Officials at Municipal Level		
At Sanya City	Director of Tourism Development Bureau	Face-to-face Interview and Telephone Interview
	Director of Development and Reform Bureau	Face-to-face Interview
	Director of Planning Bureau	Telephone Interview
	Vice-mayor of Sanya City (in charge of tourism)	Telephone Interview
At Qionghai City	Vice-director of Planning Bureau	Telephone Interview and Face-to-face Interview
Officials at Township Level	General Secretary of Tian Ya Town	Telephone Interview
Leaders at Village Level		
At Sanya City	General Secretary of Po Hou Village Committee	Face-to-face Interview
	Head of Tang Fang Village	Face-to-face Interview
	General Secretary of Nan Shan Village Committee	Face-to-face Interview
	Head of Ya Zi Village	Face-to-face Interview
	General secretary of Tian Ya Town	Face-to-face Interview
	General Secretary of Ma Ling Village Committee	Face-to-face Interview
	Head of Zhen Wen Village	Face-to-face Interview
At Qionghai City	General Secretary of Dong Yu Village Committee	Face-to-face Interview
General Managers of Tourist Zones	General manager of Dong Tian TZ	Face-to-face Interview
	General manager of Tian Ya Hai Jiao TZ	Face-to-face Interview

consequences of the research and an invitation to participate was made publicly at village meetings (at Tang Fang, Ya Zi and Dong Yu) or to each household in person (at Zhen Wen where there was no village meeting). This helped to avoid unbalanced participation because of lack of awareness. The survey research procedure is presented in Section 3.2.3 and the results are summarized in Chapter 4.

Workshops, an important participatory research method, possess most of the characteristics of a participatory approach. Workshops were conducted collaboratively by the researcher and the researched. Workshops are particularly useful to give people, especially the previously silent ones, the opportunity to discuss and formulate ideas and to encourage more in-depth understanding of the studied issues (Symes & Jasser, 2000). Moreover, workshops are also a powerful tool for collecting information in a limited period of time (Mardrize, 2000). Workshops were conducted at two villages for three main purposes: First, to collect the villagers' opinions towards participating in tourism development in terms of whether they considered they had been empowered; Second, to understand the important issues in villagers' lives which could be improved by participation in tourism development; Third, to design and schedule some actions which might help to improve the current situation. Interviews among villagers, partially adopted as a complementary part of the workshops, were used to provide an opportunity for those who did not participate in the workshops to have a voice in the research. Moreover, interviews were also used among villagers who actively participated in workshops to collect opinions concerning the utility of participatory research. The open-ended nature of the interviews offered the opportunity to acquire an authentic view of participants (Robson, 1997), and for dialogue in which the researcher and researched strive for mutual understanding (Silverman, 2000). The workshop and interview procedures are outlined in Section 3.2.4 and results are presented in Chapter 5.

Participant observation, if conducted systematically and adequate records are kept, facilitates the collection of rich information through the making of field notes, informal interviews, conversations and the writing of memos to oneself (Palys, 1997). This method also helps to increase

the chance of contacting people who are invisible in other aspects of the research. Photographs taken during observation can provide a part of the “facts”, a record of events and a visual narrative of the story (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000 c). Participant observation was adopted as part of the fieldwork, particularly in the observation of people’s living patterns and daily activities, and opportunities were created to chat with people and to visit their homes following an invitation.

3.2.2 Selection of Research Communities

A systematic study site selection procedure was used. Site selection was based on two criteria: a study site had to be a tourism destination where rural community participation had occurred; selected communities had to be willing to participate in the research. The latter was a crucial indicator that the research could be completed within a reasonable time, especially the workshops.

3.2.2.1 Selection of Tourist Zones through Review of Tourism Plans

A tourism destination, according to Mathieson and Wall (1982), refers to a place having characteristics which are known to a sufficient number of potential visitors to justify its consideration as an entity, attracting travel to itself, independent of the attraction of other locations. Although the Provincial Tourism Bureau did not have a definition for what it called a “tourist zone”, it mainly refers to what Mathieson and Wall defined as a “tourism destination”. The reason that the thesis does not adopt the term “tourism destination” to replace the term “tourist zone” is that it is a term has been used in Chinese among tourism bureaus. Tourist zones in Hainan Province are often large complexes of resorts, hotels, restaurants, recreational projects and sometimes include golf resorts. They have their own plans which have to be approved by the Provincial Tourism Bureau. In the thesis, Sanya City sometimes has been called a tourism destination but it is larger than what has been defined as a tourism destination by Mathieson and Wall since it includes several famous tourist zones.

According to the Provincial Tourism Plan, fourteen tourist zones have been identified: Nan Shan Tourist Zone (Nan Shan Temple), Dong Tian Tourist Zone (Dong Tian Park), Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone, Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone and Da Dong Hai Tourism Zone, all in Sanya City; Haikou Tourism Zone in Haikou City; Boao Tourist Zone in Qionghai City; Xing Long Hot Spring Tourist Zone in Wanning City; Monkey Island Tourist Zone in Lingshui County; Wu Zhi Shan (Five-finger Mountain) Tourist Zone in Wuzhishan City; Qi Xian Ling (Seven-fairy Mountain) Tourist Zone in Baoting County; Tong Gu Mount Tourist Zone in Wenchang City; Tong Zha Tourist Zone in Tongzha City; and Jian Feng Mount Tourist Zone in Ledong County. As a result of interviewing the Director of the Provincial Tourism Bureau to further understand the establishment of the tourist zones in the province, the researcher recognized that some changes had been made in identifying tourist zones in 2004. First, three separate tourist zones were identified in the Haikou area: Gui Ling Yang Tourist Zone, Volcano Tourist Zone (including mangrove zone) and Nan Li Lake Tourist Zone. Two more tourist zones were identified in Sanya City: Wu Zhi Zhou Island Tourist Zone and Xi Island Tourist Zone.

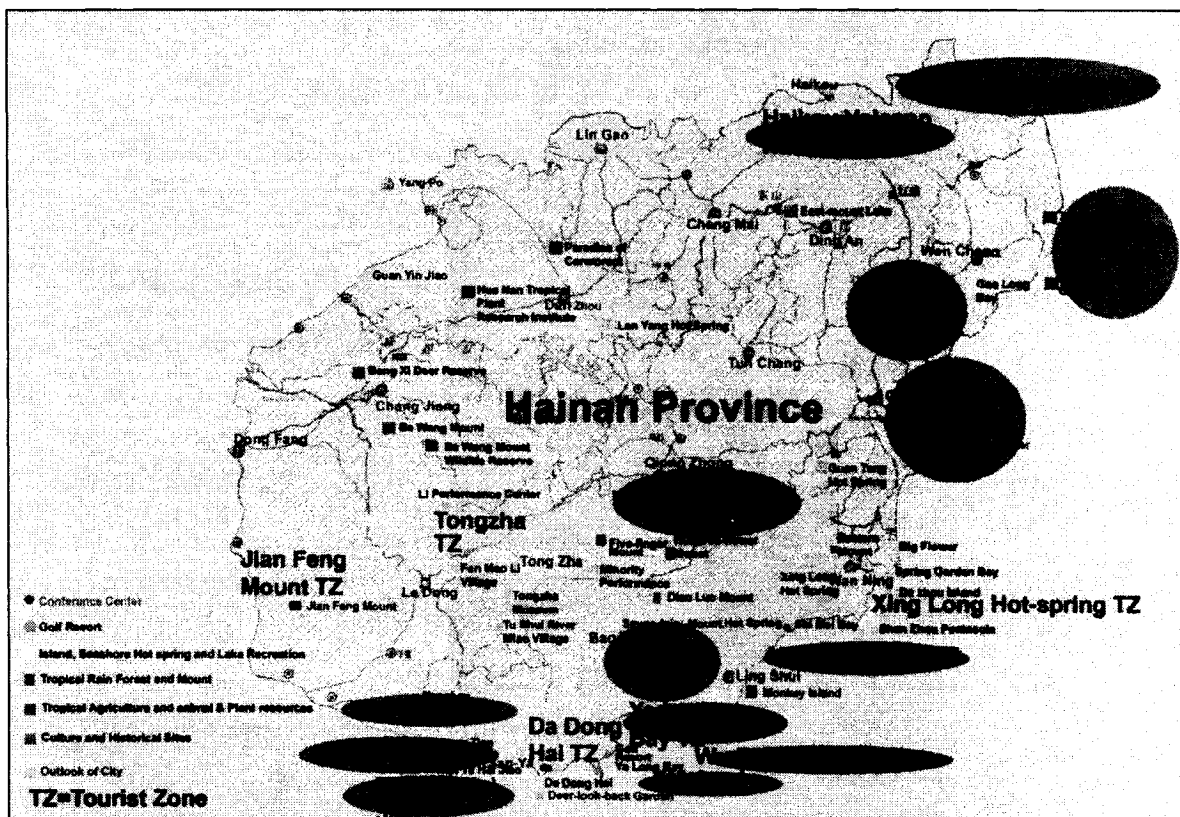
According to the definition provided by the Policy Research Office, a rural area in China is an area in which residents are mainly engaged in agriculture-related occupations, excluding national farms or national forestry zones with over 3000 permanent residents (which are defined as towns in China). Therefore, Tong Zha Tourist Zone (urban area), Xing Long Hot Spring Tourist Zone (national farm), Da Dong Hai Tourism Zone (urban area) and Jian Feng Tourist Zone (national forestry) were excluded from the plan evaluation conducted by the author. The remaining fourteen tourist zones (TZ, Table 4) with their sixteen Tourism Plans were reviewed.

Plan evaluation was undertaken in order to select tourist zones as study sites for detailed examination. As suggested by Berke and French (1994) and Berke (1995), tourism plans were scanned to determine whether and how the coding theme “community participation in tourism development” was addressed. First, 16 plans were reviewed altogether to identify synonyms of “surrounding communities”; those were: surrounding villages, surrounding villagers, surrounding

Table 4: Tourist Zones Included in Plan Evaluation, 2005 (Figure 1: Maps of tourist zones)

Sanya City	Haikou City	Wenchang City	Lingshui County
Nan Shan TZ	Volcano TZ	Tong Gu Mount TZ	Nan Wan Monkey Island TZ
Dong Tain TZ	Gui Ling Yang TZ	Qionghai City	Wuzhishan City
Tian Ya Hai Jiao TZ	Nan Li Lake TZ	Boao TZ	Wu Zhi Shan TZ
Ya Long Bay TZ	Baoting County		
Wu Zhi Zhou Island TZ	Qi Xian Ling TZ		
Xi Island TZ			

Figure 1: Maps of tourist zones in Hainan Province



Source: OPHTD, 2003 and interviews, 2005

residents, surrounding peasants/fishermen, nearby village committees, etc. Second, all the plans were reviewed to identify sections with these synonyms and those sections were marked with a colour pen. For all plans including the synonyms, were marked “*”. Third, all marked sections were reviewed once again to identify whether the content referred to the intent to “encourage local

community participation in the tourist zone/tourism development”. Those plans with the contents which both related to the “surrounding community” and “tourism/tourist zone development” (which included tourism-related displacement) received a second “*”. Those plans in which the contents indicated that “tourism development should benefit the ‘surrounding communities’” received a third “*”. Those plans which contained detailed contents which suggested how to “encourage local communities’ participation in tourism development (more than employment)” got a fourth “*”. The Draft Plan for Volcano in Haikou, which was approved in June 2005, included strong sections about promoting surrounding community participation in tourism development. However, no implementation had yet occurred because the plan was newly developed; hence, this tourism zone was not included in further research.

The results of the plan evaluation are presented in Appendix D. In the column “relevant contents”, all contents which were related to the coding theme “surrounding community” were either directly cited from plans or summarized in the researcher’s own words if the sections were very long. Ya Long Bay, Dong Tian and Tian Ya Hai Jiao in Sanya and Boao in Qionghai were each got four “*” in evaluation; therefore, they were identified as study areas for further research (see Figures 2, 3, 4). These four tourism zones represented situations where there was most willingly to promote and facilitate rural community participation in tourism development as indicated by their plans.

3.2.2.2 Selection of Communities at Four Tourist Zones

One community (a village) at each tourist zone was selected to be a study site for conducting surveys mainly based on information provided by key-informants. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Tang Fang Village in Ya Long Bay area was chosen because it was one of the two villages which were displaced because of tourism-induced development in Ya Long Bay National Tourism

Figure 2: Map of Sanya and Qionghai in Hainan Province

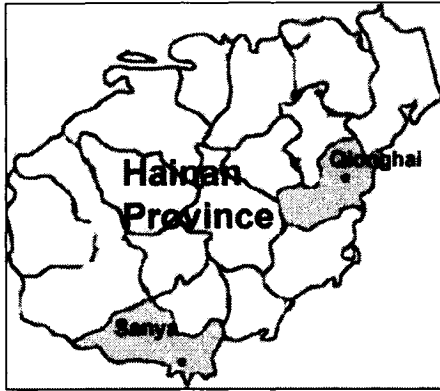


Figure 3: Selected Tourist Zones in Sanya City

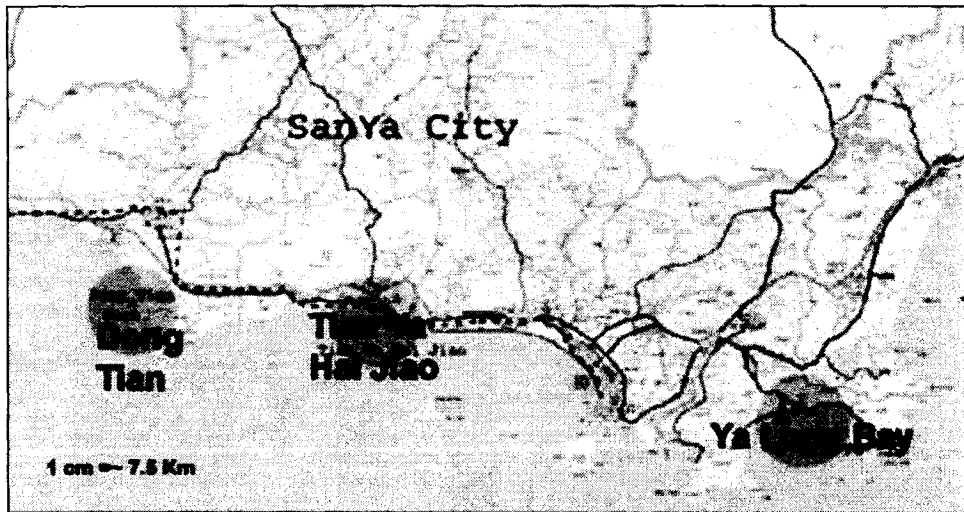
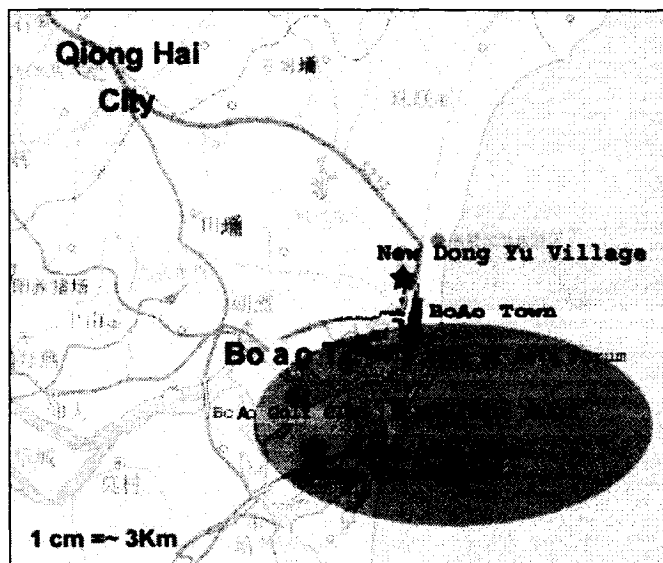


Figure 4: Selected Boao Tourist Zone in Qionghai City



Zone. Tang Fang Village was compensated partly by employment in the tourist zone following resettlement. Furthermore, Tang Fang villagers were involved in the researcher's studies of community displacement impacts in 2001 and 2002, and participated in the researcher's monitoring study of community development following displacement in 2004. Villagers expressed a strong desire to work with the researcher in her 2005 study about community participation in tourism development to investigate the advantages and disadvantages of the village in enlarging their share of tourism benefits. Also, the new general secretary of Po Hou Village Committee (Tang Fang Village was in the jurisdiction of Po Hou), Mr. Hu, recommended Tang Fang Village as a research site since the village was comparatively active in tourism-related activities in the area.

From interviews with Mr. Luo, General Secretary of Nan Shan Village Committee (the only village committee in the Nan Shan area where Nan Shan Tourist Zone and Dong Tian Tourist Zone are located) and Mr. Zheng, General Manager of Dong Tian Tourist Zone, Ya Zi Village was selected as a research site out of ten villages in the area. Expropriation of 307 Mu (a Chinese unit of area, equals to 1/15 hektare) of village land to build Dong Tian Park linked the fate of the village to the development of the tourist zone; villagers were compensated with employment and other opportunities. Villagers were actively involved with the park in business cooperation and diverse social activities.

Zhen Wen Village in Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone was selected because it was identified as a base of training and folk-souvenir manufacturing in the 1991 tourism plan. From interviews with Mr. Yang, General Manager of the tourist zone, Mr. Lu, the General Secretary of Tian Ya Town and Mr. Fu, the General Secretary of Ma Ling Village Committee, the researcher learned that the planned project had not been implemented and that the level of participation in tourism at Zhen Wen might not be greatly different from any other villages in the area. However, Zhen Wen was the closest village to the tourist zone geographically. Key informants often used that village as an example to introduce villagers' spontaneous activities in the tourist zone. Because of a tight research schedule, surveys were conducted at Zhen Wen Village as a representative village, instead

of being conducted in all villages close to the tourism zone.

Dong Yu Village in Boao Tourist Zone was selected because it was strongly influenced by tourism-related displacement: the village was moved out of Dong Yu Island which was the heart of the tourist zone where the Annual Asia Forum Conference Centre was built. In the compensation, Dong Yu villagers, with the help of a government work team which was organized by the Planning Bureau of Qionghai City, were provided with rich development opportunities. In an interview, Mr. Yang who had worked as a planning consultant for Qionghai City and was the leader of the work team, recommended Dong Yu Village for the research. On the one hand, he considered that the village had the greatest share of the benefits of tourist zone development in comparison with its neighbors because of the compensation. On the other hand, he also encouraged the researcher to investigate the resettlement situation of the village.

Therefore, based on plan evaluation and key-informant interviews, the selected four villages represented the rural communities in the province where most successful participation in tourism development had occurred. Depending on researcher's personal knowledge about the province and the research results of Provincial Tourism Bureau as introduced in Chapter 1, the researcher learned that very limited success in terms of rural community participation in tourism had occurred in the province. Selecting the most successful cases was deemed crucial since, from them, lessons and experiences could be learned which might be useful for other tourist zones interested in initiating community participation. Some tourism master plans that were evaluated, although they were the newest ones, had been drafted in 1990s and were, therefore, dated. It is possible that communities in a tourist zone might indeed be actively participating in tourism development even though it was not presented in the master plans. However, this concern was mitigated by key-informant interviews with provincial and municipal officials who worked in tourism or planning departments. The only exception mentioned by several key informants, may be the future Haikou Volcano National Geographical Park, since the newly drafted Master Plan had a very strong section promoting surrounding rural communities' participation in development with detailed

implementation plans. Moreover, if the plan is implemented exactly, the rural communities will not suffer the stage of being “impacted” of development but will be provided with jobs and training at the very beginning stage of park development. Their distinctive volcanic-houses and famous local home-raised animals, the volcano goats, will be promoted as attractions. Since the fieldwork came to an end at August 2005, the results of the future implementation of Haikou Volcano Park Plan could not be included in this study.

3.2.3 Surveys

In order to make sure that all pre-designed survey questions were valid and acceptable among villagers, a questionnaire pre-test was conducted in Ye Zi Yuan Village in Nan Shan area. This village had a population of 369 in 71 households. It was selected because it was close to Nan Shan Tourist Zone (Nan Shan Temple) which had expressed a strong willingness to promote community participation in its tourism plans. However, the tourist zone had not been selected as a study area because its plan lacked detailed information on how to promote community participation. This meant that the tourist zone did not receive the fourth “*” and it was, therefore, not selected for further research. Villagers in Ye Zi Yuan were all Li minority people. Half of the families in the village were selected for the pre-test survey in order to acquire at least 30 valid responses. After the pre-test surveys, small modifications in the wording were made in the final survey questionnaire. Most importantly, the section of questions about “Empowerment” was cancelled from the questionnaire because the wording in this section was difficult to understand for villagers. Explanation took so much time during the pre-test that the process was inefficient and the responses were invalid. From 33 completed responses, it was found that most of the statements in the Nan Shan tourism plans, such as “promoting community participation in tourist zone development” and “sharing benefits with local villagers”, had not been implemented during the tourist zone development: few jobs were provided; villagers’ business with tourists were sometimes impeded by the tourist zone; relationships between the village and the tourist zone were tense and unfriendly.

Although villagers were invited to participate in some of the activities at the tourist zone, they seldom led to direct benefits for villagers economically or socially. For example, respondents mentioned that some villagers were invited to the Nan Shan Longevity Festival 2000 and one senior female villager in Ye Zi Yuan Village won the 'Longevity Award' competition. However, most respondents did not feel that they had benefited from participation in the festival and some of them reported that the tourist zone had organized the activity to promote itself as the Blessed Land of Longevity by showing that surrounding senior residents had long lives.

Before the formal surveys at each of the four villages were undertaken, interviews with community-level leaders were conducted in order to understand the particular situations of the villages. Moreover, contacting village leaders first was important in other ways. Opportunities were given by village heads to the researcher to announce the research goal and objectives, procedures, the identity of the researcher and to provide other information to villagers at village meetings. Based on information generated from the interviews, certain research procedures were further modified. This was the case especially in Zhen Wen Village for the researcher was informed that no village meeting was held in the village and most of the villagers were illiterate. Therefore, the research had to be introduced to households individually.

Additional concerns, requiring further preparations, became apparent after the interview with the village leader of Zhen Wen Village. Since most village residents were Hui minority Moslem people, questions raised by the researcher, as a Han female, might not be accepted by some villagers. Moreover, some of the activities at the tourist zone that were practiced by villagers, such as fish-boat business or wondering-sale, had been viewed as illegal or improper and were often impeded by the management company of Tian Ya Hai Jiao. These circumstances might have made the villagers unwilling to disclose information. Furthermore, the Hui minority had strong religious beliefs and traditional customs that had to be completely respected during the research. For example, male respondents should be invited since the culture among villagers does not allow females to act as spokespersons. Prior to contact with female Hui villagers, permission should be request both

from the person and from her parents or husband. Moreover, a camera could not be used in research because villagers disliked taking pictures, especially those shot by strangers. Based on all of the above information, the second son of the village head (a young man who had graduated from middle school and came from a Han family but who had a good relationship with the Hui people in the village) was paid to accompany the researcher to conduct surveys at Zhen Wen Village. The questionnaire was read by him to villagers and the researcher mostly stayed to the side to record responses (a tape recorder was not used: the researcher did not even ask if the equipment could be used to reduce the possibility of rejection of participation in the survey). Fearing a low response rate, all families in the village were approached. Considerable effort was made to contact the family head first before any member of a family accepted to complete the survey. Moreover, although the village was included both Hui minority and Han people (a dominating ethnicity in China), they could be easily told apart from their appearance; therefore, the question about the respondent's nationality was removed. Questions asking directly for the ways of participating in tourist zone development were eliminated to reduce the stressfulness of the survey. The research assistant gingerly asked the respondents in passing to describe the activities that their family members undertook that related to tourism. Since respondents hid some obvious truths about their activities in the nearby tourist zone, complementary information was obtained from interviews with the manager of the tourist zone, the secretary of the village committee, Zhen Wen Village Head and from discussions with the research assistant.

The sampling information for each village is summarized in Table 5. The surveys were conducted in face-to-face conversations which helped the researcher to gain trust from the villagers and helped the villagers become familiar with the research and researcher. Doubts about wording, the surveys or the research as a whole were answered in person by the researcher. All surveys that were conducted pertained to the household unit.

Table 5: Summary of Survey 2005

Community	Households	Sampling Rate	Survey Conducted	Response Rate	Valid Survey
Ya Zi Village	84	45%	38	100%	38
Zhen Wen Village	69	100%	36	52%	31
Dong Yu Village	124	42%	47	90%	44
Tang Fang Village	98	45%	42	95%	42

Source: Constructed from the survey data.

Since the pre-test was conducted in Ye Zi Yuan Village which was close to Ya Zi Village, for convenience the main surveys were begun at Ya Zi. All Ya Zi villagers belonged to the Li minority but they spoke good Mandarin, the researcher's first language. Taking advantage of the household listing prepared by the village head, 38 out of 84 households were randomly approached and all 38 questionnaires were completed for a response rate of 100% (Table 6). Respondents were mainly household heads which made the genders unbalanced in the surveys. Moreover, the researcher found that male villagers were very active and much better educated than females in the village. Based on this information, face-to-face invitations were made to encourage females to participate in workshops in order to encourage more balanced participation.

Table 6: Survey Respondents in Ya Zi by Age Category, 2005

Age Category	Male	Female	Total
20 - 34	2	1	3
35 - 44	8	2	10
45 - 54	11	1	12
55 - 65	13	0	13
Total	34 (89.5%)	4 (10.5%)	38

Source: Constructed from the survey data.

According to updated population information from the census in Tang Fang Village made by Po Hou Village Committee at the end of 2004, the household number was found to have increased to 98 of which 4 were not permanent residents. There were two reasons for the increase in household number: more young people established their own families and 4 families had moved to

Tang Fang to be closer to jobs at Hai Jing Hua Yuan Golf Resort (Bayview Garden, and the title of the resort was changed to Hong Xia Gu (Red Gorge and this name will be used in later chapters) in 2004). The four new families either rented a vacant house after the owners had moved to another place or built their own simple houses on the vacant land beside the reservoir. A random sample of 44 households, excluding the new families for the survey and 42 questionnaires were completed for a response rate of 95% (Table 7). Because the survey was conducted close to the Chinese New Year, most of the families who worked outside the village had returned for the holiday. As a result, all households in the sample were contacted and 2 potential respondents refused to participate.

Table 7: Survey Respondents in Tang Fang by Age Category, 2005

Age Category	Male	Female	Total
15-25	3	6	9
26-35	9	4	13
36-45	7	8	15
46>	3	2	5
Total	22 (52.4%)	20 (47.6%)	42

Source: Constructed from the survey data.

The population in Zhen Wen Village were a mixed of Hui minority and Han people. However, intermarriage seldom occurred so that there was a clear division into Hui and Han families. Han families were in the minority at the village: 7 out of 69 families (10%). Both groups spoke good Mandarin and this facilitated the researcher's understanding of the villagers' responses. However, it was a struggle to get the survey completed. Although questions were raised by the research assistant who was familiar with the villagers, the response rate was low compared with those obtained at other sites. Bearing in mind the information provided by the village head that villagers might refuse to participate in the research, the researcher originally decided to sample 60% of families in the village. However, after 42 families had been approached, only 23 questionnaires had been completed. Hence, the sampling was increased to 100% to try to ensure that at least 30 valid responses would be obtained for analysis. Eventually, 36 surveys were accepted after all families had been approached for a refusal rate of 47.8%. However, 5 of the 36 questionnaires were not

completed so that only 31 responses were available for analysis (Table 8). There were only 2 female respondents and these came from Han families. Hui females were generally not allowed to accept any questions from the researcher who was a stranger. Even informal conversations with the females which were initiated as the researcher wandered around the village were sometimes refused. Reasons for refusing the surveys varied: the researcher was female (9 out of 33), the researcher was too young (3), the researcher might have been sent by the tourist zone to spy on the villagers (7), the researcher did not believe in the same religion as the villagers (12) and no reasons (2).

Table 8: Survey Respondents in Zhen Wen by Age Category, 2005

Age Category	Male	Female	Total
20 - 34	5	1	6
35 - 44	9	1	10
45 - 54	14	0	14
55 - 65	1	0	1
Total	29 (93.5%)	2 (6.5%)	31

Source: Constructed from the survey data.

Dong Yu Village at Boao Tourist Zone in Qionghai Region experienced community displacement in 2001 for construction of the Asia Forum, an international conference centre and resort complex. After the village was moved to Boao Town, household numbers increased from 112 (record of households that were resided in old village) to 124 in the new village. All villagers were Han people who originally spoke Mandarin which greatly facilitated communications. Fifty-two families were randomly selected based on the household listing provided by the village committee and a response rate of 90% was achieved. However, 3 out of the 47 responses were incomplete so that only 44 valid responses were available for analysis (Table 9). The main reason given for lack of participation was lack of time.

Table 9: Survey Respondents in Dong Yu by Age Category, 2005

Age Category	Male	Female	Total
20 - 34	3	2	5
35 - 44	13	10	23
45 - 54	8	5	13
55 - 65	1	2	3
Total	25 (56.8%)	19 (43.2%)	44

Source: Constructed from the survey data.

3.2.4 “Collaborative Study” and Interviews

Because of limits on the resources which could be devoted to the research, such as funds, time and human energy, the researcher was unable to conduct participatory research at all four villages where surveys were conducted.

Following the interview and survey section of research, two communities were retained in the next research phase that involved conducting participatory research to explore collaboratively crucial actions which might facilitate villager’ future participation in tourism development. Two villages were eliminated. From the surveys, the researchers recognized that the activities carried out by Zhen Wen villagers at the nearby Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone were generally perceived as being inappropriate and were opposed by the management company of the tourist zone. Therefore, villagers were not willing to share their information with outsiders and refused to participate in further research to talk about participation in tourism. Moreover, villagers did not believe that a collaborative study could help to mitigate conflicts among different social groups/stakeholders. In fact, the researcher was not confident to work with Zhen Wen villagers on that theme since she also understood the issue as greatly depending upon how determined the government would be to enforce and supervise the management company to support local communities and how well the management company would adopt and implement the government’s decisions. Furthermore, at Zhen Wen Village, villagers did not feel comfortable working with the researcher as she was a female with obviously different cultural and religious backgrounds from villagers. The lack of trust

between the researcher and researched suggested an unstable ground to conduct a trust-based collaborative study in the village.

In Dong Yu Village, villagers generally expressed that they were busy in operating businesses and they expected a productive tourism season at Boao from February to July since two major national holidays and two university vacations occurred in that period. Moreover, villagers generally satisfied with the current situations and could not perceive any potential benefits to collaborate in time-consuming participatory research with the researcher. Therefore, the villagers generally had no desire to devote any time to activities other than earning money and refused the invitation. Moreover, the researcher observed from surveys that collecting certain information, especially information concerning business incomes from family heads, had been difficult. Many families refused to talk in detail about how they started, cooperated and operated their businesses. Even though some of them did respond to questions asked about their incomes or profits, they gave the numbers very rapidly which made the researcher suspect the veracity of the numbers. Participatory research may not be successfully conducted if the researched do not want to openly share their information and experiences.

Moreover, participatory research is time and resource-consuming in nature, it would have been difficult to undertake further research in more than two study sites in two different cities. More importantly, villagers in Tang Fang and Ya Zi greatly supported the idea of continuing the research to look for methods to improve their participation in tourism development to obtain greater benefits. The support of potential participants' is a crucial condition in conducting participatory research. Also, the researcher somewhat understood both villages and knew some people there from previous research or working experiences, which provided a good foundation to collaborate with them in designing and proceeding with the study program. Also, both villages had had some experiences with workshop, one major component of participatory research. Some villagers in Tang Fang had participated in a workshop with the researcher in 2004 and villagers in Ya Zi were even more familiar with workshops as a study method from their evening school educational experiences.

Therefore, further research was conducted with Tang Fang and Ya Zi villagers.

As mentioned earlier, workshops can be a particularly powerful means of participatory research to provide many participants with an opportunity to share their understandings and to encourage further understanding of the study topic in a limited period of time. In light of the above circumstances and keeping in mind the challenges of enhancing participation among rural communities in tourism development in particular cultures and societies, workshops were organized at two sites largely to understand the obstacles and opportunities to promote villagers' participation. Brief information on these workshops is summarized in Appendix E and F. The results of the workshops are discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Workshops at both sites generally began by identifying the current situations of the villages as well as problems, opportunities and resources to facilitate future participation in tourism development. Afterwards, possible solutions for facilitating participation were discussed. Some actions designed to facilitate participation were scheduled. At Tang Fang Village, in the first several workshops, effort was devoted to establishing criteria for evaluating the current situation in terms of participation in sharing benefits, decision making power and empowerment. However, from the experiences in workshops at Tang Fang Village, the researcher realized that villagers were not interested in essentially "academic" evaluation. Fewer villagers came to workshops until the main topics of the workshops were switched to the direct identification of problems and the collective search for solutions. This occurred after the fourth workshop. Therefore, at Ya Zi Village where participatory research was carried out later on, topics were decided in collaboration with the villagers and, as a result, they were on issues that were closely related to villagers' concerns and went much beyond a scope of "participation in tourism development". Discussion about empowerment, which was added by the researcher, was placed at the final stage of participatory study. During the four months of participating in workshops, both village participants and the researcher learned the power of conducting an enquiry in a group-setting: the plurality of actors involved in the group made the process of enquiry more active and dynamic. Communication and discussions became an enlightening experience and an important

element in the consciousness-raising process. During workshops, it happened several times that topics were changed suddenly to something that attracted the attention of group members the most at that time. As time went on, the researcher's initiative and control of workshops were gradually reduced as village participants became more capable of deciding the direction of discussion. Especially in Tang Fang Village, villagers switched the focus of workshops to an issue which did not have a strong connection with the topic that the researcher wished to explore. This threatened the completion of the planned research through lack of time.

Most discussions and self-memos were recorded on tapes during fieldwork. These tapes were transcribed with the help of Mr. Liu, Miss Fu and Miss Yuan, members of Information Centre of the Provincial Tourism Bureau. A guarantee of confidentiality was signed with each of them to prevent them from transferring information to others or copying tapes or transcribed papers without signed permission from the researcher. The keywords-in-context method (Ryan and Bernard, 2000) was adopted for analyzing free-flowing text. Various themes were differentiated by the researcher in each workshop's record using colour pens and then printed in separated parts. Each theme was copied several times and then on each copy, some crucial contents were marked by coloured pens. These were key sub-topics; conclusions (ideas raised or decisions made that over half of participants agreed on and a brief conclusion that was always made at the end of workshops) and some interesting conversations which might be used as direct quotations in the thesis. Afterwards, a detailed analysis of the marked contents was conducted.

Non-random interviews were conducted at the two villages to collect feedback about the workshops. Before these interviews were undertaken, brief statements about workshop results, decisions made and actions scheduled were reported at village meetings. Then, 15 interviews were conducted at each village, mainly among senior people who seldom came to the workshops, to collect their opinions and suggestions on the decisions made and designed actions. Another 15 interviews were conducted at each village mainly among younger people who actively participated in workshops to collect their opinions about the workshop as a

research method and their future plans. Information on the four groups of interviews is summarized in Table 10.

Table 10: Interviewees in Villages by Age Category, 2005.

	Tang Fang				Ya Zi			
	Senior		Active Participants		Senior		Active Participants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15 - 34			4	5			7	3
35 - 44			2	3			2	1
45 - 54				1			2	
55 >	11	4			7	8		
Total	11	4	6	9	7	8	11	4
%	73.3	26.7	40	60	46.7	53.3	73.3	26.7

Source: Constructed from Interview Data.

3.2.5 Summary of Research Design

From the fieldwork, this study employed literature review, plan evaluation, key-informant interviews, surveys, workshops and accessorial participatory methods, face-to-face interviews and on-site observations to investigate villagers' participation in nearby tourist zone development and associated changes in their social and economic status. Moreover, through collaborative enquiry, problems and obstacles that confounded villagers' progress were identified and corresponding solutions and actions were decided upon. A wide variety of research methods were adopted in the fieldwork process which was conducted with a diversity of informants which included government officials, tourist zone managers, community leaders and villagers. This helped to limit personal and methodological biases through triangulation of both methods and informants.

Local capacities and limited research resources determined the extent to which the study could be participatory. A combination of both conventional (e.g. surveys) and participatory (e.g. workshops) methods was adopted. The validating and testing of hypothesis and frameworks were mainly undertaken using conventional methods to ensure that the academic research goal would be successfully fulfilled. Investigation of empowerment was undertaken in workshops

since the issue was too complicated to be understood by the accumulation of individual responses to a small number of specific predetermined questions. Also, participatory research, though a multi-way communication and learning process, helped the study to be conducted in a way to fulfill some villagers' needs and plans. This combination of procedures was found to be valuable in the study in that researcher, on the one hand, collected enough information to complete the verification of the theoretical hypothesis, as a major research goal; at the same time, she worked together with villagers to figure out their concerns in real village life and to decide upon actions to improve their situations.

The changing emphasis of the study from a dominating academic point of view to one depending on participants' needs was a challenge. The first several rounds of workshops focused mainly on establishing criteria for investigating and evaluating the researcher's theoretical framework: this approach was refused by the participants at Tang Fang Village after they got used to the research process. They suggested instead direct discussion of their problems and associated obstacles, based upon which solutions and actions could be generated.

In all, eight months were spent gathering information in the field in 2005. While the research process was challenging and required ingoing adaptation of methods, it was generally successful in that the information necessary to explore the theoretical frameworks was collected. Furthermore, from a practical perspective, villagers had started to take some actions that were designed to be solutions to the problems that they were facing.

Chapter 4 Community Participation in Tourism Development at Four Tourist Zones in Hainan Province

This chapter describes the tourism development situation in Hainan Province. Specially, it introduces the situation at four selected tourist zones and information about the selected villages. Through examination of community participation in tourism development, the theoretical hypothesis is investigated. Participation was considered under two main headings as introduced in Chapter 2: sharing in benefits (activities generating income, skill, awareness and social networks) and sharing in decision making (no participation, consultation, information dispersal, information gathering and interaction). Also, information on Tang Fang and Ya Zi Villages provides background materials for discussing the conducted participatory research in Chapter 5.

Section 4.1 discusses tourism development in Sanya City and presents the situations of three rural communities that are under Sanya's jurisdiction. The section starts with results of key-informant interviews with the Director of Sanya Tourism Development Bureau and Director of Sanya Development and Reform Department in order to outline briefly the tourism development situation in the city. Section 4.1.1 then reports interviews with village leaders as well as the surveys conducted at Tang Fang Village in Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone. Section 4.1.2 presents the interviews with the General Secretary of Nan Shan Village Committee, the Head of Ya Zi Village and the General Manager of Dong Tian Tourist Zone. Afterwards, the results of the surveys conducted in Ya Zi Village are reported. Interviews with the General Secretary of Tian Ya Town, the General Secretary of Ma Ling Village Committee and the General Manager of Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone are outlined in Section 4.1.3, followed by an analysis of the surveys conducted in Zhen Wen Village. In Section 4.2, the tourism development situation of Boao Tourist Zone, Qionghai City, is presented from an interview with the Vice-director of the Planning Bureau, followed by the results of interviews with village leaders and the survey conducted with Dong Yu villagers. Section 4.3 summarizes findings reported in this chapter.

4.1 Sanya City

Sanya City, 1919.58 Km² in area, is located in the south of Hainan. The proportion of minority people was 41.5% of the total populations of the city in 2003. Of these minority people, there were 184000 Li, 3000 Miao and 7000 Hui. Over a twenty-year development period since 1987, the structure of Sanya City's economy was greatly modified in favour of tertiary industries (see Figure 1, Interviews with Mr. Fu, Director of Development and Reform Bureau of Sanya City). The figure shows that proportion of Primary Industry gradually fell from 66.3% in 1978 to 41.1% in 2003. The proportion of Secondary Industry gradually stabilized at around 20%. Conversely, Tertiary Industry, which was led by tourism, increased from 10.3% in 1978 to 39.7% in 2003.

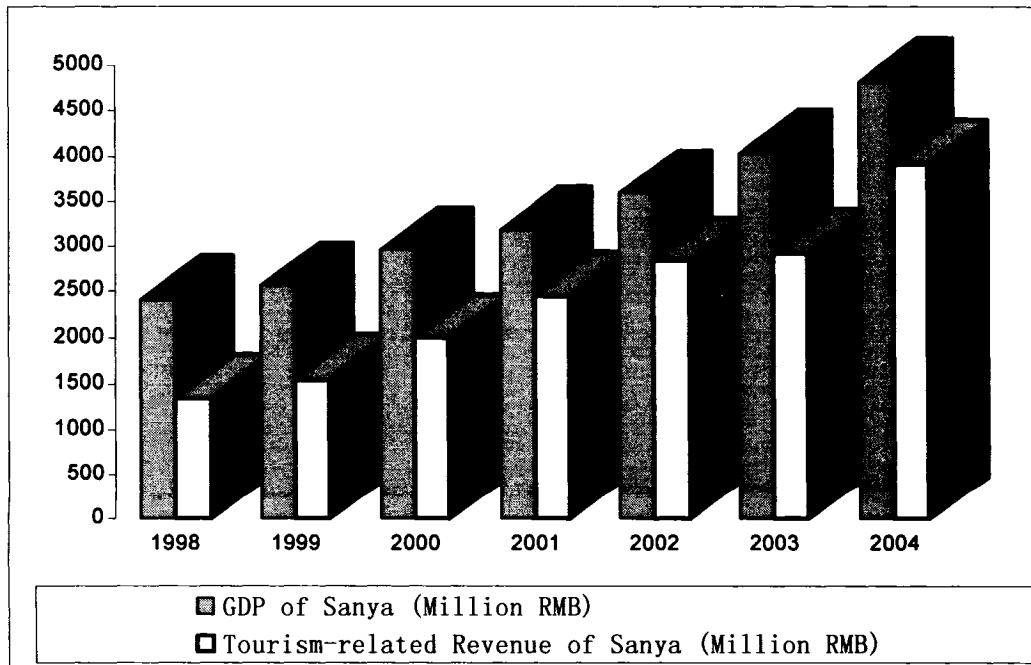
In 1998, the city identified tourism as the priority in its development strategy. In the seven years from 1998 to 2004, the number of visitors increased from 1.53 million to 3.64 million; tourism-related revenues increased from 1.35 billion RMB (Can\$0.2 billion) to 3.91 billion RMB (Can\$0.65 billion) (Interview with Mr. Cai, Director of the Tourism Development Bureau of Sanya City). The proportion of tourism-related revenue of the city's GDP also increased rapidly (Figure 2): 55% in 1998 (2.4 billion RMB [Can\$0.4 billion] GDP) and 81.12% in 2004 (4.83 billion RMB [Can\$0.8 billion] GDP). Energized by the tourism industry, investment in capital assets in Sanya City in 2004 (including investment in urban renewal and in real estate) reached 3.85 billion RMB, an increase of 41.9% over 2003. In 2004, the city had 138 tourist hotels of which 38 hotels were evaluated at 4-stars or above. Famous international hotel chains, such as Sheraton, Marriott and Holiday Inn, had invested in the city. International events, such as the Miss World competition and several international business conferences were taking place. These not only brought revenue and recognition; they also helped to stimulate greater communication between the city and outside world on many matters, including economy, management techniques and culture. Sanya gradually assumed a more important position in the tourism development of the province (Figure 3) and was awarded a number of honorary designations such as Most-outstanding Tourism City in China, National Garden City and Most-charming City of China.

Figure 1: Chart of Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Industries at Sanya City



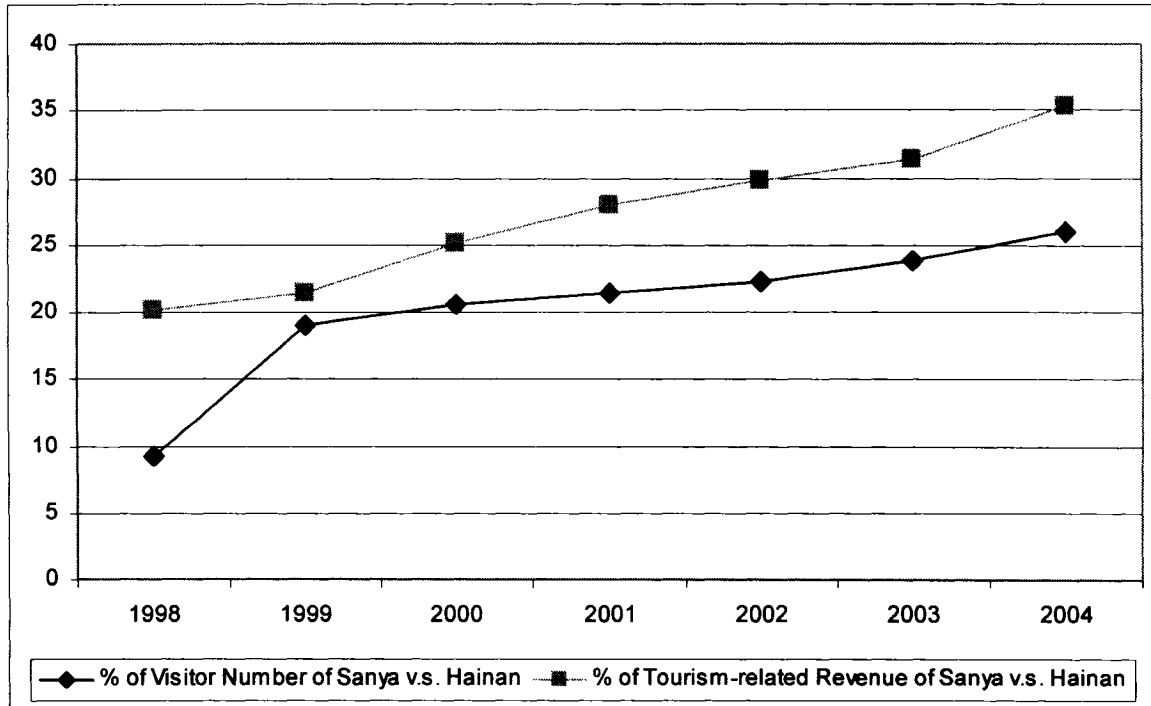
Source: Statistics of Development & Reform Bureau of Sanya City, 2003

Figure 2: Increasing Curve of Tourism-related Revenue and GDP in Sanya City



Source: Tourism Statistics of Sanya City (2005). Tourism Development Bureau of Sanya City

Figure 3: The Importance of Sanya in Tourism Development in Hainan Province



Source: Tourism Statistics of Sanya City, 2005. Tourism Development Bureau of Sanya City.

As introduced in Chapter Three, one village in each of three tourist zones in Sanya City was selected as a study site. These were Tang Fang Village in Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone, Ya Zi Village in Dong Tian Park and Zhen Wen Village in Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist zone. These villages, according to key-informants, represented the most successful experiences in terms of rural community participation in tourism development in Sanya City.

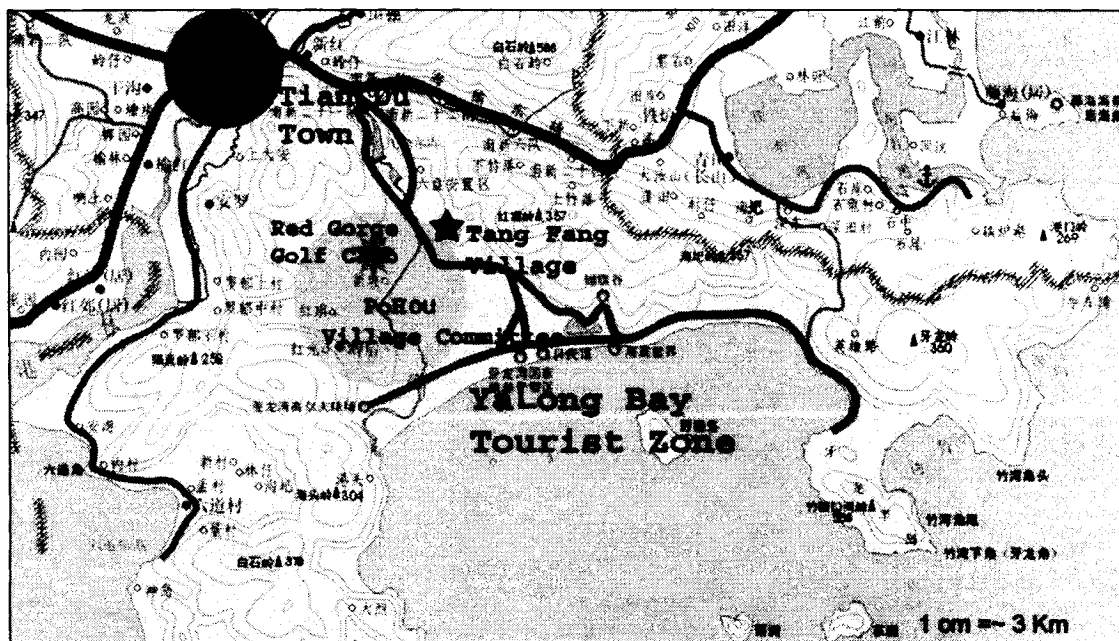
4.1.1 Tang Fang Village in Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone

Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone (Figure 4), from Mr. Cai's perspective (Director of the Tourism Development Bureau of Sanya City), contributed the most to the city's tourism. Many establishments and investments are congregated in the zone, including resorts, golf resorts, coastal recreation projects, shopping outlets, and a butterfly valley among others, contributing to the

development of a multi-faceted tourism destination. In 2004, 3.3 million tourists visited the area and their spending resulted in 0.4 billion RMB (Can\$60 million) tourism-related revenue, which contributed 10% of the total tourism-related revenue of the city. Ya Long Bay's huge business opportunity with great profit potential attracted a rush investors and speculators into the area.

On the other hand, in the 10 Km-diameter area surrounding the tourist zone, nine village committees responsible for nearly a hundred villages had long been in a poor situation with most of the residents engaged in agriculture or fishing. In the Plan of Ya Long Bay 1994, tourism was identified as being the main development goal for the region. The main purpose of the plan was to locate suitable sites for developing resorts, hotels and tourist attractions. Under this type of development, although tourism created substantial economic benefits to Ya Long Bay Region, Sanya City, the government Revenue Department and various investors, local communities, most of whom were comprised of Li minority people, did not seem to benefit much. The researcher's study of tourism-induced displacement of a community in Ya Long Bay Region in 2001 and 2002

Figure 4: Map of Ya Long Bay and Tang Fang Village



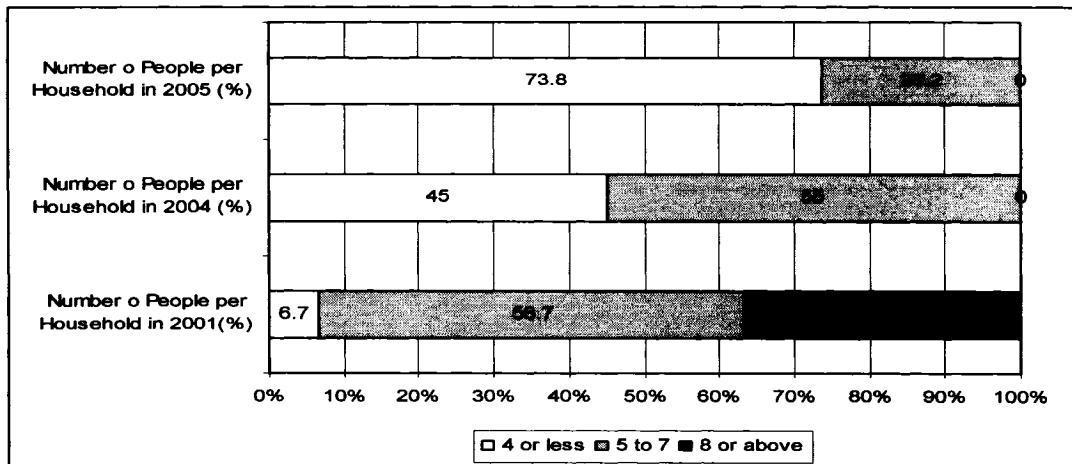
showed that the living situation improved very slowly among the Li villagers who resided in the tourist zone although tourism development had started in 1995 (Wang, 2003). Moreover, several villages suffered land expropriation and two of them were completely displaced because of resort construction. Under such development, being negatively influenced, rural communities could hardly be identified as beneficiaries of tourism development. Encouragingly, the new 2004 Detailed Control Plan of Ya Long Bay brought hope to those villages: it partially switched the focus of development from developing tourism to developing the region and its communities as a whole. A key element of this plan was that development of the area should firstly bring economic benefits to its surrounding villagers. Two main activities had been undertaken by government since July 2004. First, it was regulated that 5% of the labour of each investment body in the area had to be recruited from the surrounding nine village committees¹ and if the percentage would reach 25% or above, the investment body could then enjoy special tax concessions. Second, local governments (including town government, local security departments and village committees) should protect and facilitate the employment and businesses held by villagers. All purposive actions from anybody in the area to obstruct the locally-held businesses (e.g. the Management Company of the Central Square used to damage the local villagers' fruit stalls to stop competition) would suffer penalties.

In order to continue tracking the well-being of the communities displaced by tourism and the degree of community adaptation by 2004, the researcher returned to Tang Fang Village, a previous study site, at which the village was completely removed in 2002 because of construction of the Red Gorge Golf Resort (The investment was held by the Hong Kong Dong Xun Investment Company [the title of the resort was BGGC in the previous study]). Since Tang Fang Village was compensated for its displacement partially through the provision of jobs in the surrounding tourist zone (details of village displacement and compensations were provided in Wang, 2003), the village experienced the greatest level of participation in tourism development among all the villages of the nine village committees.

When the results of 2001, 2002, 2004 and 2005 surveys are compared, it is evident that

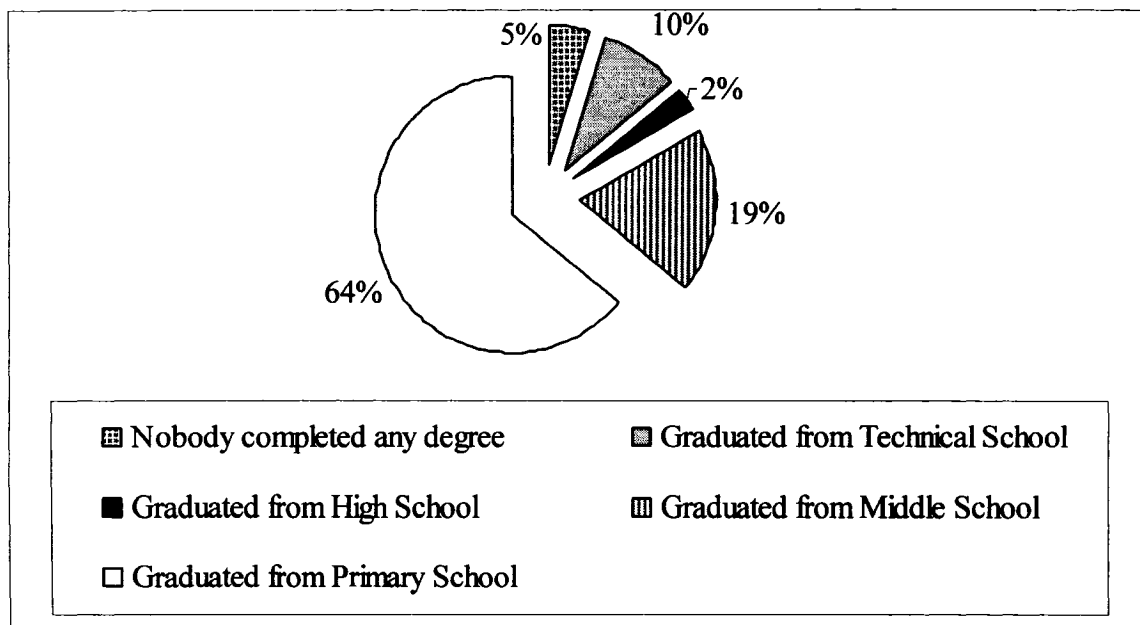
changes occurred in Tang Fang Village between the year preceding displacement and the three years that followed. First, because of the splitting of extended families induced by relocation, the number of families increased from 39 in 2001 to 98 in 2005 with a related decrease in family sizes (Figure 5). Young Li minority people made friends with people in other ethnicities while they worked in the hotels and golf resorts. As a result, by 2005, some Han people had moved into the previously purely Li minority village because of inter-marriage. The general educational level in the village remained low: although some children returned to school after displacement, many young adults chose to work and took on-the-job training instead of participating in formal education in schools (Figure 6). Household incomes gradually increased during the three years after displacement as shown in Figure 7 but, increased daily expenses impaired this positive change (Figure 8).

Figure 5: Number of People per Household in Tang Fang, 2001, 2004, 2005



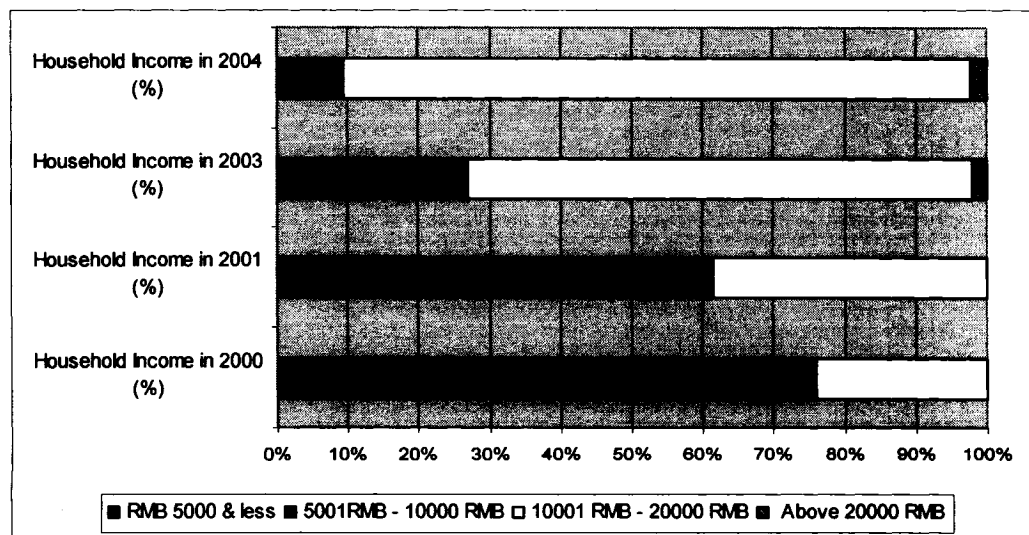
Source: Surveys in 2001, 2004 and 2005, Tang Fang

Figure 6: Highest Formal Educational Experience at Each Household, Tang Fang



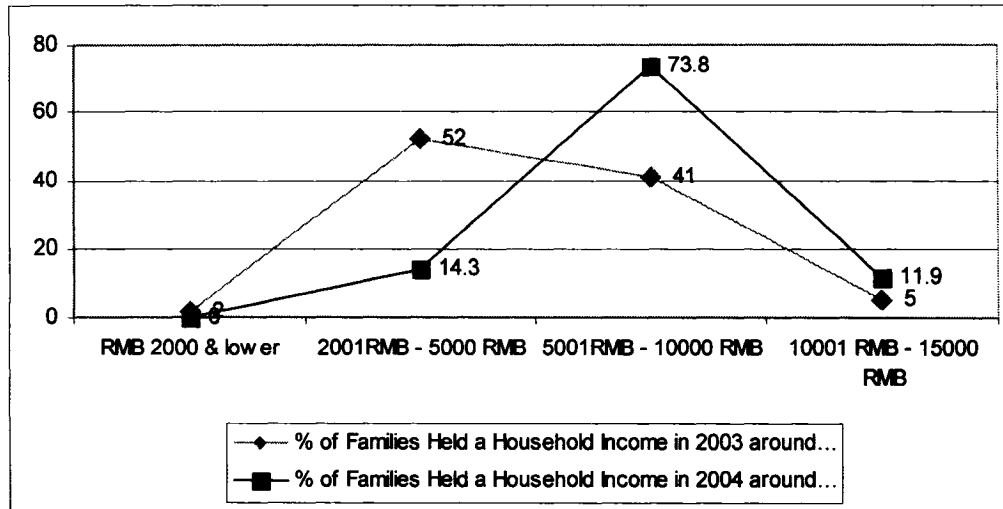
Source: Surveys in 2005, Tang Fang

Figure 7: Household Income in Tang Fang Village, 2000, 2001, 2003 and 2004



Source: Surveys in 2001, 2002, 2004 and 2005, Tang Fang

Figure 8: Household Net Income in Tang Fang Village, 2003 and 2004



Source: Surveys in 2004 & 2005, Tang Fang

Survey respondents reported that nearly half of the displacement compensation money was already spent by 2005. Most of the money was spent on house construction, large equipment such as motorcycles, or invested in home businesses. In comparison with 2001 when most villagers were engaged in farming, income sources became increasingly diverse in 2004 and 2005. In 2004, 59% of families mainly depended on salaries from paid jobs of which 88% (29 out of 33) of the jobs were provided by Red Gorge Golf Resort (the company that displaced Tang Fang Village). Twelve surveyed families (23%) depended mainly on self-employment among which six operated transportation services by motorcycles or tricars, three operated convenience stores, one opened a repair shop and another two worked as peddlers. Five surveyed families (9%) mainly depended on farming and planting fruits. Four families (7%) depended mainly on animal husbandry and one (1.8%) depended mainly on fishing. In 2005, more families depended mainly on employment in the nearby tourist zone (69%, 29 out of 42) and in other regions (7%, 3 out of 42). However, the dependence on Red Gorge had decreased sharply: merely 6 out of 42 families (14%) gained their main income from it. Three families (7%) mainly depended on animal husbandry and seven (17%)

depended on home businesses. Very few people, mainly those over 45 years of age, still worked the land in 2005. This was because younger people could more easily find jobs. The government had made efforts to encourage local employment in 2004 and Tang Fang villagers had been hired by nearby companies since villagers generally had more training and work experiences compared to those in neighbouring villages. In the following sections, results of the monitoring study in 2004 and the fieldwork in 2005 will be presented.

4.1.1.1 Tang Fang Village in 2004

The research in 2004 focused on examining the situations at the village after two years' resettlement to understand whether villagers had recovered from the relocation disaster and how they had modified their livelihood system. Six themes were included: the living situation, employment, businesses and cooperation, social relationships, major concerns and people's opinions about participating in tourism development. The results of workshop and surveys were analyzed comparatively to understand differences revealed by the two types of enquiry. From the comparison, the researcher concluded that in the group-setting enquiry, participants could be enlightened by others' opinions and comments which helped to create discussion resulting in a deeper understanding of issues. Even though discussion themes in the 2004 workshop had been pre-determined by the researcher, participants easily "went off subject" and new issues were then added. This enriched the study process and added more questions for the next section's interviews. This is very different from survey or interview with pre-determined questions that seldom permit the opportunity to raise additional issues.

Living Situation. Workshop respondents all agreed that they had more income after the relocation in 2002, especially from the paid jobs (9 out of 14). However, larger incomes were absorbed by increased daily expenses: they needed to pay for many things, such as food. Therefore, most of them (11 out of 14) concluded that there had been no major improvement in net income.

Those ideas were supported by the interviewees: 74% of interviewees (22 out of 30) agreed that household income had increased, 47% (14 out of 30) thought the increase resulted from the paid jobs, moreover, 40% (12 out of 30) thought that net income had not improved and 50% (15 out of 30) thought that net income had decreased to some extent. On the other hand, workshop participants mentioned that the dismantling of the old houses in the old Tang Fang Village had been largely stopped in 2003 because Red Gorge Golf Resort lacked the capital to continue to build hotels and villas as planned beside the golf course. Therefore, most of the old houses were still retained in the original village. This helped the villagers to resolve the housing shortage problem temporarily which had been a major concern among the displaced villagers in 2002. Some families moved back to the old village in 2004 while constructing or planning to construct new houses or building additions to the compensation houses in the new village. Once more houses or rooms are built, the problem of a shortage of living-space may be completely resolved. One workshop member reported that his family was in the process of building a second floor on the top of the compensation house. Four others expressed the same willingness to add more rooms to their compensation houses. Two others planned to construct new buildings on the vacant land close to reservoir. This land could be rented out to Tang Fang villagers at a low rent since the land originally belonged to Po Hou Village Committee. In interviews, the researcher learned of other similar activities: two families had built more rooms beside their compensation house and eight others planned either to build new houses or to add more rooms. From observation, at least eleven families had people moved back to the old villages awaiting future construction on their new houses and, thus, temporarily mitigating the shortage of living space.

With respect to safety, workshop participants generally agreed that after separating Ya Long Bay Road and Liu Pan Road and making them one-way streets, traffic accidents decreased sharply. The imposition of a 30 Km/hour speed limit made villagers feel much safer when crossing the roads to get to work (most of the villagers needed to cross the road to get to work since Tang Fang Village was surrounded by the two roads). However, a growing problem was the relationship with

nearby Liu Pan Village. Especially in interviews, villagers reported tensions between the two villages. In one villager's words: "Some of Liu Pan people are thieves: they stole our pigs at night.... They are jealous of us because we have jobs and a better life but they do not consider it to be as a result of hard work and they spend their time playing cards". A long wall was built between the two villages. However, the wall was not as useful as Tang Fang villagers expected: "The wall is not high enough. Liu Pan Villagers can easily climb it at night and come into our village" (Interview with villagers, 2004).

Another important item mentioned by workshop participants was the Rural Joint-insurance for hospital care. This was a new program popularized by Provincial Department of Social Insurance in 2002. After it was tried out successfully in the Haikou area, the joint-insurance program was promoted in most rural parts of the province. It enabled rural people to pay a limited monthly fee of RMB 10 (Can\$1.5) to enjoy an insurance service with a fee of RMB 62 (Can\$10) since the rest of the money was jointly paid by the provincial government (RMB 12, Can\$ 2) and local governments (RMB40, Can\$6.5). A rural person then could enjoy up to RMB 8000 (Can\$1300) hospital care. The maximum sum was in the process of being enhanced to RMB 12,000 (Can\$2,000) at the time of the study. Mr. Hu, the new general secretary of Po Hou Village Committee, told the researcher that almost all Tang Fang Villagers were involved. However, municipal officials told the researcher that slightly over half of the rural population in Sanya City participated in the program for even the small fee was too much for the rest to afford.

Employment. Up until the time of the 2004 research, a total of 132 villagers had ever worked in Red Gorge Golf Resort. However, only 37 of them were contracted employees; all the others were part-time labourers and 57 of them were engaged in construction-related jobs in 2002. At the time of research in 2004, 47 villagers still held a position in Red Gorge. On the other hand, 79 villagers had received some training and most of them (81%, 64), were trained at Red Gorge, which became a strong qualification in looking for other jobs. In May 2004, eleven more people worked in tourism-related companies in Ya Long Bay, such as in hotels or at Ya Long Bay Golf

Resort. Seven more got non-tourism-related jobs in Sanya or in other cities in the province. Another nine villagers were in training.

Male workshop participants (8 out of 9) generally held a much more positive view of the current jobs provided by Red Gorge Golf Resort. Male interviewees (9 out of 15) predominantly agreed. However, females generally thought the jobs were hard and poorly paid compared with their Han colleagues (5 out of 5 in the workshop, 12 out of 15 in interviews). However, people were dissatisfied with the instability of the part-time jobs in Red Gorge because most of the villagers were fired when construction was completed.

Businesses and Cooperation. Respondents were generally unsatisfied with the situation of their home businesses. One workshop member reported that his convenience store at the village was not making a profit because villagers would rather go shopping in the nearby town for larger purchases. Workshop members explained that businesses were not profitable because of serious competition: when one business appeared to be successful, other families copied. For example, the owner of the small convenience store was worried that he would not be able to compete with another bigger store with better fittings that was under construction.

Group members also mentioned that villagers generally had a strong negative feeling about the local economic situation. They were disappointed that they lacked a direct means of earning money from tourists. As one member pointed out: “Some Han people operate profitable family hotels at Tian Du Town which attract many tourists, but we can not afford to build one... We have to work for those wealthy companies if we want to participate in tourism development in Ya Long Bay Region...We want to have the same opportunity, however, we lack capital to compete with those outsiders. We were happy when we knew that the government would build us a local market to sell goods and souvenirs directly to tourists. We thought it was our opportunity, but now we still get nothing...” (The market had not been built) (Workshop with villagers, 2004).

Afterwards, one group member raised the possibility of collaboration among several families to collect money and pool labour, ideas and other resources to operate a more profitable

business, such as family hotel. However, group members were unwilling to accept that suggestion. Four members immediately disagreed: "...cooperation in business is not as simple as sharing costs and labour as we did in farming. How will families divide returns? Who will take on the responsibility if the investment fails? How will a small business be managed by several families altogether?... This type of cooperation will generate more conflicts in the village and we have already had enough of those here" (Workshop with villagers, 2004). Four other members were neutral on that point: they indicated that they were not willing to try but they did not mind other people cooperating. Although five members held positive views towards the suggestion, only one of them would like to try at once; all the others held a "wait-and-see" attitude. When the same question was raised with interviewees, more people (16 out of 30, 53%) seemed to have a positive attitude but all refused to try immediately. In short, most of the respondents, although not satisfied with their current businesses, did not have a plan to cooperate to enlarge their existing businesses.

As the researcher wandered around the village, she found that life was less cooperative than when villagers farmed together in 2002. People seldom collaborated in business. Almost all existing businesses were single-family owned and operated. Cooperation merely existed in some very minor enterprises e.g. some women still got together to buy and sell fruits at a street corner (town officials zoned that small area for villagers to sell fruits to tourists). However, their success was not sufficiently attractive to encourage villagers to cooperate in a bigger investment. People probably received fewer returns from their businesses that were being operated separately and competitively.

Social Relationships. While wandering around Tang Fang New Village, researcher found that several houses were uninhabited with wild grass growing around them. During the workshop, she was told that a few families had moved to other places because of their work. Some of their houses were rented at a low rent to other families or to outsiders who had come to Ya Long Bay for employment. Those that had not been rented out appeared to be deserted because nobody took care of them. The researcher knew that the families that had left had close relatives living in the village

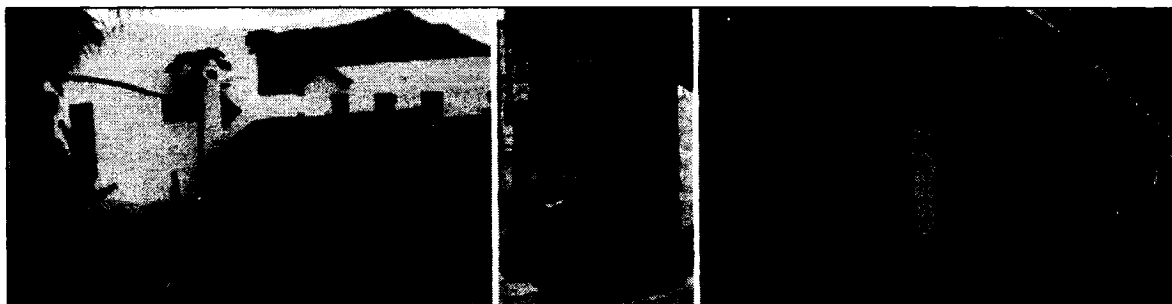
and wondered why no-one was apparently take care of the houses. Although not many participants wanted to talk about it, one provided a clue: “We were angry that my second son moved his family to the city (Sanya); he even did not discuss that with the extended family...It had never happened in a Li family that a son moved his own family far away from his parents before they died... He definitely can find a job here in Ya Long Bay since he has experience. I cannot see any reason why he chose to go to the city where he knows nobody, unless he wants to completely break with his parents. Neighbours were sorry for me. He made me lose face and brought shame on the whole family”. As Friedmann pointed out (1992), people are not as mobile as economists often expect in theory because they have local ties which bind them and make the moving process painful. This was the case in Tang Fang Village.

Indifference to the extended family appeared to have increased after displacement. Although respondents, in both workshop and interviews, were not willing to talk openly about the issue, most agreed that they were aware of the change. In casual conversations with older females, the researcher often heard information such as that someone had given his parents or oldest brother (after displacement, most of the elderly chose to live with their oldest son) a very small amount of money to show “his respect for Li culture and his extended family” (Conversations at the village, 2004). This was perceived as “performing one's duty in a perfunctory manner” (Conversations at the village, 2004). Also from such conversations, the researcher found that members of previously large families spent much less time together to communicate and entertain. During the day, most villagers went out to work or school so the village was empty with merely the elderly at home. In the evenings, families stayed in their own houses to watch TV or DVD programs. Only children and some young adults who worked for the same company sometimes ran around playing with each other. As one workshop member pointed out, less and less communication among people and more and more conflicts and competition in businesses made the village a very unfriendly place to live. This was also why villagers preferred to stay at home after work instead of dropping in on others as they had done before relocation. Although villagers did not spontaneously mention the issue of

alienation among families, once the issue was raised with them, many respondents agreed that the situation existed and it was necessary to eliminate indifferences among families and to recover friendly relationships, especially among those families that had been separated because of displacement.

Mistrust obviously existed in the village: people locked their doors in daytime (which they never did in old village). Some families installed iron doors on their houses. Many families fenced their front and/or back yards partly to protect expensive equipment, such as a motorcycle (Figure 9). This seldom happens in a Li hamlet. The researcher was informed in the workshop that the change had occurred mainly to prevent thefts by people from nearby villages. However, members also pointed out that it was at least partially because of loss of trust among Tang Fang Villagers: villagers did not keep an eye on each others' properties as they had usually done in the old village before displacement. In interviews, however, most respondents blamed the situation on Liu Pan people who were considered to be thieves, rather than questioning themselves. Slightly different responses were obtained from the two research methods: in a group setting with participants of similar background who are familiar with each other, they may act more openly, think more deeply and develop their ideas based upon the thoughts of others.

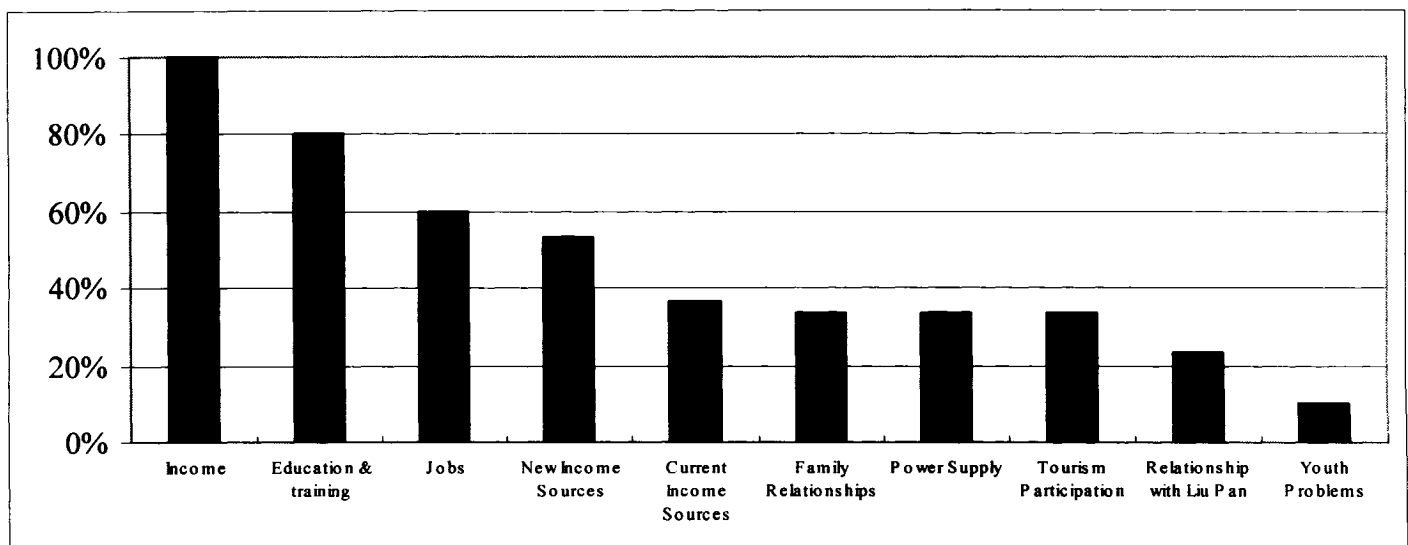
Figure 9: Fenced Yard, Equipment and Iron Door



Major Concerns. People had overcome their fear of being relocated. Some group members suggested that relocation out of the secluded old village helped to enlarge their insight and to enrich their lives. However, respondents generally agreed that more effective support, materially, administratively and in policies, should be provided by government during and after displacement.

All 14 workshop members agreed that the number one concern following relocation was lack of money to continually improve their lives and to invest in more profitable businesses. Almost all (97%, 29 out of 30) interviewees agreed. In Figure 13, it can be seen that except for education (the number two concern raised by 24 interviewees and even here was an economic aspect for parents believed that children with a better education might get better jobs in future), the other top five concerns were all income-related. Eighteen people (60%) were worried about looking for new jobs, maintaining current jobs or getting promotion. Sixteen interviewees (53%), as well as 8 workshop participants, were not satisfied with their current income source and desired to seek new ones. Eleven interviewees (37%) and 3 group members were generally satisfied with their existing income sources but worried about competition. The major concerns at Tang Fang Village in 2004, as indicated in interviews, are presented in Figure 10.

Figure 10: Major Concerns among Villagers at Tang Fang Village, 2004



Source: Interview at Tang Fang, 2004

Participation in Tourism. Workshop members perceived that tourism provided a great opportunity to improve their lives. They generally had a strong desire to operate tourism-related businesses since these were perceived to be the most profitable. Various conditions were identified

which, in their mind, if met, would help them to improve their participation: greater opportunities for villagers to get jobs and promotion; more capital and richer knowledge about investment and operating businesses; training programs; diversification of businesses; benign competition among villagers; greater solidarity and more friendly relationships between villagers; a sanitary environment in the village with more trees; greater information exchange and cooperation. However, because of insufficient time, the group did not reach a final agreement on how to act. In comparison with results of the workshop, interviewees generally raised economic issues as well as training programs.

The researcher was informed in a workshop that the government had taken some actions to help the villages in Ya Long Bay area to improve the quality of their lives. For example, the joint-insurance program (see above) was reported to be very useful in providing access to affordable hospital care. Although villagers still visited the local clinic at Po Hou for common medical problems because its cheap costs in terms of transportation, medicines and registration, they went to normal hospitals for serious or less common problems. On the other hand, some government initiatives were reported as being ineffective. For example, the local Business Management Institute freely transacted licenses and remitted taxes for vendors selling fruits at street corner. However, villagers did not value this service since they had previously operated without licenses and had never paid taxes. Also, villagers believed that new licenses would not stop hooligans from destroying villagers' fruit businesses. They were paid by the resorts in the tourist zone to disrupt villagers' operations because they undercut the resort prices by five to ten times. However, from information gathered in 2005, a local policy office twice protected villagers' fruit businesses after the municipal government emphasized protecting. Issuing licenses for villagers' businesses helped to legalize them and this facilitated the provision of public protection.

4.1.1.2 Tang Fang Village in 2005

Substantial changes happened in Tang Fang Village in the second half of 2004 and

thereafter which made the village more energetic. Mr. Su, a 27-year old man who was a member of the Hainan dragon boat team and who had traveled widely in China for competitions, was elected as village head. As described by Mr. Hu, secretary of Po Hou, Mr. Su was the youngest village leader in the history of the Ya Long Bay area and he did not belong to a local influential family. He was elected by villagers because of trust. He refused the invitation to work as coach of the dragon boat team to work for his village. On taking up his position, he led the villagers to negotiate with Red Gorge Golf Resort to ask for compensation for those with leaking roofs in the new village. Taking advantage of a report on the topic prepared by the local Housing Management Institute, 43 families got compensation ranging from RMB200 to RMB 2,000 (Can\$33 to 330) depending on the status of their roofs. Also, since the end of 2004, Mr. Su and his villagers had worked on lobbying the village committee to negotiate with Red Gorge to hasten the payment of the land after two years of delay.

The previous weekly village meeting, which had long ceased to take place, was revived on a monthly basis under the new village head. This provided opportunities for villagers to communicate, exchange information and sometimes to mediate conflicts. During the same period, the town government announced the new development policy in the Ya Long Bay area which encouraged local employment and legally protected local businesses (see above). The local police, who had previously been “indifferent” to the villagers’ concerns, such as the damage of fruit stalls by hooligans, acted and arrested some troublemakers. This greatly invigorated villagers’ enthusiasm to operate such businesses. As Mr. Su later told the researcher, fruit sellers from Tang Fang and other villages earned good money during the seven-day Chinese New Year in 2005. The Tang Fang family that earned the most took in over RMB 1,000 (Can\$166) in those days.

Another important thing that affected Tang Fang Village was the introduction of a cooperative program between Hainan Province and Guangdong Province (the neighbouring mainland province and one of the most developed provinces in China). Under this program, rural labour from Hainan was recruited to work in Guangdong. Three young male villagers left Tang

Fang Village for Guangdong after the Chinese New Year holiday in 2005.

Among all 42 surveyed families, 34 reported that one (22) or two (12) family member(s) were working in the nearby tourist zone. In all, 46 employees worked in the tourist zone of whom 26 worked in two golf resorts, 9 worked in hotels, 3 worked at the Ya Long Bay Square, 7 worked for builders involved in the second-phase construction of the Gloria Resort and 1 worked for a dive company. These 46 jobs and the associated salary are summarized in Table 1. An additional four young persons acquired jobs outside of Ya Long Bay region: 1 worked as nursery maid in Sanya City, 2 worked at a Taiwanese farm in Hai Tang Town and 1 worked at Da Dong Hai Seafood Plaza in Sanya City. The researcher found that many villagers held a variety of types of jobs and estimates that approximately 30% of villagers worked as employees in privately-owned companies.

Table 1: Division of Employment at Tang Fang Village, 2005

Jobs	Caddie	Machine Operator	Gardener	Cleaner	Guard	Seller	Chef Assistant	Waiter	Builder	Diving Trainer
Number of villagers participated	14	1	6	3	2	1	2	9	7	1
Levels of monthly salary (RMB)	200-300 (500-800 tips)	550	300 - 400	300	400 - 500	400	400 - 600	400 - 500	700	1000

Source: Surveys 2005, Tang Fang

Partly because no direct material or training supports were provided to help villagers to operate existing or new businesses except for increased legal protection (see above), business activities were not as flourishing as employment-related activities in Tang Fang Village. The researcher was informed that some of the most profitable businesses were operated by some traditionally influential families in the village. For example, the previous village head cooperated with a relative who originally lived at Tian Du Town to rebuild a house into a small family hotel. Also, the previous vice-village head rented a grocery store in the town and the previous village accountant opened a small restaurant also in the town. Among the rest surveyed families, 1 kept a

small grocery store in the village which reportedly generated RMB 1,000 to 1,500 (Can\$166 to 250) per year. Two families provided transportation services by tricars without licenses and, it is estimated, earned around RMB 2,500 (Can\$416) per year. Another 2 families regularly operated fruit stalls and 1 family raised Jia Ji Ducks (a duck with palatable meat which was originally raised in the Jia Ji region; one of the four most famous Hainan dishes). Moreover, because business returns were generally low compared with wages from jobs, in 2005, most of the businesses were operated by females or even children.

Mr. Su told the researcher that most young villagers had received some training experiences in the tourist zone. Among the surveyed families, 47% of villagers (97) were identified as having had training experiences. The most usual programs were golf, house-keeping and simple introductions to foreign languages such as Japanese, Korean and English. Other than such short-term, on-the-job training programs, villagers did not experience training programs from other sources.

There were almost no collective social activities which involved all age groups in the village except for the monthly village meetings to discuss and decide village affairs. Some survey respondents told the researcher that they usually had entertaining activities with their friends at work, although most did not occur in Tang Fang Village. Companies sometimes operated collective activities, such as employee evening parties or meetings but these were mainly organized for their workers and not for the community-at-large. Therefore, ties in the village became increasingly loose without daily communication and collective activities to nourish them. On the other hand, the connections with colleagues at work, most whom were not Li, became stronger. Inter-marriage between Li and other ethnicities did not occur in Tang Fang Village before displacement. When this began to happen, it resulted in some tense relationships between the older and younger generations.

With the exception of the occurrence of displacement, no specific awareness-generating activities had ever occurred in Tang Fang Village. Greater awareness of the outside world, as villagers reported, was largely forced on them because of displacement: they had to make a living

independent of their lost irrigated land and this required a movement away from their farming lifestyles. With respect to tourism, villagers learned about it after displacement from observing it going on around them and from participating in it as employees. Although tourism development had a previous history in the region, villagers generally did not have clear ideas about whether and how to participate in tourism development prior to the time of relocation. One villager stated when she was asked how the family participated in tourism before and after displacement: "...before the move, we merely knew tourists were coming back and forth each day and they paid a large amount of money to those resorts; our villagers made a living in our own village without having great interactions with those 'outsiders'. I did not need to know what tourism really was because it was far from my life (although geographically it happened three kilometres away). I did not even think that we would become involved in it one day... Now I am working in it; it (tourism) has become my daily environment – I am learning it from working in it" (conversation with a villager during a workshop break, 2005).

It was also discovered that villagers had never participated in any planning-related activities except for deciding about their own village affairs in village meetings. In terms of the new 2004 Ya Long Bay Plan, villagers merely heard its name from their secretary when town government officials asked Po Hou Village Committee to announce to villagers the issuing of licenses for home businesses and the employment opportunities at various companies. In terms of tourist zone development, villagers did not have chance to suggest anything. Although some of them worked in companies where employee meetings were held, employees were normally brought together in the meetings to learn about the decisions which had been made at the top.

4.1.1.3 Summary

Statistics show that the general situation of Tang Fang Village became improved after displacement in 2002, especially in terms of household income: villagers were involved in a variety of non-traditional livelihoods, especially in comparison with other neighbouring Li minority villages.

Although information about living situations collected in fieldwork in 2004 and 2005 did not differ very much, an obvious change happened in the second half of 2004 when a new master plan regulated the distribution employment opportunities to the surrounding villages. Instead of being mainly concentrated at Red Gorge Golf Resort, as was the case with compensation jobs in 2004 investigation, at the time of research in early 2005, merely 38% of surveyed families still mainly depended on employment at Red Gorge while the proportion of those depending on paid-employment increased, indicating that they were employed elsewhere.

However, the general improvement in the living situation at the village proceeded slowly and on a small scale. As Mr. Su stated: "...although my village is the most active one in this area and a large proportion of families having someone engaged in paid jobs, our situation has been improved slowly compared with the speed of development of the region. We look forward to going ahead faster since development here provides us with the opportunity. However, competition is extreme because many people, my villagers, villagers of nearby villages and even outsiders, contend for the limited opportunities. We need help; we expect to strengthen ourselves" (Interview with Mr. Su).

On the other hand, the 2004 monitoring study left many questions and concerns of villagers without answers since it mainly concentrated on exploring the resettlement situation at the village after displacement. Some of villagers' concerns were taken into consideration during the fieldwork in 2005. The number one concern identified in 2004, how to participate in tourism development more successfully, was carefully explored at the village in 2005, both in surveys and especially in the participatory research which will be presented in Chapter 5.

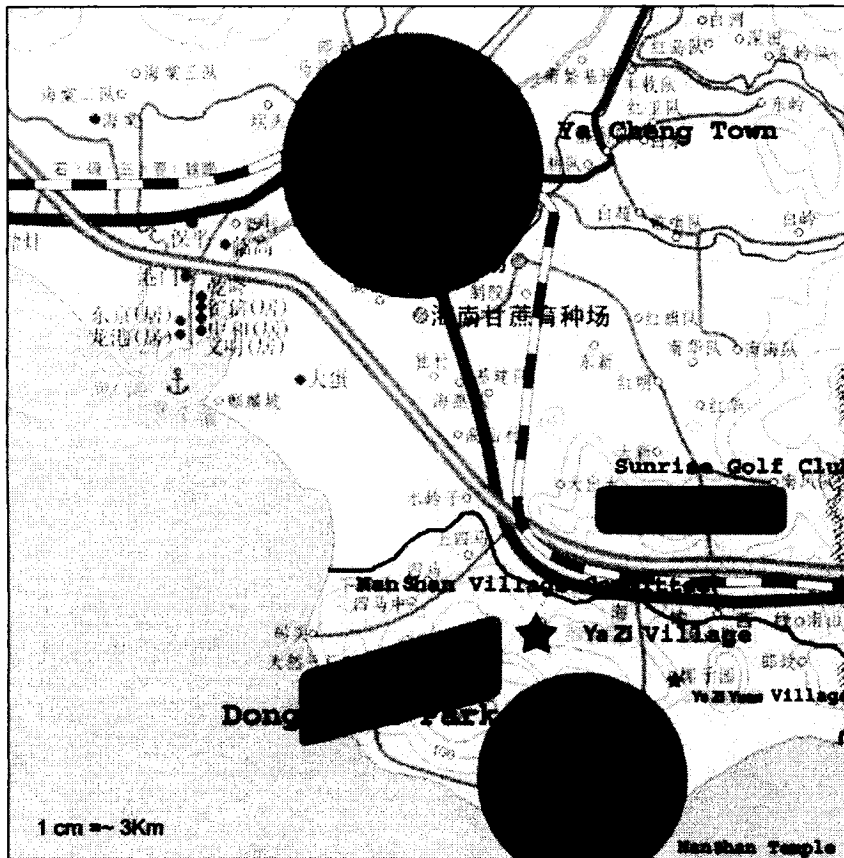
During the survey, 40 out of 42 (95%) respondents indicated that they would be willing to participate in follow-up workshops to continue to discuss "how to get benefits from tourism development". They were most interested in possible economic benefits from tourism. Villagers preferred that the workshops take place at weekends because most people worked on weekdays.

4.1.2 Ya Zi Village in Dong Tian Tourist Zone

Ya Zi Village (Figure 11) belonged to a seashore village committee, Nan Shan, which was under the jurisdiction of Ya Cheng Town, 11 Km away from the village. Since 1994, the Ya Cheng area, with its large amount of arable land and well established reputation for vegetable planting, had been a location for growing out-of-season vegetables. Large vegetable companies came to purchase vegetables under preferential arrangements. Nan Shan Village Committee was responsible for ten Li minority villages, composed of 1001 households and 4338 people. Villagers in the jurisdiction of Nan Shan Village Committee mainly engaged in vegetable planting and fisheries before tourism became popular in the region. Two famous tourist zones exist in the Nan Shan Village Committee area: Nan Shan Temple² (or Nan Shan Buddhism Cultural Tourist Zone) which opened in 1998 and Dong Tian Park. They brought a flourishing tourism industry to the area and the re-opening of Dong Tian Park in 2002 greatly increased the attraction of the area for tourists coming to Sanya.

Dong Tian Park experienced a very unsuccessful tourism history during its more than 20-year operation prior to 2002. No more than 2,000 visitors came with revenues of around 30,000 RMB (Can\$5000) annually (interview with Mr. Zheng, General Manager of Dong Tian). In 2001, a management company was established under the supervision of the Tourism Development Bureau of Sanya City (the park was under national ownership) and, Mr. Zheng was appointed as general manager. Following reconstruction, the park was re-opened in 2002. During the Labour Holiday in May 2002, the first major public holiday after re-opening, the number of visitors reached 70,000 over seven days which “greatly encouraged and swelled the confidence of the company, its employees and several levels of government.” (Interview with Mr. Zheng). According to park statistics, visitor numbers jumped to 0.9 million, bringing in 16.4 million RMB (Can\$2.7 million) in 2004 merely from the sale of entry tickets.

Figure 11: Map of Dong Tian Park and Ya Zi Village



As Mr. Zheng indicated in the interview: “Very important contributors to this park’s success were Ya Zi Village and its villagers: two lots of land were expropriated from this village. Without their help, the re-construction of the park would not have proceeded so smoothly and in such a high quality... When the company organized in 2001, it only had 1.8 million RMB (Can\$0.3 million) of which 1.5 million (Can\$0.25 million) was loaned from a bank. However, the park, at that time, not only needed to be re-constructed, it also needed to be enlarged. A welcome square with access facilities was designed on the previous dry-land of Ya Zi Village, which meant the cost of reconstruction would be increased because of compensation for land expropriation. Moreover, we did not know whether the people would like to give the land up since it was very crucial in their vegetable planting. As suggested by the town government, we met with the general secretary of

Nan Shan Village Committee and the head of Ya Zi Village in 2001 to negotiate the land expropriation and the possibility of delayed compensation. Luckily enough, two gentlemen, one was a retired military officer and the other was headmaster of a middle school, were very open-minded persons that promised to persuade their villagers. Of course, they raised some conditions which the management company thought reasonable. Then we started to draft out the agreement.” The simple agreement, from the researcher’s point of view, was forward-looking and likely to be beneficial to the villagers in the long term: 100 Mu (6.66 Ha) of dry land would be expropriated at a rent of 341 RMB per year per Mu (including interest since the money was promised to be paid in 2003). In addition, a one-time payment of 1000 RMB per Mu compensation would be required to indemnify for lost land and planted vegetables. Villagers should be preferentially recruited to work in the park (Mr. Zheng agreed to this after he realized that educational levels in the Nan Shan Area were much higher than those of Li minority communities in other regions). Training, besides on-the-job training, should be organized by the park for all villagers. This was especially to include “courses about how to make money in tourism” (quoted from the agreement). The park should help the villagers in operating small-scale businesses in tourism with a premise that the businesses would not negatively influence the management of the park. For the last three items, beneficiaries should be villagers residing within the jurisdiction of the village committee; however, Ya Zi Villagers should enjoy priority. In return, all monetary compensation plus interest were allowed to be paid no earlier than April, 2003.

Ya Zi villagers, at least at beginning, suspected the credibility of the agreement and the park. As General Secretary, Mr. Luo, recalled, getting approval from villagers was difficult when they first announced the land expropriation: “The village owned 387 Mu of arable land; however, because Nan Shan area is historically a drought area, the land was not suitable for planting most of the crops and vegetables. Although the returns from the limited types of vegetables have not been unsatisfactory, our vegetable planting has been greatly constrained by the climatic situation (more fruitful in a rainy year)... The agreement was beneficial to Ya Zi Village since I knew it would help

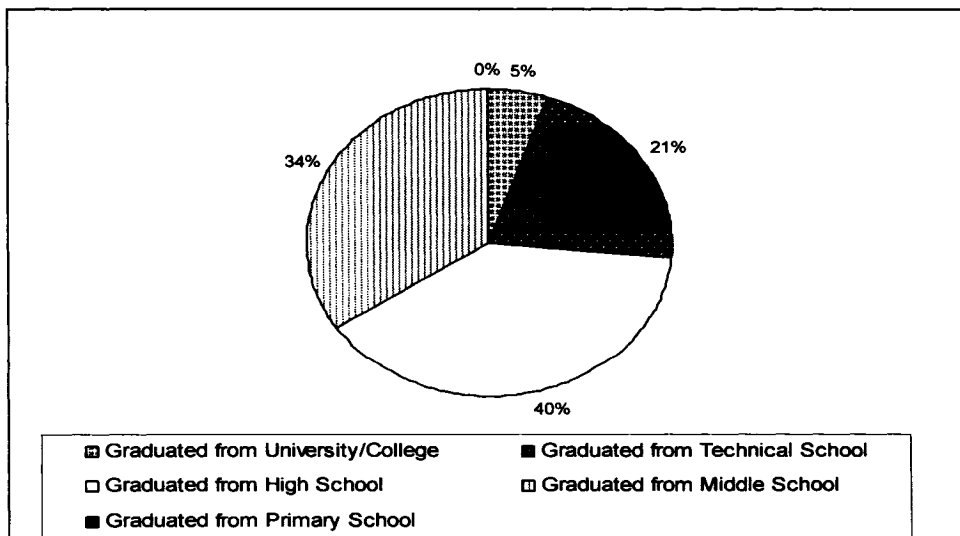
the villagers to gradually break away from a simple agricultural life... The village head of Ya Zi, Mr. Hu, and I participated in all the village meetings at that time to explain the situation, the draft agreement and the possible future that villagers could be involved in jobs and businesses. However, most of the villagers kept silent during the meeting to express their opposition. Mr. Hu and I decided to visit each family individually to persuade the people..." (Interview with Mr. Luo, 2005). A month later, the collective agreement about the expropriation was finally achieved mainly because, as the researcher realized later on in conversations with villagers during workshop breaks, 47 Mu of the required land was collectively owned wasteland which no family used. Second, it was promised that redistribution of the remaining arable land after expropriation would proceed soon after the harvest to avoid missing the next planting season. Third, all half grown vegetables on the designated land were to be compensated at a reasonable price although families would not get the money earlier than April 2003. Fourth, paid jobs in the park were provided immediately to the village in 2001. Most important, as villagers explained, they trusted the village head and the general secretary of village committee. After the agreement was completed, Ya Zi Village experienced great changes that accompanied the development of the nearby park. The monetary compensations were completely paid on time which helped the park to gain trust from the villagers. In May 2003, another 207 Mu of land (13.8Ha, 64.7% of the land was wasteland) in Ya Zi Village was expropriated in further expansion of the park. The resistance to expropriation was weak on the second occasion. As the researcher found out from villagers, there were two reasons for this: merely 73 Mu was then vegetable land and, of greater importance, many villagers had a job at the park.

Ya Zi Village had 557 Li villagers in 84 households. However, the Li minority people there generally had much higher educational experiences compared with other rural minority communities. This may be explained by the fact that the Ya Cheng area had long been the location of government of Hainan Island during several dynasties. More importantly, it was the place of residence of a number of eminent writers or famous officials who were banished to Hainan Island

as a punishment for offending the central government. Many of these people held old-style private schools which greatly influenced the folkways, such as De Yu Li in Tang Dynasty (618-907), Shi Su, Ding Zhao, Quan Hu in Song Dynasty (960-1279). Therefore, in the Ya Cheng area, residents traditionally respected education and educated people. This influence was not limited to the town itself; it extended to the surrounding rural areas including Ya Zi Village. Therefore, the educational levels in the village, as shown in Figure 12, were higher than in the three other survey sites.

Families in Ya Zi Village, as in other Li villages, were composed of several generations and were large: 18% of the families had 4 or less members, 50% had five to seven members and, 32% had eight or more members. The gender distribution among the sampled families was unequal: 66% male and 34% female (according to the village committee, the proportion of males and females in Nan Shan area was 3:2). As respondents recalled, there had been a sharp increase in household income after the re-opening of the park since 2002, as showed in Figure 13. Especially in 2004, the average annual household income at Ya Zi Village (Figure 14) was twice as high as the average of rural people in Sanya which was slightly over 9000 RMB (No 202 Government Work Report, 2005).

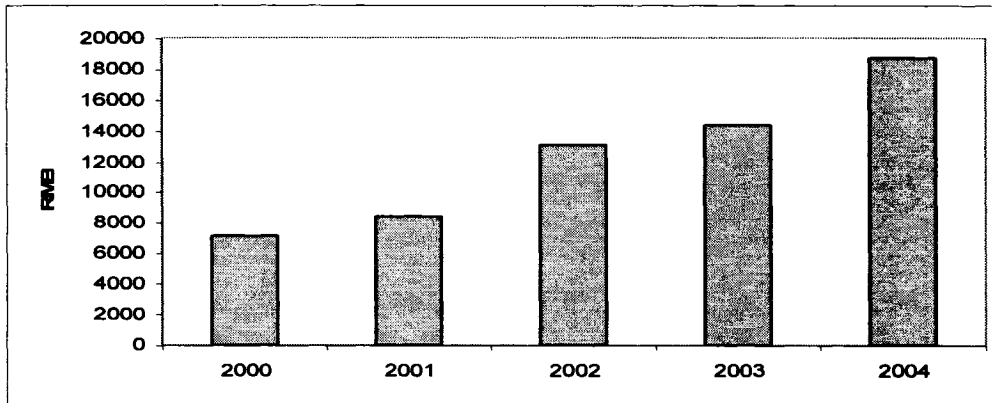
Figure 12: Highest Formal Educational Experience in each Household, Ya Zi Village



Source: Survey 2005, Ya Zi Village

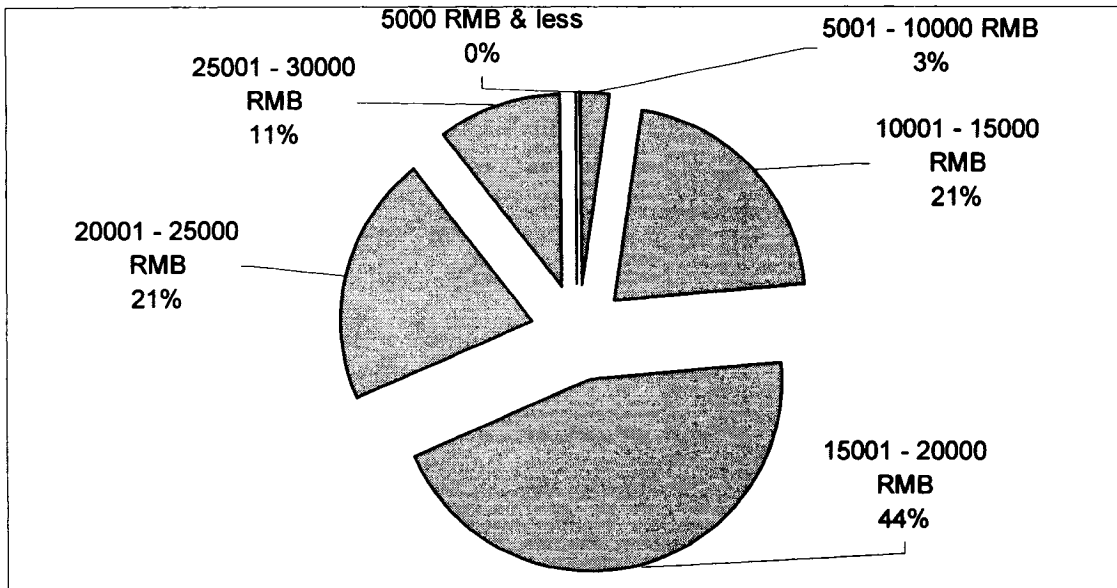
For years before participating in tourism development, villagers mainly engaged in planting drought-endurable vegetables, such as cowpea, sweet potato and balsam pear. These were purchased by companies to sell in mainland China especially in winter and spring. From surveys, the researcher found that the income sources of the village became more diverse in 2004: many people engaged in various productive activities which were directly or indirectly related to the park (Figure 15). Although vegetables were still a major income source for a large proportion of families, their importance was greatly reduced. Moreover, some families in Ya Zi Village not only planted vegetables but also processed some of the vegetables as part of source of income at the time of research. As reported by Mr. Hu, in first four months of 2004, the village earned RMB 0.5 million (Can\$83,000) through selling cowpea. One family sold over one ton of sweet potato wine. Since 2003, some families had planted some more expensive vegetables and some originally wild vegetables in small plots of land to sell to the restaurant in the park.

Figure 13: Increase of Average Annual Household Income, Ya Zi



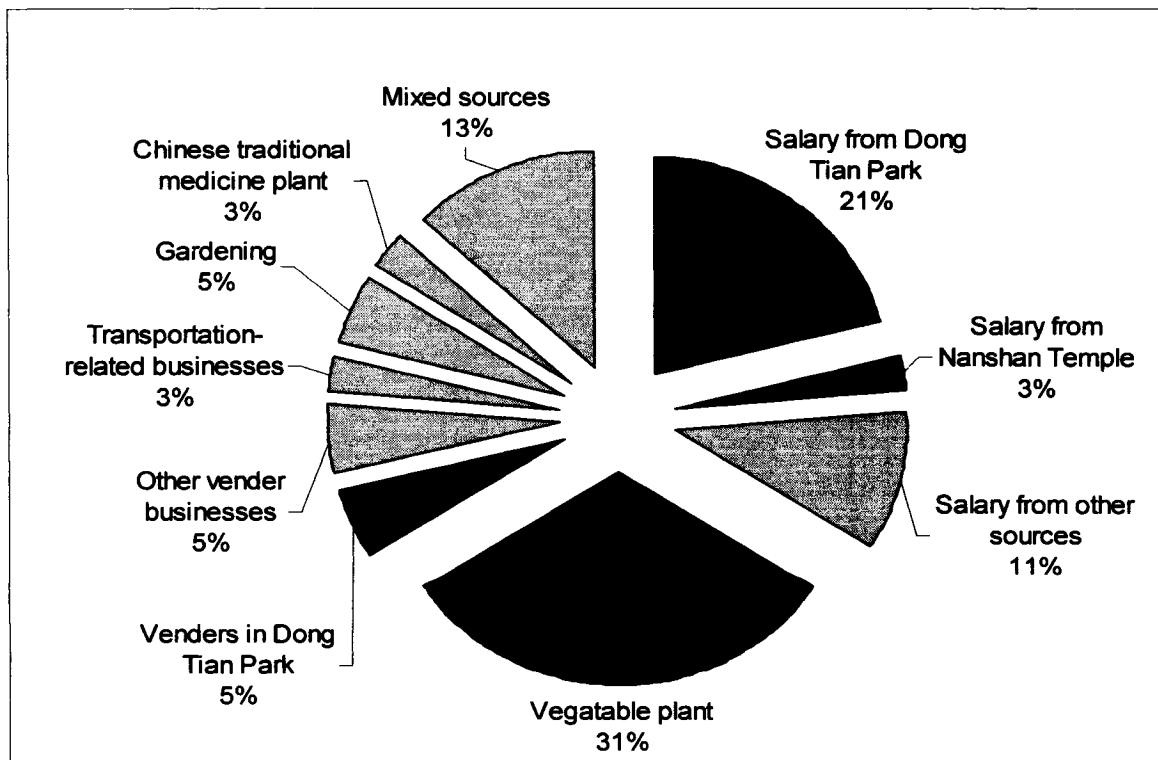
Source: Survey 2005, Ya Zi Village

Figure 14: 2004 Household Income at Ya Zi Village



Source: Survey 2005, Ya Zi Village

Figure 15: Main Income Source of Households, Ya Zi Village, 2004



Source: Survey 2005, Ya Zi Village

Among 38 surveyed families, a total of 49 people had had formal work experience in Dong Tian Park. Different from many other tourist zones, ethnic minority villagers had been fairly treated in employment after they had passed rigorous training. They had an equal chance with Han workers in payment and promotion. Evidence of this is the number of jobs and the level of payment (current or just before relinquishing the job) (Table 2). Employment-related participation among the villagers emerged relatively early (in 2001) compared with other types of activities: in addition to the formal jobs listed in Table 2, additional villagers were recruited for short-term employment in construction. Most formal jobs had been quite stable. At the time of survey, 32 out of the 49 people still worked in Dong Tian Park and 11 of them had three-years of work experience. The main reasons for relinquishing jobs at the park were the availability of better opportunities (59%) and because of a shortage of labour at the vegetable plant (18%).

Table 2: Distribution of Jobs and Level of Payment, Ya Zi Village

Jobs	Junior Manager	Accountant	Tour Guide	Cook (assistant cook)	Guard	Waiter	Gardener
Number of Villagers	2	1	5	4	14	6	17
Level of Payment (RMB)	1500-2500	1000	500-800	400-1500	400-700	400-600	300-500

The initiation of small businesses was quite recent in Ya Zi Village: most of the businesses were started in 2003 following receipt of the monetary compensation and some others started in 2004. “Some villagers suggested in a village meeting doing business by taking advantage of the nearby park (in 2003). They were attracted by villagers living close to Nan Shan Temple who (spontaneously) sold incense, fruits, foods and drinks to tourists at the main gate, the highway entrance or along the main local road. My villagers told me that they had spare cash which could help them to do some ‘big things’. I agreed to their ideas but I stopped my villagers from doing anything before we discussed it with the park. I knew that those vendors who operated outside Nan Shan Temple had a tense relationship with the company and they were often interrupted because they badly influenced the safety of highway and the management of the Temple (Figure 16). I then

went to Mr. Luo to discuss it....” (interview with Mr. Hu, village head). “When Mr. Hu first came to me to talk about operating some small businesses, I thought it was a great idea. It not only could help Ya Zi villagers to continue to improve their lives, but also made a good example to other villages in this area – some of them were quite conservative and dared not try anything new. However, to reduce the risks, I thought it would be better if the businesses could be operated cooperatively with the park because the villagers hardly had any experience in businesses other than selling vegetables at their land... We went to the park to meet with Mr. Zheng....” (Interview with Mr. Luo, general secretary of Nan Shan Committee). “As a government- accredited general manager, I completely supported the idea that surrounding villagers should share the benefits of the tourist zone by all means. Especially Ya Zi Village for it had contributed a lot to our development. I told the village leaders that food stalls in the park could be contracted by villagers first if they would like to obey the management of the park. I also told them that cooperation between the park and the village could exist on many aspects. I suggested that the interested villagers could talk to Department of Project Development of the park about their plans to see what the park could do for them. I remember in 2003, two stalls in the park were rented out to villagers who dressed in our smocks after some training. After that, our park signed several contracts with villagers. My point is that it is a win-win strategy: we save spending our labour, investment and management on many small aspects which, to us, were not very profitable. Villagers make profits which satisfy them. We then keep a good relationship. As you know, the unhappy things that happened in Nan Shan Temple, such as fights between villagers and guards, have never happened here” (Interview with Mr. Zheng, General Manager of park).

Figure 16: Rural People Selling Incense along the Road



Because some families in Ya Zi Village were clan relatives, it was natural for them to cooperate in businesses. For 16 families in the surveys who had involvement in businesses, no family operated on its own and it was not unusual one family to participate in more than one business. In the most extreme case, as far as the researcher knew, seventeen families together rented a taxi for transport between Sanya City and the Nan Shan Area. In that joint venture, the smallest amount of investment was 200 RMB (Can\$30). The villagers were creative and operated diverse businesses. Ya Zi Village, more than any other village under the Nan Shan Committee, got voluntary and sustained support from Dong Tian Park in business operations. Among all the surveyed households, three were involved in stalls at the park selling fruits, foods or drinks (Figure 17). One was involved in a laundry contract with the park to take care of all smocks and tablecloths. Two families sold vegetables, fruits and meats to the restaurant in the park. Five families were contracted in the employee refectory. As introduced above, four families in the survey were involved in that 17-stakeholder transportation business. Two families planted a miniature garden and the most successful single sale was that a dragon-blood tree that was sold to Nan Shan Temple at a price of 16,000 RMB (Can\$2,600). One family started to cultivate traditional south Chinese

medicine in 2004. Dong Tian Park, in order to support the businesses, provided Ya Zi villagers with two types of loans: 10000 RMB – 20000 RMB (Can\$1,600 – 3,300) year loan and 5000 RMB – 10000 RMB (Can\$800 – 1,600) half year loan; not only no requirement of collateral, but with lower interests compared with national banks. The loan assistance was extended to surrounding Nan Shan villages.

Figure 17: Food Stall Operated by Villager at the Park



Moreover, the park sometimes sent their own technicians to help business owners and donated some technical books to the committee to establish a small reading area in the office building. In some cases at the beginning, the park also provided resources to reduce the costs of operating businesses for the villagers. For example, the kitchenware of the restaurant was lent to the families who contracted to run the employee refectory before they had money to pay for their own. However, as far as the researcher knew from the park, few people in villages took out loans. From villagers, the researcher learned that among all the families involved in businesses, 19% (3 out of 16 families) got monetary support from the park; 6% (1 out of 16 families) used resources from the park and 81% (13 out of 16 families) received training or instructions from the park. When asked why more families did not apply for loans from the park to start the businesses, the researcher was

told: “It was not necessary; our business (laundry) did not need much money to start. The only things I needed at very beginning were a bike, an iron and washing powder which I could pay for by myself....” “I planned to apply for the loan at very beginning; however, I gave up because the loans were in such a large amount and this was not necessary for my business (vegetable supply to park restaurant). Some vegetables I sell to the restaurant are planted by our villagers who I can pay monthly. The rest of the vegetables and meats are purchased from a local market. In addition to my own savings, I thought a 1000 RMB (Can\$160) loan would be enough because the park pays me back on monthly basis. However, the accountant told me that he could not reduce the amount of the loan because it was decided by park managers. I could not borrow such a large amount of money without using it. Therefore, I borrowed the money from relatives”. When asking how the businesses got technical support from the park, the researcher was told: “At very beginning (of the miniature garden business), we merely collected small plants from the nearby mountain. We hunted for beautiful or valuable plants and transplanted them to our yards; we sold them after they were given a shape. The guards reported to the park that we transplanted the trees from the mountain. An experienced gardener at the park then came to teach us how to grow our own plants and how to protect old or valuable trees on the mountain from damage when we transplant others nearby and how to cut off parts of them without hurting the main body; it was very helpful.... We are now confident we can enlarge our business – we plan to buy some ornamental and, grow and shape them in the future” (survey with villagers, 2005).

Villagers showed great confidence and optimism concerning their businesses. However, since most of the businesses had started recently, the profits in 2004, as summarized in Table 3, were not high. This partially explains why many other families took no action. When asked about what stopped them from starting businesses, among the remaining 22 families, 6 respondents (27%) stated that the profit was low. Other reasons were: “wait-and-see” (32.8%, 7 out of 22), lack of time or labour (18%, 4 out of 22), lack of capital (14%, 3 out of 22), looking for projects (5%, 1 out of 22) and looking for a partner (5%, 1 out of 22).

Table 3: 2004 Net Incomes from Businesses, Ya Zi Village

Annual Net Income in 2004 (RMB)	0 - 1000	1001 - 2000	2001 - 5000	5001 - 10000
Number of Households	2	7	6	1

On-the-job training was provided to all villagers who worked in Dong Tian Park. Training in the park was divided into two parts: general and specific. General training included knowledge of Taoism (Dong Tian Park was a Taoist cultural park), the management rules of the park, tourism and etiquette and a week of military training etc. which was provided to all employees in the park. More specific training programs were provided for different job categories. Some of the training programs were led by experts so that it was not merely learning from doing, as was the case in many tourist zones. Especially, in the initial training during the re-construction of the park in 2001, over 30 recruited employees, including 12 from Ya Zi Village, were sent for training to places such as technical schools, a military base, hotels and restaurants. For example, two chefs were sent to Guo Xi Hotel (Four Star) in Sanya City to learn and practice for six months. Some tour guides were sent to Sanya Technical School for one-term training (six months). Two less experienced chef's assistants and eleven guards were sent to Yu Lin Military Base: chef's assistants worked in the refectory and guards participated in formal military training with soldiers for three months. Most of the people who experienced such training worked stably in the park and they were generally the group holding the highest positions and salaries.

In order to help the villagers to learn "to make money", as the park promised in the agreement, an evening school was funded in 2004, taking advantage of the office building of the village committee which was located beside Ya Zi Village and the Nan Shan Primary School. Six computers and 5,000 books were donated to the school to enlarge the previous reading area to a library. The researcher, as a planning consultant of the park, participated in organizing the school. The goals set for the school were to enhance the practical educational level of the villagers, advance the development of Nan Shan Village Committee, and strengthen the friendship and increase

communication between Dong Tian Park and the surrounding villages. The school was to operate long-term but with short-term training programs. The school directorate was composed of the vice-general manager of the park, the secretary of Nan Shan Committee and the headmaster of the local primary school. Preparation began in April 2004: 222 questionnaires concerning the knowledge required and time preferences were completed by respondents from the surrounding villages. Then a structured program was designed: 50 students were to be recruited in each term which would be comprised of 72 nights and 12 days within a three-month period. Courses were mainly on tourism, computing, livestock-raising, vegetable planting, business management, business law and accounting. Day-trips to nearby tourist zones, successful home businesses and successful farms were arranged during the term and a one-day workshop was arranged at the end of the term with the last day being allocated to an exam. The most successful graduates (evaluated from the exam, performance in the workshop and daily performance) would be recruited by Dong Tian Park or given loans to start their own businesses. Professors of Hainan University, other colleges and technical schools, staffs of local banks, successful business owners, local officials and experts, and staffs of Dong Tian Park were invited to give lectures and provide on-the-spot tutorials (e.g. operation of vegetable lands). In the first two terms, only Ya Zi villagers could enrol but from the third term, courses would be opened to everyone under the Nan Shan Committee. On May 18th 2004, the Vice-Mayor of Sanya City and the Directors of the Culture and Educational Department and the Tourism Development Bureau came to the village for the inauguration. The first class of the evening school started on the same day. By the end of 2004, two terms had been completed and 97 students had graduated from the school. Because of some organizational problems and villagers' suggestions for new courses, the third term did not start until July 2005.

From 2003, various social activities were organized which helped not only to create a wider social network for the villagers but also to build real friendships between the park and the nearby villages. In March 2003, in order to celebrate the opening of the Nan Shan Entertainment Centre³, the village committee suggested holding a volleyball tournament involving ten villages and Dong

Tian Park. Twelve teams, including the town government team invited by the park, participated in a week-long competition. As some survey respondents recalled: “It was the first time I found government officials were not as august as what I thought; they laughed and enjoyed the match as much as we did. Although their team lost at the first match, they came to all competitions to cheer”. “I made some friends with employees in Dong Tian Park in the match; they recommended me for a job in the park later on.” (Survey with villagers, 2005). Since then, the volleyball match had become a conventional activity between the park and villages in the following years.

On March 5th, 2004 (the Day of Lei Feng to monumentalize Lei Feng who offered his life in helping others and to encourage people to help others), the park suggested an activity to make chairs and desks for the nearby primary school and to strengthen the friendship between the park and villages. Nan Shan Primary School was the only primary school in the area. Also because of its good reputation, children in the surrounding region were eager to study there. Therefore, the small 12-room school was filled by over 800 children each year. In order to have more classrooms, instructors moved out of their offices to work at nearby office building and even at families. However, a lack of chairs and desks was a long-standing problem at the school: it was quite normal for three, or even four, students to share equipment designed for two. In the monthly meeting of February 2004 when the theme of that year’s Day of Lei Feng was issued, a village employee introduced the situation of the school and suggested donating desks and chairs. Over 9000 RMB (Can\$1,500) was collected among the employees and the park donated 5000 RMB (Can\$800), part of which was spent on timber that was sent to the school playground. On March 5th, most of the off-duty employees participated in making chairs and desks for the school. That activity attracted many people from the surrounding villages; males came to help make the furniture and females and children cooked foods and made tea at home and delivered them to those working with the wood. Because the design and construction of the desks and chairs were quite simple, 113 desks and 169 chairs were made and the remaining money was presented to the school to buy more chairs, desks and other teaching facilities.

A new idea to strengthen friendship with villagers was raised in the park in 2005: the Employee Spring Holiday Evening Party on March 4th (instead of during the traditional Chinese Spring Holiday because that was tourism high-season) was opened to villagers under the jurisdiction of Nan Shan Committee. Although the researcher did not participate because she was working in Tang Fang Village, she was told that the families of villagers and employees attended as well as a number of official guests. As good singers and dancers, the Li people were very active and this impressed the guests: “The Li people were very attractive; they were not uncultured or simple at all” (personal communication with an official guest). The guests did not know that almost a week before the party night the secretary of committee came to villages to announce the party and asked all the villagers to dress in their best clothes and to prepare some acts. He also asked the villagers not to chew betel palm (the betel palm nut, when chewed, creates an unsightly red juice) and to uphold the reputation of Li people (informal conversation with villagers, 2005). The night party became a hot topic in informal conversations between villagers and the researcher in March; villagers were eager to show off their experiences and intended to make the researcher regret her absence. “I have never felt so respected like that; people liked what I acted on the stage...”; “We are better performers in front of people than Han people”; “I would not stop my children having a Han girlfriend any more; I found that Han people also had united families and that their young people respected their elders”; “The night was the first time I met my Han boyfriend’s family... His parents were satisfied with me and they highly praised my dance” (Conversations with villagers, 2005).

As the general manager of Dong Tian appraised: “...several department directors (of the park) told me that many village employees became more active in the park after the villagers got more familiar with the park through various activities. The changes were obvious; for example, instead of keeping silent all the time in monthly-meetings, Li employees started to openly express their ideas. Some of these ideas were very creative and helpful. Some of them were given prizes for their suggestions (Dong Tian Park had a policy that a 100 RMB (Can\$15) prize would be provided

to those whose suggestions about park development were adopted). Besides, the collective activities help the employees with different culture backgrounds to learn from and respect each other... ” (Conversation with Mr. Zheng). Such activities not only helped to strengthen the social network between Li villagers and people of other ethnicities and social groups, it also helped to unite the Li villagers as a whole, especially the villages in the western and eastern parts of the committee that were separated by Nan Shan (a mountain). The evening school program also provided good opportunities for the minority villagers to strengthen their social networks with professional outsiders: instructors with different backgrounds came to teach and established personal contacts with their students. The researcher was aware that many students kept in touch with their teachers and tutors, and they visited or called them to exchange information or look for advice.

No such activities were designed specifically to raise awareness about tourism. However, villagers reported that their awareness of opportunities in tourism development and other means of improving their living situation were gradually enhanced from training, evening school classes and their daily participation in jobs, businesses and other social activities. The following three examples, among others, were raised by the survey respondents. In some classes at the evening school, instructors introduced tourism developments in Hainan Province, Sanya City and Dong Tian Park. Also, instructors discussed the great potential of the tourism industry in generating benefits to regions and to surrounding communities with examples from Yunnan Province. A second example of awareness-raising in the evening school was when an instructor from Tian Ya Agricultural Science and Technology Institute taught the villagers about the development of eco-villages in Tian Ya region; he also introduced the greatly improved living situation in the villages and the economic and social benefits the villages gained from the program. Therefore, some Ya Zi villagers suggested making their village into an eco-village in later workshops. The third example was raised by one respondent who built a traditional South Chinese herb medicine garden at home. The idea was learned from a Han family. The two families got to know each other when their two sons made friends as both of them worked in the park. The Han couple taught the village respondent how to

raise some traditional Chinese herb medicines which were suitable for the local climate while they lived with the Li family when they came from Guang Xi Province to visit their son. From various stories, the researcher learned that awareness about new things was raised not only from specifically designed programs but also occurred in a daily life through work, business, informal learning opportunities and communication.

When asked about planning-related activities between the park and Ya Zi Village, Mr. Luo told the researcher that: “The park was designed and planned purely by professionals; villagers had no involvement... I think that is reasonable because no-one understands the planning and design of a park in the villages. However, for those things related to our villages, the park has always come to the committee to negotiate. For example, the park needed to enlarge the parking lots in 2003 and they were afraid that construction might influence the Si Ma Village. Mr. Sun (Vice-general manager of the park) then came to the committee to report it and expressed willingness to provide compensation. The committee went to one of the weekly meetings in Si Ma Village and villagers decided to contract part of construction as compensation. We discussed it with the park and decided about the salary.” In the researcher’s understanding, the committee, in a way, became delegates of the villages to participate in decision making in park affairs which closely related to or influenced villagers’ lives. Mr. Hu, the village head, indicated: “We are happy we have the right to make suggestions concerning something closely related to us. Villagers want to pay our respects to the park because the park respects us. We try to be circumspect in raising any suggestions and requests and we try to be considerate when any suggestions are denied. Villagers suggested establishing a shopping street to sell souvenirs in the park after some villagers had visited Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone (as part of the evening school courses). The park denied it because it might lead to troubles in management and the park is a Taoist cultural park where a shopping street might not be suitable. Villagers were disappointed but we understood the difficulties. We do not expect any rights which should not belong to us, such as what you mentioned – planning the park. We want the park better, instead of making it worse” (Interview with Mr. Hu, the village head).

A certain level of shared decision-making power did exist between the park and the village although most of the park staff and villagers did not perceive it. As employees of the park, some villagers participated in planning the park and deciding about its daily affairs in the monthly meetings where they expressed their suggestions, ideas and dissatisfactions. Moreover, employees could submit written suggestions to the department directors which would be summarized and reported to general manager of the park. Suggestions from employees were treated seriously at the park and they were greatly encouraged: a small amount of money was given as prizes to those whose ideas were adopted and the person would be openly praised in the meetings or on the news blackboard. This was regarded as being an honour by many employees. Through those direct and indirect channels, employees, including villagers from Ya Zi, did have a voice in decision making about park affairs no matter whether or not those were closely related to village lives.

Benefits and recognition were provided to Dong Tian Park and its general manager for their support of rural minority villages, especially Ya Zi Village. The park won the 2004 Excellent Tourist Zone of Hainan Province. The manager won the trust of government that higher level government officials in the city and in the province praised the manager to the researcher during interviews. Numerous newspaper reports and TV programs introduced and propagandized the cooperation between the village and the park in 2004 and 2005. More tangibly, the manager gained a position in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Institute.

At the end of surveys, 32 out of 38 (84%) respondents reported that they were willing to participate in a collaborative study to continue to discuss "how to improve the village lives through participating in tourism development". Most of them preferred the study program to be conducted at nights because most people were at home then. However, they suggested that the study should start in March because January and February were they busiest periods for selling vegetables and working in the park.

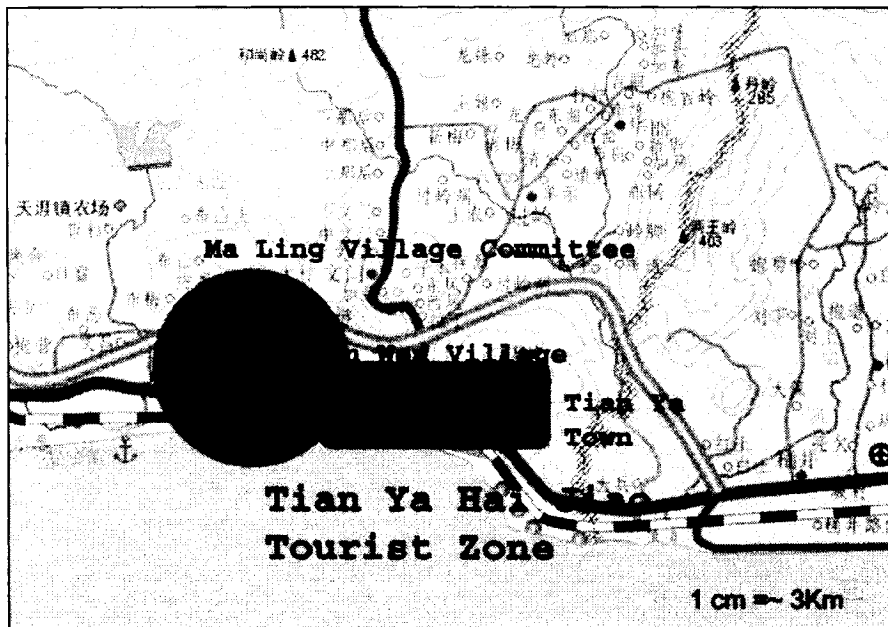
4.1.3 Zhen Wen Village in Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone

Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone (Figure 18) is another tourist zone managed and controlled by a state-owned company. The tourist zone, purely a sightseeing spot in Sanya City, is one of the few tourist zones without hotels and golf resorts. Each year, millions of tourists are attracted to the place which is known as “The ends of the earth”. Historically, famous ministers in several dynasties were banished there. It is now a place for people to pray for a long-lasting affection. In 2004, entrance-fee revenue reached 29.5 million RMB (Can\$4.9 million) at Tian Ya Hai Jiao.

However, at the time of research, the tourist zone experienced a shock: during the seven days of the Chinese New Year Holiday in 2005, ticket revenues decreased 30% comparing with same period in 2004. As Mr. Yang, the general manager of the tourist zone stated, it was mainly because two houseboats operated by dive companies and many boats made from refitted fishing boats and operated by local Hui minority villagers “robbed” the business by “illegally” carrying tourists to appreciate the beautiful views of the tourist zone. Without paying the entrance fee of RMB 60 (Can\$10), tourists paid RMB 45 to 50 (Can\$6.5-7) (prices were even cheaper for tour groups) to boat operators. “Some refitted boats operated by Ma Ling villagers have started since last National Holiday (October 2004). However, they were in small numbers and those small boats could not carry many tourists, so our company did not pay enough attention at that time. The numbers of boats increased sharply since this New Year Holiday (February 2005): more than 20 boats suddenly appear and on the third day of the holiday, two houseboats came. They started the businesses by taking advantage of the tourist zone without negotiating with the management company... The boats sometimes cheat tourists to pay for an hour trip but merely provide a 30-minute sail. Even worse, the trips sometimes are not safe because the boats carry over their maximum carrying capacities. Different from two houseboats which do not land, the fishermen’s boats sometimes secretly access the beach and land tourists whenever no guards stop them. They bring the tourist zone huge economic loses and various management difficulties. Moreover, those boats provide much easier access to those villagers who sell their goods in the tourist zone without

licenses. They (non-licensed sellers; since they walked while selling, the researcher called them “wandering sellers”) run after tourists and try to lobby them to purchase their goods, such as shell works or necklaces. Many visitors come to the management company to complain. Even worse, some old Hui females are carried in by the refitted boats everyday to pick up garbage; they sometimes turn over the garbage cans or heap the bottles and cans at obvious places before finally removing them – it is a shame of the tourist zone... The tourist zone is too big with a long beach to be able to depend on our guards to stop these disorderly activities. Quite a few of our guards were beaten by those interlopers; now the guards dare not patrol alone... We reported these to Sanya government, especially the Tourism Development Bureau. We also urged Tian Ya Town government to help us...” (Interview with Mr. Yang, 2005).

Figure 18: Map of Tian Ya Hai Jiao and Zhen Wen Village



When the researcher called Mr. Cai, the Director of the Tourism Development Bureau, to learn if there were plans to address the disorderly situation of the Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone, the director pointed out that it might be an opportunity for the tourist zone instead of a pure problem. “Tian Ya Hai Jiao long has not had attractive entertainment programs; it depends mainly on its reputation as ‘The End of Earth’. From the tourists’ attitude surveys, this tourist zone has

becomes a place, in tourists' own words, 'that makes one feel regretful if one does not come, but makes one even more regretful if one does come to visit'. 'Appreciating Tian Ya Hai Jiao on the sea' was a program suggested by the Tourism Development Bureau of Sanya City to the tourist zone two years ago; however, the management company did not implement it. In my personal opinion, the so-called 'disorderly situation' which attracts a large amount of tourists may be an opportunity for the tourist zone if the management company can cooperate with those boat operators. Especially, if well-planned, the refitted boats will provide a big opportunity for the rural people to participate in tourism to improve their living situation which is a key theme on the government agenda. Of course, as part of our responsibility, our bureau will not hesitate to clamp down on those operators who are irresponsible regarding visitors' safety or to the reputation of the tourist zone and the city, such as cheating visitors by shortening the trip... With the assistance of the town government and the tourist zone, we will regulate the boat business" (Interview with Mr. Cai, 2005).

However, in an interview with the general secretary of Tian Ya Town, the researcher came to realize that it was very difficult to regulate the 'disorderly local boat business'. "...Hui people are ambivalent: isolated from the outside world in terms of lifestyle but active in doing small businesses with other groups. They are very hard to manage since they often refuse to follow outsider-made regulations. Even their own village heads sometimes cannot control villagers. We organized meetings with the secretary of Ma Ling Village Committee and all village heads to figure out solutions once we heard about the things that were happening in Tian Ya Hai Jiao. The village leaders went back to persuade villagers to control their activities, to be honest and hospitable to visitors and especially to pay attention to safety issues. However, the results were limited: villagers still do whatever they want. We then turned to some Hui religious leaders; they all shifted of responsibility or blamed to each other. As far as we know, quite a few of them have family members operating the boat businesses. I have no other idea except to directly punish some irresponsible operators" (Interview with Mr. Lu, General Secretary of Tian Ya Town).

Mr. Yang, the manager, applauded the suggestion of punishing some irresponsible boat operators. However, as one municipal official stated, Sanya government would not allow the town government or the tourist zone itself to take any punitive actions to avoid the situation in which “all villagers’ businesses would be prevented”. Moreover, the official said: “purely punishment is a way to raise conflicts between ethnic groups in the city. Also, villagers are not unable to be taught to operate their businesses properly.” The official pointed out that: “Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone should also reflect on its unfriendly relationship with the surrounding rural communities. For example, the tourist zone owns several hundred stalls to sell Hainan special products to visitors (Figure 19); however, no more than 10% were rented to local residents, including the residents at Tian Ya Town. It is no wonder that local villagers hate the management company and operate some covert businesses. A meeting was held yesterday among some related government departments and the management company of Tian Ya Hai Jiao; this point was raised with the manager and hopefully the company will review its management from this perspective, instead of merely complaining about the minority villagers. This tourist zone, owned by the nation, should not seek only profits for itself” (Interview with a municipal government official, 2005).

However, Mr. Yang, the manager of the tourist zone, was disappointed by the meeting: “I have to admit that we have indifferent relationship with the surrounding villages: we do not recruit Hui employees and we seldom rent the outdoor stores and indoor stalls to them. But we have our own reasons; for several years, those villagers left us with a very bad impression because of their petty actions. For example, they long have led some visitors to climb the wall of the tourist zone to escape the entrance fee and to earn some 20 RMB per person. In order to facilitate that, the villagers often damage the walls of the tourist zone. Moreover, it is troublesome to do business with Hui people because they are ‘smart’ and hard to negotiate with... No more than 10% of the 441 outdoor stalls were rented out to surrounding villagers; most of them got the contracts because they have relationships either with their religious leaders or with some local influential families. These contractors are hard to manage: some of them fight with other contractors in competing with

customers or even with our guards. Some of them have never paid the rent on time. No-one in my company wanted to negotiate with them because they are afraid of a fight... We want to cooperate with the boats for the program 'Appreciating Tian Ya Hai Jiao on the sea', however, it is much easier to negotiate with the two dive companies and that is what we are doing now. I respect the officials' idea that local people should be able to cooperate in the program but I doubt the practicability: if the villagers refuse to follow the orders of the village committee, then who will be able to negotiate with us?" (Interview with Mr. Yang)

Figure 19: Stalls in Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone



Zhen Wen Village was the village closest to Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone and Tian Ya Town under the jurisdiction of Ma Ling Village Committee. The villagers were mostly Hui minority with a small number of Han people. Originally, the village was selected by the researcher as a study site because it was planned to be a base for minority handicrafts in master plan of the tourist zone. However, during interviews and surveys, the researcher found that the plan had not been implemented yet. Zhen Wen Village, similar to other villages in Ma Ling Village Committee, did not have an open entrance enabling it to be involved in the nearby tourist zone development. However, the short distance between the village and the tourist zone facilitated some secret or non-licensed tourism-related businesses among the villagers.

7 of the 69 families were found to be Han. Household size in the village was generally large: among the 31 surveyed families, one family had four family members, 17 (55%) had five to seven people and 13 (42%) had eight members or above. Most of the surveyed respondents (19 out of 31)

refused to talk about their family members' educational levels. The researcher was told by the research assistant at Zhen Wen Village, the second son of the village head, that few of the families had someone who had even completed primary school. The point was proven by the other 12 responses: except for the family of the village head (his second son had graduated from middle school), primary school was the highest educational experience at seven households and four families had nobody who had completed primary school education. As reported by respondents, 9 households (29%) earned less than RMB 500 (Can\$80) in 2004; 17 (55%) earned between RMB 501 to 1000 (Can\$81 - 160); 4 of them earned between RMB1001 to 1500 (Can\$161 - 250) and only the village head reported that his family earned over RMB 5000 (Can\$830) in 2004. Among the 31 surveyed families, 7 reported that their major income source was farming; 15 depended mainly on a fishery; 4 depended mainly on yard plants; 1 family's main income came from the salary of a family member who worked at a town restaurant. Only 4 reported that they depend mainly on souvenir sales in Tian Ya Hai Jiao. Of these, only one had a license.

In the surveys, village respondents complained about their poverty, but researcher saw TV sets, DVD players and other expensive equipment at homes. Mr. Fu, the general secretary of Ma Ling Village Committee, said that as far as he knew, most families in Zhen Wen Village had someone, especially children and female adults, who sold commodities at Tian Ya Hai Jiao and Da Dong Hai (an urban tourist zone in Sanya City where no sale licenses were required). One daughter of Mr. Fu also sold goods at these tourist zones and she earned 300 – 400 RMB (Can\$50 - 65) per month. Mr. Fu estimated that the average annual household income in Zhen Wen to be around RMB 10,000 to 20,000 (Can\$1650 - 3300) in 2004. He also mentioned that poverty, although existing in the village, especially in some families with low religious status, was not as bad as some villagers had described. Especially, Mr. Fu reported that he knew at least four families in Zhen Wen Village who had participated in the boat business since 2004, one as a major investor and three others as were mainly employees. He estimated that for those four families, household annual income would reach at least RMB 30,000 (Can\$5000) because during national holidays, a boat

could earn around RMB 3,000 (Can\$500) per day. Moreover, there could be more families involved in the boat business than the four at Zhen Wen Village known to Mr. Fu.

Both from interviews and surveys, it was apparent that no real jobs in the tourist zone had ever been provided to villagers in Zhen Wen. The village head suggested that this might have been because of the bad relationship between villages and the tourist zone and the low educational levels of villagers. On the other hand, villagers mentioned that they had not ever wanted to work in the tourist zone because “the salary is low and we have to follow many rules” and “it was less profitable than selling goods to visitors directly” (survey with villagers, 2005).

Regarding tourism-related businesses (Figure 20), most respondents (24 out of 31) reported they had no plans to rent stalls because the rent was high and/or there was no way to gain access. Nine families reported (the researcher believed that more families than this) selling commodities at Tian Ya Hai Jiao without licenses. Four more families mentioned have someone selling goods at Da Dong Hai. Six respondents also reported that their females were annoyed by tourists when peddling to tourists: tourists were attracted by their ethnic dress and sometimes photographed the girls. As one senior villager told the researcher, “the spirit of persons will be absorbed away when pictures are taken”. Although most of the thirteen respondents complained about the low profits and troubles from tourists when peddling small souvenirs, none suggested ways to improve their operations. It is worth mentioning that a strong hostile feeling was found in surveys towards the Tian Ya Hai Jiao Management Company: “Why does the company issues license here? We sell at Da Dong Hai without it”, “Tourists like us, hence we do not badly influence the management of tourist zone”, “It is the tourists’ choice to buy goods from us instead of from those stall-venders who have licenses; they complain to us because they ask for higher prices and cannot compete with us”, “Guards at the tourist zone often evicted our wandering sellers and sometimes fights may happen” (survey with villagers, 2005). The researcher also once saw guards chasing a group of children sellers at the tourism zone.

Figure 20: Various Businesses Operated by Villagers in Tian Ya Hai Jiao



Village respondents pointed out that no activities to enhance their skills, social network, awareness and planning opportunities were ever provided to them. When asked how they first perceived the business opportunity in tourist zones, no matter whether legal or illegal, one villager answered: “Hui people inherently have a good sense of trade”.

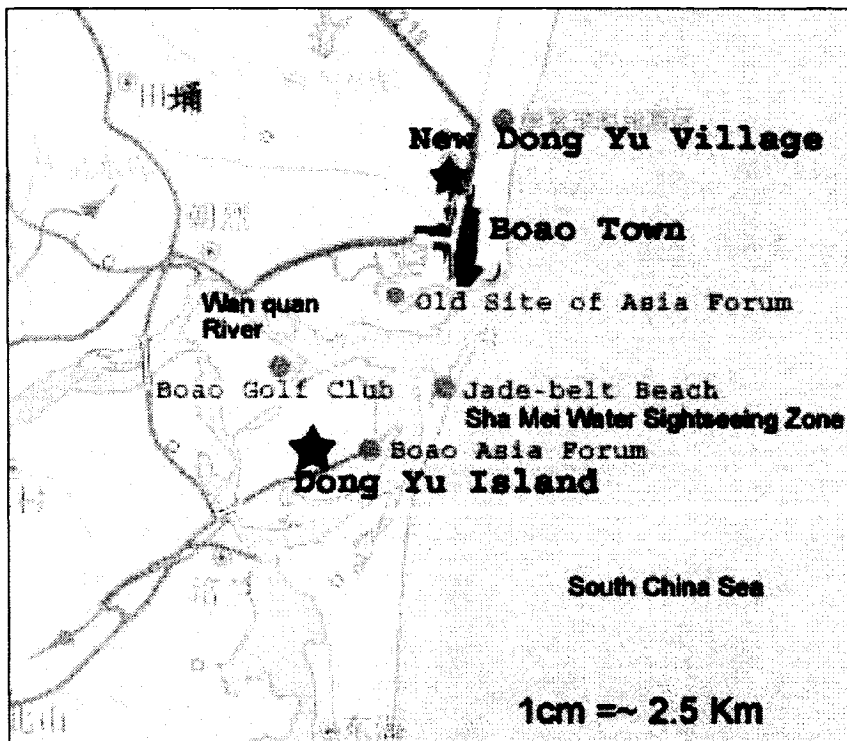
In terms of following participatory research, most respondents (29 out of 31) refused to participate because they did not believe that research could help them to improve their current situation. One villager told the researcher: “That we discuss together cannot stop the company from evicting our villagers out of the tourist zone... We did not expect more; we merely want the current businesses to last longer. If you can meet the manager of the company, tell him about it – we want to do businesses on our beach – the beach does not belong to him. Tourists do not belong to him either. Our families have lived here for generations. This is our place – we can go anywhere and do whatever we want” (Survey with villagers, 2005).

4.2 Qionghai City & Dong Yu Village in Boao Tourist Zone

According to the Control Plan of Dong Yu Island (2001), the planned area of Boao Tourist Zone was 41.8 Km². Of this, 8.5 Km² was water; 15.69 Km² was land for development and 25.98 Km² was environmentally protected area (Figure 21). The first and second phases of development included a conference centre, golf resorts, coastal recreational projects, hot-spring resorts, five-star hotels, and environmental sightseeing spots, etc. In the Master Plan of Hainan Boao Water Town

(2000), 25 more hotels and 3500 villa units would be built in the Boao area. Although it was a newly developed tourist zone, it is making a great contribution to Qionghai region. According to Tourism Statistics (2005), led by Boao, the number of visitors to Qionghai region reached 3.6 million in 2004, an increase of 10% compared with 2003. Tourism-related income reached 0.539 billion RMB (Can\$89 million) in 2004, an increase of 15% comparing with the year before. It was estimated that the number of visitors would reach 4.1 million in 2005 and tourism-related income would reach 0.637 billion RMB (Can\$106 million) in 2005 (The Tenth Five-Year Plan of Qionghai, 2005). The centre of the tourism zone, Dong Yu Island, home of the annual Asia Forum Conference Centre, Soft Golf Resort and Soft Hot Spring Resort, used to be the habitation of Dong Yu villagers before they were removed to a new village in 2001. Dong Yu Island (see Figure 21), which is 3.87 Km² in area, is located at the mouth of the Wan Quan River. At its east is the South China Sea, to the north is Boao Town, to the west is Boao Golf Resort and to the south was Sha Mei Water Sightseeing Zone.

Figure 21: Map of Boao and Dong Yu Village



Before the displacement in 2001, Dong Yu Village had 112 households composed of 591 Han people, the dominating nationality of China. Dong Yu villagers mainly engaged in fishing and agriculture with extremely low returns. The island had been isolated from the mainland until a bridge was built in 2001 for the Asia Forum. Up to that time, transportation for villagers to the outside world had depended on boats. For a long time, the nearest town for Dong Yu islanders was Shang Yong Town which had been 20 Kilometres away and provided the island with basic services, including education. In 2000, Boao Town, which was seven Kilometres from the island, was built mainly to accommodate the large influx of labour from all parts of China and to serve the nearby tourist zone, its tourists and investment companies. In 2001, Dong Yu Village was moved from the island to Dong Yu New Village at Boao Town. After the relocation, daily living became much more convenient for the previous islanders since they were closer to public services and facilities, such as schools and hospitals. However, the expropriation of their arable land and distance to the sea prevented villagers from sustaining their traditional livelihoods, such as fishing and farming. At the time of the research, except for some villagers employed in the nearby tourism zone or in neighbouring regions, most families operated businesses.

Prior to conducting surveys among the villagers, Mr. Yang, the Vice-director of the Planning Bureau of Qionghai City, was interviewed. He had participated in the formulation of the Master Plan of Hainan Boao Water Town in 2000, the Control Plan of Hainan Boao Water Town Dong Yu Island in 2001 and the Compensation Plan of Dong Yu Village in 2001. Also, he was a leading member of the Dong Yu Work Team which was organized in 2001 and dismissed in 2004. The task of the latter was to harmonize the displacement affairs, supervise the compensation and support the villagers in seeking new sources of income after the move. According to Mr. Yang, compensations, which were by and large reasonable to Dong Yu Village, were offered by two sources: Boao Investment Holding Company and the municipal government.

All material compensations came from the Boao Company which expropriated the island: an annual rent for the land at a rate of RMB 4,500 RMB (Can\$750) per Ha for a total of 42 Ha

agricultural land with a 15% increase every 10 years (around RMB1500 or Can\$250 per household); one-time resettlement compensation of RMB 10,000 RMB (Can\$1600) per household for 112 families; a house in the new village per family. Villagers were able to request either a house or cash equal to construction cost. Villagers chose from alternative designs under the supervision of the Planning Bureau Work Team and village delegates. Townhouses (Figure 22) were built in a residential zone named Dong Yu New Village and were of very high quality with telephone line, piped water, gas facilities, household toilet etc. The design of the residential zone was included in the Compensation Plan which was developed in consultation with the villagers. It had a beautiful square and 60 shopping stores ranged two rows and a local market with 80 concrete stalls (Figure 23). All houses were located at the eastern, western and northern peripheries around the square, shopping streets and market. The stores and stalls, as a part of compensation, were built by the company but owned and managed by the village committee and rents were divided among all families in the village. However, in negotiations, the Boao Company refused to promise to provide any jobs to Dong Yu villagers as compensation because the villagers had very low educations and limited relevant experiences. Moreover, local people were not allowed to enter the island to operate any kind of business without permission from the company, which was hardly ever obtained.

Figure 22: Compensated Town Houses at Dong Yu New Village

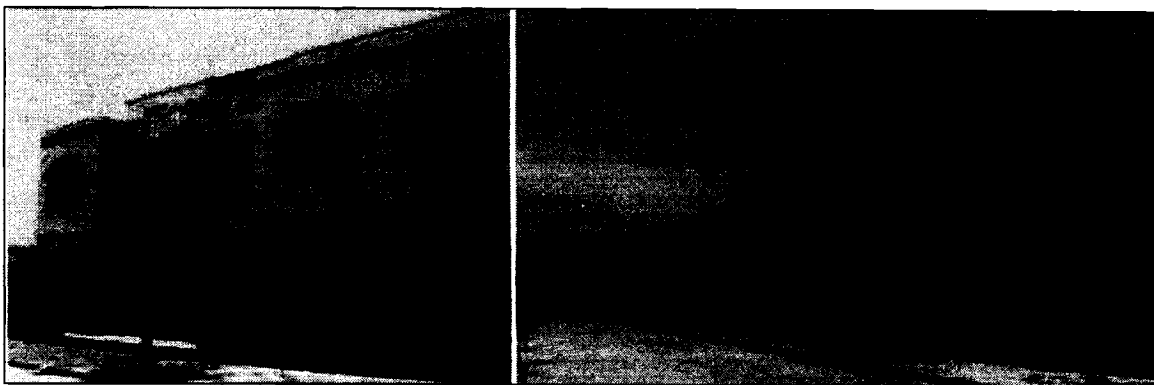
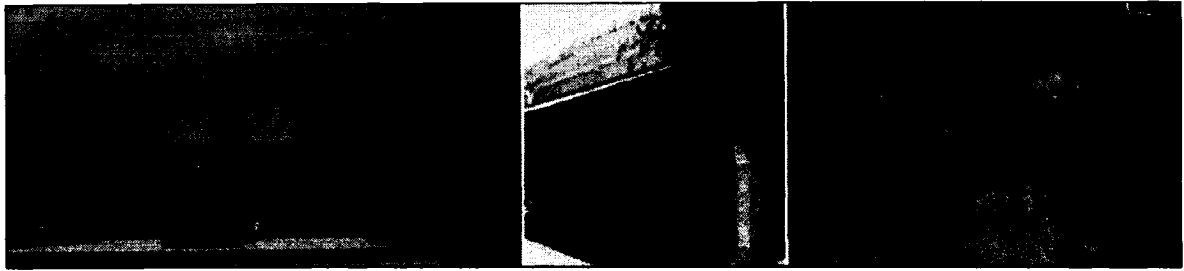


Figure 23: Residential Zone with Compensated Market and Shopping Street



The rest of the compensation was taken on by the Qionghai government. First, the regular access to some subsidies which were provided mainly to the non-agricultural population in China at that time was provided to villagers out of government revenue, such as a subsidy to cover 40% of the cost of hospital care and a subsidy to cover part of the costs of utilities (water, electricity and gas). Second, the Planning Bureau was designated to help the displaced villagers to look for jobs. Therefore, the work team, under the leadership of Mr. Yang, started more rounds of negotiations with the Boao Company, Boao Golf Resort, Jin Jang Resort and all the other investment companies at the tourism zone, as well as with publicly- and privately-owned companies in nearby towns or in Qionghai City, to persuade them to provide training and jobs to the local people, especially Dong Yu villagers. Moreover, Dong Yu Village Committee helped the villagers to start businesses in the stores and stalls and rented out the remaining ones mainly to residents of the surrounding towns. The government work team helped the village committee to get on touch with Qionghai Rural Credit and Deposit Institute, from which Dong Yu villagers could apply for small one-year loans with the security of the village committee.

The Work Team had planned to cease in 2002 after two-year effort in supervising the displacement, compensation and resettlement; however, the unsuccessful operation of the shopping streets in Dong Yu New Village postponed the withdrawal of the team until 2004 by which time most of the families had obtained profitable income sources. The local vegetable and meat market, which mainly served the surrounding residents and companies' employees, had operated well by Dong Yu villagers since the very beginning until the time of the research in 2005. However, most

villagers experienced a loss in several months of operation before the closure of stores at the shopping streets in 2002. The loss was due to a fact that very few tourists went to a souvenir shopping street located 2Km away from the nearest attraction in the area, Jade-belt Beach, and 7 Km away from the main attraction, the Asia Forum Conference Centre on Dong Yu Island. At the time of survey, the shopping stores were mainly empty and the previously neat streets were sometimes used to dry crops by farmers. The government Work Team then delayed their withdrawal to take on a new job – searching for business opportunities for the villagers. At the end of 2002, Boao Bin Hai Yacht Company invested in a shopping street with 120 stalls beside Jade-belt Beach to enlarge its investment and to attract more tourists to visit the site (Figure 24). As a condition of tax reduction for the first three years of operation, the company agreed to rent no less than 30 stalls to Dong Yu villagers at a regular rent. Dong Yu Village Committee persuaded households to cooperate to start stall business. It was felt that this would both reduce the risks and share the benefits among more families in the village.

Figure 24: Shopping Street at Jade-belt Beach

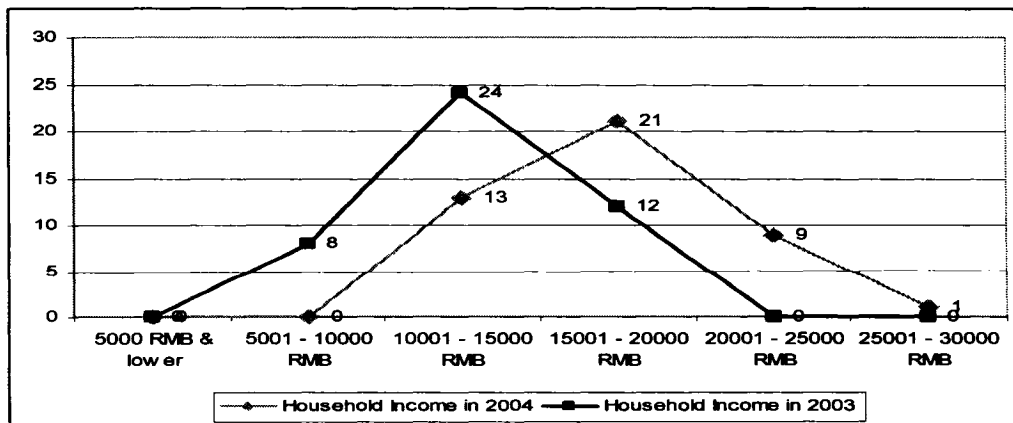


Dong Yu Village, at the time of surveys, had 124 families according to the household list of the village committee but families were small in size compared to those in the minority villages examined in the research. Of all 44 surveyed families, 21 had four or less people and the other 23 had five to seven members per household. No household was larger than seven people. During the survey, the researcher found two cases (and there might have been others) in which two related families moved into one house and divided the compensation money for the second house between

them. The researcher was told that houses in the new village were big and many families had spare rooms. On the other hand, lacking easy access to school facilities when living on the island, the educational qualifications of the villagers were low comparing with a normal Han village. According to the responses to the question “what is the highest educational level in your family”, 5 families (11%) had nobody that had completed primary school. Twenty-eight (64%) had someone who had finished primary school education, among which 11 had some experiences in middle school. Ten families (23%) had someone who had completed middle school and one family (2%) had a member who had completed high school.

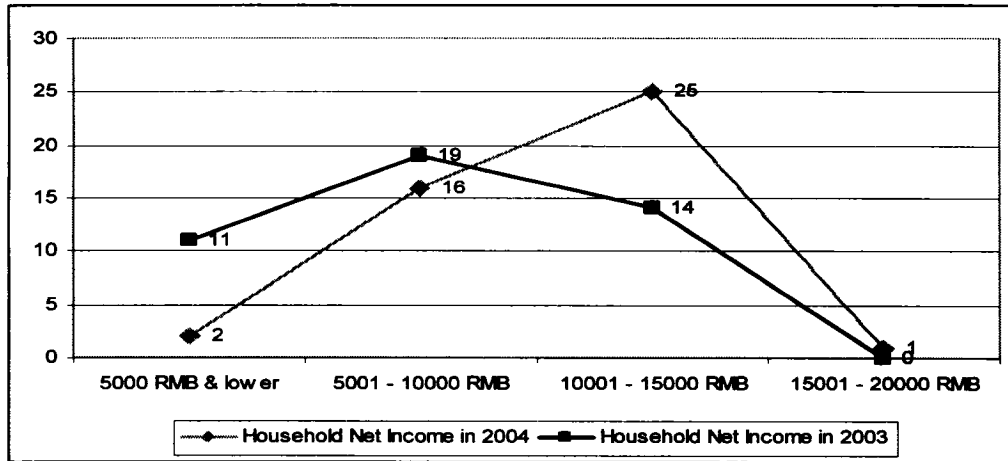
Household income had gradually increased since 2002 after most of the families experienced a loss at Dong Yu shopping street. The year 2004 became a breaking point because more families started their own small businesses (most had been induced by the Work Team). However, increase in net income in 2004 was not large since the costs of starting some new businesses were high (Figure 25, 26). The main income sources of Dong Yu Village families were as follows: thirty-five families (80%) depended on businesses, seven (16%) depended on employments in the nearby tourist zone; one (2%) depended on employment in Shang Yong Town and one (2%) depended on employment in Qionghai City.

Figure 25: Numbers of Families with Specified Household Incomes in 2003 and 2004, Dong Yu



Source: Surveys in 2005, Dong Yu

Figure 26: Numbers of Families with Specified Household Net Incomes in 2003 and 2004



Source: Surveys in 2005, Dong Yu

Although the government Work Team devoted a large amount of effort to persuade potential employers, employment was seldom opened to villagers in Boao area, including Dong Yu Village, because many with better educational or training backgrounds rushed in looking for jobs. Among all 44 surveyed families, merely 8 of them had members working in the tourist zone. Calculated by village leaders, at the time of the research, 27 villagers at Dong Yu worked for salaries. Since few people worked for salaries, the researcher contacted all of them to understand the employment situation in the area. She found that except for three working in Qionghai City, Shang Yong Town and in the village transportation company, the other 24 people worked in the nearby Boao tourist zone, of which only three worked on Dong Yu Island. Villagers' jobs and levels of salaries are summarized in Table 4. Respondents were dissatisfied with some jobs provided in Boao; the low salaries and high workloads made most paid employment unattractive. Working as a caddie was the only exception. In casual conversations, many young villagers were found to have a great desire to join the caddie group. Three golf courses existed in Boao Tourist Zone and the fourth was under construction. These attracted many visitors, especially golf fans from Hainan Province, nearby Guangdong Province and from Japan and Korea. Unlike in western countries, in China, almost all players employ caddies and give high tips. Therefore, although the fixed salary was low, an

experienced caddie could earn at least RMB 800 RMB (Can\$130) per month for tips (usually RMB 50-100 RMB (Can\$8 - 16) per person per 18-hole game). The researcher was told by a villager who worked as a caddie for over two years at Boao Golf Resort that he earned RMB 800 RMB (Can\$130) from some frequent visitors during the seven-day 2005 Chinese New Year.

Table 4: Division of Employments at Dong Yu Village, 2005

Jobs	Caddie	Gardener	Waiter	Housekeeper	Guards
Numbers of Villagers	14	5	2	1	2
Levels of Salaries (RMB/ month)	400	300 - 400	400 - 500	400 - 500	400 - 500

Source: Surveys in 2005, Dong Yu

Businesses owned by Dong Yu villagers were very diverse in 2004. Among all 44 families surveyed, 12 families participated in the daily operation of the local vegetable and meat market which, it was estimated, enabled the families to earn annual incomes ranging from RMB 8,000 to 13,000 (Can\$1300 - 2100) after the rent and management fee had been paid. Nineteen families operated the stalls at Boao shopping street, cooperating in eleven stalls in which stocks from non-surveyed families were also sold. Detailed information on the eleven stalls is summarized in Table 5. Many stalls on the street sold ordinary goods instead of souvenirs or luxury art works which were common at other tourist destinations in the province. Prices for goods were reasonable and this attracted many tourists. The researcher's personal experience indicated that the prices asked for fruits were no more than 10% higher than the prices at superstores at Qionghai City.

Table 5: Stall-businesses at the Shopping Street in 2004, Boao

	Grocery	Souvenir	Foods & Drinks	Fruits	Sports
Number of Stall	2	4	1	2	2
Number of Families Participated	2	2 to 5	2	2 to 4	2 to 6
Profit of the Stalls (RMB after fees)	10,000 - 13,000	15,000 - 20,000	10,000	15,000 - 20,000	12,000 - 25,000

Source: Surveys 2005, Dong Yu

Moreover, impelled by the government Work Team, Qionghai Public Transit Company signed a contract with Dong Yu Village Committee through which the village joined the company to run a middle-sized bus on a route between Boao and Qionghai City. Villagers decided to collect money in the village to purchase a second-hand bus. Because the costs were over 0.2 million RMB (Can\$33,000) to buy a second-hand bus and to employ two professional bus drivers, an accountant and a cashier, the funds raised by 84 families at the village were 30% less than what was required (the investment had to be 1000 RMB or can\$160 a unit). Therefore, Dong Yu villagers' relatives or friends elsewhere were called on to join in but each outside family was not allowed to hold stock higher than 2 investment unit (2000 RMB or can\$330). Under the supervision of the Work Team and the village committee, capital was collected, employees were recruited, rules were drafted, a supervising committee was established which included the general secretary of Dong Yu Village Committee, Mr. Lin and other village leaders, some Dong Yu villagers and outside investors. At last, a bus was purchased from Qionghai Public Transit Company and service was started at the end of 2003. According to Mr. Lin, revenue reached 110,000 RMB in 2004, the first year. After direct costs, the profit was over 30% of the total investment. It was satisfying, as Mr. Lin expressed, that investors could take back most of their investment and that some profit would be distributed after the third year. More villagers wanted to join in or increase the stock but they were refused at village meetings. Mr. Lin was worried about that since the original goal of the business was to let everyone at Dong Yu Village have an opportunity to share the benefits. Moreover, the village was short of experts and some key personnel for the bus service, except for the ticket seller who was a Dong Yu villager, had to be employed from outside. As reported by Mr. Lin, young villagers were either short of confidence or patience to take training courses on bus driving, accountancy, management etc. On the other hand, competition was severe as the village bus not only had to compete with tricars, motorcycles and taxies on the designated route, but also had to compete with other two mid-size buses operated by Public Transit Company on the same route. Mr. Lin indicated that the company was prepared to pay a higher management fee if the Public Transit Company would

reduce one of its buses on the route.

From casual conversations, the researcher found that villagers' confidence about trade increased once personal experience in businesses had been obtained or the practices of others had been observed. In addition to twenty-six among the forty-four surveyed families that participated in the bus investment, some home or small-scale cooperative businesses had emerged in 2003 and 2004. Two families bought tricars and female drivers started short-distance transportation services among the tourism zone, Boao Town, Shang Yong Town and several nearby villages. The researcher was told that a total of seven families in the village did this business. One family reported that it purchased fresh seafood at Boao port and sold it for a higher price at Qionghai Market which was 40 Km away. A small restaurant was opened by two families in Dong Yu Village and one family at Boao town in 2004: the town family provided the site and a house and the village families equally invested in the rest of the capital and labour. Although the surveyed family, one of the partners of the restaurant, refused to disclose detailed revenue information, he told the researcher that the business was profitable since both residents and tourists came.

After being completely abandoned for over a year, several stores were opened again at the village shopping street by villagers who sold groceries. A surveyed family reopened one of the stores in 2003: "Our store serves the local people who are a stable source of customers... Although the store earns much less (RMB 8,000 (Can\$1300) profit in 2004) than those stalls in Boao shopping street which mainly serve the tourists, it is good enough to support my family" (Survey with villagers, 2005).

Moreover, as the researcher wandered around Dong Yu Village, she found that a floor had been built on an existing two-floor compensation house and it had been opened as a 10-room family hotel at the end of 2004. The idea of operating a family hotel was adopted from some members of the government Work Team. They once raised the example of family hotels operated by minority people in Yunnan Province as a business opportunity. The families' members working in the hotel told the researcher that the Work Team presented an attractive picture of cheap family hotels that

would be welcomed by visitors since a large number of them came to Boao where there were only expensive hotels. So, several families cooperated to open the small hotel. Fewer tourists than villagers predicted came during the 2005 Chinese Spring Festival: the researcher was told that two groups of four people came and one stayed for three days and one stayed for two days. She estimated that no more than RMB 1000 (Can\$160) was taken in during the holiday since the price marked on the wall of the lobby was RMB 100 (Can\$15). A family hotel, which is popular at other places, may not be an appropriate project at this stage in Boao Tourism Zone. Backpacker groups or student visitors who are likely to stay in cheaper hotels seldom stayed over night at Boao since there are many small hotels in nearby Qionghai City. Except for those tour groups that can obtain large discounts from expensive hotels, most visitors staying overnight at Boao come to play golf or for a conference and are more likely to stay in the luxury hotels. Second, Boao experiences marked seasonality: except during national holidays and school vacations, few visitors go to Boao for purposes other than golf or a conference. Furthermore, a single family hotel is unlikely to attract the attention of tour groups. In many tourist destinations in Yunnan Province, especially in Da Li and Li Jiang, hundreds of small family hotels operate together and are themselves became part of the scenery and attraction there. Based on that experience, if many families in Dong Yu Village open their spare rooms at home to accommodate tourists, family hotels might become sufficiently popular to attract non-luxury tour groups. The existed family hotel in Dong Yu Village was in a poor location at the back of the residential zone, far away from the main road. The front door and the signboard of the hotel did not face the direction of the main road so visitors could not find it easily. No obvious advertisement or signboards were set up at busy sites, such as at the side of the road at the village entrance, at the beautiful leisure square, or at Boao shopping street. The last two points were mentioned to the hotel operators and they decided to add more signboards.

The most profitable business may be an automobile maintenance store operated by a surveyed family that provided parts, repairs and a car wash. The store was built with a small room at the back of the family's house and a small concrete square on its surrounding open space. It

earned nearly RMB 25,000 (Can\$4100) in seven months after it opened in July, 2004. The owner indicated that because few similar facilities existed in Boao, many cars came. It was also helpful that the family had two sons who were trained in car maintenance. These two villagers were the only ones the researcher found in Dong Yu Village who had taken training courses at their own expenses. One of them told the researcher in conversation that: “My brother and I like and have been good at dealing with mechanical work since we were very young; we repaired fishing boats for many families when we lived on the island. But at that time, we did not know this would become our future occupation... My father spent all the compensation money on our one-year training which my brother and I took at a car maintenance workshop. We rented out our second floor to strangers who came to Boao for jobs to collect more money since the tuition was high... We worked free of salary... My friends laughed at me since we spent money without any immediate return and my parents did not have enough money to make any other investment. My brother and I worked hard, made good relationships with the machinists at the workshop and tried to learn whatever was open to us... Nobody laughs at us any more. We handle the best business in the village. Even the surrounding construction company sends their engineering vehicles to us for repairing and maintenance. We are now short-handed in the tourism high season but it is hard to find capable persons to employ here...” (Survey with villagers, 2005).

During the time of survey, some new investment projects were being implemented. For example, one surveyed family rented out their compensation house to an outsider who planned to open a restaurant. The investor promised that the oldest daughter of the village family would be employed at the future restaurant. It was apparent that, from the business perspective, Dong Yu Village would become more and more active.

As mentioned several times in a variety of the above sources, few villagers of work age participated in any skill-generation activities. Even worse, many children of school age seldom went to school but, instead, they spent time with their parents in various businesses and sometimes provided small help, such as delivering meals to people in work. Although a primary school was

located just beside the village and, as Mr. Lin pointed out, some children did go back to primary school after the displacement; most families seemed apathetic towards the nearby primary school and the middle school at Shang Yong Town. According to Mr. Lin, among villagers aged between 7 and 18 (age of primary school to high school among normal Han people), merely 9 of them were in primary school and 2 of them were in middle school. As the researcher knew from Mr. Yang, the government Work Team had worked hard to propagandize the importance of education and training among the villagers in several village meetings. The team also invited people with formal jobs in Boao to introduce their working and training experiences. However, it seemed that these activities had few effects in changing villagers' attitudes and behaviour towards education. The idea of organizing training programs for the villagers was once raised by the Work Team but failed due to lack of funds.

No specific activities had ever been organized to raise awareness or strengthen villagers' social networks to facilitate their sharing in the benefits of tourism development. However, several village meetings were used by Village Committee and Work Team to encourage villagers to participate in education or a business (the family hotel was one product of the discussions). On the other hand, the researcher learned from the villagers that business-operation itself was a way of increasing awareness and establishing social networks. For example, in the restaurant cooperation case, the families in the village and town knew each other and made friends through the joint investment in the bus project. In their daily intercourse, the three families learned that they were all interested in operating a restaurant. Then they cooperated.

Sharing the planning process with villagers was viewed as being impractical. As Mr. Yang stated, "planning for a tourist zone is an expert's work and decisions have to be made by those people who know the broader picture" (Interview with Mr. Yang, 2005). However, as Mr. Yang also pointed out, for those issues closely related to villagers' lives, such as in drafting the compensation plan, villagers' ideas were collected in village meetings. Especially, alternative designs for the residential zone and styles of compensation houses were displayed to and voted on

by villagers. Moreover, having a local market and a shopping street in the new village as displacement compensation were adopted partially from villagers' suggestions. Also, village delegates participated in supervising the house construction. While the Work Team still worked in the village, through participating in some village meetings, the team collected villagers' ideas and some of those were adopted, such as rental of stalls at Boao shopping street. From the villagers' perspective, respondents seemed indifferent to accessing decision-making power at Boao Tourist Zone. As one respondent stated, reflecting a common perspective: "It would be great if I could plan my life better; who cares about the tourist zone? – we have already moved out of the island" (survey with villagers, 2005).

It is worth pointing out that after the withdrawal of the Work Team because the Planning Bureau considered the work at the village to be completed, the direct and indirect communicative bridges between villagers and decision makers were broken. Mr. Yang noticed the change; however, he had already been promoted to a higher position with many new tasks. New responsibilities were also assigned to the previous team members and no more funds were available after the withdrawal. However, villagers did not see this change: seventeen respondents (39%) reported they had already got used to their new lives and they did not need help from the Work Team any more. Fourteen (32%) respondents mentioned that if their existing home businesses went well, they would not care about the withdrawal of the Work Team. Five respondents (11%) even complained that Work Team interfered too much in village life. Some of them raised the example that the Work Team, by using equity as an excuse, kept on trying to persuade them to enlarge the stakeholder group to include all villagers in the joint investment on bus transport. The respondents considered that those who refused to invest at beginning but regretted afterwards when they saw profits should not be accepted since they themselves gave up the opportunity. It seemed that most of villagers (except for the secretary of the village committee) did not perceive the withdrawal of the Work Team to be a loss to the village and did not regret that direct communication with decision makers was broken. Mr. Lin was worried that some problems still existed which might not be able to be solved by

villagers and the village committee without the help of the Work Team. Most stores at the village were abandoned with few villagers caring about how to re-use them. Conflicts emerged among villagers concerning competition and negative influences on neighbours when some families operated businesses at their houses. Some families were denied the chance to join belatedly in the bus investment when some existing stakeholders opposed impetuously. Villagers were generally indifferent to education and training. As the researcher reported those concerns, Mr. Yang stated that seeking riches was not the only condition for developing a healthy community; villagers needed to be taught to have various necessary abilities and insights which would help them in planning their lives. However, villagers concentrated on making profits to enhance their material lives. Every family was busy in business in Dong Yu Village and most of them turned down the researcher's suggestion to investigate the existing problems and generate solutions. Both amusing and annoying, the researcher was told by one villager in conversation that: "If I want to improve my business, shouldn't I discuss it with my partners? What is the help of discussing it with a student such as you?"

4.3 Summary

From the interview and survey section of research, tourism-induced land expropriation was found to be one important initial introduction of the rural population to participate in tourism development. This was shown in the Tang Fang case in Ya Long Bay, the Ya Zi case in Dong Tian and the Dong Yu case in Boao. The Zhen Wen case in Tian Ya Hai Jiao was the only one of the four studied in which villagers spontaneously started various tourism-related businesses when they perceived the great economic opportunity. In all the other cases, communities had been isolated from tourism development before the land expropriation. In other words, in initiating rural community participation in benefit-sharing activities, it may be that some rural communities may lack the awareness to break from their traditional lifestyle and lack the initiative and means to participate in the nearby development. Awareness-generation activities or training programs are

suggested as ways to help the rural population, especially minority groups, to adapt to the changes easier and faster.

In all four cases, the initial forms of participation were mainly employment- or business-related, namely, benefit-sharing activities. Economic benefits and an improved living situation after participating in tourism catalyzed villagers' enthusiasm to be involved in the surrounding development. Current participation was still largely at the benefit-sharing level in all four cases. However, in some specific situations, villagers had some voice in contributing to decisions about matters that were linked closely to their own lives. For example, villagers in Ya Zi had opportunities to make suggestions on some issues related both to the park development and to the villagers' lives. Also, villagers in Dong Yu Village at one time had opportunities to directly communicate with decision makers and influenced their decisions and actions to some extent.

With reference to the Table of Incentives for Practicing Participation in Benefit-sharing among Rural Poor Communities in a Top-down Political Environment in Chapter 2, various impetuses emerged in the four cases which encouraged villagers' participation in benefit-sharing in tourism development. From the government perspective, both provincial and some municipal level government departments placed great emphasis on providing development opportunities to rural populations and on enhancing their productivity to reduce rural poverty. Although in the Zhen Wen case, in which the villagers faced the most resistances to the continuation of their activities, the municipal government departments generally stood up for the villagers. In other cases, various government departments supported the villagers either through policies (Tang Fang case) or from directly participating in villagers' activities (Ya Zi case and Dong Yu case).

From the investment companies' viewpoints, encouraging local community participation was, if not purely a catchword, largely an action to get government to facilitate their businesses or for obtaining substantial returns such as tax reduction. The Ya Zi case was an exception in that the management company treated the idea of encouraging villagers' participation in park development as a win-win strategy: the villagers improved their situation and the park strengthened friendships

with its rural neighbours and reduced the costs of managing some unprofitable small businesses. Various prizes were awarded to Dong Tian Park and its managers which hopefully will attract more investors to imitate their practices.

From the communities' perspective, villagers in all four cases had a strong desire for increased material wealth and social improvement that they put in a lot of effort to enlarge their participation and to share in the benefits of tourism. Many benefit-sharing activities were easily learned by villagers, especially when those activities started with villagers' daily lives and germinated from their existing knowledge. This enabled them to understand and get used to the procedures easily. Participation in tourist zone development did help the villagers to enhance their economic status, improve their skills, increase their creativity and modern awareness and strengthen their social networks. These, in return, helped them to increase their productivity and well-being. In Tang Fang Village for example, at very beginning villagers strengthened their abilities through training and working at Red Gorge Golf Resort as part of relocation compensation. Then they had greater opportunities to look for better jobs in other companies later on. In another example, in the Dong Yu case, after villagers participated initially in some businesses arranged by the Work Team, such as the local market and transportation company, the villagers then successfully sought more business opportunities by themselves.

With respect to the Table of Impracticality of Participation in Decision Making in a Top-down Political and Planning Environment in Chapter 2, villagers in the four cases did face various obstacles in participation in sharing decision making, especially in the planning of a development at the scale of a tourist zone. It is worth repeating that the term "participation in decision making (PDM)" as used in this study is defined as a political process that enables people to share in planning or decision-making processes for regional development (or tourist zone development). From the government perspective, most of decision makers had not perceived the importance of cooperating with local residents in making tourism plans or deciding the tourist zone's future. Planning and decision making were largely top-down processes with professionals

and experts that occurred in urban centers far away from rural communities. From investors' perspectives, planning and decision making were largely perceived as "personal rights" belonging to the investment company itself and these "rights" were merely shared with people in upper levels. From the perspective of planning experts, even if planning became a more and more open process in some urban areas (for example, the Master Plan of Haikou City was published in newspapers for citizens to criticize and an open house was established at Sanya City to collecting residents' ideas about the Eastern and Western Rivers Renewal Projects), similar activities were never heard to happen in rural areas in the province. In most cases, tourism plans were made without informing the rural people who would be greatly influenced by the decisions; villagers might not even know a decision before it was implemented. For example, in Zhen Wen case, a handicraft base for the minority people had been planned since 1991 but villagers had not heard about it since the project had not been implemented yet. However, in plans to decide about something closely related to villagers' daily lives, concerns and suggestions were gathered from villagers by planning experts in some cases. For example, in the Dong Yu compensation planning case, alternative house designs were provided for villagers to choose from.

From the community's own perspective, villagers accepted that they obviously lacked sufficient information, resources and knowledge to participate in planning for tourism zones. Furthermore, most of them did not regard participating in decision making as something that they expected to do; instead, they regarded it as the responsibility of others. Both villagers and government officials generally regarded decision making as a task for experts. For example, in Ya Zi Village, although some minor examples of the possibility of sharing the decision making power with the park did emerge (for example, some employees provided suggestions in monthly company meetings), no-one clearly expressed a desire to strive for greater power during the enquiry. At the same time, signs of PDM generally occurred after benefit-generated activities had begun and after villagers had obtained related experiences, knowledge and opportunities. In Ya Zi Village, following the establishment of connections between the park and village in terms of employment

and business cooperation, villagers started to get closer to the decision-making process at the park in that suggestions were raised to generate more business cooperation and suggestions concerning park development were provided during company meetings.

According to theoretical hypothesis of the study, the Participatory Spiral model, participation may firstly be induced when the rural community is negatively influenced by development before any benefits are shared. At this point they are impactees. For example, in three of the four study cases, villagers experienced land expropriation or forced relocation which dislocated traditional livelihoods before any form of positive participation in development emerged. Afterwards, people were compensated by new livelihoods which opened an entrance for them to initiate participation activities. Following this initial stage, villagers gradually got used to the change in livelihoods and started to be involved in the development process as beneficiaries – recipients of services, resources, and development interventions. The community first had been organised to participate in development to share in the economic benefits and training, and there was a one-way flows of resources and information. After people got used to participation, they created opportunities for some self-initiated and self-managed activities, such as some of Dong Yu villagers' businesses, the volley-ball match at Ya Zi Village and home-owned businesses operated by Tang Fang villagers. As the capacities of the community would be continually strengthened and its voices would begin to be heard, its people might become clients who would be capable of demanding and paying for goods and services provided by the government and private developers and business operators. If that stage is reached, active participation of the local rural community will be initiated in that the members will obtain some resources to invest in development. This may help them eventually to become owners of development interventions.

In the case studies, villagers were mainly beneficiaries. In Tang Fang, Ya Zi and Dong Yu, villagers on the one hand occupied jobs, business opportunities, funds, training programs or favourable policies from various sources as beneficiaries; on the other hand, they also started to invest their limited resources into development opportunities that they had recognised or created

themselves. However, since the villagers' investments were mainly in businesses requiring only small amounts of capital and they lacked resources and a strong voice to direct development, their participation primarily was as beneficiaries who were organized to share the benefits of development. In comparing the three, Ya Zi Village occupied a higher position in the spiral. Ya Zi villagers, accepted the inputs of supporting programs from various social groups. They had also undertaken some cooperative activities with the park which benefited both. From that perspective, villagers in Ya Zi were gradually enhancing their status towards becoming a partner with the park in development, instead of being only a beneficiary. Capacities of villagers had been strengthened in various ways, such as economically, in skill enhancement, awareness and in their social networks and they then had begun to have a small voice in influencing the development of Dong Tian Park. Zhen Wen case was a little special in compared with the other three cases for villagers initiated their participation to share benefits of tourism development directly as "beneficiaries" and fortunately escaped the stage of being "impactees" of development. However, villagers got very limited opportunities to participate. They concentrated on operating tourism-related businesses and lacked chances to share in other types of benefits or power such as through skill, social network, awareness and planning-related participation. Furthermore, villagers' current participation in tourism might also be eventually blocked the management company which had greater investment and authoritative powers.

In consideration of the participatory spiral, it became apparent that movement was not always upward in the direction of greater participation in true development. Movements also occurred in a downward direction. In most of the cases studied, such as in Tang Fang, Ya Zi and Dong Yu, the levels of villagers' participation may continue to be enhanced if no major obstacles emerge. However, the future of Zhen Wen Village is unpredictable – the level of participation may decline in the event that strong actions are taken by the management company. Government support may not completely resolve the problem if the management company takes contradictory positions and repressive actions. Zhen Wen villagers' spontaneous activities were essentially profit-driven

and poorly organized and it was not possible to determine how long their activities would likely be sustained.

The cases indicate that outside help was crucial in initiating and promoting rural community participation in development and in stimulating movement along the initial stages of the spiral. For example, Tang Fang Village might not have received jobs as part of displacement compensation at very beginning without the help of the government Work Team (Wang, 2003). Also, villagers might not have got more jobs without a new policy of encouraging local employment and the preferential taxes provided to investment companies in Ya Long Bay region. Furthermore, the operation of businesses by villagers was greatly facilitated by the protection provided by the local government. Ya Zi case provided a more obvious example of the importance of outside help. Villagers received support and assistance from Dong Tian Park, government departments (who participated in various activities and encouraged the park to work with the villagers), various local institutions (sending instructors to teach in evening school at no or nominal charge), and the media (newspapers and TV stations reported the cooperative achievements of the park and the villagers which greatly encouraged the park). In Ya Zi case, outside supports were available to the village since the very beginning of villagers' participation. Zhen Wen was the opposite: villagers got no outside help to direct or support their activities. A dilemma existed: villagers' spontaneous activities to acquire a share of the benefits of tourism development, theoretically, should be supported and sustained; however, if villagers' current businesses are not managed in accordance with the rules, then some of their disorderly activities may eventually negatively influence the development of the tourist destination. From the case, one can see that the community's involvement in development should not be supported blindly; appropriate control and management are necessary. In another case, Dong Yu Village received strong support from Planning Department at the very beginning following resettlement. The government Work Team assisted the village for four years until the villagers had become re-established. However, the government Work Team withdrew too early, leaving the villagers with some difficult problems that they might not be able to

solve independently.

Although situated mainly at the level of “beneficiary”, the four cases were different in terms of the scope and degree of participation in development (in sharing benefit and sharing decision making) as discussed theoretically in Chapter 2. The Tang Fang case showed a strong emphasis on both income-generating and skill-generating activities and the villagers were actively involved in various types of employment, businesses and training programs. However, from the perspective of sharing decision making and planning power, to draw on the words of Thomas (1993), the situation was one of autonomous decision making with no public participation: villagers generally had no voice in suggesting any changes in developing the tourist zone.

In the Dong Yu and Zhen Wen cases, villagers emphasized income-generation activities and paid little attention to other types of benefit-sharing activities. Although skills, awareness or social networks might be strengthened indirectly through income-related activities, as shown in these two cases, no specific programs were created to raise villagers’ skills, awareness or social networks. In the Dong Yu case, although planning for the tourism zone was conducted through autonomous decision making without any villagers’ participation, in most of the issues that were closely related to villagers’ lives, planners or official decision makers sought information from relevant people but then decided alone, possibly incorporating the inputs that they had acquired. Thomas (1993) calls this type PDM an expert-consultative decision-making process. However, in the case, consultation merely existed within village territory instead of respecting to regional tourism development which greatly influenced villagers’ life. In the Zhen Wen case, villagers were isolated from the decision-making process at the tourism zone; therefore, this was an example of autonomous decision making. In the Ya Zi case, four types of benefit-sharing activities were seen at the site: income-, skill-, awareness-, and social network-generating activities were conducted for the villagers. These contributed to more comprehensive improvements in villagers’ lives. From the aspect of sharing decision-making power, if we temporarily expand the discussion from a limited scope of “planning for regional tourism development”, then for many issues that might influence

the neighboring villages, Dong Tian Park discussed matters with the village committee and gathered ideas from villagers during village meetings. Even if sometimes the suggestions of villagers were not adopted, such as operating a shopping street at the park which was suggested by Ya Zi villagers, the managers went to them to explain the reasons. In comparison with the Table of Decision Making-related Participation presented in Chapter 2, the extent of sharing in decision making at Ya Zi Village, if merely evaluated from the scope of village-related tourist zone development affairs, could be seen as reaching the third level, information dispersal (either used to convince the community to support a given project or at least remain neutral (Sewell and Phillips, 1979) or used to inform the community so that the people can respond knowledgeably to what has been planned for their area, (Goldenberg and Frideres, 1986)). It sometimes even reached the fourth level comparing with the table, information gathering (a process to request the people's feedback on a given development project (Sewell and Phillips, 1979). Moreover, taking the fact into consideration that the park listened to the ideas of its employees in company meetings, some Ya Zi villagers could be seen as approaching the primary stage of the fifth level of participation in power-sharing activity, what Sewell and Phillips (1979) called consultation (refers to dialogues are used to gain reactions on development issues and these have certain influences in deciding the issues. Consultation is the first stage of the fifth level interaction, which refers to a two-way communication and problem solving process, in which the people are involved as actors instead of spectators in the decision making (Goldenberg and Frideres, 1986)). However, seen from a broad perspective or planning for regional tourism development, villagers did not share planning power and they were not aware of the importance of acquiring access to power. As villagers expressed in conversations in surveys and workshop breaks when they talked with the researcher, "planning was the park's own affair" and "villages should not intervene". In fact, conventional decision makers such as officials, developers and experts, also did not have an awareness of sharing planning power with villagers since planning of tourist zones was conducted by experts without either informing or gathering information from the surrounding villages.

Notes:

1. The nine village committee included Po Hou, Liu Dao, An Luo, Xin Hong, Tian Du, Qing Tian, Tie Lu, Teng Hai and Jiang Lin.
2. Tourist Zone in this study refers to a large complex of resorts, hotels, restaurants, recreational projects and sometimes golf resorts. It is a tourist destination with its own plans which had to be approved by the Provincial Tourism Bureau. For example, Dong Tian Park or Nan Shan Temple is not small sightseeing spots or theme parks; they are complexes that include hotels, restaurants, coastal and other recreational projects. Nan Shan Temple also includes shopping streets and villas.
3. The entertainment center, built by the village committee, was set in the three-storey office building of the village committee which was close to Ya Zi Village. The center had one room as a meeting room with a reading area and another room equipped with ping-pong tables, cards and chess tables. The open space in front the building became a playground used for various ball games. Villagers under the Nan Shan Committee could come to play for free. After the evening school, the third room was arranged as a library with thousands newly donated books, previously books and six computers. The previous meeting room, because it had been seldom used, was changed to a classroom for the evening school.

Chapter 5 Collaborative Research with Villagers at Tang Fang and Ya Zi

This chapter presents the results of collaborative research conducted in Tang Fang and Ya Zi Village. Workshops were employed as the main research method in this component of the fieldwork and were supplemented by other participatory methods, such as problem ranking, brainstorming and village tours. Collaborative investigation was emphasized in order to produce a two-way learning and understanding process among villagers and between the researched and the researcher. The aim was to generate ideas collectively in order to further understand how villagers took advantage of tourism development as one life opportunity and what would be the necessary situations to initiate and improve their participation in tourism development in the future.

Section 5.1 introduces the results of the collaborative study program according to a temporal sequence of workshops that were conducted at each village. The information that was gathered is very rich. In order to aid presentation and to enhance readability, most of the information that was generated in the collaborative studies is summarized in “problems and solutions” tables pertaining to each identified theme. All summarized contents of workshops will be presented in regular font. In order to provide a more human touch, extracts of conversations and discussions are cited to further illustrate the themes. All direct citations from workshops are presented in regular font but are enclosed in boxes. A research diary was used to record the researcher’s diverse ideas, thoughts and concerns during the participatory research as well as some of the results of taking certain action. These are incorporated in the chapter since many of them had an influence on the following workshops. Diary is presented in italics. As well, some reflections that were generated during writing the thesis are also outlined in italics.

Section 5.1.1 provides the results of collaborative study at Tang Fang Village and Section 5.1.2 presents the results for Ya Zi Village. Interviews were conducted with people who had been active in the collaborative study to explore their opinions concerning the research method and decisions made, as well as with people who seldom participated to explore their suggestions concerning the research results. These interviews were conducted after completion of the

collaborative study. Results of interviews are summarized in Section 5.2. Section 5.3 summarizes the findings and provides a brief comparison between the two sites.

5.1 Workshops

Most discussions are summarized into tables under the headings of the main themes that emerged. As while, narrative description, a method to present some representative conversations, was adopted and used to indicate direct citations in workshops and researcher's self-memos. Moreover, opinions in single quotation marks ("...") generally represented one respondent's ideas, unless in some occasions when several villagers spoke at the same time to comment on one issue, the conversations were arranged in a single quotation marks as indicated in text as "various voices". Narrative description is the most effective way to lead the reader into a deep understanding of the research experience (Janesick, 2000).

Extracts of conversations have been selected not only because they were representative conversations or thoughts pertaining to key issues; more importantly, they were chosen because they inform readers how the researcher acted as a facilitator (e.g. March 4th's discussion on the goal of collaborative study at Tang Fang; May 22nd's discussion of solutions to improve Tang Fang Village), how participants built consensus on some issues (e.g. on April 7th participants agreed to add a sub-topic "helping the nearby primary school" as part of the study program at Ya Zi) and how conclusions were grouped into categories (e.g. May 29th summarized indicators of "improvements through participation in tourism development" at Ya Zi), etc. As Denzin (1997) stated, reality is lodged in narrative texts: truth is a co-production; an interactional experience lodged in the moment that connects the readers as audience and co-performer to a performance text. Therefore, as a "mirror of nature" (Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001, p.69), narrative description provides the opportunity both to the writer and the readers to engage in a process of "the understanding of understanding" (Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001, p.70).

5.1.1 Tang Fang Village at Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone

(1) Workshop on February 26th, 2005

In this workshop, the researcher presented previous research results, introduced the purposes of the current study and discussed possible methods of “collaborative study” with participants.

Diary of Entry: Today will be the starting point of the collaborative study; an ancient Chinese proverb said: a good start is half a guarantee of success. If I cannot attract villagers' attention today to engage in a collaborative study program, I may lose participants in future. I am excited and a little nervous ... XXX told me that villagers would come – I hope so. The information on today's workshop was first announced on Feb 7th at a village meeting. Personal invitations reached all families during the New Year Holiday. I visited families once again yesterday to remind them. Was there anything I forgot to do? What should I do if nobody comes as described in some literature? What should I do if villagers do not come on time – will I wait? The slides I will show today should attract people to come and they promised me that they would come on time. Anything else I should prepare...? (Feb 26th)

Although the workshop was to start at 3:00 p.m. at a classroom in nearby primary school, some village friends came to the classroom at around 2:00 pm to help to arrange the tables and chairs. Children of Tang Fang and other villages ran around in the classroom and much of the researcher's and her friends' energy was employed to keep them out of the room. However, people continued to arrive after 3:00 pm and the workshop was started formally at around 3:30pm. By that time, around seventy people had come and all the 54 chairs were taken and some people were standing at the back of the classroom. The researcher presented the results of her fieldwork on displacement and resettlement at Tang Fang Village that was conducted in 2001, 2002 and 2004. She also briefly introduced her recommendations to mitigate displacement impacts and to facilitate resettlement. During the presentation, villagers were excited to see themselves on the slides which were taken at the village during over the four-year period (some slides were taken during the 2005 surveys). However, they challenged the researcher suggesting that she did not answer very well

concerning how the villagers could improve their current situation:

“...I still feel unclear about what we can do for ourselves...”

“You used to say that we can improve our lives through our own efforts. What we can do?”

“You stayed in our village for quite long time - tell us that what we should do next” (various voices).

The researcher: “That is the reason why I believe a collaborative study program is important – we need to work together to figure out ways to improve our village. I mean, I definitely can raise some suggestions now but those ideas are based on my personal background or knowledge which I cannot guarantee to be valid to be practiced by villagers. I saw many examples of so-called “experts” providing silly recommendations in some situations since they lacked a deep understanding about the site... It will be better if we can research together about the current situation at the village and identify those problems or obstacles which prevent our progress; then collectively we can decide on some plans to address those problems or obstacles or identify some assistances that are needed from various sources, such as government, an educational institution etc. Using a circular process from collective exploration to collective decision to collective action, we then can remove those problems or obstacles and facilitate our progress at the village. A collaborative study is a long process in which we learn from each other, understand each other, assist each other in making decision and, more important, we work together for common benefits. All generated information will be based on our own background and knowledge. Various plans and actions may happen during the process which may help us to improve our situation step by step... At the end of our study, you may find the research process very useful in understanding our situation on some specific issues, clarifying problems and reaching an agreement on action to remove the problems... To tell the truth, I may not stay with you all the way in the study and I may leave after several months’ of research as I used to do; and that is part of the reason why I hope the study process is formulated by all of us. We build the study from our own knowledge, we identify common problems at the village, we collectively figure our solutions and take actions to improve

some issues – the study is ours; the process can be continued after the departure of anyone. ...”

The researcher then explained the main elements of “a collaborative study for solving problems” based on her knowledge and understanding of “participatory research”. She also introduced some frequently adopted research methods such as workshop, problem ranking, brainstorming (researcher translated this into brain-typhoon since villagers were much more familiar with typhoons than storms), historical narrative, field trip, game playing, drama, gender analysis and diagrams etc. The researcher also gave some examples of each method, especially a short play that her family designed about an employment interview situation. However, villagers questioned whether the researcher was serious about the study; when they got the positive answer – some commented that:

“We want to solve our problem – not come for fun.”

“Adults do not play holes and pellets game (the researcher used it as an example of game-play, which was based on Chamber’s experience (1983, p.205) to encourage participants to identify their situations in a more active way), children spend time on that.”

“How we would have time to design drama? We have so much work to do!” ...

Therefore, it was agreed that workshops would be adopted as the main study method but the researcher suggested that participants could decide to adopt other methods based on specific topics in each workshop. The researcher then explained that a workshop was a method that was capable of generating information, building consensus, clarifying problems and gathering opinions. However, it should follow a pre-decided set of guidelines for discussions. Since a few of the villagers had participated in a workshop conducted by the researcher in 2004, they were invited to introduce some guidelines for workshops based on their memory. The researcher then made complementary suggestions. The researcher wrote the main points on the blackboard and the village head helped to copy what was on the blackboard into the researchers’ notebook. A tape recorder was used to record all conversations for future analysis:

“I remember that we (participants in 2004) spoke in turn after 10 minutes’ consideration for each discussion topic.”

“...A few minutes were taken to summarize all our responses before we completed discussion on a topic.”

“I helped to control the time when everyone spoke... I stopped them when they went beyond the time.”

“I was assigned to stop disputes but I did not do anything since no conflict happened. But I remember that little Yang asked us to be polite to each other; never stop others’ talking if time was available. She also asked us not to break into others’ speeches.”

“She asked us not to comment negatively on others’ opinions. Little Yang also wrote down whatever we said. We then collected all ideas together and voted whether agreed or disagreed with them...” ...

The researcher complimented: “You are all correct: in general, we need a timer, a facilitator, a recorder and a conflict-eraser for our discussion. I can take the role of facilitator but all the other roles will be fulfilled by our participants. If more than one group is formed, each group needs these four players and a delegate will present the summary of his or her group’s discussion to all of us... If over half of us agree on a topic that is raised, it will be added on our discussion list. Suggestions for new topics are greatly encouraged and welcome. Any issue that interests us can be raised no matter if it sounds “odd” since others may hold a similar idea. The more ideas you raise, the more likely your concerns can be involved in our discussion; as well, you may find some issues that you raise may similarly concern other families... Generally we speak in turn but we can put up a hand when we have really important comments on others’ opinions. But please remember that we can only put up hand after the speaker has finished and avoid sharply negative comments. Moreover, it will be better to record our comments on a piece of paper and report them after all of us have completed our turn to speak... Please specify ‘I agree to...’ as a starting phase in your speech if you strongly agree to someone’s ideas, which helps to facilitate a friendly discussion environment.

For some controversial ideas, especially solutions to some problems, we can vote to see how many participants agree to it to decide whether we accept it or not... Please feel free to jump back and forth among decided topics since our collaborative study is flexible in procedure... A brief summary at the end of each workshop can help us to clarify all decisions made during discussion. At the end of a workshop we can also decide the date and location for the next session of collaborative study”.

The researcher also introduced the policy of confidentiality in research. The guidelines for collaborative study and the confidentiality policy were written on a large piece of paper and posted in the locations where the collaborative study program was undertaken. The guidelines and policy were read and explained at the beginning of the first several workshops until villagers reported that they had memorized the items. In the remaining time on the first day, participants discussed the goal of the collaborative study. Participants spent a long time to understand the term “research goal” and this left no time for further discussion. Participants decided that developing the research goal and clarifying the research issues would be the main tasks for the next workshop. It was decided that this would be held at the same place on the following weekend.

“What is the meaning of ‘research goal’?”

“It refers to the ultimate aim of our collaborative study program...” ...

“Not clear. Why we should have an aim?”

The researcher: “Let us see it in this way: we will include many issues in the collaborative study program since we have many concerns that need to be revealed, right? We may talk about employment, business and many other things that directly or indirectly relate to tourism development. However, we need a focus to distinguish why some issues will be included and others excluded; a clear goal can help us to decide on that. Therefore, if we have a goal or some goals, we can then decide what we will study together under that big umbrella of goal. For example, the goal of our study could be decided to be ‘understanding the problems we now facing’, or ‘understanding our current situation’ or ‘improving our current situation’ or it could be something more narrow,

such as 'how to establish cooperation among business owners' or 'how to find better jobs' or 'exploring ways of earning money from tourism' etc. Afterward, we decide to include some issues closely relating to the goal(s) in our future study. Therefore, we need to decide a goal first."

"I want to know how to earn money..."

"I agree to it, but I also want to know about how to borrow money from a credit organization..."

"Talking about problems that exist at the village is also important; I think we should discuss problems."

"... How my younger brother can find a job is the biggest concern of my family."

"We should exchange some experiences about operating business in the village..."

"If money can be collected from several families, we can also invest in a family hotel in the town. XXX family earned a lot of money from it..."

Diary Feb 26th: ...the discussion proceeded in much slower speed than what I planned and even slower than what I experienced last year. Villagers are easily talking off the subject during discussion if topics are something unfamiliar or they have bigger room to make choices on directions of discussion instead of being straight assigned the topics. It seems that I have to prepare longer time for villagers to decide on research goal and issues. If these can be introduced to them, it may take only one day to complete; but it would be against the ideology of "participatory research" if I try to manipulate the study direction.

Villagers came in large amount today. If they keep on coming on such a large number, dividing groups will be necessary. But I only have one tape-recorder...not many people at the village can record the discussions very effectively... I can record a group, tape-recorder can be used in another group, XXX can help me to record a group if he comes (a villager graduated from high school), the village head can help me to record a group... No matter how many people come, no more than four groups can be divided since nobody else at the village can work as a recorder...

(2) Workshops on March 4th, 6th, 12th, 13th and 26th, 2005

This section of workshops was conducted in a classroom of nearby primary school. During this series of workshops, the research objective had been decided as “Investigating the changing situations of Tang Fang Village in participating in tourism and exploring methods to mitigate the present problems faced by villagers in terms of participation in tourism”. Accordingly, participants discussed the evaluation criterion systems to assess current situations in terms of “participation in tourism development to share benefits”, “participation in sharing in decision-making and planning processes” and “empowerment / improvements through participation”. During discussion, the topic concerning “sharing planning and decision-making power” was denied since villagers thought they had never been informed about or consulted concerning suggestions for development of the tourism zone, let alone sharing decision-making power. On the last day, situations of benefit-sharing activities and improvements through participation were discussed with respect to decided criteria.

On March 4th, after announcing the workshop guidelines of and confidentiality policy for the research, 20 minutes were given to all 21 participants to consider what they “would like to explore or figure out in the collaborative study program”. Notes could be written or drawn on prepared pieces of paper and a whispered small-scale discussion was allowed. After the time was up, participants talked in turn about the desired aim(s) for the collaborative study; however, most of villagers’ ideas were concentrated on incomes and livelihoods. Since the focus was much narrower than what the researcher hoped that they would consider, she tried to expand the perspectives of participants by suggesting that participation in tourism included two aspects: benefit-sharing activities and sharing decision-making activities, and that income and livelihoods were just part of one aspect of participation. Moreover, she suggested that reflection on the current situation was very important since it helped to demonstrate improvements that had been achieved and to direct a clear future in terms of continued improvements in their participation in tourism development. The workshop was ended without any clear result since the time was late and participants decided to continue the discussion on the afternoon of March 6th.

In the second phase of the session, more participants came, including most of the

participants in the first phase discussion. After the researcher reported some of the ideas generated in the previous discussion, the 32 participants were divided into three groups to continue the discussion of the goal(s) of collaborative study. Ten minutes was given to all participants to consider the goal(s), nearly an hour was spent on summarizing and exchanging ideas as each group reported in turn. The researcher wrote all the ideas on the blackboard. Since participants generally suggested various aspirations or concerns in village life which were too specific to be adopted as the goal for the research, the researcher suggested that members reconvened into one group to look for common factors among the items that they had raised:

... “Do they (those items) have a common theme about raising money?”

“But the one ‘understand the changing situations in the village’ does not relate to raising money...” ...

“The one ‘more trees need to be planted in the villages’ does not relate to money either; but is it suitable for our workshop? Why would we study it?” ...

The researcher: “Why don’t we group these items?”

“Can we group them between money-related or non-money-related?”

“Sure.” ...

The facilitator reported: “non-money-related ones include: travel (some participants clarified that travel helped to increase insight and knowledge), planting more trees in the village; younger teenagers (some participants clarified that younger teenagers cannot work but dislike going to school); exploring improvements in the village both from economic and social perspectives (the researcher clarified the point as understanding in which aspects villagers identified to become better, stronger, or improved). Money-related ones include: cooperation in business, larger and more profitable businesses, new opportunities in business, trading small goods (commodities or souvenirs) to tourists, work experiences and training, family hotel, restaurant, loans and jobs...”

The researcher: “The research goal should be with a broader perspective if all these listed

particular issues will be included in our study. These issues can be adopted as topics of the collaborative study... What are the common points between the money and non-money-related items?”

“Some are tourism-related?”

“They are all about situations of our village?” ...

“Problems! Aren't all of these items related to some problems of our villagers? See, we raised most of items because they are lacking or insufficient in our village...”

“Alright, we want to understand methods to remove the problems.”

The researcher: “I agree; removing problems is part of our research goal. But can we remove problems before we explore our situations in the village and then identify existing problems?” ...

Finally, the research goal was decided to be “Investigating the changing situations of Tang Fang Village in participating in tourism and exploring methods to mitigate the present problems faced by villagers in terms of participation in tourism”. Afterwards, participants agreed on that three main themes concerning “participation in tourism” that would be examined: benefit-generation activities, sharing in decision making and planning activities, and improvements through participation which might help to facilitate future participation. The researcher suggested that, first, criteria should be established to help to identify aspects of three themes which were accepted by the village participants.

On March 12th, 16 participants worked to decide on the criteria for the three themes which the researcher explained as being “what?” questions. The question “what are the existing benefit-generation activities undertaken by villagers in the surrounding tourism development which bring us benefits” was raised to direct discussion of “benefit-generation activities in tourism”. Participants identified three groups of activities: Business: fruit-selling, transportation, vending in the town, animal raising, restaurant, family hotel and grocery store; Employment: jobs at golf resorts, jobs at hotels, jobs at a plaza and training; Others: short-distance travel for entertainment

and work, schooling which was facilitated by enhanced income, and knowledge from communicating with guests and colleagues. The question ‘What are those activities that we participate in sharing decision-making power and planning in tourism development’ caused great confusion among the participants. At the beginning, they responded after 10 minutes’ of consideration that either they or their family members made decisions to start a business or apply for a job. The researcher then explained that the question referred to the power of deciding issues about tourism development in the Ya Long Bay region. Village participants then suddenly laughed and gabbled to each other. It took a while for members to calm down:

“Who would ask us to make decisions on those issues under the charge of people who hold official positions or who have money to invest? We are not working in the government and we do not have money to invest in hotels...”

... “Nobody ever came to collect any suggestions from us about any tourism projects in this area.”

The researcher: “No information about tourism development has ever been released to you?”

“Yes, it was announced that the government would help us to get more jobs and license our business... But it was not our villagers who decided about those things.”

The researcher: “Have you ever been formally informed with information or even plans of certain projects in the region before or during their implementation?”

... “Never, except once when that golf resort expropriated our land...”

The researcher: “But most of you did participate in your village meetings, right? Have you ever made any decision or had discussions about tourism development in the area?”

“We mainly talked about our own village affairs... How can we decide big things for Ya Long Bay among ourselves in a village meeting?” (laugh)

... “We do sometimes participate in our company meetings...”

“But mainly we just sat there and listened!”

The researcher: "So you do not even have a way to report suggestions to your company?"

"Of course not. I am not satisfied with my job; my salary has never been increased although I worked (at that position) for over two years. To whom should I report it?"

The researcher: "Your direct superior, of course."

"He does not have the power to increase even his own salary. Even if he has power, he will not take care of me – he will tell me either work for that salary or leave." ...

In discussing criteria of "empowerment through participation", the first difficulty was that there is no proper Chinese translation for the English word 'Empowerment'. As used by psychologists such as Rappaport (1981, 1987) and Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988), empowerment is defined as a process that enables people to be able or become allowed to take control over their lives and to participate in the life of their community. Arai (1996) defined "empowerment" as a process through which an individual, group or community mobilizes themselves to take advantage of increased opportunities in development. According to Rein (1976) and Chambers (1993), empowerment means that people, especially poorer people who do not enjoy mainstream access to resources and suffer from a lack of full membership in society, are able to take more control over their lives and secure a better livelihood with ownership and control over productive assets. A common characteristic among the three given definitions is that "people become able to do something." Therefore, the researcher adopted the word "improvement" to replace "empowerment" and the question was changed to "On which aspects do you feel improved, stronger, enhanced or more confident through participating in tourism development?" The researcher implied that villagers could think about improvements in social, cultural, economic, spiritual or psychological matters.

In answering the question, participants showed their creativity and many issues were raised after 10 minutes' of consideration. After all participants had spoken, a vote was conducted to see how many supported each of the ideas. All participants agreed to an increase of income (16 ballots).

Other items were: operation of businesses (11); affordability of some expensive goods and hospital care (10); getting jobs (9); a stronger backup force when more money had been saved in banks (9); making a lot of knowledgeable friends (8); being respected or enhanced social status (respondents indicated that surrounding villagers and even village leaders admire or respect Tang Fang villagers) (7); females directly earning money (7); learned a lot from training and from work (6); getting useful information (6); confidence (6); enhancing knowledge about “others” (respondents clarified that they referred to ‘the outside world’, ‘other people’, ‘other cultures’ and ‘other lifestyles’) (5); becoming fashionable (dress, entertainment activities etc.) (5); supporting children to go to school (3); mitigating gaps between the older and younger generations (the elderly did not frequently stop members of the younger generations from making friends with other ethnicities and seldom forced them to have a traditional Li wedding ceremony) (2). However, participants lacked ideas of how to group the items except by categorizing them into money-related or non-money related categories. Since it was almost to leave to prepare dinner, it was decided that the workshop would be continued the next afternoon and participants were dismissed.

On March 13th, the researcher was somewhat disappointed when merely 10 people came to the workshop. She reported the academic criteria on PBS, PDM and Improvements (as introduced in Chapter 2) and explained them. Villagers agreed to combine their criteria with some of those taken from the literature; however, they still insisted that it was not necessary to include PDM since no “participation in shared decision making or planning” had ever occurred in the village. PBS activities were summarized in two categories: Income-raising (business and employment) and knowledge-enhancing (schooling, training, information exchange, knowledge learned from others and travel). Indicators of empowerment/improvement were summarized as in Table 1. The italic ones were added by the researcher at the time of writing the thesis to clarify the criteria based on what she had learned at the village.

Table 1: Indicators of Improvement through Participation at Tang Fang Village

Economic Aspect	Psychological Aspect	Social Aspect	Political Aspect
Increasing income		<i>Insight and advanced awareness</i>	Be protected

Diverse livelihoods and saving at banks reduces risks.	Confidence	Skills and knowledge enhancement	<i>Negotiation and lobbying skills</i>
Jobs and business: <i>accessibility and quality</i>	Modernism and fashion	Communication skills and information transmission	
<i>Enhancement of experiences</i>	Self-esteem	Enhanced social status	
Affordability: for emergency, younger generation's education and luxury goods		Female's economic statuses	
Improved home equipment and public infrastructure		Friends <i>and social connections</i>	
<i>Access to Information</i>		Mitigation of generation gaps	

On March 26th the workshop started in the morning. However, progress was slow and discussion was not finished by lunch time as planned; the workshop reconvened in the early afternoon. Twenty-six participants focused on “participation in sharing benefits from tourism development” and “improvements through participation” based on the criteria formulated in the preceding workshop. The brain-typhoon method was used to list PBS activities. The brain-typhoon (brainstorming, see above) is a group activity in which participants take turns to sharing ideas about a topic. Participants think creatively about their own answers and comment on those of others to generate new ideas through the interchange of ideas. The brain-typhoon differs from listing in that it encourages creative thinking without “sanitizing” ideas. Participants first are encouraged by a facilitator to raise any ideas that jump into their minds without worrying about the rationality of the answers. Responses and new ideas based on others’ comments are all written on a blackboard. When no more new ideas are raised, participants then discuss and eliminate some ideas which are deemed to be not useful, practical or corresponding to the truth. Village participants were asked to take 20 minutes to consider their answers separately in brief sentences. The facilitator emphasized that participants could think about anything, whether seen, heard or imagined. They were also told to think “from the big picture of the village, instead of concentrating on one’s own family”. Moreover, the initial, previous and present situations of those activities and impetuses encouraging practice of those activities were emphasized to be considered. Participants then spoke in turn, first to introduce their own answers and then to comment on any items rose by others. The process was

continued in rounds until no more new ideas or comments were raised. People's ideas were written on a blackboard in the categories of "business", "job", "training", "schooling", "information-exchanged and knowledge learned" and "travel". After all ideas were listed, participants combined some ideas and deleted those that did not correspond to what had happened in the village. Table 2 expresses participants' opinions about the six identified themes which were agreed by most of them. The wording and sequence of items have been re-organized for display in this thesis.

Table 2: Benefit-sharing Activities at Tang Fang Village

Business	Job	Training	Schooling
Villagers operate diverse businesses.	Most jobs that villagers got are tourism-related.	Most trained villagers now have jobs.	Villagers want their children to go to school.
Most businesses are small-scale and not very profitable but better than income from agriculture.	Salaries paid monthly reduce worries about seasonal variations in income in a year.	All training is provided by companies which employ the villagers.	It is not infrequent that children are reluctant to go to school.
Business is an important means of gaining income in the village.	Villagers get various jobs both inside and outside the region.	Mainly on-the-job training is provided to villagers.	Teachers at rural schools are poorly educated.
Most businesses in the village serve both tourists and local people; e.g. tricar.	Job and salary are important for a family.	Villagers easily get a job and directly start work if they have been trained at other places.	A gym teacher always asks students to plant his potato land during class time.
A large portion of businesses in the village are operated by females and children.	Almost all families have a paid job; that makes the village respectable.	Most villagers were trained at Red Gorge (the company that displaced the village).	Surrounding schools are all of poor quality and good teachers do not want to stay due to low in salaries.
Most villagers do not earn much from tourists.	Villagers rarely get promoted in comparison with Han people.	A large proportion of young village females get jobs and training.	Children cannot learn much at surrounding schools.
Competition among similar business is serious.	Some young villagers still wait for jobs.	Not all jobs need trained labour.	Tuitions are a big portion of family expenses.
Villagers imitated businesses operated by town residents but surrounding villagers also imitate businesses operated by Tang Fang villagers.	Companies earn much from tourists but pay little to their labours. Most jobs have low payment but a high workload; but if compared with farming, it is fine.	Villagers have a much richer training experience compared with neighboring villagers, due to job compensation.	It is sometimes hard for a family to decide who should go to school since families have too many children. Boys often have a preferential position.
Businesses at other villages are smaller and poorer since they do not have much spare money.	Jobs were first compensated to villagers because of displacement.	Villagers were first trained because Red Gorge compensated jobs to villagers in displacement.	Most youths older than 15 do not got to school; some give false information on their age to get jobs in surrounding companies.

Competition exists inside and outside the village.	Villagers have richer working experiences compared with neighboring Li villagers.	Training is better than schooling since it is free and practical.	More children went to school after the move since tuition was decreased for relocated families.
Most business was started after displacement since people got compensation money.	People who have jobs are respected at home, in the village and even in the area.	It is hard for someone having no training experience to compete for a job.	The richer the educational experience, the easier to get a job.
Business was mainly started because villagers needed something to do after giving up farming.	Caddie is the most respectable job in the region: villagers are taught to play golf and get high tips in addition of salary.	Villagers learn much new knowledge through training.	Primary school education is a minimum requirement to get a good job; high school graduation can ensure a good job.
Profits encourage the villagers to continue their businesses.	Villagers work because families need money to live.		Illiteracy cannot survive in the future.
Government's protection and encouragement.	Much knowledge is learned from working.	Information-exchanging and Knowledge learned	
The more money the villagers have, the easier it is for them to operate businesses successfully.	Villagers who have jobs recommend other villagers to companies.	Many things have been learned from communicating with non-Li people.	Friends coming from other regions introduce new animals for home-raising.
More and more experiences encourage villagers to continue in business.	Villagers make many new friends through work.	New friends are made among colleagues and even with guests, from whom much new knowledge is learned.	Young villagers and their newly made friends recommend more villagers to work at nearby companies.
Some villagers get great help (e.g. money, advices or information) in their business from friends.	Government encourages companies to employ Li villagers in the region.	Many interesting things happen outside of Hainan, e.g. different cultures are learned from guests.	Short-distance travel Young people travel to other tourist zones in Sanya at breaks in work.

From conversations, the researcher learned that villagers' businesses generally started following receipt of compensation after displacement. Their businesses were not very successful because of the small size, suffered from serious competitions and did not serve tourists. However, villagers still showed a strong desire to keep on operating businesses. Employment activities started because of displacement compensation but after the government encouraged local employment, villagers found jobs in many companies in the region. At these workplaces, the previously exclusive Li minority people made friends with people from other ethnic groups. However, the status of jobs was generally low and villagers were not satisfied with their salaries and positions. Villagers merely took some on-the-job training program but it helped to generate practical

knowledge to combat their insufficient experiences in formal education. Villagers agreed that on-the-job training was a better choice than formal schooling: schooling not only required tuitions but also was of very low quality in rural areas. In short, villagers' intellectual capacity and socialization were improved through the daily practice of working and operating businesses, in making new friends and serving tourists and, in travel experiences to other regions. General characteristics of benefit-sharing activities at Tang Fang Village were that almost all activities were economic-related, self-initiated and not very diverse. Villagers got some help from other groups, but these were not sustained or sufficiently strong. Except for some policy initiatives, Tang Fang villagers had long lacked support: especially, the relationship with the surrounding companies was no more than that of employees and employers. No tangible assistances, such as capital, information, education and organized activities, were ever provided to villagers to facilitate and guide their participation in development with the exception of reduced tuition for displaced families at the primary school. In contrast, based on survey information, the Dong Tian Tourist Zone organized various activities at Ya Zi Village and even more widely in the area under the jurisdiction of Nan Shan Committee to benefit the villagers, which helped to strengthen villagers' social networks and enhanced their awareness and knowledge.

Discussion of "improvements" mainly focused on "raising examples to explain how these improvements may help to facilitate further participation in tourism development". The criteria were discussed in groups of three since the researcher knew that some of the participants might not be able to read and remember all of the items written on the blackboard and, in this way, they could get assistance. Villagers were given 2 minutes to think about answers for three criteria before responding in turn. The facilitator (the researcher) asked participants to once raise one idea within one minute in order to allow everyone a chance to express themselves. This was done because villagers generally had similar ideas and, if the first several persons to speak presented all their points, many others would respond "I have no new ideas" or "my ideas were mentioned by others". Moreover, the researcher always started the discussion of each group of criteria with different people to involve everyone and to make them feel that they had something to contribute to the

collaborative study. As a result, the discussion lasted a long time, leaving insufficient time to discuss all the items listed on the blackboard before the day's proceedings concluded. Instead, the facilitator read all examples under each criterion to all participants both to clarify ideas and to encourage a deeper memory among participants. Some of the most characteristic examples of "how identified improvements help to facilitate further participation" are summarized in Table 3, although villagers' comments are condensed to shorten the content, but the villagers' style of presentation is retained.

From the discussion, again the researcher found that Tang Fang villagers associated all improvements with future income generation. Villagers failed to perceive other "improvements" that had actually happened in the village. For example, the fact that villagers negotiated with Red Gorge Golf Resort to get compensation for leaking roofs (introduced in Chapter 4) showed improving communication skills and increasing courage to lobby others to get more benefit or promote change. Since few activities were organized between villagers and other social groups, such as an evening party or volley-ball match as organized for Ya Zi villagers, Tang Fang villagers lacked opportunities to find that they could become less afraid of those social groups that they thought of as being politically more powerful. The problem was much bigger than a failure to "perceive the change", thereby, villagers lost opportunities to take advantage of the changes to strive for more tangible benefits and assistances from other groups as Ya Zi villagers did. This point was raised with participants in a later collaborative study session and villagers accepted the idea of collectively holding an evening party. This would stimulate resumption of friendly relationships within the village and with surrounding villages and, by inviting company managers, village leaders and even town government officials, would initiate a contact with them.

Although valuable information was obtained from those workshops, the researcher found that villagers gradually lost interest in collaborative study. Fewer and fewer participants went to the workshops and villagers did not follow the agreed-upon decided schedule and began to be late. This confused the researcher until the 5th workshop on April 3rd when villagers suggested revising the research goal and themes; the researcher was told that the topics discussed at the first several

Table 3: Examples of How “Improvements” Help to Further Participation in Tourism Development

Items	Summary of comments
Jobs and business	Money is earned from jobs and small businesses. The experiences help to get an opportunity to get a better job or operate a business more successfully.
Increasing income	Money is the foundation for living. If one becomes as wealthy as those investors in hotels, one can get many benefits from tourism.
Diverse livelihoods and saving at banks	If a family merely engages in farming, a whole year may become a 'disaster' if a typhoon attacks the plants. If a family has incomes from both jobs and businesses as well as from other sources, it highly unlikely that all means of living will be lost at the same time. If a family has savings at a bank, it will not be afraid of any sudden crisis.
Experience	The more experiences in jobs or businesses, the more likely one can be successful.
Affordability for emergency, younger generation's education and luxury goods	Many previously luxury goods are now necessary equipment for earning money; e.g. motorcycle is used for a transportation business. The understanding that money is available for some emergency is very important since then one can invest in other activities instead of saving money everyday and worrying about an emergency.
Improved home equipment and public infrastructure	The one-way roads at Ya Long Bay ensure security of people and properties (e.g. animals). Moreover, telephone, TV signal receivers and other equipment in homes facilitate “talks” with and understanding of the outside world.
<i>Access to Information</i>	Villagers often get jobs or operate a businesses based on information given by other villagers, people known from work or business or even from tourists.
Confidence	One dare not invest in a business or apply for a job without confidence.
Modernism and fashion	One can more easily get a job or do some businesses with tourists if he talks, behaves and dresses properly as Han people. Tourists like to buy fruits from females who do not chew betel nut.
Self-esteem	Self-esteem is enhanced when villagers are respected by others. Self-esteem encourages one to pursue greater success in jobs or businesses.
Insight	Richer insight and knowledge help one to do things successfully, especially to choose more profitable businesses to operate.
Skills and knowledge enhancement	Greater skills and richer knowledge facilitate getting a better job, operating a successful business and avoiding making wrong decisions in action.
Communication skills and information transmission	Being "good-at-talking" gets useful information which sometimes may be helpful in starting a new businesses or getting better jobs.
Enhanced social statuses	It facilitates one's business when one gains respects from others. Nearby companies recruit Tang Fang villagers when they need workers, since villagers have a reputation of having more work experience.
Female's economic statuses	Females are more adaptive to jobs or businesses and they are more easy to communicate with (some male villagers disagreed with this opinion) which make them successful in work and in operating home businesses. Females have become very important in earning money for families.
<i>Friends and social connection</i>	Making friends is recognized as a big advantage after villagers participate in tourism since they perceive that knowledge, information, skills, tips in training and much advice are obtained from their new friends known from work, businesses or other settings.
Mitigation of generation gaps	It is important that seniors allow the younger generations to give up some 'stupid' traditions; otherwise, they will be laughed at by friends. Moreover, many seniors do not now stop younger people from make friends with other ethnicities.
Political protection	Government's support has a significant meaning to villagers: villagers believe that no-one can stop villagers from having a better life if government stands at villagers' side. One respondent said: "I will beat those hooligans if they dare to come again – police will arrest them." (Some hooligans used to damage villagers' fruit stalls and villagers dared not even prevent them since they were afraid of retaliation.)

sections of workshops were “stark and meaningless” and villagers had accepted the researchers’ unilateral ideas to “avoid disappointing” her.

Diary March 7th: Both villager XXX and the village head have been invited to be recorders for these days’ workshop and they have been asked to take all the notes of the discussion... I used a tape-recorder to verify the recorders’ work but was disappointed by the quality. I have to use a tape-recorder as the main means of recording the conversations; however, it means that I cannot encourage participants to divide into groups for discussion. One big group with many people really slow down the work pace...

Diary March 12th: In these rounds of workshops, the conflict-eraser and timer completed their work successfully which showed that villagers got used to these two roles easily. Therefore, I suggested that participants could self-recommend taking a role in the collaborative study to enhance their enthusiasm for participation. However, recorders seemed unused to their work. Both of the selected recorders could not completely write down the discussions (selecting two was to guarantee the quality of the work). Most of the time, they could merely copy down the main ideas of the speakers. A tape-recorder is important to keep an unabridged record of discussion.

Diary March 17th: It seems that something is wrong between the ex- and the new village heads, since those normally friendly Li villagers obviously divided into two conflicting groups when both gentlemen showed up at workshops. XXX told me that they had different opinions in leading the village. Anyway, I am thinking that the second son of the ex-village head can work as conflict-eraser when both gentlemen come – he is the best friend of the new village head but he is a family member of the ex- one.

Diary March 21st: Villagers gradually lost their interests in the discussion. I lost five participants on 13th. Villagers were not concentrating on discussion; they walked back and forth and looked passionless... Even worse, merely two people came on 20th which was decided to be the time to continue the collaborative study. Therefore, I visited all families once again to ask about problems preventing them from coming and to encourage them to participate in the next workshop

which was to be on 26th ... Although some senseless reasons were found, but at least villagers promised me to come...

Diary March 26th: Although today's workshop had a dull start in that villagers were inactive, villagers were gradually attracted by their own discussion about activities in tourism development and improvements through participation. We finished much later than lunch time but some villagers who came to ask their family members for lunch stayed to listen. I should prepare some snacks for villagers in later workshops... Although we ran out of time to summarize today's workshop, I found participants memorized those ideas that interested them; while we walked back to the village, people talked about each others' opinions. When I went to eat at someone's home, a female participant kept on talking about the discussion results to her family members during the dinner.

Diary March 30th: I now have a deeper understanding about villagers' position as a relocated group – they are facing a big change in financial circumstances when they were suddenly thrown out of their long-standing traditions. In the old village, villagers planted or raised most of what they eat but now they need to purchase. In the old village, the difference between rich and poor people might differ from a few more home-raised animals; but now, in comparison with wealthy outsiders, the difference may be millions of RMB. Even the way villagers value themselves has gradually changed: once a person had been measured as being capable or not depending on whether he could feed his family by what he planted; now everything is measured in currency – salaries from jobs or profits from businesses. Villagers seem to still struggle to get used to this change. That might be part of reason why people linked every aspect of “improvements” to money-related activities.

(3) Workshops on April 3rd, 4th and 13th, 2005

This series of workshops became a turning point in which the main objective was changed to “exploring methods to deepen participation in tourism development and enlarge the benefits

among villagers” according to villagers’ opinions. The gaps between current situation of participation and a brainstormed ideal situation were identified and obstacles preventing continual progress were ascertained. From the fact that villagers lost interest to an “academic” study theme and suggested to change, the researcher learned that collaborative study could not be manipulated all the way to a desired ending by any one person. Although in a limited period of time, the researcher was able to manipulate the research to follow her interest since the participants were not very familiar with the study process, participants would eventually refuse to “cooperate”. They might either give up the study or stop trusting the researcher or “fight” to change the style of study as the participants did at Tang Fang Village in this project. Based on her personal experiences, the researcher understood what the literature suggested: participatory research gives equal weight to researcher and the researched.

The workshop on April 3rd, held in a classroom, was unfavourable from very beginning: seven people had come by 4:00 p.m. although the workshop was supposed to start at 3:30 p. m. In chat with those present while waiting for the others, the researcher asked villagers’ about their opinions on the collaborative study. Villagers suggested it was not necessary that workshop guidelines be often repeated before the start of each workshop since participants could almost recite it. Some participants also suggested that the roles of timer and conflict-eraser should be undertaken by participants in turn: some of them wanted to take some role during the study but were embarrassed to self-recommend themselves publicly. Since the researcher accepted the suggestions agreeably, more ideas were raised:

“To tell truth, I dislike the workshops we had – those were useless for us since we kept on talking about good changes or advantages at our village...”

“...I cannot understand till now why we need to establish those so-called ‘criteria’...”

“I wanted to know how we can improve our lives – lives are not fine yet; we are living in a poor situation compared with many other people.”

“... there have to be lot of problems; we should solve them...”

“... Some of our villagers still have nothing to do – this should be changed.”

“I agree that we have improved a lot on our lives, but instead of praising ourselves as we did in previous workshops, won’t we stay together to look for problems?”

“I also feel we do nothing serious in workshops – topics were useless.” ...

The researcher: “May we stop the discussion on obtained benefits or whether we are beneficiaries of tourism development?” (It had been decided to discuss whether villagers identify themselves as beneficiaries of development and each of their activities relevant to participation.)

The researcher was shocked and dumbfounded, she was not prepared that participants had much opposition to those topics which, at that time, she thought were “collectively decided”. Since more villagers came at that time and the workshop could be started, the researcher introduced to all participants the discussion that had occurred before the workshop and almost all people supported changing the topics for discussion. Then a discussion took place on “what we want to achieve from a collaborative study”:

“Aren’t we looking for methods to get more benefits from surrounding tourism development?”

“We can study on how to get more and better jobs and promotion.”

“I disagree; a job is only a small part. Many businesses at the village are struggling for survival in serious competition and they are not profitable. We should figure out what types of businesses we can operate to sell things to tourists...”

“I agree; many Han people have earned lots of money from tourism in this region; we should study why we did not.”

“I agree. This is our place; we should be the ones to get most benefits from development here.” ...

“We pay for many things after the move: food, water, electricity, TV program, schooling,

home equipment etc. which we had not paid for at the old village. Money goes fast in daily life which sometimes makes me nervous... We should earn more money...”

... “We want to get more benefits from development – this is what we want to learn.”

A new research goal was then decided: “exploring methods to deepen the participation in tourism development and enlarge the benefits among villagers”. Dinner time reached before participants decided on detailed topics to study; therefore, the next workshop was decided to be conducted on April 4th.

The workshop on 4th was dramatic: participants were immersed in an active discussion. Participants took an hour to brainstorm an ideal situation for the village which was composed of various aspirations. Afterwards, gaps between the present situation and the ideal situation were identified. As suggested by a villager, a unit of gap or “distance” between reality and ideal was represented by a “ ”; therefore, numbers of “ ” showed a comparative distance between the ideal and the present for different aspirations. This method, although it was unable to describe the “distance” accurately, helped to visually display an understanding of villagers about gaps between ideal and reality. Moreover, the method helped to demonstrate different amounts of effort needed to be devoted to realize different identified aspirations. The final numbers of “ ” between present and ideal situations for each aspiration was the average of all participants’ results; since the average of 20 people’s results sometimes had a fraction, participants voted on each of the final results to move them to adjacent integers. At last, participants also explored how tourism development could help to bridge the gaps. The summary of the discussion results are shown in Table 4. It shows that in villagers’ understanding, most gaps between the present and the ideal had some relationship with money which could be generated from participation in tourism development. Although villagers identified a very close to ideal situation in terms of having enough money for daily life and preparing for emergencies (only two units of distance was identified), villagers were not satisfied with it – they desired more money to experience some different ways of life outside of the minority tradition, such as traveling.

Table 4: Gaps between Reality & Ideal and How Tourism May Help to Abridge the Gaps

Ideal situation	Numbers of _____	How tourism helps abridge the gap
Everyone has work to do instead of dawdling.	1	Various opportunities in tourism development will provide villagers with many choices to do what they prefer.
Enough money for daily life and emergencies.	2	Tourism brings villagers various opportunities to earn money.
Young people all have jobs.	2	Surrounding companies require large amount of labour which provide many employment opportunities to villagers. Some jobs get high tips from tourists.
Family members work in the area instead of working far from home.	3	Now young villagers go to places far from home to earn money; but many opportunities exist in this area since (tourism) companies need much labour.
Having the freedom to make many good friends with outsiders.	3	Seniors gradually become open to intermarriage with other ethnicities (researcher's comment: may not be purely because of tourism).
More children go to school and more villagers become trained.	4	More money is needed to support more children to go to school; especially sending children to better schools in cities.
A good (physical) environment at the village: planting fruit trees and village sanitation.	5	Planting fruit trees needs money. The village has to be kept clean to give a good impression about Li people to outsiders.
A friendly environment at the village and good relationships among families.	6	Future cooperation in business might help to release the tension among villagers and families at the village which have been induced by competition in business.
Not being looked down on in work, promotion and daily lives because of Li.	6	Villagers will become more knowledgeable and experienced in participating in jobs, businesses and other activities, which help to enhance their (economic and social) status.
Operating businesses inside the tourist zone directly oriented towards tourists.	7	
Get more money for buying luxury things, e.g. take the family to travel as tourists.	10	Earning more money.

Diary April 3rd: ...I was a little bit surprised that villagers opposed the discussion topics; nobody had even hinted to me about their dislike of previous discussions. Although many books suggest that researchers should prepare for sudden changes in participatory studies and the process of research should be flexible and adaptive to changes, I had not known it was so psychologically uncomfortable to accept a change when it suddenly came... Villagers showed their opposition to a fairly "academic" process of study which came from my own background and way

of thinking. Although read about it many times in the literature at school, I had not built a clear understanding of the real meaning of “sharing the design of the study” as a key point of participatory research; I merely chose to do something I was familiar with... Villagers “gave me face” in that they did not run away but suggested changing topics...

Participatory study gives participants the opportunity to identify questions which closely relate to their lives – the fundamental thing for a successful participatory study is to build on a true respect of participants’ ideas, concerns and situations. I should pay great attention to this when I do research at Ya Zi Village. Tang Fang villagers gave me a second chance to re-start the workshops after switching the direction since they treat me as a long-time friend. Ya Zi villagers may not; if they lose interest in the study, they may give it up forever and I might not have a second chance to call them together.

Something relaxed but able to attract villagers’ attention should be done in the next workshop; otherwise, people may lose interest in our collaborative study... What it will be? ... “A blueprint of an ideal situation of participation in tourism or an ideal situation of their village lives” may be explored; it depends on the villagers which one they want to picture: participation in tourism or their village. Either can help us to understand the gaps between what we want and the reality... I went to several active participants and asked their opinions about the “game” of identifying “ideal situations” in participation or ideal life at the village which would help us to understand the differences between “the ideal” and “reality”. They all agreed it was an interesting idea and they wanted to participate. This time I become “clever” too – I iteratively asked them to give me true comments instead of “giving me face” in saying “we like the topic”. We all laughed and left to announce the new topic to the rest of the families and encourage their participation.

Diary April 4th: The villagers’ idea to measure the gaps between the present and ideal situations is creative; it is much more intuitive than what I planned which was to represent the gaps descriptively. Villagers, if chances are given, are capable of designing a collaborative study creatively.

Because the researcher had planned to go to Ya Zi Village to prepare the workshop on April 7th, it was decided that collaborative study at Tang Fang Village would take place on April 13th. In the day time, the headmaster of the nearby primary school informed the researcher that students would do spring-cleaning at school that evening to prepare for the next day's inspection by the Department of Education of Sanya City; he could not rent her the classroom. Villagers, after the move, did not have a big enough room in their houses to hold such a meeting; moreover, there was no blackboard in anyone's home. Therefore, it was hurriedly decided to move the workshop to the office building of village committee which was a half kilometre away from the village.

As decided in the previous workshop, the discussion procedure was divided into three parts: identifying problems and obstacles which prevented villagers from realizing the ideal situation at the village and ranking identified problems in order of urgency. Finally, comments on each problem would be made to suggest how tourism participation might help to resolve or mitigate it. First, participants spent half an hour to brain-typhoon the problems or obstacles which the villagers faced; after the 10 minutes' consideration, villagers reported their identified problems in turn.

"I think lack of money and knowledge is the most serious problems we are now facing."

The researcher as facilitator: "I like your comments, but please raise them one at a time. Remember what we said? One raises one item in a round and after all participants complete a round, we can conduct more rounds if any of us still have new ideas..."

"Lacking experiences in doing business is a problem for me." ...

The facilitator: "We finished one round, now we start the second one. You raise new ideas and complement or comment on others' ideas by raising hand."

"I found from XXX (a then popular teleplay) that their villagers are working together on operating much larger scale business, we should do that."

The facilitator: "It is interesting to know, do you think it can be combined with the suggestion 'lacking cooperation among villagers'?"

“...It is all right.”

... “... I cannot say exactly what this problem is, but I know that some of our families met this problem: when we tried to borrow some money from relatives in other villages for a short-term turnover, they not only refused to help us, but also teased us saying ‘how can you still borrow money? Your family is rich.’”

The researcher: “It is useful information, but how do we interpret it? What problem is it?”

“Is it ‘difficult to borrow money’?”

“Sure.”

“It also shows that we do not have a good relationship with surrounding villages, which has already been raised.”

The researcher: “You are right. Can we also see it as that we seldom shared our advantages or benefits with other villagers which isolates our village from others? I remember that they used to help us to raise big animals after displacement.”

“Do you mean we seldom helped others? But we have not taken good care of ourselves... We did help them – my brother introduced his friends at Hong Fang villages to work at XXX hotel too... We did lend money to other villagers... it is not infrequent that other villagers come to our village to borrow money...” (various voices)

The facilitator: “Okay, we do not include this as a problem...” ...

After all problems were listed on the blackboard, the problem-ranking method was adopted to place them in order of urgency. Problem-ranking is a tool used by participants to order identified problems according to a set of criteria. The method helps people to prioritize their problems so that they can focus their energy and resources on the most important problems. Since all the present participants, although small in number, were all literate, the items that were written on the blackboard could be read directly by all. Following the procedure recommended for problem

Table 5: Problems Ranked Order of Urgency and How Tourism Development Mitigates Them

Problems	Marks	How Tourism Participation Helps to Mitigate the Problem
Lack of capital	79	Earning money; enough money helps to realize many other aspirations.
Red Gorge have not paid rent for over two years	79	
Large amount of daily expenses	74	Earning money.
Lack of opportunity to do business at hot spots within the tourist zone	63	
Rent of land is too low	60	
Lack of profitable businesses	56	Businesses with tourists are generally profitable.
Lack of experiences and knowledge on operating more profitable businesses	54	Practicing in tourism activities helps to enrich experiences and other needed knowledge.
Hard to do business with tourists, since they stay at resorts and seldom come to the village	40	Attracting tourists to the villages' area (tourist zone periphery) is needed.
Difficult to borrow funds	39	"I was told that banks all prefer to lend money to those who operate big businesses"; "Most surrounding companies have borrowed money from banks..."
Lack of outside support	37	If villagers had a good performance in work or in operating businesses, other people would have more confidence to help them.
Lack of education	33	Offering younger generations the chance to go to good schools.
Bad (physical) environment at the village	30	Money is needed to restore a green village by planting more fruit trees at yards and along the roads.
Unfriendly relationships at TF	27	
Lack of cooperation among villagers at TF	25	Cooperation in businesses can be a good start: to bigger businesses and building partnerships at the village.
Unable to ask for help from neighboring villages since they are even more backward	21	Similar opportunities have also been provided to other villages to help them improve their situation; but they are conservative and sometimes lazy or afraid of changes.
Wasting money on drinking or playing cards which showed children a bad example	18	The phenomenon is not frequent in our village but very normal in other villages. Jobs can keep these people busy and leave them no time to drink or play cards.
Lack of solidarity and cooperation with other villages	13	"Cooperating with villagers at other villages might not happen at present; as you know, they are in such a poor situation. Cooperation with them is merely hindering us."

ranking, participants first decided on a set of criteria to rank the problems: urgency, the number of villagers influenced, the degree of impacts and frequency of occurrence. After deciding on the ranking criteria, the facilitator asked participants to compare the problems in their mind according

to the set of criteria before problems were scaled between 1 and 10 (10 was the most urgent problem and 1 was the least urgent problem). Participants ranked a problem on a small piece of paper and handed it to the facilitator before going on to the next problem. After all problems were ranked, the total points designated by eight village participants were calculated for each. As to the third task of the workshop, participants discussed how tourism might help to mitigate the problems. Results of discussion among eight village participants were summarized in above Table 5.

Diary April 13th: The story of being refused to be lent money by surrounding villagers gives me the idea that the benefits of participating in tourism activities have not been equally distributed to other villages in this area. This is consistent with what I heard and saw – many villages are still mainly engaged in agriculture since fishing was prevented in the region because of tourism... A few, but not as many as among Tang Fang villagers, young people get jobs in surrounding tourism projects. Villagers in other villages seldom operate various businesses despite the model presented by Tang Fang villagers. In the nearby Red Flag Village, a convenience store does not exist and people go to Tang Fang Village to buy some small things. Liu Pan Village (another nearby village) has a store but their villagers gather there to playing cards... What stops the surrounding villagers from learning from Tang Fang Villagers? Is it possible that they cannot depart from their traditional livelihood since they have not been forced to change their lifestyle by land expropriation? If it is the reason, does land expropriation become a positive thing in the long term for villagers to help them break out of their traditional livelihood which was high in workload but low in returns?

The Nan Shan area has a similar situation in that Ya Zi villagers enjoy much favourable care from Dong Tian Park compared with neighbouring villages; therefore, Ya Zi Village has more diverse livelihoods since many of its villagers have jobs and do business with the park. I can think the reason why other villages have not been taken that good care of is that Ya Zi Village contributed land to the park; therefore the park appreciates the village. Therefore, land expropriation, once again, becomes a good thing for the village in diversifying its livelihoods, strengthening its social network and getting various support, capital and technical.

Therefore, the researcher found that without specific regulation or requirement from

government, the developers will not devote their attention to villagers that they had not previously taken advantage of. On the other hand, government should evaluate its apparent policy that sharing benefits of tourism development is a means of compensation for land expropriation or displacement – the benefits legally should be enjoyed by all residents in the development region. If officials do not question themselves about relationships between development and local communities, benefit-sharing will continue to be treated as compensation and merely concentrated at those villages where lands are expropriated.

Merely eight people came to today's workshop. It seemed that this was because of the inconvenience of going several hundred metres to meet. The idea of conducting a workshop at the committee's office building was also a bad one, I was told; villagers did not want to express their ideas publicly in the office building... The following workshops have to be conducted at places which villagers are familiar with and where they feel comfortable. The problem is that villagers may not directly tell me that they do not like something I choose for the collaborative study; I have to think more from their perspective - a small oversight may induce big failure. Although I have no problem with today's discussion, I do suspect the generalizability of a conclusion about "problems at the village" gained from only nine participants. I may suggest in the next workshop that the "problems" should be redefined if lot more participants come.

(4) Workshops on April 17th, 19th, 28th, 30th, May 4th, 7th, 10th and May 16th, 2005

Except for the workshop on May 10th which was held in the yard of the village clinic since it was a small-scale closed meeting with the new village head and his adherents, all the others were publicly operated in classrooms of the primary school. During this series of workshops, village participants practiced methods to increase the rent for land paid by the Red Gorge and, in the process of negotiation, villagers found evidence of corruption among former village committee leaders. They then discussed ways to report this to appropriate authorities. In those days, the researcher gradually lost the initiative as villagers took the role of directing the collaborative study.

Because conflicts were generated and, in order to protect participants, detailed information about this part of the study, participants' personal information and any information that may be used potentially to identify individuals will be kept confidential in the thesis and in any future publications.

It was previously decided that April 17th's workshop would be used to discuss solutions that would help to mitigate the identified problems; however, participants raised the issue that Red Gorge, the company that had displaced the village, had not paid the rent on the land for two years since 2003. As regulated in the compensation contract, the company should pay RMB 36,800 (Can\$7,360) every year for the expropriated 15 ha of dry land and residential land. Since Po Hou Village Committee¹ signed the contract with Red Gorge and normally took care of collecting the rent and distributing money to Tang Fang families, at the beginning, villagers did not pay great attention to the delay of payment. However, villagers perceived the issue after not getting money for two years. The new secretary of Po Hou contacted Red Gorge many times but did not sort out the problem. Red Gorge refused to pay rent on the excuses that it had experienced financial difficulty and some Tang Fang villagers had moved back to their old village to live (shown in Chapter 4). The response raised great discontent among villagers, particularly as the rent of RMB 2400 per ha was very low compared with land prices in other land expropriation projects in the province which was normally RMB3750 to 5250 per ha. The land near the seashore should be even more valuable.

Participants in the workshop decided to meet with the new manager of Red Gorge Golf Resort to ask for the two-year rent and to negotiate a higher rent. Although some more prudent villagers worried whether the action would offend the company and negatively influence those villagers who worked at Red Gorge, the researcher suggested that some negotiation strategies could be decided in advance to avoid some controversial situations. A negotiation group was formed by several villagers who took responsibility for meeting with the Red Gorge manager.

Strategies of negotiation:

Behaving politely: making a formal appointment instead of crashing into the company;

dressing up for the appointment; giving up chewing betel nut during discussion.

Try a peaceful means before resorting to legal means: arranging bilateral talks first; if this does not work, some legal means then would be adopted.

First contact the manager in writing to give him a chance to prepare mentally about the issue.

Do not make any sharply negative comments about the company and their previous decisions about displacement and compensation.

Acknowledge in the meeting that Red Gorge provides our villagers with jobs.

Support the requests by facts and evidence: the old contract needs to be copied from the village committee; a proof letter should be obtained from village committee; the researcher can provide compensation lists at some other community-displacement projects both in Hainan Province and in other neighbouring provinces. ...

A draft letter was written and many villagers met together on April 19th to discuss more details about the meeting with the Red Gorge Golf Resort manager. Villagers suggested that the rent should be increased to at least RMB 4500 per ha and that the company should pay rent on time every year. Some participants suggested requesting in the letter that the company provide more caddie positions to villagers but the idea was opposed by most of the participants to avoid “new problems cropping up unexpectedly”.

Diary April 17th: It is a waste of time to ask for a little bit more money for rent of land – even if Red Gorge agrees to increase the rent to RMB4500 per ha, it will not be a large amount, especially after the money is divided among villagers. A person may get only RMB 100 more (in addition to present RMB 120). Spending time negotiating with Red Gorge to increase the rent is no better than asking the company to give more jobs to villagers. However, it is a decision of the villagers – I should not decrease participants’ enthusiasm ... but it is truly not that worthwhile.

Personal reflection: The money from successfully enhancing the rent will be important for

the villagers – I was wrong – the increase for a three-person family is almost equal to the half-year tuition for a primary school student (January 3, 2006).

The negotiation group met with the new manager of Red Gorge Golf Resort on April 28th and the manager politely refused the villagers' requests. He explained that the company paid a large amount of money in compensations, especially for housing, and that the company had to stop any further payments to re-evaluate the project and examine their finances as required by the head company in Hong Kong. A pile of files on the expenses of Red Gorge incurred in displacing and resettling Tang Fang Village was provided and villagers called on the researcher to review the files. She was shocked when she found a huge cost to build and equip the new village: a 110 m² compensation house cost nearly RMB 90,000 (Can\$14,000). Based on the researcher's knowledge, constructing a normal rural house in Hainan would be no more than RMB 40,000 (Can\$6,500) (rural construction normally excluded the cost of land). Especially at Tang Fang Village, where 75 houses were designed and built together, great savings should have been made on design, purchasing materials and construction. Spending RMB 90,000 (Can\$14,000) on a house meant that it cost over RMB 50,000 (Can\$8,000) to equip a house which obviously was not true.

A workshop was organized after the review and files were read to those present. Some other slight differences between the money received and the amounts in the files were identified by villagers. Some eccentric issues during compensation were recalled, such as two families that were relatives of the ex-leaders of Po Hou Committee (the people who were leaders at the time of displacement) were included in the compensation list since they were identified as Tang Fang villagers by the committee. Although this was suspect, the villagers had no evidence to contest it since the register of permanent rural residences was disorganized and mainly managed by the village committee. Since many dubious circumstances were mentioned by villagers when they shared information, participants decided to investigate the issue secretly.

Diary April 28th: I almost could not control my temper when I knew this – what type of beasts would cheat those poor Li people and take advantage of them when they had been thrown

out of their homes in a displacement project! They should be punished...

Personal reflection: I did what I thought was right under that inflammatory emotion. However, when I came back to Canada and sat here to write my thesis, I cannot help feeling regret that, once again, I judged the situation based on my personal understanding. I was not afraid of any retaliation from those who had been punished (see later), but who will protect those villagers who had been cheated but stood up to fight? (Dec. 9th)?

A list of “lost” money was formulated during April 30th’s workshop and a group was assigned to examine suspicions. The villagers were not satisfied with the company’s refusal to enhance the rent and they suggested continuing to negotiate with Red Gorge. In discussion, two decisions were made: (1) to look for the “lost” money: calculating how much money was distributed to villagers and adding up Red Gorge’s expenditures based on the files; (2) to continue to negotiate peacefully with the company without resort to legal action to enhance the rent. However, it was decided to seek advice from a professional negotiator, a lawyer who had previously helped villagers on some issues, and to invite her to represent villagers in negotiations. Villagers also decided to keep the issue of “lost” money from outsiders to avoid alerting “enemies”.

In May 4th’s workshop, the suspicion was raised that the ex-leaders of Po Hou Committee had falsified transactions since they were the ones who had established and signed the contract with the previous manager of Red Gorge and, moreover, the committee distributed all the money that the villagers received. However, the ex-village head (who had taken the position at the time of displacement) was angry about the suspicion since he was the one who had implemented the orders of the ex-committee at Tang Fang Village. A stormy argument occurred between the ex- and the new village heads with participants taking sides. The conflict-eraser could not stop them and the researcher could not mediate since she could not follow the argument closely as it took place in Li dialect. The workshop was interrupted by the controversy and quickly dismissed. Controversy continued in the village and the next workshop was arranged by villagers for May 7th when the researcher was in the Nan Shan area. In the absence of the researcher, an even more serious conflict

occurred. No more research progress would be achieved if arguments were to continue within the village; moreover, villagers would not be able to avoid the curiosity and attention of outsiders if it became apparent that something unusual had happened in the village.

Diary May 4th: Villagers spoke in Li dialect when they were excited. I could not stop them since I did not understand what they argued about in detail. But things cannot be worked out if conflict continues...

Combination of Diary May 5th to 8th: I regret that I did not find the swindle while undertaking my Master's study, especially the costs of the houses. I now understand why the ex-manager told me that the cost of constructing the new village was 'his company's business secret'... It was my fault for missed the truth. I feel sorry for the villagers... Mother called today and she comforted me when she knew what had happened here in my village: "You are a planner, not a lawyer; you did not go to investigate others' deceits or to judge someone's actions or to determine if something's right or wrong at the village"... She is right - maybe we are unable to seek the truth by ourselves at the village but we can report the suspicion and send all the evidence that we have to the government and let the professional institutions deal with them.

Personal reflection: When I sit here in front of my thesis and once again examine the reasons I missed some hidden truths during fieldwork and once again think about what my mother told me that day, I suddenly feel confused about the role of a planner or a researcher. What will happen if our recommendations are partially built on by some inauthentic information, especially when the information has been collected from some "valid" sources (such as village committee leaders, company developers, villagers and officials in my case) which we trust? As a planner, I gave up seeking the costs of building the compensation houses while the Red Gorge manager was reluctant to disclose the information and others said "Do not know" in interviews. Shall we struggle for deep truth, even though the people who possess the information are reluctant to disclose it, as lawyers normally do while collecting information? What should we do if true information is one step further ahead of us but there are dangers of conflicts on the way towards to reaching, like the situation in my 2005 collaborative study? What should we do if controversy will be raised because of people

getting to know the truth through collaborative exploration with a researcher? As a researcher, is that correct I came to my study site to erase problems but raised more conflicts and problems for my participants because I looked for truth? (Dec 10th and 27th)

The researcher persuaded the villagers to stop arguing with each other since everyone knew that the problem did not exist inside the village. Villagers accepted the researcher's mediation. Apparently, workshops continued on the topic of urging Red Gorge's payment and enhancing rent. Stealthily, two letters, along with all files provided by Red Gorge and other evidences that the villagers collected, were prepared by some dependable villagers and sent to the Institution of Prosecuting Attorney and the Commission for Discipline Inspection of Sanya City to ask for help.

On May 16th, a lawyer was invited to the workshop to meet villagers about negotiations with Red Gorge. She asked some questions and accepted to represent Tang Fang villagers in negotiation with Red Gorge. She was confident about the result: the present contract was legally invalid after it had not been implemented after two years which meant a new contract had to be established. This time, the lawyer could help the villagers to ensure that their interests were protected in the new contract. At the time of writing, the Red Gorge Golf Resort manager had agreed to pay the rent that was owed but still refused to increase the rent rate.

After the lawyer left, the village head reported the actions that he would take and read the prosecuting letters to villagers which satisfied most people. Moreover, it was decided to continue the interrupted discussion on improving participation in tourism development: on one hand, some solutions or actions should be identified to ensure a more profitable participation; on the other hand, villagers needed to pretend that village life was back to normal to gloss over the action.

Diary May 11th: I cannot believe that those always-silent and tame Li villagers decided to fight back against their leaders, especially as the previous secretary of Po Hou Committee comes from a leading religious family. They really impress me! Isn't it the power of solidarity?

Unfinished business: three corrupt ex-leaders of the village committee were expelled from

party membership by the Commission for Discipline Inspection on July 19th when their malfeasance over compensation at Tang Fang Village was partially confirmed. The three persons were removed to the municipal prosecuting attorney institution to be indicted and to look for other possible crimes (the news was also published on News of South, Issue no. 1508). However, four months passed and no further information was confirmed: the ex-manager of Red Gorge and the construction team disappeared and no obvious relationship was identified between the construction team and the ex-leaders of the village committee. Although judicial institutes recognized that those three families had unreasonable wealth at home, the people refused to confess to the sources of income; therefore, no direct evidence was found to link the income with the compensations of Tang Fang Village. Based on the confirmed evidence, these people would not likely be arrested for a long time and the largest amount of money would not go back to the villagers. Even worse, the villagers faced the danger that these corrupt leaders would be released after a while and that they might retaliate. Such village leaders normally come from local affluent families and those families were generally leading traditional minority families. It was hard to imagine what type of injury they could bring to Tang Fang villagers if they retaliated. Observing the danger, the researcher went to the secretary of the town government and got his promise to look after the villagers (the researcher was sure that the secretary had no relationship with Red Gorge, Po Hou Committee or any individual or family that had been involved in the affair since she had known him for a long time and he took the position after the displacement project had taken place). Moreover, some of researcher's friends in Sanya City were asked to call some villagers occasionally to keep an eye on the affair. Also, the researcher's family members agreed to visit the village once every month or two to keep an eye on the issue too.

Personal reflection: as a researcher, I was wrong in that I was too eager for quick success and instant benefits in my research; therefore, I supported the villagers to act on something but we had not clearly known the potential dangers... Although the villagers did not blame me, I could not stop feeling that I was blamed.

(5) Workshops on May 20th, 21st, 22nd, June 3rd and 4th, 2005

Discussion on “searching for solutions of identified problems and planning for actions” was resumed at the local primary school. During these workshops, participants returned to the topic “improving participation in tourism” instead of focusing on looking for the “lost money”. The previously identified problems were reported to participants and several new problems were added. As while, people listed obstacles preventing progress in order of urgency and methods to solve or mitigate the problems. A list of short-term, middle-term and long-term actions was formulated for future practice.

The researcher as facilitator: “Any new problems can be identified at our village in terms of participation?” ...

“Is a problem which is not related to tourism able to be included?”

The researcher: “Yes, any problem at the village can be raised, so what is it?”

“The village is not safe after we moved here. People stole our things. We have to always be vigilant with doors, windows, animals and even vegetables planted in the yards.”

“Liu Pan People; they are thieves.”

“Even if we lock the door in the daytime, it is not safe; they sometimes can open the door...”

“XXX lost his DVD player.” ...

The researcher: “Why did you not lose things while in old village? You did not even close the door when nobody was at home, I remember.”

“We had nothing worth stealing.”

“That was not the reason; they stole anything if they had chance... But we lived far from them.”

The researcher: “Not that far, it was just across the road and a small plot of irrigated land.”

“But some villagers always stayed at the old village and we looked after each other’s

homes...”

“Yes, the elderly sewed in the yards; they could inform us if somebody unfamiliar went to our village.”

The researcher: “The seniors would inform others even a thief did not go to their own homes?”

“Of course, we were living at the same village.”

The researcher: “Why have villagers stopped doing that for each other nowadays?” (quiet)

“It is not because we do not watch for each other; we go to work in the daytime...”

“Not all people leave the village in the daytime; but people tend to stay at their own houses.”

... The researcher: “Can we conclude that there are two problems here: one is loss of the sense of safety at the village and another is the lack of collaborative help in the village?”

During the rest of the two days, a series of solutions or actions to mitigate some of the problems were decided upon. At beginning, participants’ discussion was limited to earning money, especially through their own home businesses. Since the discussions contained much personal information from which the participants could be identified, detailed content is not introduced here. Although researcher understood that several home businesses would be insufficient to resolve most of the problems of the village, the communication of lessons and experiences with home businesses helped the villagers to learn from each other. Therefore, the researcher let the conversation proceed. After the discussion of businesses was concluded, the researcher suggested that participants should consider solutions which might help to remove some of the common problems which influenced the village as a whole; however, participants generally lacked ideas except for suggesting enhancement of the land rent. Few solutions were generated on May 21st.

On the second day, to stimulate the creativity of participants, the researcher first introduced the activities conducted by villagers and the results at Dong Tian Park, Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist

Zone and Boao Tourist Zone. Since the researcher had not analyzed data for these study sites completely, she introduced the situations at the other villages based on her memory and in a style of story-telling and lacking of precise data. Some activities at other sites enlightened Tang Fang villagers and participants commented on what they could adopt or learn from others' experiences. Some examples are presented here but the results of actions will be presented in next section to avoid repetition.

“Can we prepare a ‘personnel introduction’ for all young villagers to use in seeking jobs?”

“We have nothing to write on it – we do not have much education...”

“We can only include our working and training experiences...”

“Those who have good working and training experiences already have jobs. Those who have not been employed because they have not had experience, they have nothing to write about.”

... “‘Personnel introduction’ is not useful for us...”

“Our villagers can contract some small projects from surrounding companies. I know our hotel needs to wash lot of things each day, we can talk to them to contract that job.”

“Those hotels have washhouses; they will not let us do it.” ...

“Why does the park (Dong Tian) let the villagers (Ya Zi) do some of its business?”

The researcher: “The manager said the returns from those tiny businesses were not attractive for his company; the company could also save its attention, management and costs if it rented out those tiny projects to villagers.”

... “We can try; we can talk with companies to see if they have some small business that they can contract to us...”

... “It sounds interesting – it will be nice if we can celebrate New Year with many others to build good relationships with them.”

“We can invite relatives from other villages, friends at work or even some managers of the companies.”

The researcher: “You may also invite some government officials; they would be the best target for you can get on touch with them and ask for help later on...” ...

“How can (Ya Zi) villagers have new year celebration together with staff of the company (Dong Tian Park) and many important persons? Who paid for it?”

The researcher: “The company paid and invited the rest of people, no matter villagers or officials...”

“The companies here will not do this for us.” ...

The researcher: “One thing that is popular in North America might be useful to handle a collective celebration. We can ask each family and all our guests to bring a dish or a snack or some drinks and collect them together... We can also prepare some acts – you are good singer and dancers – it will not be difficult for you...” ...

“If the Agricultural Credit Organization will loan us some money, several families can build a family hotel on the vacant land at the village entrance...”

“Do you remember what Dong Yu villagers did at Boao? They opened their spare rooms at home to visitors...”

“But our family does not have spare rooms at present. Some families even lack rooms.”

“Can we build more rooms based on the existing ones, as some did at the village?”

“Adding more rooms on the top of the house will be okay; but building rooms beside the existing houses may spoil the yards...” ...

The researcher: “What do you think about hawking goods to tourists as Zhen Wen villagers do?”

“The guards will throw us out – it is not allowed here. Hotels at the seaside have blocked the beach in front of their hotels and do not allow villagers to walk in...” ...

“We sometimes have been chased by guards if we sell used golf balls to golfers at the entrance of the resorts.”

... “There is no guard at Da Dong Hai Tourist Zone to stop people selling goods to tourists...”

“It is too far away from our village...”

“I have been there, many Hui people do business and I dare not sell things there; Hui people will fight us if we dare to compete with them in business...” ...

... “The villagers (at Boao) are lucky that government let them to operate a transportation route... it is a profitable business.” ...

“Here we could not even have a chance to sell our goods at a local market as they (the officials) promised us in 2001. We were told last year that we can rent stalls and sell goods to tourists at the existing market at Tian Du Town. But it is almost closed down because few tourists came and rent is high because of its luxurious decoration.”

The researcher: “But we do sell fruits at the street corner. Why not combine other goods there since tourists stop by all the time?”

“The area is narrow; it has no room to arrange many stalls. If we sell some other goods there, villagers at surrounding villages will follow; more people may come and we may not even find a place to sell fruits then...”

“Visitors will not stop to purchase relatively expensive art works or other goods except fruits at a village entrance.”

... “If we have a market at the village, or even close to the village, we can then attract tourists to our place.”

“Yes, we then can operate some restaurants, etc...” ...

The researcher: “Do you have some vacant land in or around the village but not far from Ya Long Bay Road?”

... “How about the threshing-ground? We do not use it much nowadays since we do not farm. It has been taken advantage of by surrounding villagers.”

The researcher: “What is the area of the site?”

“Around 2 Mu...”

“But it is separated from Ya Long Bay Road.” (by irrigated land and several rows of residences)

“It is not far from Liu Pan Road! Tourists can walk along Liu Pan Road and turn onto your concrete village road which is wide. The whole walk will not take more than 5 minutes... When you start to operate the market, do not forget to provide very clear and detailed directions or map to show tourists the way to walk. Moreover, do not let them drive, you will not find enough parking spaces...” ...

“Do you think the local government will allow us to operate a local market at the village?”

The researcher: “I believe you should lobby the officials. You can try to discuss it with the secretary of the committee and ask him to negotiate with the town government...” ...

“If many stalls can be arranged, we may rent some stalls to other villagers...” ...

Diary May 21st: ...participants went off subject most of the time today. They talked about their own businesses to seek suggestions instead of discussing solutions for problems faced by the village as a whole... However, I feel today was fruitful since villagers seldom sat together to exchange ideas about businesses... XXX introduced his experiences in feeding animals, which raised the interests of others. Although his questions about breeding animals got no answer since nobody at the workshop was an expert on that, villagers decided to seek information from their

relatives or friends. More villagers raising the same type of animal would be a good thing; it might lead to better sales...

Diary May 23rd: XXX reminded me that most villagers might consider that our collaborative study had come to an end since the discussion on increasing rent had been temporarily completed and handed over to a lawyer to deal with it; therefore, they did not show up for these workshops. It is necessary to visit all families again to encourage their attendance. A larger number of participants is important in deciding about future actions: it ensures that actions can be practiced and continued if they have been agreed on by most villagers.

On June 3rd, the identified actions were scheduled into short-, middle- and long-term categories to facilitate action. Also, the necessary outside help was identified as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Solutions and Actions to Mitigate Current Problems at Tang Fang

Action	Schedule	Procedures	Outside Help
Short-term Actions			
Getting the unpaid-rent and enhancing the future rent.	Started	1) Lawyer helps to negotiate.	Lawyer
		2) Lobbying the committee leaders to put pressure on Red Gorge.	Committee leaders
		3) Reporting to town government.	Town government officials
		4) Seeking for legal help - indicting Red Gorge.	Lawyer and judicial institutes
Families clean the public area, mainly village roads, in turn.	Start soon	1) Announcing the decision at village meeting.	
		2) Five families form a group and clean the roads according to a schedule.	
		3) A group is in charge of a week.	
		4) Each family clean their own yards.	
		5) RMB50 as monetary penalty for anybody who cannot finish the job.	
		6) Supervising team will evaluate the work.	
Keeping an eye on the village	Start soon	1) Announcing the decision at village meeting.	Local police station
		2) Everyone at the village has a responsibility to watch over the village.	Village committee
		3) All families having a telephone take a copy of emergency numbers which will be prepared by village head; making a call when find anything unusual.	110 (a police service institution) and local police station
		4) Raising the awareness to call for help.	

Spring-cleaning at the village	In winter, before new year	1) Announcing the decision at a village meeting.	
		2) Getting rid of wild grass, tidying up broken fences, cleaning animal pens, etc.	
A collective New Year party	Chinese Spring Festival	1) Announcing the decision at a village meeting.	
		2) Inviting relatives, surrounding villagers, friends at work, managers at workplaces, committee leaders and officials.	Surrounding villagers Villagers' relatives and friends
		3) Arranging and decorating threshing ground and borrowing lighting from committee.	Village committee
		4) Participants are welcome to bring a dish, snack, drink or fruits.	Surrounding companies
		5) Preparing for some entertainment.	Town government
		6) Paying attention to safety issues at the site and village during the event.	
Mid-term Actions			
Cooperation in investment	voluntarily		With villagers or even friends outside the village
Loans and occupation		Negotiation with local Agricultural Credit Organization.	Village committee and Credit Organization
Businesses with companies		Negotiation with surrounding companies to contract business; e.g. washing.	Village committee and surrounding companies
Long-term Actions			
A local market		1) Associating with surrounding villagers to lobby the officials to get permission on the project.	Various government departments, Village committee
		2) Tidy-up threshing ground.	Nearby villages
		3) Temporary stalls can be built to save on costs of construction.	Villagers' relatives and friends - whoever has advice or ideas
		4) Making clear road directions for tourists.	
Sending children to schools in cities	After having money		

The village head decided to hold a village meeting to report and discuss the decisions with most villagers on June 4th. The researcher insisted on going although she was reminded that the meeting would be in Li dialect since senior villagers generally could not understand Mandarin. Relying on translation, the researcher found that villagers generally expressed an interest in and agreement to practice most of the decisions. Even seniors who normally stayed at home in the day time happily accepted the task of keeping an eye on the village while most young people were away at work. It was very interesting that some of them expressed willingness to learn how to make a

phone call to a local police station in an emergency. However, some villagers, especially senior family heads, questioned the action of asking for more rent from Red Gorge Golf Resort since they were worried that the company would fire workers from the village as an incidental results of enhancing the rent. The village head promised to be discreet in taking the last step in indicting the company to increase the rent. Another general question was the practicability of “lobbying the government or local credit organization” and the researcher was asked to explain it:

... “We will not be received by these people even if we beg to see them... and we dare not talk in front of them...”

“I am not afraid of talking with them; but I doubt they will want to meet us in their office.”

... “We can talk to the committee first and ask Mr. Hu to make an appointment with officials or someone in charge of the credit organization...”

“He may not dare to ask for a meeting with town officials... The officials may not want to see him...” (various voices).

The researcher: “If Mr. Hu cannot help us, we can write to the government or organization to ask for help...”

“How about if they do not even read our letter?” ...

The researcher: “Government officials or a credit organization may choose to support you if you attract their attention and ‘sell’ them your plans... A “local market” may be an attractive plan to them since it may help them to make some ‘achievements’ in their career that can lead to promotion because they successfully ‘helped the rural people to find a new livelihood’... I believe that calling them is a good way to first reach them since they probably cannot refuse a phone call; especially in government, it is regulated that officials cannot purposely refuse to answer the publics’ calls. However, you have to hit the point directly when talking on the phone and attract their attention... Remember that your projects have to be sold in a way that is closely linked with their ‘achievement’... ‘Encouraging villagers’ businesses in tourism’ is a high point in the government agenda and that is part of the reason why I have come here to study with you.

Therefore, the facts that villagers can get loans, villagers are successful in struggling for higher rent with a company and villagers operate their own market can all be translated as “achievements” of government officials in the province. This is especially true if these actions can attract the attention of media... The media are always craving for stories; we can easily raise their attention by calling them or writing to them to ‘report’ the successes that have happened in our village. If they come to report, it will be another impetus among those people who are craving for “achievements” and it will increase their willingness to help us. ...” ...

Some doubts and worries about having a party together with political “higher-ups” or “moneybags” and building market inside the village were raised by some middle-aged and senior villagers but their concerns were overwhelmed by the consistent agreement among the younger generation.

Diary June 4th: In the village meeting led by the village head, doubts and questions about solutions decided in collaborative study were raised and figured out collectively. Participants generally showed agreement with proposed actions. The arrangement of five-family working groups was done immediately in the meeting since most families had sent someone to the meeting. The villagers decided that the first week of cleaning would be handled by three groups together since the work would be extremely hard when the village had not been cleaned for a long time. Moreover, villagers decided that all garbage collected would be sent to public garbage cans along Liu Pan Road and not stored at the village (Tang Fang Village was different from Ya Zi Village in that it had been constructed along the lines of a modern residential zone in urban areas; therefore, garbage cans were arranged at several sites close to Liu Pan Road and a garbage truck took the garbage away at regular time).

(6) Workshop on June 8th, 2005

In the final summarizing workshop, discussion was conducted in a flexible manner at a

classroom of the nearby primary school: instead of speaking in turn, participants put up their hands and talked when they had ideas or questions. Many of the villagers came and went intermittently which made it difficult to count the number of participants. First, the researcher thanked all the participants for their cooperation in the study.

The researcher: "...It is an unforgettable experience for me; I have made more friends at the village... I was surprised by your creativity and was moved by your courage in conducting some actions. More important, we struggled together on something and hopefully we will get success... It is a fruitful study; it has helped me to develop a truer understanding about some of the things that have happened at our village. I have learned a lot from you. ... Some misinterpretations were identified during the study that have helped me to understand your affairs from your position. For example, normally, among Han people, we are proud if our family members get a job out of our hometown, especially in an affluent place. See, a large number of Han people work at places far from their homes in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong Province, etc; some of them even choose to work overseas. However, I learned that you are reluctant to work far from home but some of you were forced to do so since your families needed money. I learned that the most important thing is that family members could stay together... I will raise this in my report to the government since most of them consider the policy has been welcome. I will suggest that more jobs at this area should be provided to villagers to satisfy the local needs and to keep people work in their home town... I will finish my research pretty soon and I will leave; hopefully we will still keep in touch and I will do whatever I can do for you. I hope our friendship is for ever."

During the rest of the time, concerns, ideas and suggestions about the collaborative study were collected in informal conversations. Many villagers considered that the first several rounds of workshops were much less useful than the following sessions. Moreover, the schedule for several important things was decided. Some actions which needed the support of the committee would be gradually reported to the secretary of committee by the village head. A thank-you party was held by the researcher on June 18th to show her appreciation to the villagers for cooperating in the study.

Interviews among villagers were conducted after the party to collect suggestions and comments on the collaborative study.

Diary June 8th: I have an idea to invite Tang Fang and Ya Zi villagers together to have a 'Thank-you' party. They then can meet and exchange ideas which may help them in conducting their future actions. If a party is held at Ya Zi, villagers can also be invited to visit Dong Tian Park. But transportation will be a problem... How can such a large number of people be transported over 60 kilometres? How many buses I will need?

Diary June 10th: I cannot afford to rent four buses to transport Tang Fang villagers and I can not borrow four buses. I tried the local transportation department at Sanya City, but they only have one bus. Okay, I give up the idea – it is a pity, it would be nice if villagers could be shown around the park where I am working and talk with Ya Zi villagers who have had some successful experiences in working with the park and participating in tourism development...

5.1.2. Ya Zi Village at Dong Tian Tourist Zone

Ya Zi Village was selected as a study site to conduct participatory research mainly based on villagers' willingness to collaborate. The collaborative study conducted at Ya Zi Village followed a similar procedure in discussions but with different contents since villagers had a very strong voice in deciding discussion topics at Ya Zi Village. This section of the research started in mid-March and came to an end in mid-June 2005. During the three months' of collaborative study, one very important thing that the researcher learned from the villagers was that tourism was not the only one life opportunity; at the same time as villagers' were putting in efforts to improve their participation in tourism, they had to also take care of many other livelihoods existing in their village, such as vegetable planting. In rural life, different livelihoods are supportive to each other; any improvement in one of them will help to strengthen others and lead to an overall improvement of village life.

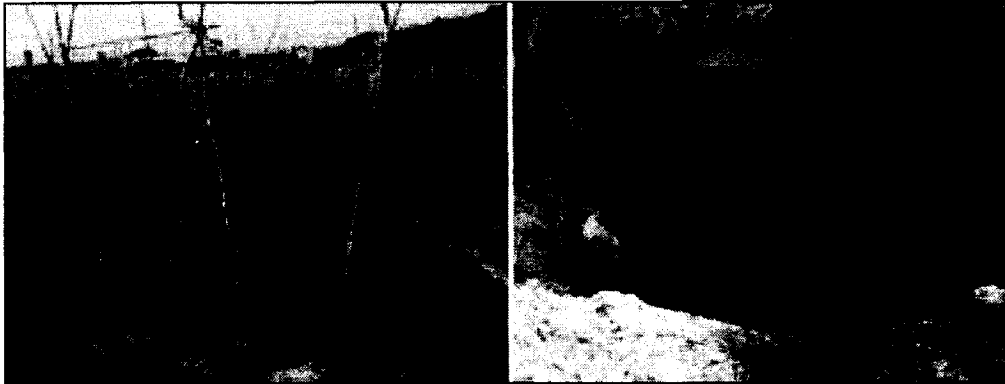
(1) Workshop on March 19th, 2005

During that first day's discussion, the researcher introduced the research purpose and possible methods of "collaborative study". Participants decided to adopt "workshops" as the dominant method and, based on their experience from the evening school program, guidelines for workshop discussions were established.

Diary of Entry: Collaborative study at Ya Zi started a little bit late since a week-long volleyball tournament was arranged at the beginning of March and villagers were busy on the land planting vegetables. Another round of vegetable purchases would come in May. Villagers have to take good care of their vegetables, especially cowpea, the most profitable vegetable in the region. I was taught that before it flowers, cowpea will be easily attacked by disease and insects. The day before yesterday, I was taken to see some cowpea lands where the vegetable had started to bloom and learned that planting vegetables was a hard job. Villagers explained to me that they needed to assist each of the plants to climbing, manure, water and protect the plants from insects without using pesticide (vegetables from the Nan Shan area are famous also because no pesticide is allowed to be used there). Since typhoons have not come for several years, drought is serious this year and several wells and local reservoirs located in high areas are dry, except for one well at the land with a little bit of water. Villagers have had to dig huge holes near their land and wait for the water to infiltrate slowly (Figure 1) ... Since the community had settled back down, collaborative study was decided to start today... I borrowed a classroom in the nearby primary school; hopefully it is big enough to hold the villagers who promised me to come... I am not very nervous today since some of my village friends accompanied me all the morning...

The study started at 2:00 p.m. at a classroom in the nearby primary school and most of the villagers came on time. The procedures used in the first workshop at Tang Fang village were largely followed. Initially, the researcher introduced herself and she invited participants to introduce themselves since she was not very familiar with Ya Zi villagers. She suggested that the introduction should include the participant's name, name of family head, age, work experiences, personality and likes, educational level, whether or not they had participated in evening school and else they wanted

Figure 1: Vegetable Land and Dug Big Hole for Irrigation



to say. After the personal introductions, the researcher introduced the purpose of her research: to collaboratively explore ways of “encouraging a greater level of participation in tourism”. She also emphasized that this aim could be merely a part of the collaborative study if villagers wanted more or broader themes to be examined. She then introduced the confidentiality policies that would be used in the study to protect participants. Afterwards, she presented the characteristics of collaborative study, explaining that it would be a creative and collaborative communication process in which some problems and solutions might be identified and action plans might be formulated. She enumerated some frequently-used research methods such as workshops, fieldtrips, brain-typhoons, problem ranking, SWOT analysis, assessment of income, effectiveness monitoring, some diagramming methods, such as a problem tree, resources mapping, etc. Also, she recommended some livelier methods, such as drama or game-play. The researcher presented an example of drama about an employment interview that she had participated in: participants pretended to be employers in different companies and raised various questions in interviews to the researcher who pretended to be a potential employee. She indicated that the method was active and helped her to prepare for different situations and questions in employment interviews. Villagers agreed to try these methods during the study; however, they adopted the workshop as the main method since most of them had experiences of workshops at evening school. Agreement on guidelines for workshops was easily reached because of participants’ experiences at evening school. Guidelines were summarized as follows and posted at several places in the village:

- (1) Our collaborative study is to generate information, gather different opinions, build consensus and lead to collective actions on any concerns of the village;
- (2) Keep on-time and orderly: please come at least 5 minutes before the time of workshop. Please avoid walking around during discussions. Please always follow the decided time-frame of a workshop;
- (3) Respect and friendliness are important in our collaborative study: we respect each other and will not break in when others are talking. Debates may happen in our discussion but we will not let these grow into conflicts. One can disagree with others' ideas, but personal attacks are not allowed;
- (4) Freedom in expressing one's idea: expressing our ideas in the collaborative study is truly welcome. Any suggestions on changing topics or raising more issues are encouraged. However, if it is not one's turn to speak, one should put up one's hand to ask for permission before speaking;
- (5) Creativity in discussion: do not be afraid of raising "strange" ideas or "odd" questions;
- (6) Collaboration in study: topics of discussion should be formulated collectively and agreed upon by most of the participants; methods used for each discussion will also be agreed on collectively;
- (7) Basic procedure of workshops: time for a brain-typhoon on a decided topic; participants then speak in turn to express their thoughts and ideas or even to ask questions. However, one speaker can raise only one idea at a time and more rounds of talk can be conducted if participants still have ideas;
- (8) Responsibilities in the workshops: we need a facilitator, timer, recorder and conflict-eraser for each group during the workshops. Participants can recommend themselves for any of these positions;
- (9) Your participation is valuable: your participation in our collaborative study is important to all

of us. Maybe some of your ideas acted upon and lead to a great improvement in our village – let us work together!

The researcher introduced the roles of facilitator, timer, recorder and conflict-eraser, and answered the questions raised by villagers in relating to these roles. Some of the villagers at Ya Zi were well-educated; the researcher believed that they could easily take the roles of timer, recorder and conflict-eraser. However, the role of facilitator might not be undertaken easily by villagers since a facilitator should understand deeply about the topics of a workshop and know of many methods to encourage and extend discussion, and sometimes to stop or switch topics when people are off the subject. Although some villagers reported that they knew what facilitators did during workshops at evening school, they had not had chances to practice themselves. Before the end of discussion, participants suggested conducting the next workshop on March 25th since some of them needed to work in the mornings at weekends.

Diary May 19th :: Far fewer people came than what I thought. If they did not even come to the introductory meeting, I doubt that they will participate in all following meetings... However, among 30 village participants, most of the influential people came: the village head, headmaster of the local primary school who is also a Ya Zi villager, a villager who took a position of director at Dong Tian Park, and several leading families all had someone participate in today's discussion. I have to ensure that they will come to all discussions, since they are the proper persons to guarantee that the decisions made in the study will be followed by the villagers. Moreover, they are the best educated persons in the village... I know what I will do: I will suggest to some of them that they self-recommend themselves as research assistants in next workshop. Since they are the best educated people at the village, other villagers will not disagree with the result. This actually can help me to figure out another problem: I can discuss with them about the role of a facilitator before each workshop and they can then take the position and help me to organize the study.

(2) Workshops on March 25th and April 7th, 2005

During these workshops, participants decided to enlarge the research topic beyond the scope of “participation in tourism” and to include all influential aspects of village life in the discussion. Accordingly, the research objective was identified as “improving the quality of village life” and “water and reservoir” was designated as the first discussion theme because of the urgent situation of lacking irrigation water at the village.

At the beginning of the workshop on March 25th held at a classroom of the nearby primary school, all 19 participants formed a group. The researcher took the role of facilitator and three others voluntarily worked as recorder, timer and conflict-eraser. The facilitator raised the question of the goal of the collaborative study and she raised some examples, such as “improving relationships with Dong Tian Park”, “improving activities in tourism development to get more benefits” or “identifying problems at the village and mitigating them” etc. Ten minutes were given to participants to think by themselves and then each in turn expressed their short responses within one minute:

... “I also do not know what to study since we always have been told about what to study in previous workshops... however, I think it should not merely focus on the park and tourism development...”

“I agree, we are mainly satisfied with what the park has done for us... but we have a lot of other problems at the village... our village is droughty which makes great trouble in our lives.”

... “I agree; many issues should be included in our study if we really want to look for ways to improve the village life.”

... “Tourism is an important aspect in our village; it influences our revenue... Little Yang (referred to the researcher) has come here to study tourism... we should include it as an aspect of our study.”

The researcher: “It depends on you what to learn about, but I agree that tourism is an important issue to your village... We can identify all the necessary aspects of village life in our

study and then focus on one each time.”

“I want to learn about the methods to confront drought. It has been serious at our village for a long time.”

“Drought should be one aspect, but I also have some questions about the evening school program...” ...

The researcher: “All the issues that have been raised can be topics of our study each time we meet; but may I ask what is the reason for you to raise all these issues?”

“To improve them.”

“To make our lives here more comfortable.” ...

The researcher: “May I say that the goal of our study is to ‘improve the quality of our lives’?” ...

After the aim of the study had been agreed upon as ‘improving the quality of village life’, the facilitator raised another question. This was how participants wanted to analyze or study the issues that would be identified in discussion. Before the discussion started, some villagers suggested that they should divide into groups since discussion could be easier in small groups. The facilitator agreed to separate people into two groups and another recorder, timer and conflict-eraser were elected. Since no one voluntarily took the role of facilitator, the researcher picked two persons who had been invited to be research assistants to take charge of each group. The researcher then observed their performance and made suggestions to each group. Based on the two groups’ conclusions, the study procedure was primarily decided as: (1) identify themes or issues related to “improving the quality of village life at Ya Zi”; (2) judge “what is or are the problem(s)” associated with each identified theme; (3) figure out solutions; (4) carry out actions. Since the researcher did not participate in any of the groups, she was asked to comment on the results. She suggested that all themes could be listed together in next workshop to keep a holistic view, as while as to allow participants to discuss them in order of urgency. She also suggested that for each theme, exploring

the current situation and identifying origins of problems might also facilitate the search for solutions since participants would build a broad understanding about the issue. The study procedure was formulated as follows:

- (1) Identifying themes of the study;
- (2) For each theme, the present situation will be pictured; problems and their origins will be identified;
- (3) Figuring out solutions and identifying the sources of outside help that would be needed;
- (4) Carrying out actions;
- (5) Supervising the actions.

Before the end of the workshop, three research assistants were elected mainly based on their educational experiences. The three villagers provided the researcher with great helps in the collaborative study later as they took the role of facilitator, organizing the collaborative study and fieldtrip, and visiting families to encourage villagers to participate in collaborative study discussions.

The workshop arranged for April 2nd was cancelled because some potential participants, including two of the assistants, were asked to work when a group came to visit Dong Tian Park. A few villagers came to the workshop when it was rescheduled to April 7th at the entertainment room in the office building of village committee. However, as reported earlier, most families were busy looking for water to irrigate the vegetable land which prevented their participation. Participants were divided into three groups, as decided in previous workshop, to identify problematic or influential issues of village life. Thirty-five minutes was given to three groups: 10 minutes for personal considerations, 10 minutes for brainstorming, 10 minutes for grouping and summarizing results, and 5 minutes for clarifying and confirming the conclusion with group members before reporting the results to rest of the participants. The researcher still kept out of the group discussions to observe the performance of participants in discussion and in taking responsibilities as facilitators,

timers, recorders and conflict-erasers. The process went fairly smoothly for two groups but one group did not complete grouping and summarizing their results within 10 minutes and the timer stopped further discussion when the time was up. The three groups reported their results in turn and seven groups of issues were finally formulated: water and reservoirs, vegetable planting, jobs (especially tourism-related jobs), businesses, education (participants originally referred to evening school but they agreed to the researcher's suggestion to include formal education), construction of a nearby primary school (this point insisted on by Mr. Gao, the headmaster of the primary school, see following conversation), and village sanitation. Except for the issue of "water and reservoirs" which was considered to be the most urgent, all the other issues were identified as having no preference by participants. Therefore, it was decided to hold the next workshop on April 10th to discuss "water and reservoirs".

The researcher as the general facilitator: "Is it okay for your group to explain why we should include 'construction of the nearby primary school' in our collaborative study? I mean, isn't the school not the responsibility of Ya Zi Village?"

"But the school is located just beside our village and most of our villagers graduated from this school. Almost all primary-school-age kids at Ya Zi are now studying there. We do have a responsibility to make the school better."

"But many kids from surrounding villages or even from other places come to the school – it is not only our responsibility that the school lacks rooms, playgrounds, tables, chairs and many other facilities."

"It should be the responsibility of the Department of Educational to take care of the school..." ...

"Our village got lot of helps from the park and many other organizations. We have been provided with jobs and opportunities to earn money; we have been given classes to increase our knowledge at evening school and we get help and advice from many of the people who used to teach us at the evening school ... Our village has the best situation of any other nearby villages..."

Should not we repay them for all of these? ... I did not mean that we should pay to construct a new building or a playground for the school. I cannot ask you to donate money for these since I understand that our situation is not as good as that. Do you remember what the villagers did for the school in making many new chairs and tables last year? We are able to do some things for the school if we work together... We can call on more similar activities to help the school; we can help the children to level the nearby waste land as another playground... It also reduces conflicts between the school and our families since now the children play in our village; they broke windows when playing ball and they make lots of noise and throw garbage... Some of you used to come to complain to me..."

The researcher: "I am persuaded by Mr. Gao that it will be nice if our collaborative study can raise some actions to help the school... But it is still up to you whether this should be included in our study."

"Okay, it is fine for me to include this topic. I would like to do something for the school from which all my family graduated ..."

Diary March 25th: Villagers get used to small groups in discussion at evening school where three or four persons form a group. I understand their preference to it since members can be more open in talks when facing a small number of people. Actually, forming small groups is beneficial since it is much easier to reach a conclusion in a small group. However, villagers lacked experience to take the role of facilitator in workshops at evening school since normally an overall facilitator, usually a park staff member, would be in charge of all groups... The facilitator of a workshop should attract people to participate in discussion, raise interesting questions to inspire creativity, promote continuation of talks when discussion is blocked, switch topics when conversation is off-subject, produce a friendly environment for group members, invite those shy ones to talk, respect people's opinions and encourage participants to adopt the most appropriate and sometimes lively methods to facilitate discussion. However, I felt that these are not enough. A facilitator should be more than a good communicator or mediator: one should deeply understand

the discussion topics and participatory methods. As well, one should interpret the discussion topics clearly to participants to lead to a deep and common understanding. Moreover, the ability to foresee possible emerging situations and to identify counter-measures is also sometimes needed. I do not doubt that villagers generally have good communication skills since some of them were quite well-educated; however, I worry that they do not clearly understand the discussion themes in each workshop. It is almost impossible to train them in advance of each workshop since it will be hard to predict how many groups we will have in discussion then how many facilitators we will need...

An interesting thing I found today was that villagers prefer to take a role in a workshop. Many smaller groups will ensure most of the participants can take some responsibilities in discussion. If the number in a group is small, one person can take two roles at the same time since the conflict-eraser does not frequently have work to do.

A problem was identified in today's workshop: two recorders, although they had high educations (one was a college graduate and the other was high-school graduate but had worked in the park for over two years as a tour guide), could not quickly record all conversations. They always summarized the main points, possibly losing valuable ideas, especially in the conclusion of the group discussion... However, it is not possible for me to buy three tape recorders... One way to partially address this is to get the recorder to read the groups' conclusions to the group members to confirm whether any points are lost before the groups report their results to rest of the participants. I believe this is more feasible than forcing the recorders to record every sentence since, even for me, it was sometimes hard to record everything. Moreover, based on my experience at Tang Fang village, participants inevitably had some superfluous words need not be copied down. However, I still always emphasize to recorders that each person's ideas have to be recorded and they cannot miss someone's speech.

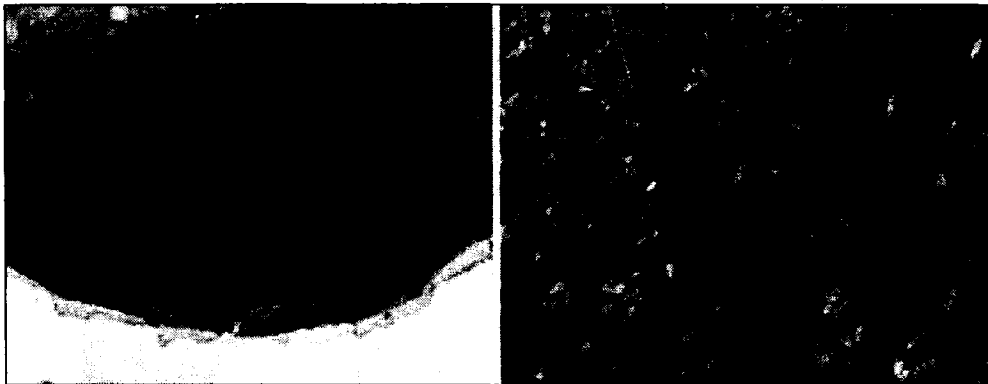
Diary April 7th: In today's observation of facilitators, three of them worked fine. Although they might lack the skill to raise questions to encourage group members' thoughts, they earnestly asked "any more ideas, any more ideas" many times in discussion which did "press" their members to think (April 7th).

Communicating with people who are educated is quite different from talking with less educated people. The most important difference, as I observed today, is that Ya Zi villagers, especially those have greater educational or working experiences, have a much better ability to summarize issues and arrive at conclusions. Moreover, well-educated people reach agreement more easily since they are capable of defending their own opinions and raising reasons or facts to support their ideas; therefore, communication and reaching a collective decision faces fewer obstacles ...

(3) Workshops on April 10th, 11th, 15th, 16th, 17th and 20th, 2005

During this period, the focus of the study was on experimenting with ways to address the problem of lack of water to save the dying vegetables (Figure 2). In the end, villagers got assistance from Sanya Department of Water Conservancy and surrounding villages to build a deep well and tanks at the land to temporarily solve the problem of lack of irrigation water.

Figure 2: Dried Well at the Vegetable Land and Dying Vegetable



Over 40 villagers came to the workshop on 10th at the entertainment room to see if solutions could be found to resolve the drought, at least temporarily, and save the plants. From conversation, the researcher realized that almost all families at Ya Zi planted several Mu (a unit of area in China, equal to 1/15 of a hectare) of cowpeas since it was the most profitable vegetable sold to northern businessmen. The capital investment in one Mu of cowpeas averaged around RMB 2000 to 3000

(Can\$300 to 500); if the vegetables died because of drought, it would be a huge loss to those rural families. The situation was reported to be serious in that many plants were unhealthy or nearly dead because of insufficient water. Some experienced villagers suggested the crop would be lost if plants could not be watered sufficiently in 20 days. Therefore, the researcher suggested that participants, in ten groups, should identify obstacles associated with fighting drought:

- (1) Climate: lack of typhoon for three years resulting in no heavy rain and a rapid decrease of groundwater reserves;
- (2) Regional characteristic: low rainfall and drought area;
- (3) Leaking reservoir: a) the reservoir of Nan Shan Village Committee was located in a naturally cupped site (to save capital and workload to dig the reservoir) at the top a small hill; b) The geological situation was unsuitable for a reservoir since the site was sandy which prevented the reservoir from holding water effectively; c) The original capacity was insufficient for the nearby villages.
- (4) Inadequate site of vegetable land: the vegetable land was located 500 metres away from the village (another lot fairly close to the village was expropriated by Dong Tian Park). Nearby lots belonging to other villages were rented by some Ya Zi families since they wanted to plant more vegetables. The lands were in an area of high relief and hard to water. Even when water was plentiful, it had to be carried from nearby wells since small pumps could not be used to pump water to a sufficient height.
- (5) Wells: all three wells at the arable lands were almost completely dry.
- (6) Watershed: reliable water supplies were located too far from the village. Bao Gu Reservoir was over 12 km away. The nearest local reservoir in the Shui Ling Zi area which was over 3 km away.
- (7) Transporting water from the village: although wells in the village had some water, carrying sufficient water for 500 metres to irrigate cowpeas was impossible.

(8) Limited capital and knowledge to solve the problem of lack of water by the villagers themselves.

After carefully explored the situation, three possible solutions were decided upon collectively:

- (1) Employing a local well-drilling team to dig a deep well near the arable land and purchasing small pumps with the rest of the money donated by Dong Tian Park. The well-drilling team had already come and, at the time, a second well was under construction since the first had collapsed not long after the work had been started. The team director was not optimistic about the second one because of the sandy soil.
- (2) Writing a report on the situation and asking for help from the town government and the Department of Water Conservancy of Sanya, suggesting that an aqueduct be built from Shui Ling Zi to convey water to Ya Zi Village;
- (3) Building tanks; one at the village and another at the vegetable land and purchasing or borrowing a long-distance high-powered water pump to draw water from village to the vegetable land. If a pump was purchased, then at least RMB 35,000 (Can\$5,800) more would be needed above the remainder of the donation from Dong Tian Park. The money would need to be collected among all families if no more sources of donations were forthcoming.

Available resources and potential sources of help were identified as:

- (1) Capital: Dong Tian Park donated RMB 20,000 (Can\$ 3,300, the money was sent to the Village Committee but the money was mainly for Ya Zi Village since the other nine villages under the committee still had some sources of water at that time. The villages on the Western side of the committee could get water from Shui Ling Zi and the villages on the eastern side were located in an area of lower relief and had some water in its wells);

- (2) Pump: Dong Tian Park donated 3 family-size small pumps to the committee which Ya Zi villagers could borrow;
- (3) Personal sources: affluent local persons who might like to donate and / or families each pay RMB 450 (Can\$70);
- (4) Institutional sources: Dong Tian Park and Nan Shan Temple; Village Committee; town government (villagers reported that Ya Cheng Town got two high-powered water pumps from the Department of Water Conservancy to save its communities lacking water.); Department of Water Conservancy of Sanya City.

To avoid wasting time if the private well-drilling team fail, participants suggested other steps should be taken. Therefore, a village meeting was quickly organized by the village head to collect money from families to purchase a high-powered pump. Mr. Hu, the village head, also promised to return the money to families if enough money could be gained from donations. However, less than one fifth of families agreed to provide money. Some insisted that the money should be collected from all nearby villages since neighbouring villagers would also use the water from tanks after they were built. Others considered that even if money was to be collected at Ya Zi Village, families should pay different amounts according to the amount of vegetable land each family held. Still others suspected the validity of the idea of using a high-powered pump to send water from the village to the arable land and, therefore, refused to provide money.

In order to more clearly understand the drought situation and prepare other solutions, the researcher suggested having a village trip on April 11th (Figure 3). A fieldtrip was organized with several active participants at the village and the manager of the private well-drilling team (who participated in the first part of the trip around the vegetable land). The latter told the researcher that his team could not promise to dig to water since the villagers insisted that the site had to be located near the vegetable land of Ya Zi Village. According to his judgement, the well had to be very deep to reach the underground water and this might go beyond the technical capacity of his team, especially given the quality of soil at the location. During the trip around the vegetable land, he also

introduced several other sites which were more appropriate for digging deep wells; however, the villagers rejected those sites since they were closer to Four-horse One Village's arable land than their own.

Figure 3: Fieldtrip at the Village



After the manager left, the researcher was shown around the reservoir, three dried wells at the land, the potato land, the cowpea land and drinking wells at the village. During the fieldtrip, participants met briefly at a villager's home and decided to write to the government to ask for help since they had all heard that the well under construction might not work. Letters to the town government and Sanya Water Conservancy Department were drafted and formally prepared on 12th. Several members of the village took the responsibility to send the letter to the town government and to track the response. The letter to the Water Conservancy Department was sent by the researcher since she happened to go back to Sanya City for April 13th's workshop at Tang Fang Village. In the letter to the town government, villagers asked either for an aqueduct from Shui Ling Zi to Ya Zi or to borrow a high-powered pump. To Water Conservancy Department, villagers asked for advice and material support to build the aqueduct or any other infrastructure could help to address the drought.

On April 15th, the researcher was called back to the village by her assistants to meet at a villager's home with active participants and village committee leaders since the construction of the second deep well had failed and the company could dig no further since they lacked methods to

strengthen the wall of the well. On the other hand, no response had been received from either department of government (the response of the town government was received on 17th indicating that two high-powered pumps had been borrowed by villages in an even worse situation of lack of drinking water).

Whether building an aqueduct from Shui Ling Zi or purchasing a high-powered pump and building tanks, money would be needed. Therefore, it was decided that; on the one hand, Mr. Luo would lead the Village Committee to negotiate with Nan Shan Temple for a donation (the Secretary of the committee refused to talk to Dong Tian Park again since he thought the park had already done its best in providing help) and others were assigned to look for help from Mr. XXX, a successful businessman and a boss of a famous tourist zone in Sanya City who was originally born in the Nan Shan Area. On the other hand, participants would go home to persuade their family members to accept the collection of money from families. The village head was assigned to contact the heads of surrounding villages to meeting the next day to gather some money collectively.

The leaders of the village committee and village heads of nearby villages were all invited to the workshop with nearly 60 villagers on 16th at a classroom to discuss the possibility of raising money to purchase a high-powered pump and to build tanks at villages to transfer water to arable lands. However, the suggestion was turned down completely by the other village heads, even with the mediation of Mr. Luo. However, the collection of money from Ya Zi families was once again refused by most of the Ya Zi villagers at the meeting. Therefore, expectations and efforts were concentrated on borrowing money or asking for donations from the tourist zones or from Mr. XXX.

Mr. Hu, the village head, and Mr. Luo, the secretary of the committee, kept on contacting the managers of Nan Shan Temple and Mr. XXX. Negative responses came quickly on 17th. Mr. Hu called the researcher, who was participating in a workshop at Tang Fang Village, and told her the responses. Mr. XXX refused to talk with the village leaders on the phone and asked his secretary to refuse the request. The manager of Nan Shan Temple refused the request politely. The only good news was that Dong Tian Park offered to lend the villagers all of its 14 pumps. However, pumps would not be much use without water sources.

Diary April 16th: At very beginning, I was disappointed with the villagers since they were reluctant to collect money to solve the problem themselves. If all families at Ya Zi Village contributed equally, merely RMB 450 (Can\$70) was needed from a family which I thought should not have been a big issue. The leaders and villagers of the surrounding villages were selfish and short-sighted too; they had frequently carried water away from the wells of Ya Zi Village when the wells had had water. If water could be channelled to arable land, the surrounding villagers would also save a lot of energy to get water from Shui Ling Zi.

As I shared these ideas with my assistants, I was surprised that they did not agree with me... several hundred RMB was almost equal to a person's monthly salary, they told me, and villagers could not easily give the money. They also explained that while their families all seemed to have a nice annual income, after costs of businesses, management fees, school tuitions, daily costs and many other requirements, not much money was left each year. That was the reason why many young villagers prefer to work for pay. In one of my assistant's words, "they feel that getting payment from a company has no costs; they can get what they have been promised each month. In contrast, sometimes one feels happy about earning a lot from selling vegetables but it costs a lot of money to grow plants..."

Our argument suddenly came to an end and we were all silent when we saw a senior villager crying in his cowpeas – loud and child-like...

I can not stop thinking about what we talked about and saw at the land. I disagree strongly with what my assistants told me – the villagers are lacking foresight: they can earn much more if they save their vegetables by collecting some RMB 450 a family!

Without any other ideas, the researcher used her personal contacts and got in touch with Mr. Yao, the Director of the Water Conservancy Department on 18th to introduce the situation at Ya Zi Village and ask for help. Mr. Yao decided to send two engineers to the village the next day. Mr. Luo received the engineers and showed them around the village and nearby villages to observe the drought situation. The researcher was told afterwards by Mr. Luo that the two engineers also

surveyed nearby watersheds at several places. That evening, the researcher got a call from Mr. Yao and was told that the engineers, to solve the drought temporarily, had decided to dig a deep well based on their field-visit and data and maps at the department.

A professional team with instruments came into the village on 20th and started to investigate a proper site for a well. The secretary of the committee, the village head, the researcher and one of her assistants all accompanied the investigators (Figure 4). During the trip, the engineer who led the team introduced some of their observations to the village leaders:

- (1) Drought is not the problem of only one village; therefore, the solution has to have multiple beneficiaries;
- (2) Channelling water from Shui Ling Zi is unpractical since watershed there is not sufficient to support several more villages;
- (3) Bao Gu Reservoir is too far away to solve the problem on the western side of Nan Shan Mountain;
- (4) A deep well at a proper site is the fastest way to solve the urgent problem. However, no proper site has been found to dig a deep well within the territory of Ya Zi.

Figure 4: Field-investigation of Village to Solve the Problem of Water Insufficiency



The engineers also discussed the work plan of the team:

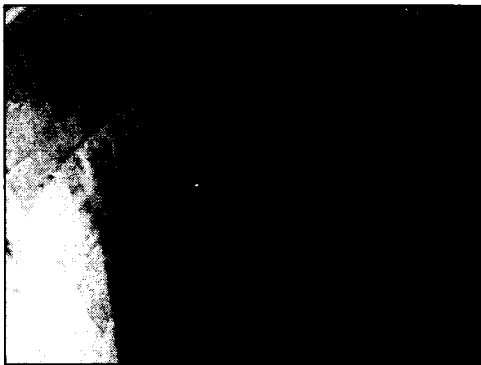
- (1) Digging a deep-well at a joint site of Four-horse One Village, Four-horse Two Village and Ya Zi Village, which will be deep and big enough for the three villages to share;
- (2) Building one tank between the well and Ya Zi arable land to facilitate transferring water since available pumps are not able to pump water to Ya Zi arable land because of the relief. A tank in the sunshine also helps to heat the cool water from a deep well which is healthier for plants (another tank had been built for Four-horse Villages to transfer the water). Villagers then can pump water from the tank to their vegetable land;
- (3) Restoring the local reservoir by paving the bottom; then, the reservoir will be used for more years. The paving material will be decided after a careful examination;
- (4) Examining the drinking wells at the village. (Later on, the team suggested that villagers should clean the wells, especially the sludgy bottom);
- (5) Filling up the huge holes at the vegetable land dug by villagers since they have negative impacts on underground water;
- (6) Sanya City is in process of making an Irrigation Plan. It is a long-term plan to address the drought problem in the Nan Shan Area.

Following the investigation, that evening Mr. Hu called a meeting with all villagers at the open space in front of the office building. He reported the good news that a deep well would be built by a professional team and other decisions made by the Water Conservancy Department. Through the assistants, the researcher knew that villagers decided to help in the construction: young males would be divided into five groups to work with the professional team to move the earth and refill the huge holes in the arable land. Females and children were assigned in turn to send refreshments to the construction site. Moreover, Mr. Hu suggested that villagers should arrange an irrigation schedule for the use of the well with the other villages.

Denouement: To avoid villagers waking up to the fact that the researcher had been deeply

involved in the well drilling issue, she suggested that the collaborative study might be temporarily stopped for two weeks and asked the villagers to excuse her “absence”. She went back once in the early morning of 23rd to observe the progress of the construction and found that no water existed although the well was very deep (Figure 5). However, the researcher was called happily on 26th by one of the assistants and told that a stream had appeared at the well when it had been dug to nearly 50 metres. In the next two days, a big tank was built to store water and to warm it in the sun. Twenty pumps with long pipes were borrowed from Dong Tian Park and the Water Conservancy Department and distributed to the villages. Almost all construction was completed and the team was withdrawn gradually by April 28th. Although the researcher did not show herself in front of villagers for nearly two weeks after the construction, progress on construction, irrigation and the recovery of most vegetables was kept on reported happily to her by the secretary, village head and three assistants. Reminded by her thesis committee members, the researcher requested these five persons to keep secret about her involvement in the issue since they were the only persons who might know from the investigation on 20th.

Figure 5: The Deep Well in Half Construction



Diary May 8th: I did not predict that the discussion on ‘water and reservoirs’ would last several weeks and that various actions had been tried to fight drought during that time. Although there were no obvious negative impacts to the research, the researcher took some actions that went beyond the role of a researcher. This resulted in communication between the researcher and

members of her Doctoral committee on the roles and responsibilities of a researcher in the field:

Suggestions from committee members and reflection on a researcher's role and responsibility at field:

“...I meet a problem in my research... Drought was identified as the most serious problem at Ya Zi Village... the methods... we decided at workshop to fight the drought were all abortive. It was really sad when I saw an old villager crying in his land for his drying vegetables without any hopes to save them... I used my personal contact with the Department of Water Conservancy of Sanya City... I am not pretty sure I did the right thing - I mean I definitely did a right thing as a human being; however, whether I did a right thing as a researcher at field? Will it influence my relationship with the villagers? What I should do if they see me as someone working for the government?” (Excerpt from the researcher's email to her Doctoral Committee Members, April 20th)

“You must feel comfortable with what you are doing - so that you can justify what you are doing to yourself. If you can justify your actions to yourself (which is most important), then you will be able to justify them to others... Do not be surprised that there are difficult challenges - that is the nature of much research and the ‘way of the world’” (Suggestion from a committee member).

“Your dilemma is an interesting one. I think that it is important to be helpful to others whenever we can, as one human being to another. Being a researcher doesn't change that... However, in a village situation, you can create expectations with your actions that can be hard to fulfill. If you do something that helps some people, others will want you to help them also. And, sometimes, if you help people with one thing, the same people then will want you to help them with other things as well. Also, sometimes, if you help by getting government officials involved, some people may become a little suspicious that you are actually working for someone in government... Being helpful can also affect research results - we call it ‘response set’. If people are grateful because you have helped them, or if they are hoping you might help them in the future,

they will try very hard to please you by telling you what they think you want to hear, whether or not it is the truth. If they are suspicious and worried that they cannot trust you, they will only repeat to you official information, which also may be not completely accurate. So, do be careful about 'response set'. And also, be careful about creating too many expectations" (Suggestion from a committee member).

"I am concerned that you may be assuming too active a role in this research setting. Do you see your role as a change agent? When we discussed fieldwork in research methods seminar we looked at Palys's continuum of participant observation, which went from complete observer to complete participant, with intermediate steps as observer-as-participant and participant-as-observer. Where would you currently place yourself on that continuum? Is that where you want to be for purposes of your research? Do you have any options of changing your role at this time? This question of your role with regard to the study participants will become an important part of your thesis methods section. It will be an interesting and important story to tell, but I think you need to give some careful thought to what you want that story to be" (Suggestion from a committee member).

Response: Some methods were taken to stop an open discovery that my personal contacts have been involved in solving the problem of lack of irrigation water at the village. First, not only the researcher, but several village leaders and villagers were invited to accompany the government experts in the fieldtrip to investigate the site for a well and the quality of drinking water at the village. Second, the researcher secretly requested several insiders to keep a secret. Third, the researcher explained to those insiders, including engineers who came from the government department that she knew the department from a cooperation project which built partnerships between several government departments and the university where the researcher studied. Fourth, during the busiest period of constructing the well and tank, the researcher was intentionally absent from the village. Therefore, when I returned to the village in early May, I found villagers treated me

normally and I was made fun by some young villagers: I was absent when villagers were busy at work since “I was lazy”.

It was difficult to recognize and I always had to remind myself during those months of collaborative study at both sites that ‘I am not coming here for saving the world’. I reminded myself that I was a planner and a researcher; what I should do was collecting information, concerns and facts and report facts and information collected at the site to decision makers and provide them with professional recommendations on how to react to the data.

However, I found it was difficult, both in the Master’s and especially now in the Ph.D. research, to try to ignore some of the problems happening at the study sites when I could help but I did not because of being afraid of losing a neutral role as a researcher. I feel regrets about myself many times when I knew I could help my research participants to get better results if some personal contacts could be used. However, I gave up these ideas when I considered that “a researcher should not leave great impacts on a study site”. I worked at some of my study sites for quite long time and made friends with villagers: I ate with them and lived at their homes most of the time. Isn’t it common sense that one should always help friends whenever possible? I feel confused about the academically-regulated role of a researcher.

Even from an academic perspective, a researcher in a participatory study is required to be actively involved in the field situation. As discussed in Chapter 3, researchers suggest that no study can be totally scientifically objective; full immersion is sometimes absolutely necessary when the case is highly context-dependent because a myriad ethnic, political and socio-cultural elements and local mores are involved. As Brown (1995) suggested, a greater-than-normal degree of engagement in the studied cases by researchers is needed in a participatory study. Full immersion of a researcher is also required to be open to the exploration of the research topic, to gain the first-hand information, to learn to behave properly within the communities and to keep rapport with the villagers.

However, there no frame of reference to show what is a ‘proper’ greater-than-normal degree of involvement; therefore, it always in a process of readjustment during the practice of

research. According to professional research ethics, the researcher should keep a neutral role or balance among different social groups who are involved in the study; however, although both government officials and villagers were contacted, they were not on opposing sides in the study. The researcher also had been assigned the role of ‘delegate’ of several government departments to explore the situation in the rural communities. Therefore, from this perspective, getting involved in villagers’ lives was acceptable from the point of view of another social group of participants – government officials. Moreover, bringing tangible benefits through research has long been advocated as a catchword among professional researchers. The fact that I did bring some help to Ya Zi villagers makes me feel less guilty whenever I think about the dangerous situation of Tang Fang villagers which was also first induced by the collaborative study. Furthermore, with the expectation that the research process would continue as a part of life at the villages and that people would adopt it as a method to figure out solutions or actions to mitigate their problems in future, the researcher had the responsibility to help the participants to understand and become familiar with the procedures and ideology of the method. In order to achieve this, one should make the villagers believe that the collaborative study is a product of the village and this product is beneficial.

(4) Workshops on May 6th and 7th, 2005

Workshops were restarted on May 6th at local primary school after the busiest period when families irrigated their lands to save the cowpeas. In these workshops, villagers redefined the discussion themes since more people came to participate. They decided to discuss one theme each time in a sequential process of situation exploration, problem identification, action schedule and practice.

36 villagers came to the workshop on May 6th and they were excited to report the happenings to the researcher since she had been “absent from the village” for quite a while. Participants put up their hands and reinforced each other in describing the process of constructing

the well and tank:

... “On the fourth day, we dug very deep... but still no water came out; I was disappointed...” ...

“The team was capable – they dug fast and well. No collapse happened in the process...”

... “Everyone came to help. Although we did not know the technique, we had strength; we helped to move the earth...”

“People from other villages came to help sometimes...” ...

“Women helped to make some tea.”

“Women and kids also ran back and forth to deliver refreshments...” ...

“People rested but the job did not stop – we worked in turn...” ...

“Some people cried when they saw the water come out...” ...

Some participants shared their knowledge with others about the long-term irrigation plan which was being planned by the Water Conservancy Department. From the engineers who led the construction team, villagers knew that the plan was named the ‘Ji Fang Project’ and that two huge reservoirs would be built in the city and one of them would be located close to Nan Shan Area. Access canals to direct water to communities would eventually help the villages to get rid of the problem of water insufficiency. Although it was said the project was in the process of assessment and it would take years to complete the construction, the villagers were excited about the ‘bright future’ of their vegetable lands. Furthermore, participants expressed their surprise that the government department would help them after they sent their request to ask for help. They also highly valued the effects of ‘working together’; as participants said: “meeting together is powerful to collectively figure out solutions and then everyone works together in the same direction” and “it (working together) is much more effective in removing problems than families each working on their own”. Participants agreed that the discussion on other themes should be continued but they

suggested that the discussion themes should be re-designed since most of the participants had not come to the workshop on April 7th to decide about themes.

Most people who had participated in the previous day's workshop came to the workshop at a classroom on May 7th. All 32 participants were divided into ten groups according to the villagers' suggestion. Then all participants took some role in the workshop as facilitators, timers, conflict-erasers and recorders. Since the process of deciding on themes was quite similar with that used in the workshop on April 7th in which the old set of themes was decided, details are not presented again. After the new set of seven themes was decided, all 31 villagers were given some time to order the themes in term of "urgency". The seven themes were: 1) Water and vegetables; 2) Village (physical) construction (this referred to construction of a primary school, roads, houses and environmental protection); 3) Income generation (referred to jobs and businesses; villagers wanted to look for more opportunities); 4) Education and evening school; 5) Village (environmental) sanitation (referred to village sanitation and latrines); 6) Benefits / improvements from participating in tourism development; 7) Tourism projects at the village (Li cultural performance and making the village into a Li traditional handicraft manufacturing base).

The researcher: "I have a question, why do most of you consider that the themes of 'water' and 'village construction' are more important than the theme of 'income'?"

"I did not think those two are more important than 'income'." ...

"What you told us to do was to order them in term of 'urgency', not 'importance'." ...

"Income is the most important concern at the village, but I am now mainly satisfied with my job and salary. I do not feel it is more urgent to be improved than the drought situation." ...

"You must have a strong impression about those bumpy roads at the village..." (villagers laughed since some of them knew the researcher used to stumbled in the village when she wrote notes while she walked.) ...

"School children running around in our village strongly influence our lives – my grandma complains about it to me almost everyday."

“...Those need to be changed as soon as possible...” ...

Since time was left after deciding on collaborative study themes, discussion on first topic “water and vegetable” was started.

Diary May 6th: I was dumbfounded when villagers indicated their ‘happy surprise’ that a government department would provide help. The village head “explained” that the department came to help because its leading institution happened to recognize the situation in the Nan Shan Area and decided to give a hand; it was not merely because of villagers’ requests. However, it seemed that the new information did not reduce people’s happiness and villagers were satisfied with the support provided by the department for building the well and tank and by Dong Tian Park in lending them many pumps.

(5) Workshop on May 7th and 8th, 2005

In these two workshops, participants identified obstacles and methods associated with fighting long-term drought and scheduled actions in the short- and middle-terms.

During the remaining time on May 7th, participants reported that they might miss the chance when the Northern purchasers come to buy vegetables that year. The researcher found that villagers were much more relaxed than what she expected about missing the opportunity to sell their products wholesale. Villagers decided to sell the vegetables either to greengrocers at Sanya City or at the Sanya Vegetable and Fruit Market. Although the costs might increase, the difference between the retail price and trade price (to Northern purchasers) might help to cover some of the costs. Moreover, participants told the researcher that they were satisfied that the worst circumstance had not happened and that all vegetables had not died. However, the villagers were worried that the region would be continually droughty without typhoons. They considered that methods to prepare for a long-term drought were necessary and this was discussed in the next day’s workshop. On May 8th at the same classroom, 40 villagers came and participants identified problems and obstacles in

fighting long-term drought:

- (1) Drought: lack of typhoon and heavy rain to recharge the underground water.
- (2) Lack of sufficient water storage: useless reservoir (seeping, small size, absence of water).
- (3) Lacking of knowledge about drought-resistant plants.
- (4) Destruction of nearby mountain and green space: seniors always said that the quality of the soil in the area was becoming worse; participants believed it was at least partially because many trees in villages and on the mountains were cut for firewood or by those people who cut valuable trees to sell.
- (5) Waste water in daily life: e.g. used water was just tipped outside, which not only wasted water but also made puddles near residence that harboured mosquitoes.

Based on the understanding of problems the village faced, participants were asked to brainstorm some solutions and schedule some actions. The researcher took the role of overall facilitator and patrolled the group discussions and each group had their own facilitator. She gave ten minutes for participants in groups to write down personal suggestions and ideas. Then people spoke in turn in their groups, either to raise their own ideas or to comment on others' suggestions. Only one point was allowed to be made in one turn and many rounds were taken for participants to express themselves and to comment on others' thoughts. The following are some snippets of groups' discussions:

... "We cannot ask the sky to rain, but we can protect the water (resources) we have." ...

"The villages should organize a supervising team to protect the well (deep well) and tank..."

"If other villages do not participate, we can form a team by ourselves."

"I asked the engineers that the tank be covered to avoid transpiration of water... we should cover our wells to save water like what they did for the tank."

“The wells at the village can be covered, but how to cover the deep well? It is too big to make a cover for it. Even if it is covered, it will be trouble to always open and close it during irrigation.” ...

“We can make a wooden cover with holes in it to let the pipes of the pumps in.”

... “I have a good idea; we can build some simple tanks at the village to store water when it rains!”

“Good, all families can do that to save rain water... I have another idea, our supervising team can also patrol the mountain to stop people cutting the trees...”

“Does the patrol get a salary?” ...

“We can plant more trees. I have some saplings that could not be sold because they are not in an attractive shape. We can plant them at our village or even in the mountain... We will not allow anybody to cut an entire tree as firewood but only cut some branches. I can teach you how to cut branches without hurting a tree.” ...

Group solutions were then reported to all participants and those ideas that were agreed upon are summarized in Table 7 with some details concerning the actions that would be required.

Table 7: The Actions to Prepare for Long-term Drought at Ya Zi Village

Action	Start	Procedure / Elements	Outside Help	Monitoring / Supervising
Saving water in daily life	immediate	Village head announce the decision to villagers at a village meeting.		villagers self-awareness and remind each other
		Main points included: reuse some water, such as used water can be reused to clean the kitchen. Do not tip used water. Use different containers to save water for different uses (villagers usually draw a bucket of water from a well, use half and tip the rest).		

Building a tank or taking big containers to save rain water	immediate	Village head announce the decision to villagers at a village meeting.		villagers' awareness
Covering the wells and future tanks at home	immediate	For the deep well, money for a cover can be acquired from the village committee since money was left from Dong Tian Park's donation.	village committee	villagers' awareness
		It is a voluntary action that families cover their wells. However, the village head will highly recommend the idea at a village meeting.		
Protecting wells at the village and the deep well and tank at the arable land	immediate	Villagers voluntarily clean the wells at home. The village head will highly recommend the idea at a village meeting.	village committee; users at other villages, village heads of other villages	the supervising team (if any problem cannot be solved by the team, the village committee and village heads may provide help)
		A three-person group is formed to inspect the use of the well and tank.		
		Village head discusses this idea with the village committee and announces the decision to all nearby villagers at village meetings.		
		Main points included: use the water according to the schedule. Do not waste the water; turn off the pump after irrigation. Keep the surrounding area of the well and tank clean. Keep the well and tank covered after use. Periodically check the situation of the well and tank.		
Planting some trees in the village or mountain	Labour course of primary school; arbour day	Teaching school children and volunteer villagers the technique of cutting branches without hurting a tree (school children is the main labour force in villages to pick up firewood).		village head and three research assistants will remind them of the activity
		Villagers will plant some trees around the village each year's arbour day.		
		In the first year, villagers will use the saplings from a local garden.		
Protecting the nearby mountain and restoring the previous green spaces in the area	middle-term plan	Get support from the village committee, surrounding villages and two tourist zones. A paid supervisory team is necessary. Collective action to plant trees. Urge the tourist zones to stop purchasing valuable trees if they are found to be cut from the mountain.	village committee, villages, Dong Tian Park and Nan Shan Temple	
Learning more about drought-resistant vegetables	middle-term plan	Ask for advice from experts at evening school, previous instructors and experienced farmers.	Instructors at evening school	
		The researcher suggested trying a famous fruit, prickly pear (<i>Hong Long Guo</i>).	Experienced farmers	
		Seek information from various sources: village library, public library (lack of access), etc.	Other sources	

(6) Workshop on May 11th, 2005

This workshop examined the “physical situation” of the village and then identified problems and methods to improve the situation. The nearby primary school, the situation of village roads and temporary constructions were among the topics discussed and actions were scheduled in the short-, middle- and long-terms.

The discussion of the second issue, “village (physical) construction”, had been planned to take place on May 12th; however, Dong Tian Park decided to hold a celebration party for employees on that day to celebrate receiving 30,000 tourists during the seven-day Labour Holiday from May 1st to 7th. As a result, the workshop was rescheduled to May 11th at the entertainment room. During the workshop, current situations, mainly problems associated with “village (physical) construction” were first identified through brain-typhoons in small groups. Then each group’s facilitator reported the results of their group. The researcher copied the items on a blackboard and all participants compressed related items into groups of problem while she wrote on the blackboard.

“I think ‘school lacks room and facilities’ has the same idea as ‘not enough space for children to play in school’ since the result of these two items is children running in our village and make trouble.” ...

“I think this item (dirty water on roads) should be included in the theme of village sanitation. People tipping water at random results in accumulations of dirty water.”

“The dirty water exists also because of holes in the roads. If we level those roads then the accumulations of dirty water will disappear...” ...

The problems identified under the theme of “village (physical) construction” were:

- (1) School lacked enough space and facilities which led the children running all over the village for fun;
- (2) Most roads at the village are in bad situation, except for a part of the main road from the

entrance of the village to the office building;

(3) Lacked of clean paths around houses – they were usually covered by potholes of dirty water or wild grass which harboured mosquitoes.

(4) Some temporary houses, such as kitchens, were in poor conditions and should be rebuilt;

(5) Some families' wooden kitchens, bathrooms or even animal pens were built beside wells (also for family drinking) and some others were partially built on the roads of the village;

(6) Yards of families were disorderly; instead of valuable trees, most trees in yards were natural shrubbery.

After the origin of the problems had been identified as “lacking of awareness and capital”, participants were then asked to discuss possible solutions. After all the solutions were listed on the blackboard, participants put up a hand to question or comment on any suggested solutions. Once most participants had reached agreement and nobody was unclear about any listed solution, the researcher asked them to identify a schedule and necessary outside help for each solution, as well as someone who would monitor or supervise on the adopted actions. The results of the discussion are summarized in Table 8:

Table 8: Actions to Improve the “Physical Conditions of the Village”

Action	Start	Procedure / Elements	Outside Helps	Monitoring / Supervising
Temporarily open the space in front of the office building (beside the school) to students in daytime.	After getting permission from village committee	Students are not allowed to come into the building. They are not allowed to play ball games there to avoid breaking windows. They cannot play there if the village committee has meetings.	Village Committee, primary school teachers	Headmaster of primary school
Build a simple volleyball site within the school to avoid children playing volleyball in front of office building.	Immediate	Several volunteers erect two posts at the school playground and the net can be borrowed from the village committee to make a simple volleyball site.	Village Committee	Village head

Build simple facilities on the open space in front office building for students.	Short-term	The researcher was assigned to look for some pictures of exercise facilities; and villagers will choose from the pictures to see what they can make for the children.	Village Committee	Village Accountant & three assistants
Leveling a nearby small lot of wasteland as playground for students.	Short-term	Get permission of villagers to use the lot as a playground;	Upper-year students will help leveling the land	Headmaster of the school
		Level the land and clear the wild grass;		
		Reconstruct school wall to include the land inside the school.		
Require school to regulate students to stop playing inside the village and damaging public or household facilities	Short-term	Mr. Gao, headmaster of the primary school, agrees to discuss the issue with teachers who will help to control students' behaviour.	Primary school and its teachers	Village head
Clean village paths	Middle-term	Get agreement among all villagers.	Dong Tian Park (borrow tools)	Village head
Level village roads	Long-term	Although villagers can provide labour, machines, e.g. a road roller, are needed. Therefore, villagers must agree either to collect money or get support from village committee or other sources.	Village Committee; Dong Tian Park or other sources	Village Committee
Dismantle or rebuild temporary structures on the road, in poor condition or near the wells.	Long-term	Some small or wooden ones can be easily dismantled and rebuilt at another site. Participants agreed to help each other in construction. However, for brick houses, it will take longer to persuade owners to rebuild them. Introducing the negative impacts to human health of having insanitary temporary constructions beside the drinking-wells.		Village head
Plant some fruit trees in yards (learn from Tang Fang)	Long-term action	Step-by step action: enhance awareness among villagers; people would like to purchase fruit trees saplings; time is needed for trees to grow.		Self-awareness

Diary May 11th: It is nice that participants suggested cleaning the roads and removing temporary constructions at the village. However, a collective agreement of all villagers at Ya Zi is needed: an agreement only among the leaders of the village and these non-family-head adults cannot ensure actions. The village does not have communal money. Money is then needed to be collected from families. I doubt that this is practical since villagers even refused to collect money to

water their vegetables. It is necessary to discuss these actions with all villagers and gather their opinions. I may suggest that the village head call a village meeting to share the solutions decided during the collaborative study with all villagers at Ya Zi; besides, it may help other villagers to track what we do during the collaborative study.

Village leaders (head, his assistant and headmaster) noted all recommended actions as a reference for their future work. One of the assistants who is able to use a computer will type and print notes for the leaders.

Village leaders are trusted by their villagers and they have been designated to supervise most of the actions. I believe that they are the proper persons to guide future actions since from daily contacts I know that these people have great enthusiasm to improve their home village. However, I also believe that a larger involvement of general villagers will enhance their enthusiasm in taking actions if they feel they have some input. I will talk with village leaders on this issue.

(7) Workshop on May 14th, 2005

In this workshop, villagers expressed their satisfaction with tourism-related jobs at Dong Tian Park and various businesses. However, some problems still existed, such as few job opportunities at companies outside the park. A very valuable method was raised and approved by most participants – a collective resume for all suitable-aged villagers who needed a job.

Four groups were divided to discuss the theme of “jobs and businesses” at the entertainment room. The researcher thought that this should be the hottest topic in the workshop series since it was closely related to household income. Therefore, she prepared some large pieces of paper in case the blackboard was too small to record all comments; however, she was surprised to find that the first round discussion was unexceptional. Participants did not raise constructive comments with respect to employment and businesses. Considering it might have been because 11 out of 16 village participants worked at Dong Tian Park where they might have satisfying jobs, the researcher

encouraged the participants to think beyond their own situation and to recall other villagers' comments and concerns in the conversations that they had had during their daily living at the village. Therefore, another round of brain-typhoon was undertaken: participants took another half an hour to exchange ideas in separate groups and then reported their results to rest of participants:

Facilitator one: "Our group thinks that we have a small proportion of villagers working at Dong Tian Park since it has limited positions. More jobs are needed for our villagers. Especially, we rarely get jobs at Nan Shan Temple; this should be improved."

Facilitator two: "Our group suggests that some souvenir or fruit stalls may be operated at the entrance of the park without paying a management fee to the park... We all know that other villagers operate similar types of businesses beside Nan Shan Temple which often have been interrupted by the temple. We think that we have to negotiate with the park and get the manager's permission to avoid offending him."

Facilitator three: "...Our group members considered that operating business costs lots of energy but the returns are not very high..." ...

"... Those people do not earn much from selling things to tourists at the entrance of Nan Shan Temple." ...

The researcher: "Do you mean that business was not as profitable as salaries from working at companies?"

"Working for the park does not need to be as uncertain as operating a business; as well, the salary is nice." ...

"Although those businesses contracted from the park are also stable, they are low in return; for example, the money XXX earned from washing clothes for the park is much lower than my salary. Most other businesses not working with the park do not even have a stable return. My uncle (a partner of the garden) has not sold even one plant for over two months."

"XXX (operating a motorcycle-repair store) repaired few motorcycles last month." ...

“Villagers do not want to leave home very far to do business, and then they have limited customers.”

“Although my salary is not very high, I get stable money every month...”

... “Businesses with tourists are more profitable; but XXX said his family did not get much after paying the management fee...”

“...Doing business is risky sometimes; the burning incense (some villagers at other villages sell incense at the entrance to Nan Shan Temple or along the main road to tourist zones) can be stored at home if it is not sold for a while, but fruits or foods cannot be stored. One of my friends told me that his family ate fruits as meals when his mother could not sell them...” ...

“However, operating a business at least has one important advantage: anyone can do business, even females and seniors can; but we cannot get a job.” ...

Two categories of problem were then identified by participants: lack of opportunities to do business that took advantage of but that was outside the management of the park (at the entrance of the park but with no need to pay a management fee) and lack of employment outside of Dong Tian Tourist Zone. The discussion about solutions was undertaken with all participants in one group since the researcher was asked to introduce income-generation activities at other villages that she studied at Ya Long Bay, Tian Ya Hai Jiao and Boao Tourist Zones. Participants were asked to put up a hand to question or comment on any idea she raised. Participants expressed a great interest in the job of “caddie” since the tips from guests were high and the Sun-rising Golf Resort was merely four kilometres away from the village. Moreover, as the researcher introduced, both males and females worked as “caddies” at many resorts. Since the researcher thought that villagers would be interviewed before any job would be provided, she suggested that participants could conduct a role-play in a simple drama to prepare for an employment interview, for example for applying a position as a “caddie”. However, villagers explained that, based on their experience, “meeting with a director” meant that acquisition of a job. Therefore, villagers did not need to be interviewed to get

a job; instead, acquisition of a job mainly depended on a recommendation by someone in the company who was familiar with applicant. Although the applicant's educational or working experiences were essential in judging whether a job would be provided, the information was introduced, mainly orally, by a recommender to a director. Sometimes, if a recommender had a good reputation or had good performance in work, a job would be provided to a person who had been recommended without a meeting with a director. Therefore, a key for a villager to get a job did not merely depend on whether the person had a strong educational or working experience but also depended on whether the applicant knew someone at a workplace who could recommend him. That was also the reason why villagers concentrated on some workplaces and why no-one worked in some other workplaces. For example, knowing few people at the nearby golf resort, villagers could not get jobs there. The researcher then suggested looking for methods to self-recommend since she thought that many villagers did have educational and working experiences sufficient to compete with many Han people who worked at golf resorts in Sanya City.

“If we recommend ourselves for a job, with whom should we talk?”

The researcher as the general facilitator: “That is a question we can put on the blackboard.” ...

“What we should prepare to recommend ourselves?” ...

The facilitator: “Okay, let me switch the question this way: what you will say to a director if you want to recommend one of your friends to a position?”

“I will say he had some school education. He studied well at schools.”

“I may say he used to work at some places and he had good working performance...”

“I will say he is a good person and always works hard...” ...

The facilitator: “Okay, all of these should be included when you recommend yourself for some job...”

“But with whom we should speak? Those directors are not people you can meet when you

want.”

“I do not believe we will have a chance to recommend ourselves to anyone ... Without my friend who introduced me to the park, there was nobody there I could talk to...”

...

The researcher: “We may not have to meet them in person, but we can show them in writing!”

“What is that?” (various voices)

The researcher: “A resume. We write resume for applying for a job. Within it, one highly praises oneself in terms of educational experiences, working experiences, training experiences etc. ... We then mail the resume to someone who is in charge of recruitment and wait for a response...”

“We can try this, I heard of it at school...”.

“Do we have many things to praise ourselves for?” (various voices)

“Will a company read many letters from one village for some jobs or even one job?”

“We can have a collective resume for villagers who want to have that job...”

... “Yes, we have computers at the library and we can add some people or take out some people for a job application easily. We can mail the resume to many companies where opportunities for recruitment exist.”

The researcher: “Brilliant idea! With a computer, you can update the personal information when things change; for example... Moreover, as far as I know, many companies, especially tourism-related companies, recruit a group of workers when they call on application – I have never heard that, for example, a golf resort announces to look for one caddie in employment recruitment. Therefore, a collective resume will be a good way to sell our villagers.”

“We shall tell others about this as soon as possible; people will like this idea...” ...

“The name ‘resume’ sounds awful; we can call it...” ...

“How about ‘personnel introduction’...”

Since all village leaders were absent at the workshop that afternoon because of a committee meeting, two suggestions under the theme of “jobs and businesses” - preparing a “personnel introduction” for all suitable villagers to apply for jobs and operating some stalls outside the park - did not reach agreement on schedule. The researcher and three assistants were assigned to report the solutions to village leaders when they were back from the meeting. In the evening, at a small-scale meeting with village leaders, it was decided that “personnel introduction” should include a cover letter, introduction of villagers’ personal information and the village head’s home and mobile phone contacts. Moreover, village leaders were suggested to keep on calling a company to track responses after the “personnel introduction” had been mailed out. However, the leaders suspected that the park would not agree with the second suggestion but the village head promised to discuss the issue with the park manager.

Approval to prepare a collective “personnel introduction” was reached after the village head announced the idea among villagers at a village meeting on May 28th. His assistant and three research assistants (who were the best educated persons at the village and able to use a computer) voluntarily took the job to draft the introduction. It was suggested by the researcher in advance that every villager who wanted to look for a job and those who might wish to quit their existing jobs should write a simple personal introduction including information on name, gender, age, educational experiences (years of school with specific school information), training experiences (type and period of training and specific places where trained) and working or business experiences. The editing team collected the information from villagers and organized each person’s information in order of numbers of strokes of the surnames. Villagers decided that RMB 10 (Can\$1.5) would be required for entering the personal information into a computer, RMB 1 (Can\$0.15) to update the information and RMB 1 (Can\$0.15) for submitting the file to a company. The money collected would be spent on printing and submitting the introduction. The assistant of the village head was

assigned to keep the money and another villager who used to study accounting at a technical school was assigned to keep a written account. The village head and the three research assistants would review the account and liquidate cash once a month. When completed on July 21th, the “introduction” included 143 persons’ information. As far as the researcher knew before she left the study site, two copies were mailed out: one to the Sun-rising Golf Resort and one to Nan Shan Temple. However, the researcher lacked further information about the results of submitting the “personnel introduction”.

Diary May 14th: A “personnel introduction” is a creative idea to recommend villagers to companies where villagers had no previous contacts. It can be tried in many other villages if it is effective at Ya Zi. I should bring this idea to Tang Fang Village since it has many young people needing jobs... However, without a computer and someone to operating it, it will be really hard for a village to prepare an up-to-date introduction since once it has been completed, it would be hard to modify it often. Dependence on private typing and printing companies will increase costs among villagers...

(8) Workshop on May 14th and 15th, 2005

During these two days, villagers identified problems associated with participation in formal education and in the evening school program. Since most of the suggestions in improving the situation went beyond the ability of the village to implement, information reported to the school board and village committee to seek assistance.

Since the discussion on the theme of “jobs and businesses” was completed earlier than expected, after a break, time was left to proceed to the fourth theme: “education and evening school”. Although understanding that proportion of Ya Zi villagers who had had formal school education was high and some villagers had good educational experiences, the researcher suggested the addition of “formal school education” as a discussion point in the knowledge that many obstacles existed that discouraged participation in formal school education at normal rural,

especially Li minority communities. She wondered how Ya Zi Village and other rural communities in the Ya Cheng area overcame these obstacles? Since villagers reported having no problem with the formal education situation, they suggested not dividing into groups and that anyone with anything to say could raise a hand and speak.

Participants were proud that their village committee had a high quality school that provided villagers chance to have successful primary school education; almost all of the younger generation and most males of the eldest generation had received primary school education. Some of the villagers in the Nan Shan area had completed higher education, including college or even university education. They mentioned that people in Ya Cheng area highly valued school education and educated people. Families, even under pressure of lack of money, would use their limited resources to preferentially support their children, especially males, to go to school. In villages in the area, those who had not had completed primary school were laughed at. Therefore, the researcher concluded that the area had a deep respect for education which was different from many rural, especially minority, communities. She then introduced a common situation at many rural places: the quality of teaching was very low. She provided the example of Tang Fang Village where primary school teachers asked the children to work the land in school time instead of having classes. Participants were in an uproar when they heard about it and they told the researcher that teachers of the nearby primary school were mainly locally born but received their education at other places and came to teach at the school after some years of working elsewhere. Therefore, people with rich educational and working experiences came to teach at the primary school and this helped the children to build up a good foundation for future higher levels of education. Moreover, although the school lacked facilities, it had never lacked teachers. Young participants at the workshop expressed a willingness to teach at the school after they would work elsewhere for some years, since villagers who were invited to teach at the school regarded it as an honour and were respected in the area. Then the researcher asked why there was no female teacher at the school and she pointed out that even the music teacher was a gentleman. The question “stirred up a nest of hornets”; a controversy was raised between male and female participants and, on one occasion, participants forgot that they

were expected to speak in turn after putting up a hand:

... “Many of my female friends at the village stopped studying because of lack of money for tuition while, at the same time, the boys still went to school.”

“...only boys get full support for education from families. If money is insufficient, the girls will be by-passed to let the boys continue.” ...

“But your father supported you (referring to a young lady in workshop) to finish junior middle school.”

“I insisted on continuing after two years’ dropout. Could I still go to high school at my age when I graduated from middle school? My youngest brother was then one-year grade higher than me and now he is at college...”

... “How can we females get an offer to teach at the primary school? Too many males have much higher education than us...” ...

“That is also the reason why your males can easily get jobs at the park and the park does not want females of our village – since we do not have as much as education as what you have.”

“But XXX (one of my research assistants) almost has the highest education at our village... Hence, it is not true that all girls could not go to school.”

“But most of us could not, right?” ...

Although the controversy was quickly quelled by the conflict-erasers, the researcher decided to group the participants by gender in next day’s workshop to avoid future controversy. During the rest of the time, the researcher suggested that solutions to the unbalanced accessibility to school opportunities by gender should be discussed. However, no solutions were reached since participants agreed that “males in a family should have the priority to go to school” (11 males and 3 females out of 11 males and 5 females) and “it is important for men of a family to have advanced education²” (11 males and 5 females). However, they also agreed that “more young females should have

accessibility to advanced education if a family has money available” (8 males and 5 females) and “educated females can get jobs which also help to enhance families’ income” (6 males and 4 females). Some participants disagreed since they considered that females should mainly work at home.

May 15th, the second day, female and male participants were each divided into two groups at the entertainment room. Discussion occurred on problems associated with evening school and the facilitator of each group reported the results to participants. Many participants raised their hands during groups’ reports since they wanted to question or add ideas. The researcher asked them to write down brief notes and to expect to speak after all groups had reported their discussion results. All the “problems” were written on the blackboard and participants made their comments.

“I disagree with the point that the courses were dry and filled with trivial details... The knowledge of laws is inherently dry. It was not the instructors’ problem...” ...

“... I agree with the point since many examples the instructors raised in their lectures were far away from our lives... Remember a business instructor taught us business opportunities? He raised an example of “Little Mobile Phone Company (*xiao ling tong*) competing with China Telecom and China Unicom in the cell phone market... Why did he raise that example? We do not operate a telephone business...” ...

“But raising examples made the lectures more lively, I think. ... Instructor XXX who gave us a tourism lecture – three hours of definitions and numbers – absolutely made no sense to me. I almost dozed there...” ...

“... I have not had the chance to have courses at evening school... I am afraid that I will not be included in the list for the third term since the school will open to other villages...” ...

“It was not fair for those villagers who have better education to be registered in the first two terms and those who have relatively less school educational were not...”

The researcher: “What does that mean, would you mind explaining?”

“Committee leaders and the village head selected ² those villagers with the highest school experiences in the first two terms to take courses at evening school...” ...

“The village head said it was hard to decide who should take courses first; therefore, whoever was aged between 16 and 40 and had the highest school education were preferentially selected in the first two terms...”

... “Those who have high school education can easily get jobs... If they still come to compete with us for the evening school opportunity, it will be even harder for us to get jobs...”

“Those who have higher education can get jobs even without an experience at a village evening school.”

“Of course we need to take the courses. We did not take courses on law or computers at high school; but those are necessary nowadays for applying for a job...” ...

The argument was hot which made the process of “problem” identification continue for a long time. Many other interesting “problems” associated with the evening school program emerged. Solutions to mitigate or eliminate these problems were discussed afterwards as one group. However, many problems were related to program design, course design or the style of lectures and these could not be solved by the villagers themselves. Since some of the villagers knew that the researcher was involved in the evening school program at Dong Tian Park, she was assigned to report the problems to the school board in charge of the program.

Table 9: Problems at Evening School Program and Possible Solutions

Problem	Action	Outside Help
The opportunity to take courses for Ya Zi villagers will be greatly reduced if the school is opened to all surrounding villages.	At least the third term should be held for only Ya Zi villagers.	The evening school board, the committee leaders.
The lectures were not strongly relevant to village life.	The theories and definitions were not necessary. Moreover, villagers want to learn what other people who have similar situation do at other places to improve their lives.	The evening school board, the park and instructors.

Limited numbers of students can take courses each term.	Open courses to the public – except those courses needing equipment (such as computer), the rest can be opened to whoever want to participate.	The evening school board, the park, the committee leaders.
The fieldtrip was not sufficient during each term.	A fieldtrip is a nice opportunity to increase practical knowledge; hence, more fieldtrips should be arranged.	The evening school board, the park, the committee leaders.
Not every course is necessary for all students e.g. Not everyone is interested in animal raising or vegetable planting but those were required courses.	Students can stay at those courses which they are interested in and leave at those courses which are not necessary for them.	The evening school board, the park, the committee leaders.
Some new courses should be included, such as planting drought-resistant vegetables and fruits and planting tropical flowers (the latter was raised from a fieldtrip to visit a tropical flower-base in Sanya City).		The evening school board, the park.
Evaluation of graduation was unclear or even not fair since some students were disinterested in agricultural courses which influenced their overall evaluation.	The marks for exams, workshops and fieldtrips should be separately reported to students, instead of giving a total mark.	The evening school board.
The priority of having courses is given to those who have highest education.	The villagers who have less education should be included in the program first to facilitate their application for jobs.	The evening school board, the committee leaders.
Workshops at the school were dry and people of the park who were invited by the school board to lead the workshops did not understand the process.	Villagers can lead future workshops at the school since they "have more practice". Students should introduce at workshops what they have learned from courses and indicate the most important knowledge to impress other students on those specific issues.	The evening school board.
Fulfillment of what had been promised by the park that jobs or funds would be given to those excellent graduates as an encouragement. Funds were provided quickly, but jobs were slowly materialized.	The jobs should be given as rapidly as possible.	The evening school board, the park, the committee leaders.
Not many females were included in the first two terms.	Females should have an equal opportunity with males to take these free courses.	The committee leaders.
The villagers elder than 40 years old were excluded from the school program; but many villagers older than 40 plant vegetables and raise animals which were taught at school.	The villagers who are elder than 40 should also be included in the program.	The evening school board, the committee leaders.
Field-practice was limited.	More field-practice should be included in vegetable planting and animal raising types of courses.	The evening school board, the park and instructors.

Diary May 15th: Many valuable ideas were raised in today's workshop. The collaborative study can be seen to influence the villagers strongly; they get used to a process of brainstorming problems under a theme and looking for solutions. More importantly, villagers feel comfortable

about workshops and are confident to take charge of future workshops at evening school. I do not doubt about that several competent facilitators are now trained from our collaborative study, especially the three assistants. I can imagine that compared with park staff with no workshop experience, although they are Master's, villagers who frequently participated in the collaborative study are more familiar with the procedures and principles...

Diary May 17th: It was stated clearly in the plan that students should be preferentially selected for evening school from poor and less educated families; obviously the village leaders did not follow this. I should report this to the vice-manager of park who is responsible for the program and he can talk with the village leaders to pay attention to this in the third term...

It is fairly understandable that instructors gave lectures which were not very relevant to village lives. On the one hand, they lacked experience about rural lives. On the other hand, most of them did not get much money from the program since it was mainly voluntary service. School teachers or university professors would not bother to modify their lectures which they had long used at schools... It is hard to require the instructors to modify their style of teaching; however, the problem could be mentioned in advance to instructors to encourage them to consider the issue in preparing lectures...

Actually, I do believe the business instructor raised a nice example of the "little mobile phone company" to explain that a small company can compete with a huge enterprises to snatch a market which may be overlooked (The "little cell phone company is led by some young university graduates in China. The company got a huge market by creating a new short-distance cell-phone when China Telecom and China Unicom fought heavily about the regular mobile phone market. Although the effective area for the "little cell phone" is much smaller than the regular cell phone, its low price and low service fee attract many Chinese users. It is a valuable illustration that villagers may exploit their own opportunities in tourism development which might be overlooked by the two powerful companies nearby... I will discuss this with villagers during workshop breaks.

Denouement: With respect to the evening school program, since the third term would start

in two months and there was not enough time to contact more instructors or change the course framework substantially, it was decided that the third term classes would follow the previous course design. However, the selection of students would base on the stipulated criteria and the student list would be reviewed and approved by the school board. Fifty students would include 30 males and 20 females according to a rough gender proportion at the village committee. Ya Zi villagers who could self-recommend themselves in advance would be in charge of workshops. However, workshops would still be evaluated by the board. The age category for selecting students for the third term would be changed to 16 – 45.

In the fourth term, the courses on eco-village construction (see next workshop) and drought-resistant vegetables and fruits would be included. However, no suitable instructors had yet been found to teach flower planting. Moreover, after the fourth term, it will be considered to divide the class into two separate ones: one mainly for agriculture-related courses, such as vegetable planting and animal husbandry, and the other to teach modern courses, such as computer and businesses. For the agriculture-related class, the age of the students would become flexible. For the other class, English would be considered to be added to the course list.

(9) Workshop on May 27th and 28th, 2005

The workshops on May 27th and 28th at the entertainment room were among the most fruitful discussions in the collaborative study since the conversation on unsanitary conditions gave rise to an interest in the concept of eco-village. The discussion attracted a large amount of participants who came from the majority of the families in the village. The discussion theme, when first decided by participants on May 7th, was “village sanitation” in which participants referred to clean garbage, wild grass, puddles and drainage channel, as well as to renovate the open-air latrine which was actually a cesspit and had no specific way to treat excrement. Since merely 11 villagers came to workshop on May 27th, the group was not divided. The identified problems and solutions are summarized in Table 10:

Table 10: Problems Associated with Village Sanitation and Possible Solutions

Problem	Action	Schedule
Bad sanitation situation at the village	Spring-cleaning.	Start soon
	Starting cleaning wild grass, puddles and drainage channel.	Start soon
	Families clean areas surrounding their houses weekly.	Start soon
	Cleaning the public areas by families in turn (learned from Tang Fang's experience).	Start soon
Latrine at the village	Build a grass roof for the latrine.	Start soon
	Use insecticide to kill flies and larva.	Start soon
	Clean the cesspit (pay company to do this).	Middle-term
	Build covered septic tank for the latrine.	Middle-term
Lack of family washroom facilities	Families should build their own washrooms at home and clean them daily.	Long-term
Lack of sanitation awareness, e.g. someone excrete anywhere at the village; garbage thrown randomly.	Raise sanitation awareness.	Start soon
	Ask the nearby school to regulate its students.	Start soon
	All have a responsibility to disclose disordered activity to village leaders and culprits will be named publicly at village meeting.	Start soon
Waste of natural resources, such as water and land; e.g. wasteland at Ya Zi but other villages have even more wasteland.	Raise awareness of saving water and protecting wells, deep well and tank. Do not waste used water.	Start soon
	Plant more trees at wasteland or reusing lots of for plant (most given up because of low fertility or distance from water).	Middle-term
	Getting seeds of trees which will easily grow on wasteland.	Middle-term
	Negotiate with villages with much wasteland to re-vegetate areas.	Middle-term
Not many trees at the village (mainly shrubs)	Plant more trees at village and protect existing ones. Replacing shrubs by trees gradually.	Middle-term
Cutting trees as firewood	Do not waste firewood.	Start soon
	Do not cut an entire tree as firewood; try not to hurt the tree when cutting branches.	Start soon
	Young and healthy people use cold water to bathe.	Start soon
	Look for something to replace firewood.	Middle- or long-term

The idea of replacing firewood in cooking or other daily uses to protect the forest on Nan Shan Mountain induced an association with eco-villages that some participants had learned at evening school.

“We need something to replace firewood if we are to stop cutting trees on the mountain.”

The researcher: “What can be used to replace firewood, as far as you know?”

... “Urban residences use canned compressed gas...”

“We cannot afford it.”

“It is almost RMB 50 (Can\$8) for a can.”

“Nobody will deliver the cans to rural area if only several families use it...” ...

The researcher: “What does Dong Tian Park use in its restaurant?”

“They use compressed gas which is bought at Ya Cheng Town; but they have cars to transport it between the town and the park.”

The researcher: “If families agree to use the compressed gas, can we ask help from the park to transport the cans to us?”

... “Too expensive.”

“We cannot always bother the park for everything... They have no obligation to help us; if we bother them too much, they will not help us on some urgent things.” ...

“Biogas, remember, XXX, Teacher XXX used to mention that villagers use biogas for cooking and illumination...”

“What is biogas?”

“A gas generated from excrement. The teacher mentioned it as a part of activities to build an eco-village somewhere around Tian Ya Town. The village built a biogas tank and used the excrement of human beings and animals to generate biogas. Biogas can be used to replace firewood in cooking and it is free...”

“Little Yang, do you know about biogas or eco-villages?”

The researcher: “Not really. But I also heard that some so called eco-villages use biogas which is generated from some trash in a very easy way. One of my school-mates used to research

somewhere in Hainan about eco-villages. If I am right, I remember that villagers have much better lives after they participated in some eco-village projects. But I cannot remember the details.”

... The researcher: “If you like, I can check the information from internet. I believe that rich information can be found from the internet about eco-villages and biogas tanks...”

“Alright, we can learn it tomorrow... All information about eco-villages should be checked out... We should check those projects that are helping villages to improve...” (various voices)

Diary May 27th: three assistants, the village head and some active participants were invited to stay after the workshop to discuss the next day’s workshop. After a small meeting, we went to prepare for it separately. Taking advantage of the office facilities of Dong Tian Park, the researcher and one of her assistants downloaded some information about eco-villages, biogas tanks etc. Information was obtained in part from the following websites:

Construction of Biogas Tank <http://ncny.hljagri.gov.cn/syjs/002.htm>

Security Management of Biogas Tank http://www.agrilh.cn/lhagri/list.asp?news_id=146

The Eco-village Construction in Hainan Province <http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter>

Yu Huan: Get Rid of Open-air-cesspit. <http://www.zj.xinhuanet.com/magazine/4110892.htm>

At the same time, one assistant led some active participants to visit all families to announce the next day’s workshop and to encourage them to send someone to participate it. Mr. Hu, the village head, with the help of one assistant, organized his notes on “decided actions” from previous workshops and was prepared to call a village meeting to persuade villagers to conduct some of the “solutions”. Also, the researcher called Mr. Luo, the Secretary of village committee, and invited him and his colleagues to participate in the next day’s workshop. It was already midnight when most things were settled and the researcher and her assistants got together at Mr. Hu’s home to report on the preparation for the next day’s workshop. The five persons also reviewed Mr. Hu’s speech outline for village meeting on the next night.

It was surprising that villagers raised the idea of eco-villages. The assistants told me after the workshop that they learned it from evening school and they were taught some basic elements about building an eco-village, such as green space, recycling of resources, effective resource use, biogas tanks etc. and the huge economic and environmental benefits that resulted from eco-village construction. All three of them agreed that an eco-village was an attractive idea to attempt at Ya Zi.

The workshop on May 28th started in the early afternoon at the entertainment room just after some villagers had quickly finished lunch after working a half-day at Dong Tian Park. The village head wanted to hold a village meeting that evening if the villagers could have an early dinner. About 80 villagers came to workshop. There were insufficient chairs and many villagers had to stand. Regular group discussions could not be conducted because of the large number of participants. Therefore, the researcher invited the three research assistants to read the downloaded information about eco-villages, biogas tanks and the improved situations at those villages where the projects of eco-village construction had been conducted, especially the examples from Hainan Province. The researcher mentioned to all participants that questions could be raised during the reading of the articles to clarify ideas. She also stated that after all information had been introduced, participants could recommend some of the ideas if they felt that they would be valuable to practice at Ya Zi. For each of the ideas, all participants would have a chance to comment and, at the end, participants could vote that whether an idea would be adopted or not. If more than half of the participants agreed to an idea, the village head would take note of it and discuss it at the village meeting as a formal choice for actions. Before reading the articles on eco-villages, the researcher introduced all the problems that had been identified concerning “village sanitation” from the previous day’s workshop to introduce to all participants why the “eco-village” topic had been raised in collaborative study.

The workshop was somewhat disorderly since sometimes people argued and this could not be stopped by one conflict-eraser. Sometimes villagers started to speak in Li dialect and sometimes participants jumped from topic to topic. However, some agreements were reached to build an

eco-village at Ya Zi and even in the broader area under the jurisdiction of Nan Shan Village Committee (Table 11).

Table 11: Solutions and Actions in the Construction of an Eco-village

Solutions	Comments	Actions
Yard economy	"I think planting areca on yards and on wasteland is a good idea. XXX just read that an areca tree can generate 25kg fruits..."	1) Village Committee agreed to lead the actions of applying for funds, calling for support from the town or even city government
	"Betel nut has good market price; 25kg can earn RMB 175 (Can\$25) or more at a market."	
	"XXX just read that an areca tree does not need much water to grow."	
	"Who knows how much it costs to buy a young areca tree?"	
Biogas tank	"Biogas is useful for us; as in the article, the gas can be used for fire and illumination and the waste can be used as high-quality fertilizer."	2) Lobby the other villages to act collectively to facilitate applications for funding from government.
	"...Especially if it can be generated from wastes which we have a lot at the latrine..."	
	"We prepared some designs for different types of biogas tank (they were passed to villagers while the articles were read)."	
	"It seems that the construction of the tank is not very hard..."	
	"I still cannot understand how to use gas for cooking?"	
Afforestation	"We need to seek more information on this. We should ask the evening school to open a course on it."	3) Seek capital, technical and other support from any possible source. 4) Ask Dong Tian Park for capital and technical support.
	"I support the idea to plant more trees at the village; we can plant areca trees..."	
	"I like the idea that more trees and flowers can be planted around the latrine to make it look better..."	
	"I have an idea: our middle school used to plant pawpaw trees around the student latrine. The fruits of pawpaw grow big and beautiful."	
Sanitation	"We can plant some flowers beside our village roads after we level and clean them."	5) Lobby Nan Shan Temple for capital and technical supports. 6) Contact the teachers who mentioned eco-villages at evening school, especially the one who came from Tian Ya Town.
	"... Village spring-cleaning is necessary for us to remove garbage, wild grass and dirty water in the village."	
	"I suggest not cleaning our latrine at present; if the biogas tank can be built very soon, we need something to put in the tank." "Do not be stupid, if we cannot build the tank in a year, will we still not clean the latrine!"	
	"Remember an article that mentioned that an eco-village zoned two areas for garbage and firewood which made the village look tidy? We can regulate a garbage area."	
	"We can discuss with the park whether the garbage car that takes away their garbage can also comes to our village and take garbage away once a week."	
	"An article said feeding some animals together can reduce costs; such as raising ducks and several kinds of fishes together; then some fishes can be fed with the wastes of others."	7) Request a new course about

Animal-raising	"When we do not need the reservoir after we get water from other sources, we can change the reservoir to a big pool to raise fishes and ducks... Our village then will become a real Ya Zi Village (the Chinese Ya Zi refers to duck)."	eco-villages or biogas tank construction to the evening school board.
	"Some of the animal pens, especially sties, should be moved away from wells. They pollute the water we drink..."	
Using of solar energy	"Solar energy can be used to heat water for baths, which can also save firewood."	
	"This area has nothing except strong sunshine."	

Diary May 28th: the workshop was completed around 5.00 p.m. Mr. Hu plans to organize a village meeting in the classroom of the nearby school at 7:00pm. Mr. Hu, Mr. Luo, Mr. Gao (the Headmaster of the primary school), the three assistants, and I reviewed the note once again to make sure that all solutions decided upon during previous workshops were included in Mr. Hu's speech outline. I will have to leave since I need to prepare the next day's workshop and Mr. Hu and my assistants will call and tell me about the results of the village meeting.

The village meeting went smoothly and I was told that over a hundred people went to the meeting... Most of the ideas generated from workshops were agreed on by over half of the villagers, such as preparing "personnel introduction", saving water and firewood, protecting the deep well and tank, opening the open space in front of the office building to primary school students, leveling a nearby lot to enlarge the playground at the school, village spring-cleaning, cleaning the area around each house, cleaning the common area by families in turn (the families were grouped; however, they refused to clean the latrine) etc. However, some actions which required the expenditure of a small amount of money were refused by some villagers, such as building tanks at each family to store rain water, making covers for home wells and build a roof for the latrine. Some other ideas, although not needing money to implement, were refused, such as young and healthy people not using hot water for shower. The idea that faced the greatest opposition was removing temporary constructions, such as kitchens, bathrooms and pet houses that had been built at improper sites... However, Mr. Hu promised that he would visit families to persuade them to accept more ideas. It would be very important that the village should have some collective money which could be used on common activities.

(10) Workshop on May 29th, June 1st and 2nd, 2005

During these workshops, participants discussed “empowerment through participation” and possible opportunities associated with tourism development. Feasibility of establishing a minority handicraft manufacturing base project was emphasized in discussions which would guide future implementation.

Thirty-seven villagers came to the workshop in the afternoon on May 29th at the entertainment room. According to the participants’ suggestion, they were divided into ten groups and all participants took at least one role as a facilitator, timer, conflict-eraser or recorder. Under the theme of “benefits from tourism”, the researcher suggested that some time should be devoted to discussing “improvements (empowerment) from participating in tourism development” and “losses from participating in tourism development”. She emphasized that besides tangible changes on economic, social and cultural aspects, psychological changes should be considered and she took “self-esteem” as an example of a psychological change. A research assistant was invited to record main points of comments on the blackboard and they were categorized under groups of “indicators” by all participants. The researcher wrote “indicators” with their additional “comments” on big pieces of paper. After all comments had been grouped into “indicators”, “criteria” were then summarized by all participants by grouping the identified “indicators”.

Facilitator One: “Our group also thinks that the village now has some places to ask for help when facing difficulties. For example, the park lent us all its water pumps (for the villagers to pump water from the deep well to tank then to their lands).”

The researcher: “Alright, may we put this item under a category named ‘feeling of security’?”

... “I think ‘deep well’, ‘tank’ and ‘library’, ‘entertainment room’ etc. are different from the rest of the things such as ‘income’, ‘jobs’ or ‘confidence’ etc.”

The researcher: “May we call it changes have occurred in facilities or village resources...?”

... “Then ‘loss of arable land’ should be included in the changes of ‘facilities and

resources’.” ...

“‘Courage’ should belong to the ‘psychological’ category.”

“‘Income’, ‘jobs’ and ‘business’ should be categorized together since they are all income-related...” ...

The researcher as general facilitator: “How about the rest, such as ‘knowledge enhancement’, ‘skills in communication’ and ‘participation in tourist zone management’ etc?” ...

“Can we have a category of ‘others’?”

Items in italics were adopted from the “empowerment framework” suggested by the literature which was introduced by researcher to all village participants at the end of the discussion. The results of the discussion were summarized as shown in Table 12. The contents of the “comments” column represent characteristic comments based on taped group report or written group discussion records rather than the summarized main points that were written on the blackboard and on the piece of paper.

Table 12: “Improvements” and “Losses” From Participating in Tourism Development

Criteria	Indicators	Comments
Facilities and resources at the village	Water, pumps, deep well and tank	"A deep well and a tank have been built and pumps were lent to us..."
	Library	"Dong Tian Park donated thousands of books to our library"
	Computers	"We now have six computers in the library (donated by the park)."
	Entertainment room	"The entertainment room is important for us since we spend our spare time here playing cards, Chinese chess and ping-pong..."
	Reservoir	"The government engineering team will help us to repair the (leaking) reservoir."
	Loss of arable land	
"Our village used to have much more arable land before land expropriation... now we have the least amount of land compared with nearby villages."		
Income		"Income has been enhanced."
		"We now have various ways to earn money..."

Income	Jobs	"... Now my brother (who originally had nothing to do) works for the park for a salary."
		"We get nice salaries from the park."
		"We love to work in the park."
	Businesses	"Although doing business is no better than having a job, it is better than having nothing to do."
		"We earn less money from our businesses with the park... but it enriches our household income anyway."
	Unbalanced accessibility to opportunities by genders	"Females get much fewer chances to work at tourist zones; we earn much less money for our families".
		"Females cannot compete with males on some high quality jobs, such as tour guide."
		"Young females lack chances to go to evening school or other training programs."
Accessibility to opportunities	"Females should have a same opportunity with males to education, training and working." "Our family does not need so many of us working at home."	
	"The village now has much better access to paid jobs, businesses, training and evening school compared with surrounding villages or many other Li minority villages."	
Cooperation	"Our village cooperates with the park on many issues, such as business and evening school program."	
	"Our villagers invest money together to do some business..."	
Psychological changes	Self-esteem	"We have better volleyball skills than Han people at the park..."
		"Many people praised our performance at the festival party." (held by the park)
		"We make friends with many Han people and they treat us nice."
		"Our village is the best one in this area..."
		"Many of our villagers are well educated and trained."
	Feeling of security	"The village now has some places to ask for help when facing difficulties."
		"People would like to help us, such as our friends, the park, the government and our instructors at evening school..."
	Feeling of stability	"We now have regular income from the park..."
		"Even if long-time drought truly happens in this area, families still have some income from other sources..."
		"The park treats us well; if we work hard, we then get a stable job, a fair salary and a chance of promotion..."
		"We can control our lives..."
	Courage	"We have courage to pursue better lives... we are not afraid of change, because we have strong backup from friends."
		"I will force my parents to continue to support me in education... Females should also go to middle school..."
Confidence	"Our village is becoming better and it will be continually improved..."	
	"I believe I can get a good job..."	
Communication skills	"We are now good at expressing our ideas in public..." (referred to company meetings at the park)	
	"I dared not speak to male classmates when I was at school... now I am not afraid to talk to strangers."	

Others		"Our group has the best tour guide at the park." (The park voted the best XXX under each job category every year)
		"I make many friends... they all consider me as a person who is good at comforting others who are upset."
	Knowledge enhancement	"We have been trained at the park."
		"We learn much practical knowledge from evening school courses."
		"...We get valuable advice from school (evening school) instructors."
		"We learned a lot from daily jobs."
		"My friends teach me many things in daily work, such as..."
	Participation in tourist zone management	"I participate in daily management of the park." (the Director of the Guard Department)
		"We can express our suggestions and ideas to directors (of the park's departments) in various ways, such as at weekly department meeting and monthly company meetings ..."
		"The village committee has some influence on encouraging the park to make some decisions that are beneficial to us." "If we report our concerns to the committee, the concerns will be transferred to the park."
		"Our ideas to do business with the park have been adopted..."
		"Our suggestions have been regarded by our committee and the park."
"Government officials would like to help us when we meet difficulties."		

The second step to explore the topic of "improvements and losses from participating in tourism development" was to evaluate each indicator based on categories of "greatly improved, slightly improved, neutral, worse and greatly worse". The results of the ten groups, with the numbers of group members agreeing to each category were summarized on the blackboard as in Table 13 (number of group members in each group was: 4, 4, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 3, 4 and 4 respectively.):

Villagers generally perceived great psychological improvements from participating in tourism development. This can be seen in the large proportion of participants agreeing that "self-esteem", "feeling of security", "feeling of stability", "courage" and "confidence" were "greatly improved" (the proportions were 84%, 90.5%, 63%, 58% and 76% respectively). One may question whether the positive changes were induced entirely by "participating in tourism development" for many other factors could have been involved. However, many villagers' "comments" on psychological improvements referred to nearby tourism developments, especially the changes induced by Dong Tian Park. Another encouraging finding was that 92% of participants (35 out of 38) perceived a strong improvement in knowledge learned from participation. Among the 34 villagers who chose "greatly improved" as an indicator of "knowledge enhancement" (the 35th

“library”, “jobs”, “accessibility to opportunities”, “cooperation with the park and other villagers” and “skills in communication”. Importantly, they mainly supported the idea that they had been involved in “tourist zone management”. Therefore, one can conclude that one important means for villagers to share planning and decision making power in tourism development is to be involved in employment in tourist zones; otherwise, villagers lacked direct communication with those who made the final decisions. At the same time, the village committee, to some extent, functioned as a bridge between those on the receiving end of development and development decision makers.

After evaluating the changing situation of the village, the researcher raised another question: “What methods will help our village to take advantage of tourism development continually?” Two groups responded suggesting that the current pace of village development should be kept. Six groups concluded that more villagers needed jobs: two of the six groups emphasized that they preferred jobs close to the village or at least close to the Nan Shan area and the idea was warmly accepted by the rest of participants. Two more groups suggested that more opportunities for tourism-related businesses should be given to villagers. One group also suggested that females should be given more chances to work and study which could also help them to get more benefits from tourism. An even more interesting idea was raised by one group but accepted afterwards by all participants: villagers should look for opportunities to do their own business in tourism. In villagers’ words, “We should do some business that we can control and manage by ourselves” instead of merely doing “the businesses handed out by the park” in which “families earn small profits after paying a management fee...”

The idea of operating villagers’ own businesses in tourism provoked a lively discussion about potential business opportunities. Suggestions included small-scale home businesses such as selling foods or other goods outside tourism zones and a collective business that many villagers could invest and participate in, such as a restaurant. Both advantages and disadvantages were suggested by participants: small businesses were flexible, low in investment and low in risk but might generate serious competition among villagers if many families did the same business. Such activities might offend tourist zones and might cost lot of energy but have low returns. Even if the

park allowed a food or craft stall to be opened close to it, a management fee might be required and this would greatly reduce any profit. Many participants were not interested in small-scale businesses. As one participant reported: "If I had sufficient energy to do some small business, why wouldn't I devote more effort to my family's vegetable land with better returns? ... I would rather apply for a paid job which saves worry and is more profitable." The researcher suggested that many opportunities for collective businesses might exist, such as a jointly-invested restaurant, family hotels or a minority village visit. Such businesses might benefit more villagers for they could have regular guests and income and face lower competition since not many similar businesses exist in the region. The operation of a family hotel was used as an example: the town was more than 11 km away which reduced its advantage for host tourists. The only hotels in that area were five-star hotels in Nan Shan Temple which were expensive and went beyond the affordability of most tourists coming to Sanya City. Villagers, then, could have an opportunity to operate family hotels in their spare rooms to serve tourists after they solved the problem of lack of water. Another advantage for joint-businesses at Ya Zi was that they might have greater spill-over effects and benefit surrounding villages and have stronger demonstration effects that other villages might imitate. However, disadvantages were identified as being lack of knowledge and experience to operate a big business, lack of capital, lack of capacity to lobby government to support a project, and difficulty in managing a business if many people were involved. Villagers reported that these disadvantages were serious enough to stop villagers from starting a collective business.

However, the village head introduced two potential projects that some businessmen had suggested to the village committee: one was a Li minority cultural village and the other was a Li traditional handicraft manufacturing base. Since the time was late, the researcher suggested discussing the two projects in detail at the next workshop which was scheduled for June 1st.

Diary May 29th: I started to understand why villagers wanted to divide themselves into small groups for discussion – they all want to take a role in a group as facilitator, recorder or timer. However, I found that conflict-eraser was not a welcome role since some villagers complained to me that they had nothing to do as conflict-erasers since not many conflicts happened in our

collaborative study... It seems that some good facilitators have been trained in the collaborative study and they now properly direct the discussion in their groups... Timers work fine and they now always obey the time. I found an interesting thing among villagers: those who often work as timers always come to workshops on time...

Recorders always have problems in their work: many times I found a speaker spoke a lot a recorder wrote down only one or two sentences to summarize the main points... I also find that recorders often try to write tidily since they know I will read the records. This slows down their speed. It makes little difference that I have said many times that it was not necessary to write tidily since I could clarify points afterwards if I could not read them. My assistants explained to me that villagers did not want me to have any chance to laugh at their handwriting.

Thirty villagers came to June 1st's workshop which started in the early evening at the entertainment room. Participants included Mr. Luo and his colleagues from the village committee. They knew most about the possible investment projects since they had been contacted directly by two companies. One was the Eastern Sea Cultural Company from Shenzhen City, Guangdong Province which planned to invest in a Li Cultural Village to present Li traditions, such as dancing, singing, playing musical instruments and other details of minority life. The project was quickly refused by most of the participants. As one said: "Our dancing and singing are entertainment for ourselves and our friends; we do not perform these to earn money." The second company must remain anonymous here since, at the time of writing, the company, the village committee and Ya Zi Village have started to negotiate detailed articles of cooperation. Once decided, the details will be reported to the villagers to see whether the project will be accepted or refused. The potential investors are an overseas Chinese family in Malaysia. The company wants to construct a minority Li traditional handicraft manufacturing base in the Nan Shan area as a memorial to the family which originated in the Nan Shan area. The manager of the Malaysian Company decided to build a handicraft base at a Li village and, therefore, he went to the village committee to express willingness to invest. The village committee was very positive to it since such a project could

benefit the area economically. Mr. Luo repeated what the Malaysian manager told him: the company did not plan to earn a profit from the project although they expected the invested money to be returned within a certain period of time after the start of operation. He also expected the family name to be represented in the title of the manufacturing base and statues of the family leader should be erected. The purpose of the project was to help the villagers to improve their quality of life and to make the Malaysian family well-known. The company could also help to manage the manufacturing base in early phase of development if the village committee lacked experts. Moreover, the company could help to sell products in Malaysia. If the village committee were to be interested in the project, the Malaysia manager would come to discuss details for the cooperation.

After Mr. Luo introduced the two potential projects, 10 minutes were given to villagers to discuss their opinions of the projects. As mentioned above, the first project was quickly turned back because of the unacceptable feeling of “selling” traditional performance and a concern that the project would become out of their control. They feared that they would merely be paid to work for the company. Participants considered that the number of paid jobs was not worth the potential risks. Therefore, the discussion focused on the handicraft manufacturing project. The researcher suggested to “brain-typhoon” all advantages and disadvantages of the project to decide whether it should be located at Ya Zi Village as shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Advantages and Disadvantages of Establishing a Handicraft Manufacturing Base at Ya Zi

Advantages	Disadvantages
Income	Risks of failure in business.
Jobs	Villagers generally lack knowledge and experience to start and manage a big business.
Chance that villagers would operate their own business in tourism: "It is our project - we direct, manage and control it."	Risks of being cheated in business because of lack of experience, especially being cheated by the Malaysian Company.
Many chances to establish other businesses by taking advantage of the manufacture base, such as family hotels, restaurants, etc.	Many well-educated young people will not participate in the base since they refuse to give up current jobs.
Females will have opportunity to work at the base.	Village lacks land to develop a base.
Villagers will learn handicraft skills.	Village lacks water.
Ya Zi Village will get well-known.	Tourists might influence the nearby primary school.
Village will be respected as “boss of a project”.	Children of school age might be reluctant to go to school.

Village may have enough capital to improve the environment at the village, such as roads, latrine and other facilities.	Not many villagers have knowledge of traditional Li handicrafts; it will take time to spread the technology and skills.
Making friends, learning knowledge and getting information from tourists.	Tourists might increase insecurity, disorder, unsanitary conditions, and more risks to the village.
Some seniors at Ya Zi and at other villages were experts in making traditional handicrafts (Figure 6)	Developing tourism at a village might influence normal village life.
Some Li traditional brocade has huge economic value; e.g. a Li Dragon Quilt was purchased by Nan Shan Temple for a price of RMB 0.4 million in 2002.	Lacking of resources, such as experts, materials and tools to training villagers and preparing a handicraft base.

Figure 6: A Li Silver Jewelry Maker at Ya Zi Village and His Wife Wearing His Works



The researcher then suggested to “brain-typhoon” some solutions for the possible disadvantages. However, the villagers insisted that she should provide some suggestions since she was a “well-educated person”. After the researcher presented some of her ideas, many comments, questions and ideas were generated:

The researcher: “My first suggestion has two alternatives; one is to build a false village outside our real villages... villagers can work at the false village during the day time, pretending to live there and making handicrafts there. You will go back to your own village after work. Tourists can then be concentrated at the false village and will not have a large influence on normal village lives if they can be well isolated from the real villages. In building a false village, a proper site will be important... The second alternative is to direct the project as a pure base for handicraft manufacture; we do not receive tourists in the base. We can organize exhibition fairs at various cities to market our products; then we can sell the goods to some ‘wholesalers’ who have channels

to sell the handicrafts to the public...” ...

The researcher: “My second suggestion is that we will keep the tradition of hand-made handicrafts and do not use machines to produce works in large amounts which may devalue our products. Hand-made business needs less capital to invest in equipment. This also helps us to reduce investment risks... Hand-made handicrafts will also become the trademark of our products which would be an effective way to promote our products to enhance the possibility of success... Moreover, I think we can apply for patents for some special designs to protect our business...” ...

The researcher: “My third suggestion is that establishing the base by cooperating with other villages. We need technology from the seniors of other villages; we need young labours from them since some of us will still work at the park...; we need land, water and other resources with which other villages can support us... If we decide to build a false village, the spare land at our village may not be enough. ...”

“Our village has many people who do not have a job...”

The researcher: “When the base is built up, you will need quite a lot of labours to making products, in sales and promotion, and in many other activities to keep the business running... A collectively-owned business can help Ya Zi Village to reduced risks in operation. Moreover, it will helps to reduce other villages’ dissatisfaction that Ya Zi Village monopolizes the benefits and will enhance other villages’ feeling of partnership with us. Otherwise, they may not cheer for the success of the project and may laugh or be indifferent when we meet difficulties. Moreover, I suggest that although those who work at the base should get salaries, part of profit should be distributed among all families under Nan Shan Committee and part of the profit should be owned collectively and managed by the committee for community projects in the area.”

“Can we employ those people who already have some handicraft technology instead of merely our villagers who generally have no skills?”

The researcher: “Li handicrafts should be made by real Li people; otherwise, it is not ‘our’

business anymore... our villagers can be trained to have those skills. I assume that it will not be very difficult for Li people to learn Li handicraft skills?" ...

The researcher: "My last suggestion, you may disagree but please let me explain. A long-term cooperation with the Malaysian Company in operating the project may be necessary... The village can hold a higher proportion of stocks and stocks owned by the company can be reduced after years of operation as regulated in a contract. I am suggesting this because I believe it will be beneficial for us if the company can be involved in the project more than what it promised (to provide capital and management during the development period of project). Do we need to pay salaries to those people who devote time and energy in learning handicraft skills? Do we need money to organize exhibition fairs? Do we need to advertise our products? We need much more money than building a base to make the business run. If the profit of the base does not have any relationship with the company, I doubt whether the company will provide us with sustained economic and expert support in operating the base, especially after we have return the invested money. Letting the company have some stocks in the base may attract it to invest in the project continually, no matter in money, labour or advice. ..."

"Isn't it risky that the company may entirely control the base if we let them have stocks in the base?"

The researcher: "... A similar thing happened; the stocks held by the government were gradually reduced at Nan Shan Temple when company stakeholders continually enlarged capital investment to nibble at the government's share... Therefore, we should carefully regulate some articles to protect our benefits in the project. For example, regulating the ownership, right of management and right of operation under our title. If the Malaysia Company, as Mr. Luo described, invests in the project not for monetary profit, it will agree on these issues. Moreover, our people have to be involved in the accounting department to have clear ideas about the origins and costs of materials, sale of products, revenue and payments for labours... We should also control recruitment of labours ..."

“Is it possible that the company may not be interested in having stocks of the project because of the small profit?”

The researcher: “... It depends on the lobbying skill of our village committee and village heads; if you can picture the project to have a bright future which will bring huge reputation to the family company...” ...

“It is important to negotiate with the company about some basic cooperation articles to decide whether to adopt the project or not at our committee...”

“(Then) we can announce the articles to villagers at Ya Zi and surrounding villages to see whether people accept the project or not...” ...

“We also need to invite all handicraft makers at all villages to teach us handicraft skills...”

“We will do this after villagers reach an agreement on operating the project.”

... “Villagers under Nan Shan Committee can all be welcome for short-time training and take a test to selecting those to undergo more formal training...”

“People who take short-term training will not be paid. But those who will be selected through tests will be paid for their continued training in formal skills of handicraft making.” ...

The researcher: “People who get paid for training should sign a contract with the base for several years’ service to ensure the skilled worker will not leave the base after training.” ...

Thus, some bottom-line requirements in negotiation with the company and some procedures for training skilled handicraft makers in the villages were decided after discussion. Since there were many details associated with a potential business project, the researcher was not allowed to distribute a summary of solutions and actions decided in the workshop.

Since participants expressed no more new concerns to be added as themes of collaborative study, this represented a temporary end of the program. It was decided, therefore, that a workshop should be held the next day to summarize all the solutions and actions that had been decided upon

for problems at the village. However, the researcher was told half an hour before the start of the workshop on June 2nd that many influential senior villagers were angry about the plan to building a handicraft manufacturing base in the area under the village committee, let alone at Ya Zi Village. They decided to come to that day's workshop at the entertainment room to express their disagreement. The researcher was advised that some "heavyweights" would come, including the father of the village head, the ex-secretary of the village committee, former teachers of the primary school from whose classes many participants in the collaborative study came.

The researcher first introduced all identified "advantages and disadvantages" of a handicraft manufacturing base project. Her research assistants then reported solutions that had been formulated to mitigate those "disadvantages", the bottom-line requirements in negotiating the project with the company, plans for conducting the project and some potential benefits that might be gained from the project. Mr. Luo, Mr. Hu and other participants of the previous workshop then complemented some of the ideas while the senior "heavyweights" remained silent.

After the report, senior persons started to raise questions but in Li dialect. Through translations by the research assistants, the researcher perceived that the seniors were not merely worried about failure of the project but were worried that a peaceful rural life would be interrupted by the project. They generally considered that the incomes of families under Nan Shan Committee were good enough and villagers should "work hard on existing jobs or businesses; do not 'bite off more than you can chew'" (said by Mr. Hu, the father of the village head as translated by one of the assistants). Although young participants and village leaders were generally positively disposed towards the project, they could not persuade the seniors who persisted in their concerns and oppositions. At last, the seniors agreed to start the project in the area under the village committee but indicated that it "should not be located at Ya Zi Village". Moreover, the committee leaders were "allowed" to contact the Malaysian manager and to negotiate detail articles for the project. However, the articles should be reported to villagers for further discussion before a final acceptance.

(11) Workshop on June 5th and 6th, 2005

During these workshops, all actions that had been decided on were scheduled into short-, middle- and long-term categories and reported to the majority of villagers in a village meeting to facilitate future implementation.

At the workshop on June 5th at the entertainment room, it was planned to sum up all decisions made in the collaborative study. It was not possible to count the number of participants because villagers came and went. However, discussion mainly occurred among some “specially invited guests”, including village leaders, active participants in the collaborative study, family members who came from relatively wealthy families, political leaders’ families or religious leaders’ families and the three research assistants. Participants reviewed the notes together to summarize all decisions into short-, middle- or long-term actions. As well, decisions were categorized into “acceptable actions” and “actions with some opposition by villagers” based on the information collected at village meetings.

It was clear that those actions with some opposition had one common characteristic: they needed to be practiced by collecting money from families. Committee leaders required that a tape-recorder not be used in the workshop since they wanted the discussion to be open and relaxed so that one “does not need to weigh one's words” (Mr. Luo’s opinion). The summary of the decisions of the collaborative study, as shown below, was recorded by the researcher and her assistants, printed out, and sent to the village committee and village leaders as a reference of the work plan.

Table 15: Summary of Short-term Decisions Made in the Collaborative Study at Ya Zi Village

Objectives	Actions	Accepted or not
Saving water and firewood	Reuse of water.	√
	Saving rain water by building home tanks or using big containers.	voluntary
	Always turn off pumps after watering the arable land.	√
	Not wasting firewood.	√
	The healthy and youths would not use hot water for baths.	X
Protecting water sources	Make a cover for the deep well and always covering the well and tank after use.	√
	Make a cover for the home wells.	voluntary
	Three volunteers to supervise use of the deep well.	√
	Always keeping the surrounding areas of water sources clean.	√
Afforestation	Avoid cutting entire, especially big, trees on the Nan Shan Mountain.	√
	Learning some techniques to safely cut branches of a tree.	√
	Preferentially using shrubbery as firewood and reducing cutting trees.	Some opposition but most agree
	Planting some trees at the village on Arbour Day.	√
	Preferentially planting valuable and drought-resistant plants, such as areca at the village.	√
	Planting more areca trees in household yards.	√
Stopping students damaging the village	Opening the space in front of office building to students to play in day time work days.	√
	Make a simple volleyball court on the school playground: several females in the village voluntarily wove a volleyball net.	Completed
	Leveling a piece of land near the school to enlarge the playground for students.	Would start when cool off
	Teaching some techniques to safely cut branches of a tree.	Agreed by the school
	Require the school to manage its students to avoid them running around in the village, especially to avoid throwing garbage or urinating everywhere.	Agreed by the school
Learning knowledge of drought-resistant plants	Seeking information on drought-resistant plants from various sources.	√
Adjust some aspects of the evening school program	The researcher was assigned to negotiate the requests with the school board since she was one of the persons who organized the program.	Reported (got positive response afterwards)
Sanitation of village	Families would be responsible for cleaning the areas around their houses.	√ and Public supervision
	Spring-cleaning at the village.	Would practice when cool off
	Families scheduled to clean the garbage in the common areas of the village in turn.	Refusal to include the latrine
	Clean wild grass, holes, especially holes with dirty water on the village roads.	Would start when weather cools off
	Build a grass roof for the latrine (collecting money).	X
	Sprinkle insecticide at the latrine (collecting money)	X
	Not throwing garbage and urinating everywhere.	Public supervision

Table 16: Summary of Middle-term Decisions Made in the Collaborative Study at Ya Zi Village

Objectives	Actions	Accepted or not
Protect the mountain	Establishing a paid patrol team to protect the mountain.	√ (but not responsible for funding)
	Planting some trees back to the mountain.	X
Clean the latrine	Cleaning the cesspit.	√
	Building either a covered septic tank or a biogas tank which could generate gas to replace firewood.	Some opposition
	Planting trees around the latrine.	Some opposition
Access to Internet	Using internet access by taking advantage of the computers at library.	Not discussed with villagers yet

Table 17: Summary of Long-term Decisions Made in the Collaborative Study at Ya Zi Village

Objectives	Actions	Accepted or not
Construction in the village	Leveling of roads.	Some opposition
	Removing or dismantling the temporary constructions or animal pens at improper sites.	Some opposition
	Building household washrooms.	X
New income sources	"Yard economy"; planting valuable fruit trees at home yards.	would start gradually
	After the realization of the New Irrigation Plan, the current leaking reservoir would be used as a big pool to raise fishes and ducks.	√
Construction of eco-village	Reuse of wasteland (no only at Ya Zi, but also at surrounding villages where much waste land existed).	√ (the learning process would start at present and the plan would be implemented gradually)
	Beautifying the village environment.	
	The use of biogas.	
	The use of solar energy.	
	Advocating awareness of sanitation.	
	Learning more knowledge about eco-villages.	
Operating the village's own business in tourism	Construction of Li handicraft manufacture base	Some opposition

(X = over half of villagers disagreed; "some opposition" = less than half of villagers disagreed but some influential people disagreed.)

After organizing all decisions and evaluating them as "acceptable or not", some more problems had been identified and more solutions to remove the opposition of villagers were raised. First of all, participants realized that lack of communal money prevented the practice of some valuable actions, villagers being reluctant to contribute funds. Since a village had no financial group in place to manage collectively-owned money, the village committee decided to take the

responsibility to establish one or more “collective account (s)” at a bank to save money for future public construction. The money could come from donations, the rent of collective land (previously money was shared among villages and then distributed to households in very small amounts), or from other possible sources. Mr. Luo even planned to operate some collective businesses with the park to expand the account(s). In future, any village needing some collective money could apply to the committee by submitting a plan which would be reviewed by committee, village heads and villager delegates to decided whether money would be given or not.

The ideas of wasteland-utilization and eco-village construction, especially the idea of biogas tanks, would be spread to all villages in the Nan Shan area lead by the committee. Collective action would not only help to make those projects more effective but also facilitate application for funds from government. The village committee decided to pay for the cleaning of village latrines in the Nan Shan area since it was a common problem at all villages. The committee had some existing money which had been donated by Dong Tian Park to solve the problem of lack of water in the area. Mr. Fu, the accountant of the committee, thought it was a good idea to clean all latrines in the area altogether since contracting all the work to one cleaning company could facilitate price negotiation. The action had been started before the researcher left the study site in August, 2005. The committee also wanted to pay for a cover of the deep well from the money mentioned above. Participants were all positive about the suggestion of organizing a patrol team to protect the mountain since, more than once, villagers reported that strangers had cut valuable trees or ancient trees on the mountain. Therefore, Mr. Luo promised that the committee would take the job of organizing and paying for a patrol team. Participants generally agreed to the Li handicraft manufacturing base project to be located at Ya Zi Village, which especially pleased the committee leaders since the plan was refused by most of the village heads in the area. Mr. Luo suggested that Mr. Hu, the village head, should visit families to persuade Ya Zi villagers, especially seniors, to accept the project. He also suggested that participants should try to persuade their own family heads. He himself would contact the Malaysian company to discuss some details about the potential project and information would release to all villages to keep people update on the issue.

The meeting on June 6th at entertainment room was a short one held among active participants at Ya Zi Village. Mr. Hu, the village head, urged the participants to persuade their family members and friends in other families to accept some decisions which had been refused or partially opposed at village meetings. Moreover, everyone was assigned to search for information: such as benefits of clean and protected drinking-water wells; methods to plant areca; importance of a clean living environment; biogas, etc. Mr. Hu decided to start a “blackboard program” in which information would be attached or written on a big blackboard with pictures to raise “awareness among villagers” (Mr. Hu’s opinion). Five volunteers were self-recommended to arrange the blackboard and the rest of participants voluntarily sought posters, articles, pictures or even information which could be typed on paper and attached on the board. Participants decided that they would update the information on the blackboard once every two weeks. The program started in late June and various positive comments were heard during the interview period at the village.

Diary June 5th: the leaders of the village committee are capable and entrepreneurial. They are quite different from the village leaders I saw at other minority villages in that they are all well-educated and not afraid of making decisions and taking responsibilities...

(12) Workshop on June 10th, 2005

The so called “sum-up” meeting at the entertainment room became a picture show since villagers requested on June 5th to have a look at pictures that the researcher took at other places during the research. Since no projector had been borrowed, people had to gather together in front of a laptop to have a look at the pictures. While the researcher showed the pictures of tourist zones and villages in Hainan Province and other provinces, she also introduced some information about the site or the people. With the help of pictures, she emphasized the activities that those people were taking to work towards a better life. At the end of the workshop, it was decided that a “Thank-you party” would be held on Jun 19th.

Diary June 10th: Participants were happy to see the pictures I took at many tourist zones in

Hainan, Yunnan, Zhejiang and Guangdong Provinces. They were also interested in the activities of other villagers in other tourist zones. Everything went fine until the villagers asked to have a look at the pictures I took at Ya Zi. They could not understand and accept the pictures I took about garbage everywhere in the village, dirty and uneven village roads, and especially those of the open-air latrine which I dared not to go although I tried to encouraged myself thousands of times! Therefore, they asked me to delete those pictures, which I was reluctant to do. Why did the villagers feel embarrassed to show these to others if they lived with all of these situations for generations? If they felt embarrassed about these, why did most of the villagers refuse to collect money to level and clean their roads, to dismantle their jumbled temporary constructions which had “happened” on the roads or near the wells? If they are uncomfortable with those truths, they should first get rid of the unsanitary conditions, not got rid of my pictures... Anyway, I still have a chance, I can take more pictures during interviews...

Change in thinking (June 12th): My assistants came to Sanya City today to help me to purchase refreshments and other things for the “Thank-you Party” for both villages. They tried to explain to me why they did not want me to keep some of the pictures, let along to show them to others. Although I did not take a tape-recorder with me, as soon as I went home, I wrote down the most notable statements based on memory, although they might not be the exact wording:

We know that you were unhappy about us since we forced you to delete your pictures. But those were pictures of our village...

Your pictures showed the village as disorderly and dirty which has happened because we are rural people – villagers do not have enough money to build a toilet as beautiful as the one at the place where you live... Do you look down on us because we are rural people and cannot support a clean washroom at home?

Why do you want to keep those pictures which can always remind you and many others who will see the pictures that the village is backward?

We do not want others know about the situation; we also feel embarrassed about it. Aren't

we working together to improve the situation? Why take those pictures to beat our enthusiasm? ...

... The researcher: "I am sorry..."

This came to an end of introduction of participatory research conducted at two villages at Hainan Province; however, actions were undertaken continually at two sites after the researcher withdrew from the study site. In the following section, interviews conducted at two villagers that helped to collect feedbacks about participatory research among villagers are outlined.

5.2 Interviews

Interviews at both villages were conducted after the decisions made in the collaborative studies were reported to villagers in village meetings. Interviews were conducted with people who seldom participated, generally seniors of the villages, to explore their suggestions concerning the research results, as well as with people who had been active in the collaborative study to explore their opinions concerning the research method and decisions made. Interviews with seniors were dominated by one question "What are your opinions of the decisions made in the collaborative study?" Since some senior villagers, especially at Tang Fang Village, did not speak Mandarin very well and that was the only language with which the researcher could communicate with villagers, translators were invited to assist at both sites. However, the translator at Ya Zi Village only helped to translate occasional words or opinions that seniors could not express clearly in Mandarin. In contrast, the translator at Tang Fang Village assisted throughout all conversations since very few of the interviewed seniors could speak Mandarin. Two questions were asked of active participants in the collaborative studies: "What are your opinions of our collaborative study program?" and "Will you be active in practicing the decisions made in the collaborative study?"

5.2.1 Interviews at Ya Zi Village

Interviews at Ya Zi Village in Dong Tian Tourist Zone were conducted between July 6th and

14th before the third term of evening school. Fifteen senior villagers were non-randomly chosen based on recommendations of research assistants. They mainly came from the most influential families in the village: the family of the village head, the family of the headmaster of the primary school, the family of the ex-committee secretary, the families of teachers at the primary school, and some families accustomed to taking political, religious or minority leading positions at the village or even in the Nan Shan area. As reported by assistants, seniors of those families, although having abdicated earlier responsibilities, still had a strong influence on the village's affairs because they were the family heads of those people currently with leading positions in the village. In order to keep a gender balance in interviews, male and female family heads were approached equally. Since most interviews were done at the families' homes, family heads were often accompanied by their partners during interviews. Sometimes, one would complement the other with additional comments.

Based on seniors' responses, two main points were identified by the researcher: one, seniors were reluctant to change their living habits at the village and two, seniors were a group that often opposed decisions of the collaborative study. All 15 interviewees mentioned and opposed the Li handicraft manufacturing base project: 8 suggested that it would "damage village life if strangers come to work or visit the village"; 5 raised the reason that "young people should work in formal jobs, instead of working on craft-related jobs". One respondent said: "I will not allow my educated son to work as a craft maker" (Interviews at Ya Zi Village). Three others raised the concern that villagers lacked experience of operating big businesses; therefore, they worried that a handicraft base would be risky for the village. Three more respondents also mentioned that too many young people already worked at Dong Tian Park which left fewer people working vegetable land which resulted in lower returns from vegetable sales. As one respondent questioned unhappily: "Shall we (elderly) work at vegetable land if younger people all work at a handicraft base?" (Interviews at Ya Zi Village). Two more ideas that were met with consistent opposition were collecting money among families and dismantling temporary constructions at homes. Seniors deemed that funds for taking any actions should be figured out by village or committee leaders instead of being collected from villagers. As the ex-committee secretary commented: "The leaders are bad leaders if they

merely have the idea to collect money from their own people to do something at the village” (Interviews at Ya Zi Village). Moreover, although not all respondents considered that there were no problems with the temporary constructions at homes; most of them did not approve of dismantling them and remove them to other sites if the constructions still could be used. Seven of them deemed that relocation of temporary constructions should be carried out gradually after existing ones became useless.

Three respondents strongly opposed to the idea of building washrooms at households since they considered it had been a long-time habit for villagers to use a latrine. As one respondent assailed: “Do younger people want to live with waste at home everyday when they suggest building home toilet?” Similarly, five interviewees mentioned the idea of cooking with gas instead of firewood was “odd”. Even a previous school teacher who knew some principles of firing with biogas suspected the safety of using gas in the village. Six interviewees declared that they were against the idea of planting drought-resistant fruits in the village since they believed that only vegetables should be planted in the Ya Cheng area which had been called a “vegetable base”. Two mentioned that planting trees on the mountain was a stupid idea since “trees grow naturally on the mountain; why bother to plant trees on the mountain?” (Interviews at Ya Zi Village).

In contrast, some of the decisions received considerable approval among the interviewed seniors; three that gained a consistent agreement were the blackboard program, fighting drought and assistance to the nearby primary school. The blackboard program was highly praised, especially by some educated seniors, as a good way to advance knowledge and awareness among villagers. Actions to solve the problems of lack of water and saving vegetables were highly praised by seniors. As one respondent commented: “the ‘collaborative study’ activity has done an essential good thing to the village... the deep well will support us with water to irrigate vegetable land if another drought comes and all other wells are dry.” Another idea that was generally approved was to help the nearby primary school to enlarge the playground and to construct some simple exercise facilities, such as a volley-ball court. The researcher found that senior villagers were generally proud of living close to a well-known primary school. The most classic reason was given by a senior lady: she

believed that “The primary school is taken good care of by a god of books (in Chinese is *Wen Qu Xing*) and that the power of that divinity also covers the nearby villages; therefore, villagers have to do everything good to the school to repay the god’s kindness” (Interviews at Ya Zi Village).

Interviews among active participants of collaborative study were mainly conducted at noon or evening time, sometimes at home and sometimes at workplaces, because most of them had to work on a schedule. Responses in interviews among activists were generally positive; participants highly approved the methods and procedures of “collaborative study”. Some interviewees responded that they would discuss with others any personal opinions or perceived problems in the future since they had learned from the study that “Many people held the same idea or question but I used to think it was only me that thought in that way”, “My idea did not seem as odd as what I thought and others considered it seriously instead of laughing at it” (Interviews at Ya Zi Village). Some others expressed that people “thinking together on an issue can help to generate many more valuable ideas or solutions than one person workings by himself”. Therefore, “the study method should be continued and can be used to figure out collectively solutions for further problems in the village” (Interviews at Ya Zi Village). Since the procedures of the collaborative study, the brain-typhoon on the situation, problem identification, problem ranking, brain-typhoon on solutions and scheduling actions, was formulated together with villagers and participants had chances to practise many times in daily discussion, they generated a fair understanding about the procedure. That also encouraged villagers to adopt the method in solving their daily problems:

“The procedure of collaborative study helps us to gather information carefully from many people on a specific issue; otherwise, the information in one person’s mind is limited or even useless... Solutions built upon comprehensive information are valuable” (Interviews at Ya Zi Village).

“... the village meeting has long been a process in which the village head announces problems or issues in the village and suggests actions. The village head is the only person to think hard about solutions most of the time and villagers passively agree or disagree to those suggestions at a meeting... the initiative of villagers has long been missed... Collaborative study is a good

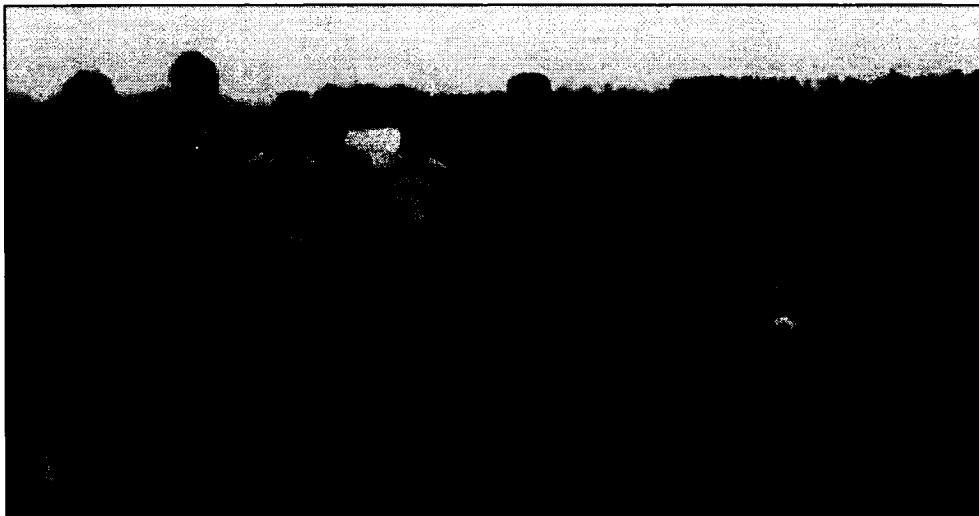
method to inspire villagers' ability to think about solutions... I will hold small-scale meetings with some active participants in the collaborative study before a village meeting and collectively figure out some solutions and schedule some actions as references for the village meeting. I believe that more practical solutions will be created in this way. Moreover, collectively decided-upon solutions may face less opposition; at least the participants in small-meeting will help me to persuade more villagers to support the decisions ...” (Interviews at Ya Zi Village – the village head).

“...as the Director of the Guards Department, I have to organize the weekly work evaluation meeting (which is required to be held in department units of the park) which takes me a lot of effort to think of something to say. A meeting often comes to an end quickly without any achievement since department members are indifferent to it or often keep silent... The methods (of collaborative study) can be adopted in my daily work in that the weekly work evaluation meeting will become a collaborative study process and department members will be asked to identify problems in our work and to figure out collectively solutions or ways to improve our work... In that way, the writing of the report will be facilitated; if good suggestions are raised, our department may be praised publicly at the tourist zone...” (Interviews at Ya Zi Village – a villager work at Dong Tian Park as Director of the Guards Department).

In terms of decisions made through collaborative study, active participants (Figure 7) commonly agreed that all decisions were good and should be practiced according to schedule. They identified the senior group of the village as the “main obstacle to prevent the positive changes at the village” since they opposed some “extremely valuable ideas formed in the collaborative study program, such as the handicraft manufacturing base project and household washrooms” (Interviews at Ya Zi Village). Twelve of the interviewees indicated that they would continue to lobby their family heads and encouraged other villagers to lobby their family heads to accept the solutions worked out in the study. Their attitude raised in me the thought that senior villagers, especially the eldest generation of the village, disagreed with the ideas not because of their age, but because they had no idea why some decisions were made. This thought occurred because some of the active participants in the village were middle-age people but they “agree to all the decisions made in the

collaborative study” (interviews at Ya Zi Village). If they did not say that merely to satisfy the researcher but they really believed it, why did they have such a different attitude to general middle-aged or senior people at the village? The only reason that the researcher could think of was that they understood the context in which some decisions were made before they agreed to those ideas; others thought those ideas as “odd” because they did not have any information to support those ideas. Therefore, the researcher suggested to the active participants that more background information about an idea should be introduced to others when lobbying them.

Figure 7: Active Participants at Ya Zi Village



5.2.2 Interviews at Tang Fang Village

Interviews at Tang Fang Village in Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone were conducted between July 16th and 21st. When interviewing seniors at the village, most of the 15 selected villagers did not speak even a little Mandarin. Therefore, a junior middle school graduate was invited to be a translator. Since he had to work at Red Gorge Golf Resort in the daytime, interviews with seniors were mainly conducted in the evening. Therefore, interviews with active participants of collaborative study were conducted in the daytime whenever respondents had time.

Fifteen seniors were non-randomly selected mainly based on the researcher’s own

knowledge of the village: some leading political families, such as the ex-village head's family, the ex-vice village head's family, the ex-accountant's family etc. had long been traditional religious and minority leading families in the village; as well as the family of current village head. Except for those 4 families, the other 11 respondents were invited from five families mainly operating businesses and six families mainly depended on employment (families that neither worked nor operated businesses almost did not exist in the village). However, the responses from seniors were generally passive: they had few opinions, especially when compared with seniors at Ya Zi Village. The researcher, was told on several occasions "I will agree to those decisions if most people agree" (Interview at Tang Fang Village). Five respondents mentioned their unwillingness to "offend the ex-village committee". Two of them clearly opposed continuing attempts to track the lost money and the other three said they still respected the village head and most villagers' decisions on that issue. Three interviewees asked the researcher to remind villagers to stop asking for higher rent from Red Gorge. As one male respondent said: "We are bound to lose the lawsuit if we poor villagers try to indict a wealthy company..." (Interview at Tang Fang Village). More positively, four respondents expressed willingness to "keep-an-eye open at the village" in the day when most young people are at work. They promised to walk around the village occasionally, instead of staying inside their homes. A female interviewee said she would invite her friends in Tang Fang Village or even from other villages to sew a dragon quilt on the threshing ground when the weather cooled off; then they would look after the houses in the village.

Responses from 15 active participants in the collaborative study at Tang Fang Village were quite different from what the researcher learned from Ya Zi Villagers. Although villagers also agreed that "collaborative study" was useful in generating solutions to some of their problems, few participants (merely 2 out of 15) voluntarily raised the idea of continuing the study in their village in the future. When the researcher suggested to the other 13 the possibility of continuing the study as one method of figuring out solutions for further problems at the village, although all of them expressed willingness to participate, they doubted the feasibility of conducting collaborative study by themselves. As one female villager questioned: "Who will direct us in the study program about

what to discuss after you leave?” (Interview at Tang Fang Village). As the researcher talked about the situation with the young village head who had participated in all workshops in the collaborative study, he reported that he remembered the procedure and principles of the study but he doubted that he could raise appropriate questions at proper time to encourage participants to generate ideas. However, he promised the researcher that he would address future problems at the village with these active participants in a collaborative study and discussing possible solutions with them before raising the problems at a village meeting. As to those decisions made in collaborative study, all 15 interviewees expressed strong confidence that the short-term actions would be conducted on schedule. For the middle- and long-term actions, especially applying for loans, contracting business with surrounding companies and opening a local market, active participants generally stated that they would strive for success.

Suppressed excitement existed in the village on July 17th when an investigation team of the Commission for Discipline Inspection came from Sanya City to the office building of Po Hou Village Committee to censor the ex-committee on the issue of displacement compensations. Many villagers, although not interviewed, went to the researcher to report the news. They were excited that the ex-committee had “sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind”. On the other hand, they worried about whether they would be questioned by officials to gather evidence. On 18th, members of the ex-committee were said to have been summoned for trial in Sanya City. Villagers expressed great satisfaction and some families even lit firecrackers that night. On that day, the researcher was told surprising news by a friend at the village:

“... when you came to our old village to study our displacement in 2001 (Master’s fieldwork), those people (on the ex-committee) came to the village and asked villagers to be careful not to release any information on that displacement project... and they asked us to avoid letting you know that they did not want you to know much about the project...”

“What? I have not heard about this. So you mean the villagers kept some information away from me in my research? Or they even told me false information?”

“No, I believe not, we disliked and distrusted those persons and we did not follow what they told us. Especially, we were not afraid of letting you know about what really happened at our village...”

“Nice to know it, so you are sure that I knew whatever you knew at the time about the displacement project?”

“... our suspicion about those people of the ex-committee that they might have got a bribe from the company to reduce the rate of compensations. Do you remember that someone mentioned to you that the ex-committee got a bribe?”

“Yes, I remembered people mentioning that those committee leaders were ‘paid off’, but they generally lacked evidence to support that.”

“We did not have evidence at that time...”

5.3 Summary and Comparison of the Results at Two Villages

Five themes are included in this section in summarizing the chapter on participatory research and comparing the results collected at two villages. First of all, the background situations of two villages will be presented and compared and some differences in organizing participatory research will be introduced. These were induced by villages’ different situations. Decisions respectively made in Tang Fang Village and Ya Zi Village will be compared. Some actions undertaken before the researcher left the study sites will be outlined afterwards. In the following section, differences in organizing the collaborative study at two villages will be introduced and, finally, some limitations in designing the program at two villages will be reviewed.

(1) General situation of villages: Some significant differences existed in general situations of the two villages which induced some differences in organizing the collaborative study programs and in the decisions made at the two sites. First of all, Tang Fang villagers at Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone generally had received much lower formal educational experiences compared with Ya Zi villagers at Dong Tian Tourist Zone. This directly resulted in great differences in both the villagers’

livelihood systems and in the collaborative study programs. Although local employment had been greatly encouraged after the new tourism plan had been implemented in Ya Long Bay Region, local villagers had been provided mainly with manual jobs with low wages and limited promotion prospects compared with those of other ethnicities. Employment, although very necessary for household income at Tang Fang Village, appeared to be less attractive in comparison with Ya Zi villagers understanding about jobs. Therefore, villagers at Tang Fang had a stronger emphasis on operating businesses. The situation at Ya Zi Village was the opposite. Because of higher educational experiences, some of villagers got satisfying jobs at Dong Tian Park. Therefore, working for salary appeared to be a more attractive choice than operating small businesses, especially among male villagers at Ya Zi. Moreover, many young males at the village were involved in employment, a vegetable business or even still at schools, so that only a limited number of unemployed young males existed. Therefore, villagers who were willing to work for salary were more selective in what they were prepared to do. They did not want to work far from home and still hoped that the park would recruit them although, at the time of study, the researcher was told that employment at the park was saturated. The educational experiences among villagers at two sites also induced great differences in the organization of the collaborative study program. Ya Zi villagers, taking advantage of their knowledge learned at schools or in evening school programs, had greater involvement in designing the program compared with Tang Fang villagers, who were relatively passive in designing the study. The organization of collaborative study at the two sites will be analyzed in greater detail in the following sections.

Strong assistance from Dong Tian Park strengthened the ability of Ya Zi villagers to participate in tourism development and to improve their quality of life. As introduced in Chapter 4 and in earlier sections in Chapter 5, villagers had been trained at work or at evening school, operated businesses with the help of the park, strengthened their social networks through various activities organized by or with the park and received support in urgent situations, such as the lack of irrigation water. Therefore, richer experiences and more tangible benefits shared by villagers induced more aggressive aspirations in exploiting the opportunities of the surrounding development

to improve Ya Zi Village and even extend the benefits to nearby villages in the Nan Shan area. This can be seen in the decisions made in the collaborative study program. On this respect, Tang Fang Village had fewer advantages. They kept indifferent relationships with nearby companies and villages which decreased their confidence to induce greater changes when they made decisions in the collaborative study program. Therefore, their expected participation in tourism development was mainly limited to income-generating activities.

However, in terms of the physical situation of the village, Ya Zi Village could not compete with Tang Fang Village in that various modern facilities had been built or provided to households at Tang Fang New Village in the resettlement project. For example, the levels of access to telephones, satellite television programs, DVD players and refrigerators at Ya Zi Village were much lower than those at Tang Fang Village. Although Ya Zi Villagers had annual incomes from employment, businesses, especially the vegetable business, villagers had costs which consumed a large portion of their income. Ya Zi villagers reported that costs such as plant foods, daily expenditures, investment in businesses and school tuitions were huge burdens of families. Large families could consume their incomes rapidly. In even greater difference, Tang Fang New Village households had a washroom and kitchen, drinking water pipes and gas pipes. The residential zone was equipped with public garbage cans and wide concrete roads. In Ya Zi Village, villagers still used traditional rural facilities, such as public toilet, wells and firewood. Some Ya Zi villagers even raised the idea to equip their families with modern facilities, such as a washroom and a gas pipe etc. Since all alterations would depend on household income, it would not happen rapidly. Therefore, Ya Zi Village could not compete with Tang Fang Village in terms of household facilities.

Great gender differences in employment, education, and economic and social status could be perceived at Ya Zi Village where females were greatly disadvantaged in competing for schooling, training and work opportunities. However, females at Tang Fang were in a much better position in that they had an equitable, but limited, chance of access to a school education. They operated businesses which strengthened their economic and social status at homes. Furthermore, females Li villagers were generally welcome in the labour market in the region (Wang, 2003). Managers of the

Human Resource Office in the Gloria Hotel and the Horizon Resort in 2001 suggested that Li females were usually harder workers and more likely to obey the rules of the company than Li males (Wang, 2003). Hence, the employers were more willing to hire Li females than Li males. With the increasing economic status of Li women, their social status also increased accordingly.

With respect to village decision making, seniors at Ya Zi Village had a much greater influence since they dominated the family head positions at home. In contrast, many family head positions were held by younger adults at Tang Fang Village, especially after displacement. Therefore, their enthusiasm about introducing some projects or activities in the village, such as struggling for higher rent from Red Gorge, organizing a collective festival party or operating local market, could less easily be overwhelmed by possible conservatism among senior villagers.

(2) Decisions made in collaborative study program: From the decisions made at Tang Fang Village, the researcher perceived that villagers were relatively satisfied with or at least tolerant of the current situation. In the list of short-term actions, few economic changes were planned other than to seek higher rent from Red Gorge. All the other short-term actions were related to village sanitation or security and the festival party might help to build a more friendly relationship or stronger social network with outsiders. Increasing employment opportunities in the region was not included in the decision list. This surprised the researcher. In interviews, she clarified the question with some interviewees and got answers such as the following: “We have not heard any information about recruiting workers in the area – it seems that the companies need no more workers at present...”, “Getting a job is outside of our control; it is not possible for us to do anything to get more jobs if the companies want no more” (Conversation with interviewees at Tang Fang Village). However, villagers seemed to put greater emphasis on operating a business successfully since most of their middle- or long-term expectations were related to business operation, such as getting loans, establishing cooperation, contracting some work from companies and, especially, opening a village market. The aspiration of enhancing educational experiences was left mainly to children of the village; adults, especially the young adults who participated in the collaborative study, seemed to have no strong desire for more formal education.

In comparison with Tang Fang villagers, Ya Zi villagers had much more diverse aspirations. The decisions they made to improve village life involved many types of changes, ranging from improvements in the physical environment to more far-reaching changes, such as eco-village construction or establishing a handicraft manufacturing base. Villagers made decisions to improve their knowledge by taking advantage of the resources that they could reach, such as evening school. They also desired to improve accessibility to information and advanced knowledge by requiring internet access at the village. As well, villagers desired to share information and knowledge that they learned from various sources with other villagers through a blackboard program. At Ya Zi, villagers had got used to asking for help through their social networks. They identified the village committee, other villages, nearby tourist zones and recreational companies (e.g. Sun-rising Golf Resort), the evening school board and ex-instructors of the school as sources of outside help to approach for information, advice, capital and technical support to realize some of the actions decided upon in the collaborative study. Importantly, unlike many Li rural minority people that had long been afraid of government officials or political higher-ups, Ya Zi Villagers decided to ask for support from government to address the problem of lack of irrigation water. Furthermore, supported by the facts that villagers actively participated in meetings of Dong Tian Park and provided suggestions publicly which had been adopted by the company, the researcher perceived that Ya Zi villagers had greater aspirations to political power. In other words, villagers did not consider that a huge political gap existed between them and officials or developers which could block them from express their opinions or declaring their requirements.

(3) Implementation of decided actions before the researcher's departure in August. As mentioned earlier, many short-term decisions at Tang Fang Villages did not need much outside support and this facilitated taking actions. As well, those decisions faced less conservative opposition. Therefore, many activities, such as the family-in-turn cleaning program and "keeping-an-eye on the village" had been started before the researcher left the study site in August. Moreover, the struggle for higher rent started early in the collaborative study process as introduced above. Even the news of a collective festival party was dispersed to surrounding villages and the

researcher was told when she came back to the village that people were curious and interested in it. However, no preparation for any middle- or long-term actions had taken place before the researcher left.

The situation at Ya Zi Village was more complicated because of oppositions to some decisions, especially among senior family heads. However, some decisions had already been fulfilled before the researcher left in August: e.g. submission of “personnel introductions” to Sun-rising Golf Resort and Nan Shan Temple, making a volley-ball court for the nearby primary school, modifying some aspects of the evening school program and protecting water sources in the village, the deep well and tank at the vegetable land. Moreover, with the help of the village committee, a previous middle-term decision, cleaning the latrine, was carried out at all villages in the Nan Shan area. The Li handicraft manufacture base project was in the early negotiation stage and negotiations would proceed as soon as the Malaysian manager would come to meet with the village committee. A course on eco-villages would have been introduced into the evening school program in the fourth term because the school board lacked time to reschedule classes for the third one. Information about eco-villages was sometimes posted on the public “blackboard” to inform all villagers. The village committee was working on organizing a supervisory team to protect the mountain but some controversy was raised since many living in nearby villages applied to participate because the team members would be paid.

(4) Organization of the collaborative study – an academic reflection: Based on her experiences, the researcher learned some principles for conducting participatory studies in rural communities. First, rapport and trust between the researcher and the researched are crucial for a collaborative study. Trust between the two groups may induce trust in the decisions made in the study which encourages people to put them into practice.

Second, knowledge about the site where the participatory study will take place is very important; a researcher should at least know the history of the site, dominant daily practices of the people, people’s cultural and social backgrounds and the material events that have happened among the people before a collaborative study is initiated. Understanding of the site can help to ensure that

the focus of the study is relevant to the interests of local people. Otherwise, the study may be hampered by lack of participation.

Third, a participatory study cannot always be completed collaboratively. The level of participation may vary according to many factors, such as participants' educational experiences. In this study, the researcher found that education was a vital point that influenced the quality of people's participation. In Ya Zi village, since participants generally had relatively higher educations, communication and reaching a consensus were much more effective processes than what was experienced at Tang Fang Village where participants had relatively low education levels. Especially when the researcher asked participants to define the study goal and preferred discussion themes, Ya Zi participants quickly were able to consider the issues based on the overall situation of the village; however, Tang Fang participants could not avoid thinking of things based on their personal or own family's situation which made it extremely difficult to reach a collective study goal since people's perspectives were diverse. Because a consensus could not be reached, the researcher's suggestion of studying "participation in tourism" from three aspects, sharing benefits, sharing decision making and improvement, was adopted. In other words, since participants could not reach agreement on a discussion issue, it gave the researcher an opportunity to "manipulate" the study process. Even when writing the thesis, the researcher is uncertain whether "tourism" was such a crucial issue in villagers' lives that it became a concentration of the collaborative study at Tang Fang Village; or whether this was because the researcher first raised "participation in tourism development" as a possible focus of the study. The situation at Ya Zi was quite opposite in that villagers quickly decided their preferences for the collaborative study which ranged across many aspects of village life. Tourism was merely identified as a tool or means to help them to continue to improve their lives instead of being a dominant force. Moreover, Ya Zi participants successfully took the roles of facilitator, recorder, timer and conflict-eraser in the workshops. The researcher also got good support in organizing the collaborative study program from three assistants.

Fourth, the researcher learned that the fundamental point that selecting participants in a participatory study, at least in China, should include two steps: ensuring that influential people will

come, such as community leaders or members of influential families; then inviting as many interested people as possible. This procedure helped the researcher to make sure that decisions would be accepted and practiced by as many villagers as possible and that some would take the responsibility to lobby those in opposition. Especially, selecting participants would be better based on the researcher' own familiarity with the villages instead of just the recommendations of community leaders. For example, a controversy occurred between the current and ex- village heads at Tang Fang Village; therefore, the new village head complained to the researcher that it would be better to exclude the old head from the study. The suggestion led the researcher to think of the possibility that if participants were recommended by the current village head instead of being invited among all families, the former head and his supporters might have been excluded from the collaborative study.

Fifth, data analysis should be conducted as soon as possible in a participatory study. This is a requirement for the results of previous discussion to be probed in the following rounds of the workshop to see if some important ideas were missed. This was not done very effectively in this study since the researcher was kept busy at two sites and most of tape-recorded data had to be sent to the Information Centre of the Tourism Bureau to be transcribed before being sent back to the researcher. This was also the reason why she was slower than desired in recognizing that Tang Fang villagers were mainly concerned about discussing participation in tourism but Ya Zi villagers had more diverse concerns.

Sixth, the researcher knew from the literature that indigenous knowledge and skills should be respected in a participatory study. However, from her own study, she also learned that people's "privacy" should also be respected. She does not mean privacy with respect to personal information since this is necessary information for a planner or researcher to obtain. Rather "privacy" here refers to things that planners or researchers may take from a study site but which might make the researched feel embarrassed or uncomfortable if the information is released. An example of this is the pictures of unsanitary conditions that the researcher took in Ya Zi Village.

Seventh, the researcher learned that the whole study process might be more effective if it

was done at the speed of the villagers and not to fit her own schedule. On many occasions, discussion planned to be completed in a one-day workshop continued on another day. The researcher was unhappy with this at the very beginning but got used to the situation as time went on. Moreover, she found that new problems might be raised on a topic and villagers might need more time to give deeper thought to them.

Eighth, collaborative study should always be taken place in a suitable place. For example, the building of the village committee was not a proper place for conducting a study in Tang Fang Village because of the long-term mistrust of community leaders among many villagers.

Ninth, the researcher learned that family visits were indispensable to encourage villagers' participation in the collaborative study, especially if she sensed declining interest among participants.

Tenth, although a complete consensus could not be always reached, participants were asked to raise hands to show whether they agreed or disagreed with point. This helped the whole group to understanding how many supported an idea. If over half of the participants agreed, then the position was adopted as a draft decision which would then be announced at a village meeting.

Eleventh, it would have been better if some time had been left before she left the study site for the researcher to work with participants to start practicing some of the decisions that had made in the collaborative study program. Questions or problems might also arise during the implementation of actions. Moreover, if no action takes place after decisions have been made, enthusiasm for acting would likely fade with time, especially following the withdrawal of the researcher.

In terms of levels of participation, Tang Fang and Ya Zi villagers exhibited different degrees of involvement. At Tang Fang Village, especially in the first several rounds of workshops, people participated to meet predetermined research objectives for the study, such as discussing benefits-sharing activities in tourism development, sharing decision-making activities in tourism development, and improvements that might be achieved through participating in tourism

development. These topics were initiated externally by the researcher. However, the discussion focus gradually evolved towards villagers' interests, such as raising the rent of land or investigating lost money in the resettlement project. Nevertheless, villagers still depended on the external facilitator to direct the study. Therefore, at the end of the program, researcher found that collaborative study, as a method of identifying and solving daily problems, might not continue successfully at Tang Fang Village since even active participants did not understand clearly how to direct the program. They were relatively passive in the study process in terms of organizing the program.

At Ya Zi Village, the situation was different in that many participants took roles during the study through which they practiced directing discussions themselves. Therefore, they felt confident to direct future workshops at evening school. People participated jointly in determining the study goal and discussion themes, in analyzing and categorizing the gathered information, in generating collective solutions and in identifying actions on schedule. The study process tended to involve multiple perspectives based on villagers' understandings about village lives and used a structured learning process that villagers repeated in each day's workshop. People took control over their decisions and then they had a stake in maintaining the practice of decided actions. Although the researcher still worked as an overall facilitator of discussions in the collaborative study, she mainly took an assistant role instead of a directing role. She believes that these are reasons why villagers reported a desire to continue collaborative study as a method of solving problems at the village. Moreover, some active participants were interested in introduce the research method into the work at Dong Tian Park.

(5) Weaknesses of collaborative study: During the research process, some major weaknesses in the study design appeared, some of which might even lead to unpredictable harm to participants. First of all, the researcher was eager for quick success and instant benefits. A huge potential danger among study participants at Tang Fang Village might exist if the committee leaders who had been arrested were to be released and decided to retaliate. Although the decision to report the ex-leaders was made by villagers, in the absence of the collaborative study which provided the chance for

villagers to gather information, the people would not have been able to take action. In the absence of the researcher's support and encouragement, villagers might not have acted bravely in reporting the issue.

A second major weakness, which was perceived on reflection on what had transpired in the collaborative study, was that the research methods that used were fairly conventional. Games and drama, for example, were not used in the study process and this reduced the chances of villagers to employ some lively and active methods of participatory research. Such methods should have been tried at Ya Zi Village since participants did not refuse to use them when after researcher first introduced frequently-used methods employed in collaborative study. Although workshops were selected as a main method of study, Ya Zi villagers agreed to practice other methods after deciding on discussion themes. However, the researcher forgot to mention frequently or push the participants to adopt different methods of discussion. Although the researcher once suggested using drama to prepare applications for jobs, she misunderstood the local situation that villagers did not get jobs following an interview. Therefore, her suggestion of using drama to replicate an interview situation sounded meaningless for villagers. This induced a direct refusal among participants to attempt acting as a method in participatory research. Furthermore, she tended to follow an accustomed learning process without suggesting changes. However, the missed opportunity was identified too late for changes to be implemented. As she reflected on the problem while writing the thesis, she realized that she had been in a great rush to encourage the process of collaborative study because of a fear of having insufficient time to complete the study program.

A third weakness, which has been frequently in the literature by many participatory researchers, was that time was insufficient for the researcher to stay at the study site to observe participants' implementation of the actions that had been decided upon collectively with researcher. She had great interest in knowing the results of negotiation between the Malaysian company and Ya Zi Village might be and how Tang Fang villagers would hold the festival party or even lobby the committee leaders or government officials to approve a local market project.

A fourth weakness was recognized while at the study sites but the researcher was not in a

position to address it. It is unfortunate that participants from the two villages did not have a chance to meet to speak with each other directly and to learn from each other's experiences. Had Ya Zi villagers been able to visit Tang Fang, they could have observed the modern housing facilities for themselves. Conversely, had Tang Fang villagers visited Ya Zi Village, they might have had chance to observe how villagers worked at the park and how they had been involved in a tourism development project. This might raised their confidence and interest in struggling for some decision-making power at their workplaces or even in the tourist zone.

Notes:

1. Po Hou Village Committee was the second lowest rural semi-government-organization in Ya Long Bay Region and Tang Fang village was in its jurisdiction.
2. The "advanced education" referred to senior middle school (high school) and college or even university education. Villagers did not mean secondary university education such as master's or Ph.D.
3. To be fair to villagers, selection of students for each term was in charged by committee leaders and village leaders. As regulated by the evening school program, the selected students should be those "who should be given priority to have courses at the school: those who come from the poorest families, have the lowest formal education, a suitable age, both genders, and those who are anxious to get jobs." (Citation from Plan of Evening School)
4. The indicator "reservoir" was not evaluated since it had not been repaired yet. However, villagers generally trusted that the Water Conservancy Department team would help them to repair the reservoir.

Chapter 6 Theoretical Analysis and Recommendations

This chapter includes two different but inter-connected sections: a theoretical analysis of the research results according to the spiral hypothesis that was introduced in Chapter 2 and planning recommendations based on the theoretical analysis. Section 6.1 presents an interpretation of the research findings at four study sites as they relate to the participatory spiral. In Section 6.1.1, a comparison of the four study sites is undertaken, including villages' different experiences in conducting income, skill, awareness, social networking and planning power-related activities. Also, the likelihood that villagers had been empowered to pursue a higher level of participation in future tourism development is examined. In Section 6.1.2, a comparison based on research findings as they relate to different layers of the spiral hypothesis will be reported. Although in the spiral hypothesis, sharp boundaries that can be measured quantitatively do not exist, different communities' experiences can be summarized and compared on the basis of the spiral based on descriptions of layers. Secondly, internal and external factors that may either promote or prevent the progress of participation are identified. Then, an adjusted spiral model will be formulated. At last, a summary of research findings is outlined in Section 6.1.3. Section 6.2 will provide some planning recommendations based on understanding generated by the fieldwork, which can promote the participation of rural communities in the nearby tourist zones in Hainan Province. Section 6.2.1 explores the experiences and lessons learned at the four study sites and provide recommendations for improvement. Section 6.2.2 provides general recommendations to the province as a whole about how to initiate and popularize rural community participation in nearby tourism development from policy and organizational perspectives. Specifically, participatory research, as a powerful method to generate a deep understanding about local situations and as a potent means to introduce new livelihood strategies to traditional rural people is recommended as a means by which local research institutions can act as outside consultants to government decision makers.

6.1 Theoretical Interpretation of Research Results

6.1.1 A Comparison of Four Cases

6.1.1.1 Tang Fang Village at Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone

The enhancement of participation in Tang Fang had been income-oriented, slow, gradual and relatively independent, lacking of many intensive and durative outside supports comparing with Ya Zi and Dong Yu. Tang Fang had a potential to continually progress toward a role of “client” in tourism development, especially if they would be successful in fighting corrupt clanism and operating a village market; however, villagers’ low educational experience and infrequent cooperation in non-agricultural businesses might be problems to prevent their continual success.

Tang Fang has become the most successful village in Ya Long Bay Region in participating in tourism development. This was fundamentally because it was once an “impactee” of tourism development: the village was displaced but compensated with both money and new livelihood opportunities. The point can be shown in that tourism started in the region in 1994 and a large number of tourism development projects had occurred since then. However, the nearby rural villagers took little action to participate in the developments until 2001 when Tang Fang was compensated by being provided with tourism-related employment. Before that, the only contact between rural people in the region and tourists had been an intermittent sale of fruits to passing tourists along the Ya Long Bay Road by some female villagers. Moreover, although Tang Fang is a good example of sharing in the benefits of tourism development in various ways, such as employment and businesses creation, the surrounding villages were still very slow to take action. Insufficiency of capital, knowledge and experience were reasons preventing other villages from imitating Tang Fang Village. Also, their tolerance for the existing situation and their fear of change, as analyzed by Tang Fang villagers, might be other reasons for their reluctance to take advantage of the opportunities. Therefore, drawing the rural population out of traditional ways and encouraging them to participate in more profitable livelihood activities were arduous, especially among minority groups with traditional lifestyles. The point has also been approved by cases at Ya Zi and Dong Yu,

land expropriation, and even community displacement, became a painful but efficient way to force rural people to adapt quickly to new circumstances by taking advantage of compensation resources and opportunities. Of course, the researcher does not suggest the adoption of community relocation as a method to create an opportunity for rural communities to improve their living situation. Based on her earlier work (Wang, 2003), land expropriation, and especially community displacement, can induce many negative social impacts among affected people. Moreover, people do not suddenly enjoy a new improved life if their community has “merely” been displaced.

The key here is that people were compensated by the provision of new livelihood opportunities and trained to adapt to the new environment. In Tang Fang, people obtained opportunities from the Red Gorge Golf Resort: as of 2004, 132 villagers had worked in the resort and 64 of them had been trained there. Another village in the Ya Long Bay Region, Liu Pan, had a contrary experience in that the village was displaced but compensation was only in the form of money. This was used up several years later and the people still lacked the opportunity to participate in development to improve their lives. At Tang Fang, being displaced but compensated became the impetus of the villagers’ participation. However, the fact that the villagers worked hard to become more involved was equally important in initiating activities to share in the benefits of development. Tang Fang villagers, depending on their own efforts (such as starting small businesses or feeding more valuable animals in pens within their limited living area following relocation), stood up to the shock of being “impactees” of tourism development.

Outside assistances, such as the resort offered training and jobs; the tourist zone re-designed the roads which afforded the villagers a safer environment to operate businesses; government constituted policies to encourage local employment, issued licenses to legitimate some home businesses and provided a joint-insurance hospital care program, all helped the villagers to cast off the role of “impactee”. They gradually became “beneficiaries” of the surrounding development. The introduction of rural people to other livelihood options encouraged participation. However, rural communities will usually need to be given a longer time to adapt slowly but peacefully to a

changing livelihood system, gradually strengthening their capacities, if they are to become beneficiaries, rather than being “impactees”, as the initiation of participation.

Based on survey results from 2001, 2004 and 2005, villagers experienced a stable improvement in household income after participation. However, as known from villagers’ dominant activities, from their major concerns enumerated in 2004 and their actions, especially the middle- and long-term actions identified in the collaborative study in 2005, the villagers’ participatory focus was on income-generation. That was also the reason why Tang Fang villagers did not have (from surveys) and did not plan to have (from collaborative study) diverse activities compared with Ya Zi villagers. Although many Tang Fang families got a major part of their income from employment, they seemed to be unable to get a sense of belonging from it. They could not get an equal chance of promotion or a salary comparable with their Han colleagues and they lacked channels to report their concerns with their work situations. Therefore, Tang Fang villagers did not enjoy a similar sense of success in their working in comparison with Ya Zi villagers. Accordingly, they put much greater emphasis on improving their business activities in the collaborative study in 2005: most of the middle- and long-terms actions that they identified were business-oriented.

Although formal education was generally insufficient among younger adults at the village, their on-job training experiences were still helpful in assisting them to seek better jobs. In 2004, 52% (29 out of 56) of surveyed households depended on salaries from the Red Gorge; however, in 2005, after various companies in Ya Long Bay Region had opened employment opportunities to local rural people, merely 14% (6 out of 42) of surveyed households still mainly depended on jobs at the golf resort. Young villagers were able to find jobs at other companies based on their work and training experiences obtained in previous years at the resort.

From an awareness or psychological perspective, villagers had not participated in any specifically designed program or activity to help them to adjust to their new situation following displacement. However, sharing in the benefits of tourism development itself had an influence. In other words, it was an “improving through doing” process. For example, villagers were aware from

their business operations that they had lacked opportunities to earn money directly from tourists. In the collaborative study, they then raised the idea of building a local village market to attract tourists to visit their village; then, other businesses directly serving tourists could be initiated. Moreover, they were aware that if they wanted to do business directly with tourists, they had to behave appropriately and make their village clean and beautiful to attract tourists. A second example was that villagers were aware from others' experiences that certain businesses, such as a family hotel and restaurant, could bring more returns. Therefore, they wanted to operate a similar type of business. In Table 3, Chapter 5, it can be seen that the villagers themselves recognized the psychological improvements that had been gained through participation in tourism development. They felt that they had become "more confident, self-esteem, modern and insightful". The researcher did not ask participants to evaluate the degree of "improvements". Therefore, we merely know that Tang Fang villagers understood that they had improved through participation but the degree of improvement cannot be determined from the research results.

In terms of social networking, villagers' contacts with newly-made friends in work and businesses were intensified. This helped them to gain access to knowledge, information and opportunities. However, comparing with Ya Zi, Tang Fang had much less powerful and less committed outside supporters to provide capital, technical instruction, advice and information to facilitate their activities in tourism development. Furthermore, Tang Fang did not have a very friendly relationship with the surrounding villages partly because the village was dominant in receiving the local benefits of tourism development but brought fewer benefits to others and partly because villagers suspected that thieves lived at the other villages. Moreover, relationships among families and relatives in the village became more indifferent and people communicated, cooperated and helped each other less within in the village. Although it is clear that these social relationship changes discouraged greater participation, it is hard to say exactly how these changes might influence. However, through the collaborative study, villagers identified some of the negative changes and they suggested some solutions to mitigate them, such as a collective festival party with

the surrounding villages, “keeping-an-eye on the village” to ensure security, future cooperation in small businesses and the village market project. One encouraging finding was that disagreement among generations, especially between the elderly and young adults, was largely reduced. For example, although initially offended, some seniors were eventually tolerant when some young adults married people of other ethnicities. Also, those seniors who were interviewed accepted most decisions made by the younger generations in the collaborative study.

In terms of participating in decision making and planning, villagers generally lacked awareness and chances to participate. Tourist zone planning was conducted merely among government officials, developers and experts from planning or research institutions; there was no space for the local rural population to share in the process. However, from the villagers’ perspective, they did not expect to share such decision-making power with other groups. In conversations, the researcher learned that villagers agreed that “planning is the job of the government”, “we do not take care of those issues (e.g. making decisions in developing tourism)” and “we do not have knowledge to do that” (surveys and conversations in collaborative study breaks at Tang Fang). Therefore, villagers were not unhappy that no-one solicited their suggestions for the new (2004) master plan of Ya Long Bay Region and no information about the plan or the planning process was ever released to them.

Furthermore, in comparison with Ya Zi villagers, Tang Fang villagers did not have a smooth channel to report their concerns and suggestions concerning the management of the tourist zone or its establishments. Although some companies did have public meetings to discuss management issues, village workers just “sat there and listened” without raising comments (Surveys at Tang Fang). Therefore, villagers’ desire to share in decision-making and management power in Ya Long Bay Region was not identifiable and had not been nourished. However, there was some evidence of Tang Fang villagers’ enhanced awareness and courage to decide on issues closely related to their lives. Since the 1980s, the village and village committee leaders had been elected by the villagers and the government had no influence on that; however, the result of increased local “democracy”

was not entirely beneficial for villagers since in the rural communities, especially minority communities, leaders were “elected” based on religious or clan status by the villagers. Therefore, traditionally powerful families could easily acquire leading positions and continue to oppress ordinary families. The situation changed in Tang Fang in 2004: villagers elected the current new village head who did not come from a traditional leading family but was elected because he was trusted by the villagers. Although the villagers did not interpret this as a political success when they talked with the researcher, the researcher believes that it was. Moreover, led by the new head, villagers negotiated with Red Gorge concerning compensation for leaking roofs and higher rent for their land. Perhaps more surprisingly, minority villagers agreed to fight bravely with corrupt former village committee leaders who came from leading families. However, it is hard to determine at this time whether or not the action was beneficial.

Almost no direct evidence was collected in this study site indicating that Tang Fang villagers would enhance their participation to next level of “client” in the spiral in a short period of time. However, it is not impossible that villagers could operate some larger-scale businesses successfully in the future if a local market is opened in their territory. Then village “clients” might exist in Tang Fang who are able to demand and pay for goods and services provided by the government and the private sector (World Bank, 1996). A bright future could emerge if villagers work hard and outside groups provide more tangible support.

6.1.1.2 Ya Zi Village at Dong Tian Tourist Zone

In the study, Ya Zi was the most successful village in participating in tourism development and more successful than its nearby villages. Villagers’ participation was extensive and well-grounded. Although bearing a role of “beneficiary” in tourism development at this stage, Ya Zi was the village most likely entering a level of being “client” in near future by taking advantage of current fruitful participation, well-education, profitable non-tourism-related livelihoods and a coming handicraft manufacturing base project.

Interestingly, Ya Zi also experienced land expropriation and compensation. However, its experience of being an “impactee” was much less painful than that of Tang Fang. First, village relocation did not occur and villagers still resided in the original village. Second, Nan Shan Village Committee owned plentiful arable land and the nearby villages all had some waste land that Ya Zi villagers could rent enabling them to continue to plant vegetables. Third, planting vegetables did not need as much land as some other crops, so villagers still had access to sufficient arable land. The main serious problem resulting from land expropriation was that the arable land close to water resources was gone and the rest of the land and most rented lots were inconvenient to water.

As compensation and in appreciation that villagers had given up their land to support the development of Dong Tian Park, the park provided various chances to facilitate villagers’ efforts to improve their lives. Participation in tourism development was one of these. Like Tang Fang, Ya Zi was an “impactee” at the initiation of their participation in tourism development. Although Dong Tian Park had been in operation since the 1980s and Nan Shan Temple is only 3 kilometres from the village and was opened in 1998, few villagers had worked in those two tourist zones before 2001. Many young educated people worked outside the region after they had graduated from schools because the tourist zones refused to provide local rural people with good jobs but merely offered poorly paid, labouring positions to villagers, such as cleaning. This started to change at the park after the new management company investigated and found that many young villagers had formal education. They then decided to provide employment as part of the compensation for land expropriation.

As summarized in Table 1, in order to help villagers successfully and continually improve their lives, the park directly provided jobs and business opportunities to villagers. Furthermore, village workers had a fair opportunity to be promoted, both in terms of salary and position. The jobs were largely stable, especially those jobs with higher status or requiring professional training, such as tour guide, guard and cook. From 2001 to 2005, among the 49 villagers in surveyed families who had worked in the park, 32 still worked there. Even for those business opportunities that were not

directly with the park, capital and technical support were sometimes provided.

Table 1: Employment and Businesses owned by Ya Zi Villagers in 2005

Businesses			Employment		
Business Activities	# of Families Participated (among 38 surveyed households)	It was hard for some survey respondents to tell how much their families earned from certain type of business annually since some of the families participated in multiple businesses.	Employment in Dong Tian Park	# of Villagers Involved	Annual Salary (Can\$)
Stalls in park	3		Junior Manager	2	3000-5000
Laundry contract with park	1		Accountant	1	2000
Vegetable & meat supply to park restaurant	2		Tour Guide	5	1000-1600
Employee refectory contract	5		Cook (assistant cook)	4	800-3000
Taxi	4		Guards	14	800-1400
Miniature garden	2		Waiter	6	800-1200
Planting Chinese medicine	1		Gardener	17	600-1000
			Employment outside the Park	# of Villagers Involved	Annual Salary (Can\$)
			Seller	1	1000
		Hotel Waiter	1	1000	

Source: Survey at Ya Zi, 2005

Awareness of the importance of education was traditionally strong in the Ya Cheng region, including Ya Zi. Villagers, especially the younger generations, were generally well educated. Moreover, village workers received formal training at Dong Tian Park which helped them to obtain much practical knowledge and strengthened their employment relationship with the park. The evening school program was another important source of skill and knowledge generation. Furthermore, the program was eventually opened to all the surrounding villages which helped to build a foundation for villages to help each other in improving their lives in the long term.

Ya Zi villagers generally had a more comprehensive understanding of participation in tourism development compared with villagers at the other study sites; they did not only focus on

generating “money” or “income”. This achievement can be partially attributed to various activities and facilities organized by Dong Tian Park and the village committee, such as a library with computers, an entertainment room, an evening party, a volley-ball match, the evening school program, etc. Some new ideas, such as the “eco-village” concept, were first introduced to villagers at evening school lectures. That concept attracted great interest among villagers and it became a discussion topic in the collaborative study in 2005. Villagers decided to publicize the concept in their “blackboard program” in the hope that it would be successfully implemented in their village. Villagers also perceived a “great improvement” in many psychological attributes, such as “confidence, self-esteem, courage, feelings of security and stability” through participation in tourism development and in the collaborative study.

In terms of social networking, strong and diverse outside contacts had been established at the village, such as with the park, the evening school board, instructors of the evening school, the town government, of workplace colleagues, and friends and relatives in other villages. Villagers were good at taking advantage of these contacts to obtain advice, information, capital and technical supports to facilitate their activities. The relationship between the village and the nearby tourist zone was quite harmonious. This situation does not exist at many tourism destinations in the province. The researcher heard villagers used “our park” to indicate the Dong Tian Park in surveys, the collaborative study and in daily conversations. Village workers generally had a strong feeling of belonging toward the park. For example, in discussing a Li handicraft manufacturing project, almost all current workers refused to participate even though they supported the project because they were satisfied with their jobs at the park. Compared with Tang Fang, Ya Zi had a much more friendly relationship with nearby villages. Villagers cooperated on some activities: sometimes among individual families, such as renting arable land; sometimes among villages, such as in a volley-ball match. Ya Zi villagers’ decision and action to help the nearby primary school in mitigating its insufficiency of playing space and facilities were generally praised by residents of nearby villages. In another example, nearby villagers came to help build a deep well when Ya Zi faced the

emergency of a lack of irrigation water. Furthermore, good relationships generally existed among families in the village as can be seen in their cooperation in various businesses. However, the close family ties were not always an advantage for conservative senior villagers sometimes prevented the village as whole from adopting some creative and potentially beneficial actions.

Ya Zi villagers had much greater awareness of sharing in decision making and management of the tourist zone compared with the other three study villages. Although planning of the tourist zone did not involve the rural population and was conducted in office by planning organizations and the planning department of the tourist zone, information on the villages was collected to organize some specific sections in the Master Plan, such as land expropriation and compensation, and the Plan for the Evening School Program, which closely related to villagers' interests. Moreover, in the collaborative study, it was suggested that the evening school board and park planning department should continually modify the evening school program to make it more in accordance with villagers' needs. Importantly, some villagers contributed their suggestions, ideas and concerns to decision making and management of the park through their participation in weekly departmental meetings and company monthly meeting. Some of these ideas had been adopted, such as an assistance project to help the nearby primary school to make desks and chairs as introduced in Chapter 4. Two villagers even took the positions of junior managers at the park: one was director of the Guard Department and the other was a leader of a tour guide team. These villagers participated in daily decision making in the park in their work areas. Park employees also had a clear channel to report their questions or suggestions to directors of departments: if a problem could not be solved, ideas would be reported to a higher management level and even to the general manager. Through all these ways, some villagers had some management power in the park and park employees had valuable opportunities to enhance their awareness and to nourish their capacity to share power with others. In contrast, villagers who did not work at the park generally lacked access to participate in decision making and management of the tourist zone. Only the Nan Shan Village Committee could help them to get their ideas heard. However, not all ideas raised by the ordinary villagers could

reach the park management company since the committee often worried about giving the park too much trouble or offending the park. For example, the leaders were reluctant to report to the park that villagers wanted to operate some small businesses taking advantage of the park but located outside it to avoid paying a management fee.

In general, Ya Zi villagers, as minority Li people, unlike most minority groups, they did not perceive a huge political or social gap between themselves and government officials or tourist zone developers. As such, they were more willing to ask for help when they met difficulties. Although the villagers could not explain this, it is the researcher's conjecture that, because many villagers had relatively high education, they had greater confidence and could more easily communicate with others. Also, these villagers had a richer experience in collective activities with other groups in such things as volley-ball, a festival party and evening school (some instructors were directors of various organizations). In their daily work, employees had opportunities to receive leaders, such as government officials. For example, the 2004 "most excellent" tour guide of the park was a Ya Zi villager who had provided interpretation services several times for municipal and provincial officials. Furthermore, both from observing villagers' daily lives and from experiences in the collaborative study program, the researcher learned that villagers had a strong inclination to express their creative ideas and to take in charge of activities in comparison with other rural populations in Hainan. For example, workshop participants raised the idea that the village could make a collective resume for making self-recommendations to companies where job opportunities existed. As another example, after they got used to the collaborative study process, they liked to direct future workshops by themselves in the evening school program. In the end, villagers had a desire to own a tourism project that should be designed, controlled and managed by villagers themselves. This aspiration was the impetus for most villagers to accept the idea of operating a Li handicraft manufacturing base at the village when most of other villages refused the project.

Although it is premature to suggest that Ya Zi villagers had already reached the stage of being "clients" of tourism development, of the four study villages, it had the greatest potential to

proceed to this stage. Villagers' experiences in participating in modern life and the nearby development were diverse and well-grounded. If the handicraft manufacturing were to be implemented, villagers would have the opportunity to participate in tourism as "clients". Moreover, one of the most successful points in Ya Zi was that it was surrounded by other villages which also experienced a gradual improvement through sharing in the benefits of tourism development (such as evening school, jobs and other collective activities). Consequently, labour or other assistance could be sought from the relatively well-educated and friendly neighbouring villages to support future development, perhaps for the handicraft base and eco-village construction.

6.1.1.3 Zhen Wen Village at Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone

Although Zhen Wen villagers initiated their participation spontaneously and at present succeeded in taking a role of "beneficiary" in tourism development, the future success of the village was unpredictable. Outside factors, which went beyond the control of the community, might have a strong influence in directing villagers' participation, such as encumbrance of the company and support of government.

A question was added in surveys with Zhen Wen villagers about the "negative impacts of the nearby tourist zone to the village" but no valid answer was received. Villagers generally complained about the tourist zone blocking and interrupting their businesses within the tourist zone as a "negative impact" and it was not a valid answer. There was no clear evidence that Zhen Wen was "being negatively influenced by the tourist zone" and, indeed, it was a beneficiary of tourism development at the time of the research, at least from an economic perspective. A summary of some of the business activities operated by Zhen Wen villagers are presented in Table 2. Therefore, Zhen Wen did not obviously experience the role of "impactee". In other words, the chance to participate in development was grasped by the villagers themselves and was not "given or handed out" by anyone else. Therefore, the "impactee" layer in the spiral model was not very pertinent in this case. It suggests that being an "impactee" is not a necessary condition for initiating rural community

participation in tourism development. Zhen Wen villagers and many rural people in the region, mainly attracted by profits, proactively participated in some tourism-related activities.

Table 2: Businesses Operated by Zhen Wen Villagers, 2005

Business Activities	Location	# of Households Participated	Estimated Annual Income (Can\$)	Occurrence	Status (from view of management company)
Refitted fish boat: appreciating Tian Ya Hai Jiao on the sea	Tian Ya Hai Jiao	at least 4	at least 5000	spontaneously	"illegal"
Rented stall-business (less than 10% of 400 outdoor stalls were rented to local people)	Tian Ya Hai Jiao	1	around 850		approved
"Wandering" retail business	Tian Ya Hai Jiao	although not regular activity, but most families participated	if it is regular activity, 600 - 800	spontaneously	"illegal"
Garbage collection	Tian Ya Hai Jiao	?	?	spontaneously	"illegal"
Leading tourists to climb the wall of the tourism zone to escape the entrance fee	Tian Ya Hai Jiao	?	?(Can\$3 per person)	spontaneously	"illegal"
"Wandering" retail business	Da Dong Hai	?	?	spontaneously	legal because nobody control it

Source: Key informant Interviews and Survey at Zhen Wen, 2005

Moreover, Zhen Wen was the only case in this study that did not differ much with its surrounding communities in terms of their degree of participation in tourism. The village was selected as a study site because souvenir manufacturing had been identified as an opportunity in regional tourism master plan (although it had not been implemented) and because of its location adjacent to the tourist zone. All nearby rural communities operated similar businesses at the tourism zone, most of which were perceived as being "illegal and disorderly" by the management company. Furthermore, Zhen Wen was the only case in this study in which the local community had an

antagonistic relationship with the nearby tourist zone. This threatened the ongoing possibility of the villagers continuing to benefit from tourism. The government was aware of the problem and negotiated with the general manager of the tourist zone to try to persuade him and his company to collaborate with the local people by providing them with opportunities for employment, for starting stall and boat businesses and for regulating their activities. The management company of the tourist zone, which had a great freedom in controlling any implementation, overtly agreed but covertly opposed the suggestion and took no action to extend benefits to local communities. Furthermore, the management company of tourist zone, at the time of the research, negotiated with two dive companies who had houseboats for them to participate in an “Appreciating Tian Ya Hai Jiao on the Sea” project. They planned to compete with villagers’ fishing boats, eventually edging them out and monopolizing the business. Moreover, the company at Tian Ya Hai Jiao reinforced its control of “wandering” sellers and intended to stop them climbing the wall and entering the tourist zone. In these ways, the villagers could lose their two most profitable ways of sharing in the benefits of tourism. If government could not provide a straightforward policy to force the management company to allow local villagers to share in the tourism business or adjust personnel at the management company of tourist zone (it was a nationally-owned tourist zone), the opportunity for these people to support themselves through tourism will be lost.

Although the researcher did not agree that all of the activities were “illegal” as claimed by the management company, some of them were “disorderly” since villagers who operated businesses did not care very much for the safety of tourists by carrying too many tourists in a boat or requiring them to disembark quickly within the park. Also, they certainly had negative influences to the management of tourist zone, such as by teaching tourists to climb the wall of the park to escape paying entrance fees or by overturning garbage cans in the park. Also, the researcher learned from stall owners in the park that some Hui stall-owners sometimes refused to pay the rent on time and even beat those who came from the park to hasten payment. Conflicts also sometimes occurred between neighbouring stall owners as they competed for business. Therefore, a tense relationship

existed between local Hui residents and the management company of the park and business owners of other ethnicities. The park refused to provide employment, training, stores or any other program to help rural Hui minority people to enlarge their share of the benefits from tourism. Consequently, no skill, awareness or network-enhancement programs had ever been organized for rural population in the region. However, villagers' negotiation skills had probably been enhanced by several years' business operation for tourists. Awareness of the benefits of tourism was apparent as they creatively transformed their fishing boats to carry tourists. Social networks might have been strengthened through more intensive business contacts with people from outside their community and of other ethnicities.

Community participation in decision making and planning of the regional tourism development was impossible since a bad relationship existed between residents and the tourist zone. However, villagers seemed have no aspiration to sit with management company and government officials to share the power of planning and decision making. They simply wished that the current businesses would be secure. Even those village religious leaders who could easily mobilize Hui villagers did not do so. Perhaps they were unwilling to take a leadership role in these matters, or were not aware the importance of communicating with town government officials who came to visit and attempted to mediate the tensions between the villagers and the tourism company. This could have been a good opportunity for villagers to clearly express to decision makers that they wanted to share in the business at the tourist zone and to ask for political and planning assistance. However, the opportunity was easily given up by the villagers.

The Zhen Wen situation shows that it is difficult to predict if the village can maintain its current share of tourism benefits. The form of participation could be improved and then sustained through the development of unambiguous policies and a detailed implementation plan with clear responsibilities and cooperation among different levels and various departments of government and the tourism company. Time would be needed to train and educate residents to increase their experiences, knowledge, skills, awareness and social networks which might help them to participate

in tourism development in a more appropriate and sustainable manner. On the other hand, participation of rural communities in the development of Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone might be prevented entirely if the government is not determined to encourage it and the current management company insists on eliminating community participation.

From this case, it can be seen that the process and direction of community participation are not as simple as shown in the spiral model: participation can expand or contract to adjacent layers in the spiral depending on the influence of internal and external factors. For example, in this case, factors such as the community's education, social relationships with other groups, experiences in and knowledge of participation, local political orientation and planning direction, as well as decision makers' (including government and developing companies) awareness to collaborate with and benefit local people in development all had impacts on the participation process.

6.1.1.4 Dong Yu Village at Boao Tourist Zone

Dong Yu was extraordinary in that villagers' participation was single and focused on operating various businesses due to villagers lacking of education and hardly got any paid-jobs and lacking of awareness to experience other programs. However, villagers' businesses were largely successful and material quality of life was high by taking advantage of government assistance and a well-planned resettlement project.

Dong Yu was another example where community participation started after receipt of compensation following displacement by tourism development. As with Tang Fang, Dong Yu was entirely relocated to a site with a completely different environment and living situation. However, in this case, the experience of being an "impacted" of development was not entirely disadvantageous to villagers. They were moved to the nearby town which was much closer to public facilities and services in comparison with living on an isolated island where transportation between the mainland and island was difficult (a bridge was built later after the tourist zone's construction). However,

villagers still initiated their participation in tourism development after being “impactees” in that they lost all of their arable land and access to the fishery. Thus, their former livelihoods had to be given up almost entirely.

A government work team worked with the village for almost four years to help them transform their status from an agricultural population to a non-agricultural population. The team negotiated compensation, looked for jobs, created business opportunities, facilitated application of loans and publicized the importance of training and education (although some of the latter failed). Thereafter villagers enjoyed many urban advantages, such as piped water, telephone, gas and electricity services. They quickly adapted to the new lives; quickly changing from development “impactees” to “beneficiaries”.

With respect to employment, Dong Yu villagers were more successful in operating businesses due to the support of government work team and to their willingness to cooperate in business ventures. Villagers operated diverse businesses which either directly or indirectly related to tourism development (for example, a local vegetable and meat market served mainly residents, most of whom came from other regions to work in tourism). Most villagers’ businesses were independent of the tourism companies but many were dependent on tourism. Therefore, any changes in tourism company operation, personnel or policy would not greatly influence villagers’ businesses. Villagers’ businesses were largely stable and profitable (Table 3). Local competition in business was not serious: some service facilities, such as restaurants and grocery stores were operated by non-local families. Most of non-local families, however, came to work in the tourist zone and nearby villages concentrated upon agriculture. To the contrary, the researcher heard tourists complain about having limited choices in the region. In the future, more non-local families or local rural families might perceive the good potential of the market for services and start to compete with Dong Yu villagers¹. However, over time it is likely that Dong Yu villagers will become better equipped to operate businesses in terms of both capital and experience. Expanding on this point, the demonstrative effect of benefit-sharing by Dong Yu was very low and surrounding villages seldom imitated Dong

Yu villagers' activities. They continued with agriculture-related activities, such as planting crops and fishing. Mr. Yang, the Vice-director of the Planning Department of Qionghai City, suggested that villagers generally lacked awareness, knowledge, capital and even the courage to initiate activities other than in traditional agriculture.

Table 3: Employment and Businesses owned by Dong Yu Villagers in 2005

Businesses			Employment		
Business Activities	# of Families Participated (among 44 surveyed households)	Can\$ of Annual Income per household	Employment in Boao	# of Villagers Involved	Annual Salary (Can\$)
Vegetable and meat market	12	1300-2100	Caddie	14	800 (exclude tips)
Stalls at shopping street	19	650-2500	Gardener	5	600-800
Stores at residential area	1	1300	Waiter	2	800-1000
Bus	26	50-150	Housekeeper	1	800-1000
Tricar	2	?	Guards	2	800-1000
Sea-food sale at Qionghai City	1	around 2500			
Town restaurant	1	?	Non-tourism-related employment	# of Villagers Involved	Annual Salary (can\$)
Automobile maintain store	1	4100	Electric power company	1	around 1400
Family hotel	0 (non-surveyed families involved)	newly opened	Seller	1	800
Restaurant in residential area	0	not open yet	Bus ticket seller	1	800

Source: Survey at Dong Yu, 2005

However, one thing need to be forecasted is that intense competition in serving tourists existed between Qionghai City and the Boao Tourist Zone and Boao was not in a preponderant position in this competition. Although the centre of Qionghai City was 32 kilometres from Boao Town, much more comprehensive services and entertainment existed in the city, such as restaurants serving local famous dishes, bars, theatres, establishments that offer therapeutic massage for golf

players, etc. All these attracted tourists who had automobiles to consume in the city at night even though most of them lived in Boao. The city was located on the way either from Sanya City (the most famous destination in the south) or Haikou City (the capital city in the north) to Boao and tourists to Boao all knew that they could find well-served foods, lodging and entertainment services in the city since they crossed it to get to the tourist zone. It is worth mentioning that situations in the other three tourist zones and their nearby towns were quite different from that in the Boao. Although Ya Cheng Town, Tian Ya Town and Tian Du Town were located merely several kilometres away from Nan Shan, Tian Ya Hai Jiao and Ya Long Bay, the towns had no reputation for providing services and entertainment to tourists and had limited entertainment businesses oriented to tourists.

Activities to enhance villagers' education, training, skills, awareness, social networks were either very limited or less successful in Dong Yu. Villagers originally had very poor formal education since they had lived on an isolated island that constrained their access to public educational services which are mainly located in towns and cities. They also had limited awareness of the importance of education even after they were moved to Boao Town and much closer to schools. They were still reluctant to send their children to school. The work team organized some speeches at village meetings to encourage the villagers to send their children to school but had limited results. Since most villagers were refused employment in the tourist zone, their chance to get free training was also limited. Except in one case, the researcher found that villagers were not willing to take training programs at their own cost. Although it was obvious that the village bus company had to pay a large amount of salaries to outsiders to help to run the company, such as for an accountant and drivers, no villagers were willing to spend money to learn these skills. Although villagers would learn skills and knowledge and gain experience from actually doing business, the pace of progress would inevitably be slower than learning directly from instructors and experts. Increased awareness and networking occurred spontaneously and the "learning by doing" process went very smoothly: villagers became aware of business opportunities from each other and from outsiders who cooperated with them in existing businesses. For example, a restaurant was operated

jointly by families from the village and the town after met each other in the bus company.

However, obvious problems existed. Education was one example. Villagers also ignored and even did not care that they had a well-constructed but empty shopping street in their new village. This afforded great potential to bring more business opportunities and economic benefits. The villagers unwisely let the work team withdraw from their village. In fact, even if the villagers had to urge the work team to stay, it might not have occurred since no further funding would be provided to the team. However, if villagers had had the understanding and willingness to keep in touch with team members, they then would have kept a certain level of communication with decision makers who could easily influence the degree to which villagers could improve their lives. The work team, when they visited the new village, collected villagers' concerns (mainly economically-oriented) and helped them to raise ideas, suggestions and solutions. More tangibly, they helped villagers to negotiate loans and jobs with outside organizations. Although the team sometimes intervened in village affairs, such as lobbying to let more people participate in the bus company, they did it with an awareness of equality. Villagers interpreted the issue differently and felt that the work team intervened too much; some of them would rather the team withdraw. It was not that nobody at the village perceived the problem for the village leaders did find it more inconvenient to get help after the retreat of work team and contacted Mr. Yang sometimes to ask for suggestions and advices on village affairs. However, stronger personal contacts between village leaders and government officials might have increased the chance of unbalanced power in the village.

The research results indicate that villagers had not and were unlikely to enhance their role in development from "beneficiaries" to "clients" very soon. Since villagers did not acquire formal education and failed to keep a close relationship with government. Nevertheless, their businesses were successful and opportunities existed in the region that villagers could take advantage of in the near future.

6.1.2 A Comparison of the Layers of the Spiral Model

The impactee layer in the spiral refers to communities being displaced or experiencing land expropriation but being compensated by money and access to new livelihood opportunities. The study shows that this is not a necessary condition to initiate the rural community's participation as Zhen Wen villagers spontaneously participated in tourism.

However, in the present development situation in Hainan Province where there is no clear policy and implementation plan to regulate developers to share benefits with local people or encourage rural communities' involvement in nearby development, being "impactees" is almost a necessary condition for villagers in order to require developers or investors to provide assistance to facilitate villagers' participation in tourism development. Even though insightful government officials might negotiate with developers to lobby them to help local rural communities, little may be achieved. For example, in the Zhen Wen case, villagers' participation was not welcomed by the management company of the tourist zone mainly because the developers felt no obligation to the nearby rural communities.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, in an immature business environment, businesses groups may not be spontaneously sensitive to ecological or local issues in the absence of policies and regulations. They may prefer to see their privileges and profits continue through large-scale development in which few others are involved or can compete. Although many scholars have suggested that the well-organized involvement of local people in sharing benefits of development may help to sustain and guarantee developers' economic returns in the long term, for example, good local relationships and high quality local labour are beneficial to private investors, developers may not fully understand these. Some of them may not care about long-term benefits since they coming from elsewhere, even overseas; and they may have a short-term perspective, desiring quick returns and lacking a long-term commitment. Therefore, educating, encouraging and enforcing developers to increase their willingness to involve local residents in tourism development is necessary. As well, some measures to encourage developers could be introduced, such as tax-reductions, provision of political

assistance, titles (such as “One of the Most Constructive Businessmen in the Province”) and commendation in the news. Dong Tian Park is a good example: the park devoted much effort to help nearby minority villagers to improve their lives and, in return, they received supportive behaviours: the park and its manager have not only been honored but have also received tangible internal benefits. In short, if policies to facilitate rural community participation in tourism and other types of development and carefully-drafted plans existed, if government and other groups cooperated in implementing these policies and plans, and if local communities had a strong desire to accept changes and were prepared to devote efforts to adapting to new livelihood systems, then the “impactee” layer might not need to exist in the spiral to describe a process of community participation in development.

From villagers’ perspective, although being “impactees” of development was a painful experience, especially in the village relocation cases, it was an efficient way to quickly reorient rural people, especially minority groups, from their traditional lifestyle and to urge them to adapt to a new, modern life through their own creativity and efforts. This point is supported at three study sites where villagers were treated first as “impactees” and where tourism development occurred before villagers took initiative to participate. It is possible that these rural communities lacked ideas, knowledge, capital, experience, courage and many other needed resources to initiate spontaneously and they had long been fettered by traditions that they were reluctant to modify. Therefore, displacement or expropriation eventually forced them to break away from their traditions, release their creativity and energy to rebuild a new life. Compensations such as jobs, business opportunities, training, cash and advanced living facilities all accelerated the process of change. It is not intended to suggest that the experience of being an “impactee” should be extended to other villages in tourism regions to encourage people’s participation. However, creative measures and large efforts will be needed to initiate rural community participation in modern development. Although ideally not as shocking and painful as displacement, the measures will need to be sufficiently strong to make people aware of new livelihood opportunities, to introduce principles and methods of

participation and to break away from their existing poor living situation.

However, based on her knowledge of the areas surrounding the study sites, the researcher realized that being negatively influenced by tourism development was certainly not a requirement or guarantee for a rural community to initiate their participation in tourism development successfully. For example, many villages at Ya Long Bay Region were forbidden to fish in the area after development of tourism but villagers were not immediately provided with new income sources to compensate for the loss. Therefore, reasonable compensation and resettlement plan is a key component of introducing rural poor into a development process. Moreover, even though a community has been compensated with jobs, cash, businesses, training etc. which might provide a foundation for villagers to conduct activities in tourism, it is still possible that their livelihoods may not be sustainable. Since the process of participation is complicated and may be influenced by many factors, both internal and external to the community, such as the creativity, education, level of effort, aspiration and awareness of the community (e.g. aspiration of “operating our own business in tourism” at Ya Zi might create a chance for villagers to enlarge their success); and favorable policies, policy implementation, other assistance and support from government, business groups and other groups, etc. The presence of these factors might facilitate movement from the “impactee” to the “beneficiary” layer”. Conversely, the absence of these factors might confine the villagers to “impactee” status.

The criteria for becoming “beneficiaries” is that, according to the World Bank (1996), people become recipients of services, resources, training, information and development interventions. The impetus for progressing to “beneficiary layer” can be self-generated, as in the Zhen Wen case, or provided by others as in the other three study cases. The scope and speed of the progression from the first to the second layer and within the second layer varied from case to case, as well, advancement was intermittent rather than steady. For example, Dong Yu villagers experienced a much less painful displacement and quickly entered in a stage of being “beneficiary” of development comparing with Tang Fang, since they obtained a strong and sustained assistance from

government work team to plan for resettlement. The cases also show that once the “beneficiary” layer is reached, the direction is not necessarily upward: status might be enhanced (to “client”), stabilized (still “beneficiary”) or decline (back to “impactee”). Also, the speed of change may vary and many factors may accelerate or decelerate the change. If the decelerating factors are strong enough, then decline may happen. For example, Zhen Wen villagers then experience increasing participation in tourism and they had created a new profitable business: the refitted fish boat. However, competition from the management company might become a very strong obstacle, resulting in a decline in the previous enhancement process. Therefore, the spiral process is not necessarily an ongoing upward movement. The process has been simplified and it constitutes a set of desired circumstances rather than an inevitable process.

The cases suggest that, both in the real world situation and in the spiral hypothesis, a clear boundary between “beneficiary” and “client” does not exist. “Clients” are described as those who are capable of demanding and paying for goods and services provided by government and the private development sectors (World Bank, 1996). “Clients” should have some control over their participation. Little evidence suggested that any of the four cases had successfully entered the “client” layer. However, if Ya Zi could successfully establish and operate a Li traditional handicraft manufacturing base and Tang Fang could start a village market and operate their own restaurants and family hotels, they then might enter the “client” layer.

Dong Yu Villagers, in operating various businesses, at present were relatively independent and they indeed paid for services and goods provided by others, such as taxes, management fees and the costs of goods required by their businesses. However, from beginning, many business opportunities were found by the government work team; villagers did not capture the opportunities independently. Therefore, these villagers could hardly be identified as “clients”. For example, they lacked ideas and awareness to take advantage of the empty shopping street in their residential area. More important, “clients” of development should start to participate in shared decision making with other groups (Rein, 1976). Although, at this stage, their influence may not yet be equal to those who

are higher up politically (Abers, 1998), they have essentially become partners in development (Farrell, 1992) and they should have the confidence and resources to ask to be better “heard” in initiating development activities. However, in Dong Yu, villagers did not expect to be “better heard” and they concentrated narrowly on economic enhancement.

Despite the lack of evidence to show how people act as “clients” in participation, one should expect that future trends in participation after reaching the “client” layer will be diverse. The rural community may continue to be successful and reach the layer of “owner”, becoming owners and managers of the development activities with a strong voice in deciding development affairs. However, it is possible that rural communities can not exceed the “client” layer to compete with outside developers with enormous investment power to direct and support large-scale development. It is also possible that villagers will not succeed in their roles of “clients”; then, they would have to regress to the “beneficiary” layer to operate some small businesses working for and depending on those companies with strong investment power.

The fieldwork also indicated that an understanding about a complicated social phenomenon such as “rural community participation in tourism development” can not be captured adequately in either a questionnaire survey or interviews with a list of questions. This is because the questions are largely pre-determined by the researcher, who is an outsider, to try to predict the local situation. Through conducting a “collaborative learning process” in participatory research, it was learned from the villagers that participation should be considered in the broadest context of village life. In participatory research, in which the research participants and the researcher collaboratively decided about topics, many issues arose that did not directly relate to tourism. However, their resolution could help to strengthen the foundations of village life upon which villagers could pursue progress in participation in tourism development with greater courage, confidence, resources, experiences, knowledge and information. For example, in Tang Fang, villagers’ decisions in workshops, such as to struggle for higher rent for expropriated land and to improve their operation of home businesses through applying for loans, establishing cooperation among families, negotiating business

opportunities from surrounding companies, etc., all strengthen their social capital which would facilitate their participation in tourism development. Villagers would learn more knowledge, gain more experiences, get more information, build stronger relationships with others and make more friends from these activities, which would also help to strengthen villagers' intellectual capacity in pursuing an even more fruitful participation in tourism development in future.

Moreover, in workshops, Tang Fang villagers decided to create a better physical and social environment in the village, such as improved sanitation, security and children's education, which helped to mitigate troubles and released worries at home. Then villagers could be absorbed in work in the day and relax and rest after work. Decisions, such as to hold a collective New Year party and cooperate in businesses, helped to strengthen villagers' social networks within and outside of the village, facilitating their contacts for assistance, advice and information and, ultimately, enlarging their participation in tourism development. The villagers' decision to establish a local market and to operate businesses, such as family accommodations and restaurants, if realized, would make tourism an even more important source of local livelihood. These decisions also show that villagers have their own ideas about how to participate in tourism development to improve their lives. In formulating policies or plans for tourism, government or community promoters should not ignore villagers' own plans and aspirations for, given the opportunity, they do have ideas to offer.

Similarly, many decisions made by Ya Zi villagers in the participatory research also appeared to have no relationship with tourism but, in fact, did so. For example, villagers suggested the protection, beautification and reorganization of the physical environment at the village, such as by raising awareness about sanitation, cleaning the public toilet, levelling the roads and removing temporary constructions, promoting eco-village construction, and protecting water supplies in the forests and mountain. All of these actions might improve the living environment so that the villagers could enjoy a comfortable life. At the same time, improvement in the environment would facilitate the implementation of the Li minority handicraft manufacturing base and make village visits, family restaurants and other subsequent projects more likely to succeed. Decisions such as modifying the

evening school program to make it more consistent with villagers' needs, adding internet access to take advantage of the telephone line and computers in the village, and organizing a "blackboard program" helped to spread practical knowledge and information among villagers. Of course, the significance of those actions was not specific to tourism but would enhance villagers' capacity to control and manage their life. One of the important decisions made in the workshop series by participants was obviously tourism-related: the Li minority handicraft manufacturing base project. This indicated that villagers regarded tourism as an important opportunity to improve the village life and that they had aspirations, courage and confidence to own, control and manage a tourism-related business by themselves, not merely depending on Dong Tian Park.

The decisions to fight long-term drought, dig a well, plant vegetables and establish a yard economy apparently had no relationship with 'participation in tourism development'; however, these actions might increase household income. If livelihoods at the village are improved, confidence and capacity to increase participation in tourism development would likely expand. In rural lives in which villagers have multiple livelihood sources, success in any one of these could help to strengthen the others. Therefore, different livelihoods are not independent of each other but are interconnected. Tourism is not the only livelihood source and may not even be the dominant one in a real-world village life. This finding is consistent with Chambers' opinion (1997, p165, 172):

"For many of the poor, the strategy of life is fox-like. It is to do many things: to sniff around and look for opportunities, to diversify by adding enterprises and to multiply activities and relationships. It is to use not one but many means to gain food and cash, to reduce vulnerability and to improve quality of life... This is not 'employment' in 'a job' in 'a workplace', which is the urban reality of most of those with 'work': one means, but only one, by which livelihood can be secure" (p.165).

"The more diverse a livelihood system, the more stable and sustainable it will be... Diversity serves economic and social independence to reduce the danger of relying on a single one... Diversity also enhances well-being through the quality of experience... In most cultures, a good life

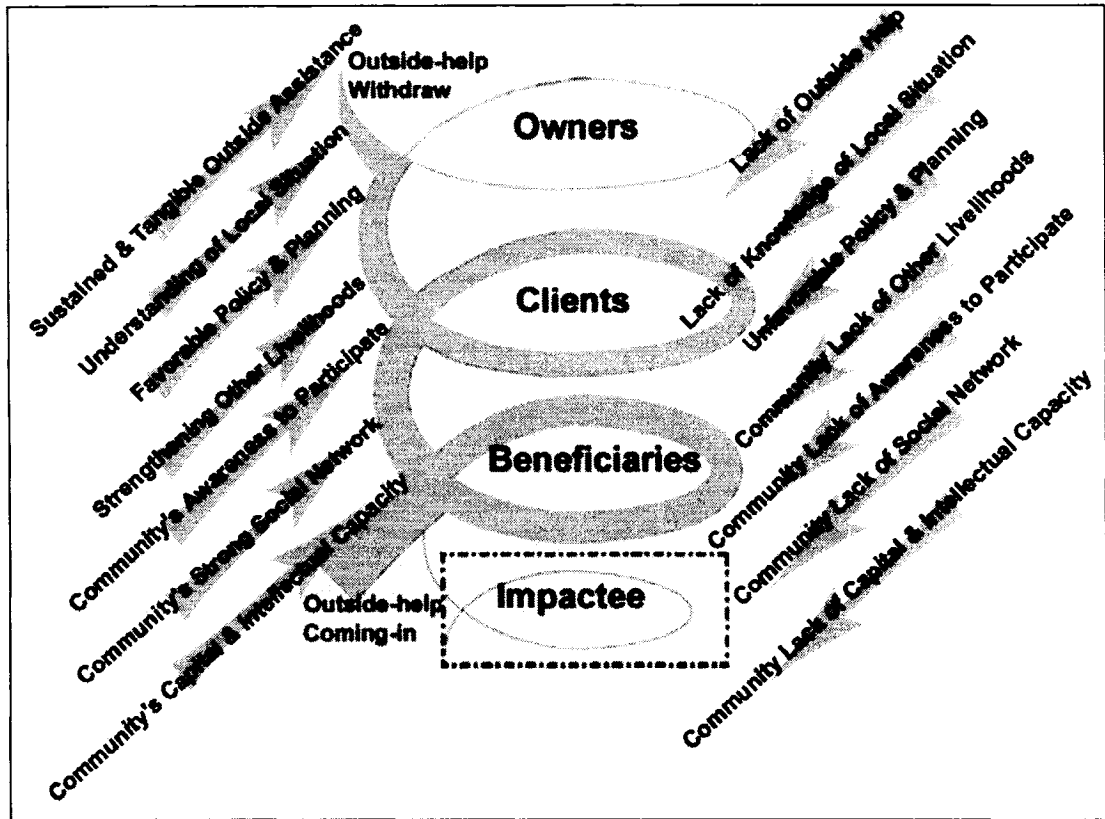
is variety of foods, of activities, of friends, and relatives... even though they are not a part of normal economic valuation... This understanding of the diversity of livelihood strategies sharpens understanding of the contrasts between the knowledge of normal professionals and that of local people. Much diversity is unseen or undervalued by normal professionals.” (p.172).

Therefore, in promoting rural community participation to share the benefits of tourism development and improve villagers’ lives, much more than tourism itself should be taken into consideration. Activities to strengthen existing diverse livelihoods and to exploit new possible livelihoods can all help the rural population to participate in tourism development successfully.

Based on the above discussions, the spiral hypothesis model should be changed as shown in Figure 1. The layer of “impactee” is not a necessary stage to initiate community participation in tourism development; sometimes it can be replaced by the community’s own initiatives or assistance from outside groups.

Many internal and external factors can help to promote participation. For example, the quality of villagers’ income, skills, awareness and social networks can heavily influence villagers’ participation as showed in the four cases. As mentioned earlier, strengthening existing and exploiting new livelihoods can also facilitate villagers’ participation in tourism as one livelihood opportunity. A favourable policy with clear planning implementation, and sustained and tangible assistance from other groups who appreciate the local situation would help rural communities to initiate benefit-sharing activities in tourism. Conversely, absence of these factors may retard progress as shown in the figure. The factors generated in this study might not provide a complete picture of all factors that could be influential; instead, they are examples.

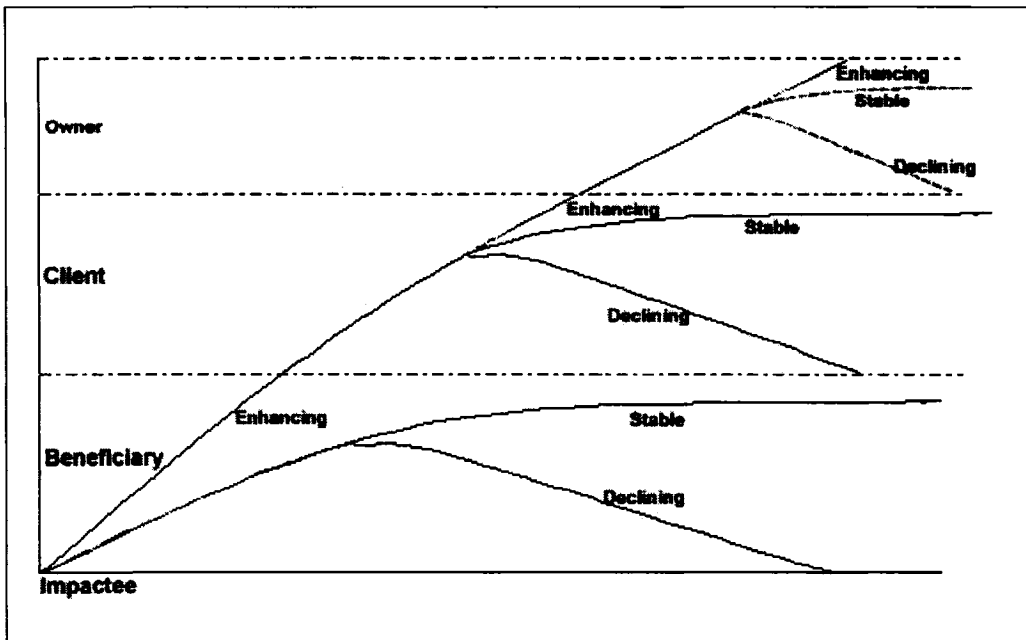
Figure 1: Optimized Spiral Model of Promoting Rural Community Participation in Tourism Development



Benefit-sharing processes and sharing in decision-making and planning power are interrelated and sequential. Benefit-generating activities are easier to initiate in a poor rural community at the very beginning of the development process. As local capacities increase, aspirations to share power might appear spontaneously and gradually become a reality. As discussed earlier, promotion of participation is not a simple unidirectional process. Too many exceptions exist in the direction of movement in the spiral, as shown in Figure 2 for the spiral model to be fully supported as a theoretical model. However, it has a strong instructional utility for those decision makers or community promoters interested in implementing community participation in development. The model represents an ideal process of encouraging community benefits leading later to sharing in development initiatives and power. It describes a possible process of how

originally little involved and poorly equipped communities could gradually participate in development to improve their lives. Also, it suggests that the involvement of marginalized communities in a development process should be planned in stages: people may first be passively introduced to development as “beneficiaries” if the “impactee” layer is avoided through strong policy and planning initiatives. Then, as capacity is strengthened, people may participate as “clients” who can become actively involved in a process of shared decision making and planning power. Eventually, people may continue to enhance their participation until the last stage when they become “owners”. Importantly, the spiral model is consistent with the top-down political environment and social, economic and cultural situations. In this respect, Hainan is similar to most other parts of rural China. This means that sharing in benefits can precede gradual access to enhanced decision making power, as suggested in the spiral model, and this may have wide relevance and application.

Figure 2: Possible Trends in Promoting Rural Community Participation in Tourism Development



6.1.3 Summary of Research Findings

- The cases demonstrated that benefit-sharing activities successfully initiated in previous poor rural communities since people could easily understand the concepts. It generated a process to strengthen capacities of the communities to enlarge and deepen their participation. On the other hand, participation in sharing decision making of regional development met difficulties to start in the four cases. However, there indeed some evidences, especially in Ya Zi case, that an awareness and capacity to share certain power in managing tourist zone gradually grew among rural population along with their successfully participating in sharing benefits
- The study showed that being “impactee” is not a necessary condition to initiate the rural communities’ participation. However, in three cases, it became an efficient way to quickly reorient rural people from their traditional lifestyle.
- The cases also revealed that the direction of community participation is not necessarily upward: status might be enhanced, stabilized or decline. Even in an enhancement process, the speed of progress may vary and many internal or external factors may accelerate or decelerate the change, among which, sustained external assistance is extremely important in introducing people to start the progress of being beneficiaries successfully.
- More specifically presented in collaborative study, activities to strengthen existing diverse livelihoods and to exploit new possible livelihoods can all help the rural population to participate in tourism development successfully. Therefore, in promoting rural community participation to share the benefits of tourism development and improve villagers’ lives, much more than tourism itself should be taken into consideration.
- The study also confirmed that villagers have their own idea about how to participate in tourism development to improve their lives. In formulating policies or plans for tourism, government or community promoters should not ignore villagers’ own plans and aspirations

for, given the opportunity, they do have ideas to offer.

- Ya Zi was the most successful case in terms of scope: villagers experienced various programs which provided a range of enhancements in terms of income, skill, awareness and network generation. Also, it was almost the most successful case in terms of the speed of progress: people's aspirations were gradually raised and their capacities enhanced and some of them started to share some management and decision-making powers at work in the tourist zone. Although Ya Zi villagers still had no voice in regional planning for tourism, the situation could change if they started to operate a handicraft manufacturing base. However, in Ya Zi, too much depends on Dong Tian Park and any change in park management or even in personnel at the higher management level of the company could influence villagers' continued participation and their share of benefits and power. Although one might hope that sufficient experience and knowledge have been obtained to sustain participation, it is a hope that is not currently supported by tangible evidence. However, there is no evidence that a policy change is pending at the park, therefore villagers' progress may continue.
- Tang Fang made slow but relatively stable progress in deepening the degree and enlarging the scope of participation in development and benefit-sharing. Although villagers did not express any interest in sharing in planning power, they gradually assumed more control of the power distribution in their own village: by selecting a trusted village head, by fighting against previous corrupt leaders and by struggling with developers in their own interests. Tang Fang villagers perhaps concentrated too much on generating income and, with the exception of some simple on-the-job training, no other programs were provided to villagers to enhance their skills, networks or awareness. Nevertheless, villagers' capacities did increase through their life experiences. Tang Fang villagers had an advantage in that villagers now had been employed in many establishments in the Ya Long Bay Region which meant that policy or personnel changes in a company might not influence the

villagers by inducing large-scale changes. However, many factors restricted the progress of Tang Fang villagers, including alienation from development establishments except for employment, lack of education and access to knowledge; and lacked of strong local support (the surrounding villages were poorer and even more poorly prepared) and outside support (surrounding tourism companies for example). The villagers lacked access to express their ideas at their workplaces. This meant that they had almost no influence on managing the tourist zone which was an opportunity to raise awareness or to share power with others.

- Dong Yu had a very successful experience in operating businesses in Boao; however, this alone might not guarantee a sustainable participation in future if competition increases. Villagers generally focused too much on economic returns in operating businesses and ignored their own and their children's education, skills and knowledge. They also lacked the insight to continue the existing relationship with government decision makers. However, Dong Yu villagers succeeded in that their participation was largely stable and profitable and was relatively independent of individual establishments in the tourist zone. Therefore, villagers' continual progress in participation would not be suddenly prevented by changes in policy or personnel in the tourism zone.
- Zhen Wen villagers benefited economically from tourism. However, it is inappropriate to classify them as successfully being "beneficiaries" according to the spiral for their participation might be blocked by powerful investment companies. Furthermore, some of villagers' activities might be harmful to tourism in Tian Ya Hai Jiao and this could be used as a reason for closure of businesses. Therefore, Zhen Wen villagers had a very unstable role of "beneficiaries" although some of them collected substantial economic benefits from their tourism activities.

6.2 Recommendations

The study site selection that was introduced in Chapter 3, ensured that the four selected villages were among the most successful rural communities in Hainan in terms of their participation in tourism development. Their success may be questioned since their status was, at best, that of “beneficiaries” of development. The situation of limited community participation in tourism can be explained: except for Zhen Wen Village in Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone which had a longer history of sharing in the benefits of tourism through selling small commodities (mostly souvenirs), most tourism-related activities of this village and the other three villages started very recently, generally after 2001. Villagers had not been involved in tourism very long and had not accumulated much experience or resources to enhance their participation. It should not be concluded that the four villages were not successful just because the level of their participation was not high; villagers’ participation had started only recently and the situation was quite stable in at least three of the four sites with a tendency towards enhancement.

Zhen Wen had a similar situation with respect to participation as many nearby villages in Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone and Ya Zi had a small positive influence in helping surrounding villages to initiate participation in tourism development. However, the other two villages in the study, Tang Fang and Dong Yu, did not have an effective demonstration effect on nearby villages in encouraging their participation. Bearing in mind that the four cases represented the most successful rural communities in Hainan in terms of participation and that the level of participation in their nearby villages was lower or non-existent, it can be deduced that the numerous rural communities in or close to tourist zones in the province experienced even less participation in tourism development. Therefore, the study portrays a very unsuccessful situation in promoting rural community participation in tourism in the province as a whole. The result is consistent with a sample investigation conducted by the Tourism Bureau in 2004. It is partially the result of the fact that of all 14 approved tourist zones in the province located in rural areas, merely six of them had master plans that mentioned that tourism development should help local people. It is clear evidence that the issue

has not been treated seriously as a criterion in planning tourist zones and in the evaluation of tourism plans in process of government approval.

In this section, suggests are made from a planning perspective to improve the participation situation. Recommendations are presented in two parts. First, consideration is given to each of the four study sites. Second, consideration is given to the province as a whole and suggestion are made concerning policy making, planning and implementation processes, mainly from the government and research institutes' perspective, to facilitate large-scale improvements.

6.2.1 Case-specific Recommendations and Lessons Learned

In Tang Fang and Ya Zi, recommendations are directed to both the government and villages since the researcher could communicate directly with these two groups at both sites. In Zhen Wen and Dong Yu, recommendations are derived mainly from a government perspective since the researcher had much less contact with villagers.

6.2.1.1 Tang Fang Village: Operating a village market and accessorial project, regulating local educational institutions and supervising village election and administration

Villagers, although minority people, if given the opportunity, could express their own ideas for improving their village life and developing tourism in the region. These ideas, once known, should be respected by decision makers. The plan to establishing a village market to attract tourists to go outside of the resorts and to consume inside the village is worthy of consideration. Government can assist villagers' actions by issuing licenses to the market and providing operational information and advice, such as suggesting what commodities might be sold in the market to mitigate competition and to avoid selling souvenirs that are available throughout the province. Facilitating the development of a villagers' market does not mean waving regulations that would control the operation. In order to make the market run in an orderly way, regulations on sanitation,

security and business norms should be drafted and a local management organization should be established with the assistance and under the supervision of the local government. Moreover, rules of operation should be publicized in advance among those minority villagers with limited business experience. Since the market would likely be built with money from Tang Fang villagers and would be located in their territory, the ownership should belong to Tang Fang. The village committee, as the highest quasi-governmental organization in the Ya Long Bay Region, should not intervene greatly in the business other than participating in the supervision of the project. However, nearby villages also should be provided with opportunities to rent stalls and operate businesses in the market. Involvement of neighbouring villages can disperse risk of business and strengthen power to deal with obstacles raised by outsiders or other minority Li leaders. Stalls could be rented preferentially to cooperating families rather than to individual operators to encourage business cooperation and to involve as many beneficiaries as possible. Income from rent of stalls should be divided equally among all Tang Fang villagers so that all in the village benefit.

If a handicraft manufacturing base at Ya Zi is started at the same time as Tang Fang villagers operate a local market, a village partnership can be established: some stalls at Tang Fang could sell Li minority handicrafts made by Ya Zi villagers. In this way, Tang Fang can attract consumers by promoting real Li minority products unique to the Ya Long Bay Region and thereby helps to advertise Ya Zi Village's manufacturing base and its minority art products.

Furthermore, taking advantage of the market attraction, villagers could serve tourists in small-scale family restaurants or hotels. These should be easy to establish and operate. Multiple establishments are required to create visibility. All facilities should pay taxes to the city and also a management fee cover basic services such as cleaning and public infrastructure improvement. The latter would create further opportunities if local people were employed to undertake the tasks.

Sanya City long has had a reputation among tourists for serving high quality seafood, especially at expensive star hotels. The seafood is valued for its freshness and the cooking is not complicated since the addition of many flavours will destroy the original freshness. Currently, small

restaurants are mainly operated by non-Hainan people. However, villagers could serve cheap, fresh seafood at family restaurants. Seafood can be purchased easily from fishing villages. In this way, the surrounding regions would benefit from aquaculture. Also many wild vegetables grow in Ya Long Bay Region and they are tasty materials for dishes, marinated vegetables and minority snacks that are unfamiliar to tourists and could be used to add to the attraction of local restaurants.

The local government should restrict approval of similar project in the Ya Long Bay Region operated by outsiders and village committees should implement such a decision. The city and town government should help the villages to approach local credit organizations for small, short-term loans to facilitate business operation.

Another action that should be undertaken by city and town government, though not directly relating to business operation, is to strengthening the operation of local educational institutions. As villagers suggested in collaborative study, many teachers in the rural areas are not well qualified. Bearing in mind that education will improve life in the long term, government, especially the local Department of Education, should take some actions to change the situation.

As introduced in Chapter 1, since the 1980s, village-level elections and administration have been decentralized to the villages themselves in a program named “village self-management”. Village-level administrative organizations, such as the village committee, are now operated by villagers independently of government. They have become semi-government organizations in that they manage their own affairs but help higher level government to popularize decisions and policies. Theoretically, the local government has a responsibility to supervise village level administrations but, in fact, the supervision is ineffective since the village administration is independently operated. However, from the lessons of Tang Fang, an entirely independent village-level administration might not be very suitable for the current rural situation, especially in minority regions. Minority religious or traditional leaders can very easily take political positions on a village committee through a local election and continually oppress ordinary villagers, especially in affairs that can be easily operated as “black boxes” such as issuing residence permits and managing collective money or property.

Rural villagers have long feared such traditional leaders and, constrained by tradition, have generally been reluctant to fight back. Therefore, a responsible system of supervision by the town government is necessary. It is suggested that an auditing team should be organized in town government to investigate the performance of sample village committees both to collect villagers' opinions and to review important committee documents, such as accounts. This should help to ensure that the administrative organizations benefit the villagers instead of exploiting them. The team should accept and deal with villagers' complaints in writing or by phone. Of course, the opportunity should be publicized among villagers to make it function well.

6.2.1.2 Ya Zi Village: Operating manufacturing base, constructing eco-village, strengthening the livelihood of vegetable-planting and facilitating other programs

Similar to Tang Fang, Ya Zi has its own plans to improve village life which should be respected by government and taken into consideration in planning regional development. For example, the Li minority handicraft manufacturing project should be facilitated as soon as villagers reach an agreement to act. However, as a collaborative project with foreign investors, although the company emphasized that it is non profit-oriented, government or other outside experts should assist in formulating contract and management regulations to protect the interest of the villagers. At the same time, villagers seek advice from some former instructors of the evening school program since some of them are experts in banking, businesses and tourism development. Moreover, high-level managers in Dong Tian Park, most of whom are good negotiators or tourism experts, can be approached by villagers for ideas and assistance, and to review the processes of signing a contract and starting a business with the Malaysian Company. For example, the general manager was a professor in the Department of Sociology of The People's University, a first-class university in China.

Once the rights and responsibilities of partners in the manufacturing project have been

settled, project planning is necessary, especially for the components of the project (Will it simply manufacture products or will village visit be included etc.?), location, design of facilities, village construction (If project is located in Ya Zi, many public facilities will need to be upgraded), labour recruitment, training and distribution of profits. Assurances from the planning department of Dong Tian Park, outside professionals and planning institutions will be needed. If resources are available, a simple self-evaluation program should be designed for villagers to use during the operation of the project. Tong Zha Li Minority Culture Museum can be asked to collaborate in the project to provide technical support and culture-related training programs. However, in order to ensure village ownership, the project should rely primarily on local techniques passed on by senior villagers in the region and should recruit local villagers to manage and work in the base. Furthermore, once successfully implemented, the base could become a demonstration project. The government could organize village leaders from other places to visit to learn how rural people can participate in tourism development to share in the benefits and propagate Li minority handicraft skills which have disappeared from many minority places (see Wang, 2003).

An eco-village project could work in tandem with the handicraft project. Since eco-village construction could enhance the village environment, especially in terms of sanitation and beautification, advantage should be taken of government funds and strong connections with government should be built to gain capital and technical support. However, in order to make the project useful in improving village life, instead of merely satisfying some government officials' personal interests in political achievements, project implementation should take place according to villagers' improvement in understanding of the concept. In other words, the situation has to be avoided where infrastructure construction has been emphasized leading to the building of facilities that are seldom used by villagers as has occurred in some places in the province. In Ya Zi, villagers have started to understand the concept and are interested in improving sanitation and cleaning the public toilet, upgrading village roads, building a biogas tank, protecting the nearby mountain and planting more valuable trees in the village. The action of constructing eco-village can start from

these ideas. New knowledge and awareness will be gradually generated and future actions can be undertaken in steps. Some villagers have shown reluctance to building household washrooms indicating that this action will not likely take place very soon. At the same time, Ya Zi can take advantage of those villagers familiar with collaborative study methods to organize workshops with other villagers to promote the concept of eco-village construction to facilitate collective understanding and, then, collaborative action. A “blackboard program”, although a small action, can have a large influence in publicizing information about many advanced and practical issues. Moreover, since the program is organized by villagers, the posted information builds upon villagers’ interests and level of understanding. However, the town government, in publicizing family planning or legal information, sometimes expropriated the blackboard as was shown in Chapter 5. Although government information is also very important, it should be posted elsewhere for it tends to be renewed slowly whereas villagers can replace information every two weeks.

As mentioned earlier, strengthening other livelihoods at the village can encourage villagers to participate in tourism development with greater courage, capability and resources. Therefore, it is very important to accelerate the implementation of the “Ji Fang Project” to address lack of water in Sanya City, especially in the Nan Shan Area that depends mainly on growing vegetables which requires water.

The evening school program provides an important opportunity to villagers to enhance their practical knowledge and it should be continued. As one of the planners of the program, the researcher will make efforts to it and help it as consistent as possible with villagers’ needs.

The mailing out of “personnel introductions” to self-recommend potential employees to various workplaces could be done in many other tourism destinations to encourage tourist zones to recruit local villager labour. Moreover, the Tourism Development Bureau should invite village leaders in the Nan Shan Area to participate in regular meetings with developers of various tourism-related projects in the city and provide time for the leaders to introduce the “personnel introduction” initiative to enlarge its effects.

6.2.1.3 Zhen Wen Village: preventing company's competition with villagers, training villagers and building an integrative specialty market to enhance the attractiveness of the tourist zone

As a problematic case, it is suggested that the government should take the following actions as soon as possible. First of all, negotiations between the management company and the two dive companies about the “Appreciating Tian Ya Hai Jiao on the Sea” project should be stopped. Second, key personnel in the management company should be reassigned to reduce resistance to the implementation of further actions. If this is unpractical, the changing or adding of personnel in the directorate could help to reorient the thinking of the leadership of the management company. Although many implementation issues in the tourist zone are decided by the management company, as a national tourist zone, the government still has a strong voice in the directorate since it is led by the Director of Tourism Development Bureau of Sanya City. If opposition to sharing benefits with the surrounding minority communities is reduced, future participation of villagers will face fewer obstacles. However, it is necessary to temporarily stop the villagers' boat business in the tourist zone to avoid the possibility of an accident that could undermine the reputation of the city.

Two further actions are then recommended: one, with the help of town government, future cooperation in a boat business should be initiated with rural people to increase the transparency of the project and to reduce the dominance of powerful families. Also, safety awareness and business norms should be publicized to enhance villagers' awareness of appropriate businesses operations. At the same time, careful project planning, including a marketing plan, is necessary to establish cooperation between the tourist zone and the two nearby village committees, how many boats should be involved, how to train boat operators, how much should be asked for the service, how the trip on the sea should be designed, how to distribute profits etc. The making of detailed recommendations is outside the scope of this research; unless, a dock should be built so that tourists can get off the boat safely inside the tourist zone. Moreover, the boat ticket fee should be unified and should be higher than the entrance fee since the latter would be included in the fee. Boat operators that varied the fee would be punished.

Bearing in mind tourists' criticisms of the tourist zone ("regret if they did not visit the tourist zone but even regret if they have done"), the tourism zone should look for characteristics that differentiate it from other tourist zones. In Sanya City, almost all tourist zones are somewhat related to the culture of the sea. A beautiful oceanic view, as is available at Tian Ya Hai Jiao, is insufficient to leave tourists with a strong impression and to attract repeat visitation. The long history of cultural associations should be exploited as a key theme of the tourist zone as introduced in chapter 4. Also, sale of diverse tourism souvenirs could become another characteristic, taking advantage of the large number of stores and stalls. Except for a few famous local products, such as "Spring Sunshine Coffee Series" and large amount of similar tropical fruits and shell artworks, many local products with famous trademarks, such as "Ye Shu" Coconut Beverages, "Jing Run" Pearl Jewellery, "Hai Fu" Processed Southern Chinese Medicine, and island clothes (shirts etc. with bright colours and local folks or landscape designs of) and local snacks are all absent from the market. Introduction of such products could be linked to the presentation of a rich and colourful island culture that may become part of the attraction of the tourist zone. Villagers' "wandering sales", rather than being a problem, could add to the attraction since this less common form of sales does not exist on such a large scale in other tourist destinations in Hainan. Furthermore, many such vendors are minority people in ethnic dress.

6.2.1.4 Dong Yu Village: exploring more business opportunities, mobilizing participation to education and motivating involvement in tourism development

Villagers' clear requirement that their current business opportunities should be sustained is desirable. Powerful outside investors or companies should not be allowed to operate similar businesses in future, such as vegetable and meat market or a shopping street, to reduce competition with rural people's small-scale businesses. At the same time, more business opportunities should be introduced to villagers to strengthen continually their success in operating businesses. For example, Qionghai Region has some traditional famous dishes and snacks, such as Dong Shan Sheep,

Hot-spring Goose or snacks such as Ji Shi Teng, Qing Bu Liang, Green-bean Chinese Jelly (*Liang Fen*), and brown sugar rice cake. These foods are famous locally but lack promotion in tourism. The abandoned shopping street in Dong Yu New Village could be used to serve local dishes and snacks as “a street of foods”, especially at night to gather tourists who lack of places to have fun in Boao Tourist Zone.

A very urgent task is to enhance awareness of the importance of education among villagers. Two reasons explain the current situation: one, villagers were in a very poor situation when they lived on the island and they were not used to spending a large amount of cash to pay tuitions; two, many villagers were running their businesses successfully even though they had very poor educational backgrounds, resulting in a lack of interest in training programs and formal school education. However, this is beyond the scope of the planning because of insufficiency of resources and the lack of local organizations to undertake the task. Common Western methods of publicizing the importance of education, such as workshops and distribution of brochures, newsletters or posters, are not easily conducted. One possibility is to try to collaborate with local schools in two ways: one, requiring half tuition from children and youths in local villages for a term and publicizing the information well in advance. Families might see the benefits and continue to send their children to school once tuition returned to normal. The schools might experience some economic loss initially, but if more children went to schools, this would help to recover the loss. Secondly, a well-advertised campaign to publicize the achievements (as in school credits, sports and moral character) of students on the local radio, TV programs or through posting their pictures in the villages could be initiated. Such a campaign might help to increase a feeling of competition among students’ parents, enhancing their awareness of the importance of education.

Another problem in Boao Region is the indifference of the nearby villages to the success of Dong Yu Village and their failure to participate in the opportunities that been provided to them. For example, they were indifferent to the chance to invest in the local transportation company or rent a stall in the local vegetable and meat market. However, few actions have been taken to encourage

other villages to imitate some of activities conducted by Dong Yu villagers. After the withdrawal of government work team, the locality lacked organizations responsible for sharing information and concerns with villagers and providing tangible assistance. Also, villagers lacked the initiative to participate: even when opportunities were provided, such as those mentioned above, they did not act to capture those opportunities which were then taken up by town residents. Of course, some publicity programs to initiate rural people's participation, such as distributing information at village meetings, can be organized by government to raise villagers' awareness of opportunities. However, it is unclear how effective this would be. Furthermore, unlike Ya Zi and Tang Fang, Dong Yu did not have strong connections with other villages in the region; in fact, villagers were indifferent to the situations of other villages since Dong Yu had been on an isolated island far away from other villages. Therefore, in operating businesses, Dong Yu villagers first considered residents in Boao Town as possible partners instead of seeking assistance from other villages. In other words, Dong Yu villagers could not act as a leading force to facilitate the improvement of other rural communities in the region. This is an important problem but difficult to resolve.

As introduced earlier, the four study villages were in different positions in leading neighbouring villages to initiate participation. Tang Fang and Ya Zi both had positive influences on nearby villages since they had quite close relationships with them. Especially in the Ya Zi, various activities, such as the evening school and the proposed manufacturing base project and eco-village construction had involved or would involve nearby villages. Zhen Wen, as mentioned earlier, did not differ greatly in participation from other nearby rural communities; the other villages currently had already become "beneficiaries" of tourism development at the same pace as Zhen Wen. Dong Yu was unsuccessful in this respect because of indifferent relationships with nearby rural communities.

The taking advantage of successful cases by encouraging imitation by nearby communities' should be encouraged. However, merely depending on the demonstration effect will not be sufficient. Also, such a process would be restricted to nearby places and would be unlikely to reach

the province as a whole. Hence, provincial-wide means of encouraging participation of rural communities in tourism development is needed.

6.2.2 Provincial-oriented Recommendations

6.2.2.1 Readjusting Tourism Development Policies

(1) Emphasizing and publicizing the concept of “developing people” in tourism policy

Unifying an understanding of the necessity of “developing people” and reflecting it in tourism policies: As mentioned earlier, rural people in the study cases participated in tourism development as a livelihood; their participation was motivated by a desire to have a better life and tourism development provided them with an opportunity to achieve this goal, supplementing other means of gaining a livelihood, such as farming, fishing, vegetable planting and operating businesses. Self-described as better educated than rural people, most government officials have not established a sound understanding of goals for developing tourism in the province. Tourism development in Hainan Province has been tourism-first oriented (Wang, 2003), which means that the focus of development has been solely on tourism as the main development goal in the province. In fact, most officials do not understand that tourism development is merely a method or a means to develop the province as whole, through which development of human beings, allowing them to “have a better life”, should be the dominant task. Hainan Province, with 8 million people, should be developed for its residents, instead of being a place to benefit outsiders, especially tourists who come to stay for a short period of time. Instead of focusing merely on how to serve tourists better, the goal of developing tourism should be re-oriented toward how to take advantage of tourism development to serve local people better.

As can be seen from provincial statistics, tourism has become a leading industry and generates huge economic benefits to the province so that in 2004, tourism-related revenues were 11% of the provincial GDP. Tourism should be identified as an important means of development to

improve the living situations of local people residing in tourism destinations in the province. The policy should emphasize clearly that tourism must be developed in a way that will provide local people with diverse chances to participate and to take advantage of the development. The policy should also indicate that plans for tourism projects or tourist zones that do not have obvious benefits to local people will not be approved. Tourism projects or tourist zones that have plans that should benefit local people but do not implement them accordingly should be sanctioned or closed. In addition, explicit policy is needed to state that certain encouragement or benefits will be provided to developers of tourism projects or tourist zones which implement their plans well and also performance well in encouraging local communities in participating in the development.

A political goal of benefiting local people through tourism development, by itself, is insufficient to implement a complex process. A series of detail policies is required to regulate approval of tourism projects and plans and to regulate investment in and operation of tourism zones in the province. In drafting such policies under the vision of “benefiting local people through development”, the cooperation of government departments and multidisciplinary experts is necessary, as well as a sound information base, and an effective evaluation system with criteria to monitoring performance. The set of policies should go much beyond simple regulations such as “5% of the workers should be recruited from local communities” since such regulations will not ensure that the workers are treated well. Regular evaluation or investigation is required to prevent developers from submitting false labour recruitment information.

Understanding the importance of multiple livelihoods in rural life: It is very important to understand that multiple livelihood sources exist in rural life. Instead of repeating previous mistakes, such as encouraging the whole region of Le Dong County to give up crop-planting to plant pineapples in 2000 which induced a sharp decrease in the price of pineapples and economic loss in the villages, policy makers need to appreciate that new livelihood sources should complement and not replace existing ones. Although rural people should be encouraged to participate in tourism development, it is not suggested that tourism should be the only source of livelihood and it may not

even be the most important one. A broad perspective should be taken so that encouraging participation in tourism does not mean replacing traditional livelihoods, but adding to them. It will also be good if, through taking advantage of tourism development, villagers can make their traditional sources of livelihood more efficient and profitable, such as through fishing with a motor boat rather than one relying on human power.

Participation in tourism need not conflict with traditional livelihoods in that unused labour (albeit unskilled) exists in large amounts in rural Hainan Province. According to Huang, (2004), 1.3 million rural people of working age were unemployed in 2002. This was nearly half of the rural labour force. Some of the tourism-related activities could be taken by females and even seniors.

Formulating a complicated series of policies will require input by professionals with many different specialties, such as economics, sociology, planning, tourism and environment, to incorporate and balance diverse ways of thinking. In fact, such inputs have been made since 2005 in drafting Master Plan of Urban and Rural Areas in Hainan Province. This planning intervention collected information on all cities and counties and their rural areas. A SWOT analysis was undertaken to provide decision makers with a foundation to make policies that balanced the interests of the urban and rural areas of the province. In that planning process, various government departments and several local and outside research institutions, such as Zhong Shan University of Guangdong Province, worked together to identify each regions' strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, and possible cooperation among regions. After information was analyzed and summarized into reports, several workshops were conducted to discuss the findings with provincial and regional government departments and to gather their questions, concerns and comments, before making a final draft of the plan. Although the main goal of the planning intervention did not focus on tourism development, it presented a possible process that could be used to prepare future tourism policies: cooperation between research institutions and government in collecting information, analysis and summarizing of the information by a research institution, workshops with related government departments to add information and provide comments.

However, different from the 2005 planning process, experts in research institutions should be involved directly in the following policy making process instead of merely preparing background information for the government to make policies on its own. Later in this thesis, suggest will be made from an organizational perspective on how such a task might be undertaken.

(2) Up-dating tourism master plans according to the re-oriented policy

Readjusting provincial plan: The 2001 Provincial Tourism Master Plan drafted under the sponsorship of the World Tourism Organization was weak in addressing “how to benefit local people in developing tourism in the province”. With three sections, it provides a foundation and guidelines for drafting regional tourism master plans and master plans of tourist zones. However, the current provincial plan is inadequate in that it does not clearly addressing the cause of ensuring that tourism development benefits local people. Therefore, the Provincial Master Plan should be evaluated and renewed so that it becomes a real guideline for tourism planning and development in the regions.

The master plan focused mainly on how to promote tourism development in the province. It explored the tourism development situation of the province and evaluated tourism products, identified a development goal for the province and provided detailed product development and marketing plans with an emphasis of accommodation provision, development strategies such as a transportation plan and promotion of special products like ecotourism and cultural tourism, especially minority cultural tourism (Section 1). Section 2 suggested cooperation between the private and public sectors, the functions of government departments and detailed plans for specific tourism products, such as means to take advantage of coastal, hot-springs and tropical forest resources. The third section listed all the reports prepared during the planning process.

The document identified the goal of development as “directed by the international tourism market, building the province into a leisure and recreation resort by exploiting its distinctive tourism

resources ... to fulfil structural adjustments within the tourism industry, to maximise its efficiency, and upgrade the role of tourism within the overall national economy of the province” (Section 1, Chapter 4, p.31). Crucially, the plan failed to address in whose interest tourism in the province should be developed. If the goal of developing tourism was to “benefit the province as a whole” (p. 31), then a benefit-distribution strategy with identification of beneficiaries should have been outlined in the plan. The plan, although having sections such as Chapter 18 on evaluating economic impacts of tourism development (to GDP, government revenues and employment), mentioned benefits to local people only superficially and in passing. In another case, the plan had a section on the protection and revitalization of Li minority culture (Section 1, Chapter 12) but it simply stated that, in developing tourism in minority regions, cultural elements should be considered as resources and that this would bring benefits, mainly economic benefits such as income and employment, to minority people. For example, the plan raised the idea that “minority villages can be built as manual weaving bases to sell brocade to tourists to enhance local household income” (p. 134) or the “traditional grass-boat-shape-Li-house can be built in villages to provide stay-over-night for tourists, from which villagers can obtain extra income” (p. 134). It was also mentioned in this section that minority people could be employed as tour guides (p.136) but without any suggestions on who will own these establishments; whether people work for themselves or for wealthy developers who invest and local people work for a little salary. The plan also simply mentioned in Section 1, Chapter 19, “full consideration of compensation” (p.205) should be given to communities that had been displaced by tourism development but no further consideration was given to “how” and “what for”. In short, it appears as if the plan was drafted without a deep understanding of the local situation and the real advantages and opportunities that rural, especially minority, people could take advantage of to share in the benefits of development.

Up-dating master plan of tourist zone and a renewing approval system: Led by such a provincial tourism plan, it was not surprising to find that the dominating emphases of the master plans for tourist zones were locating service facilities at suitable sites and providing diverse

products to fulfill the needs of tourists. Also, the qualities of the master plans varied greatly. The author's tourism master plan evaluation conducted to select study sites also revealed that some master plans for tourist zones were dated, being made in the 1990s. Such plans should be renewed and all tourist zones should be required to update their plans regularly. As mentioned earlier, only six tourist zones, among all fourteen evaluated, had sections on "benefiting local communities in development". Since most tourism plans have been largely prepared by developers and private planning institutions, the point of government control is the evaluation process: plan approval. The responsibility for approving master plans for tourist zones belongs to the provincial Tourism Bureau and the approval of plans for tourism projects belongs to regional tourism bureaus. Therefore, an evaluation system with detailed criteria is needed for government to regulate how a plan can be approved and whether future development can taken place. In cases where a tourism plan or project is denied, the criteria can then be used to explain to developers what is wrong or insufficient in their plan and how to improve it. In a tourism plan evaluation system, one of the most important criteria should be that all plans have a clear section, including a reasonable implementation plan, of how to share the benefits of development with local communities. Without the section, the master plans would not be approved by the Tourism Bureau.

It will also be beneficial if criteria are developed to regulate the planning process. For example, a bidding requiring submission of a concept plan, should be instituted prior to the selection of a body to undertake the task. Foreign planning companies should cooperate with local planning organizations to ensure a deeper understanding of the local situation. Consultation meetings should be held with professionals and government departments before a decision on the final draft of the master plan is made and it is sent to be approved.

(3) Supervising the implementation

The term “implementation” as used in this thesis has several meanings: implementation of a set of provincial policy and consistent regional policies; implementation of an evaluation system to regulate approval of master plans of tourism zones by the provincial government and approval of tourism projects by regional government; and establishment of an evaluation system to supervise plan implementation, that latter frequently being undertaken by development companies. However, specific contents of policies and evaluation systems cannot be detailed here since these should reflect collaborative work among stakeholders. In implementing the above-mentioned activities, cooperation between levels of government, especially provincial and municipal governments, different government departments and external experts is necessary. A precondition of cooperation is a unified understanding and acceptance of tourism development goals: i.e. tourism development is being encouraged to continually improve the living situation of local people. Therefore, the objectives of developing tourism are not purely to pursue GDP growth and to increase investment and the number of development projects. Such a changing ideology of development, although introduced to provincial government officials through a series of studies directed by provincial government as introduced in Chapter 1, has not yet been transmitted effectively to regional governments: for example, the results of several government investigations had not been distributed to local government departments. Therefore, before taking far-reaching actions, it is necessary to introduce the idea to lower-level government departments through meetings and government reports, to publicize the idea in local newspapers and even to invite discussions among local residents to unified understanding among publics. These actions would help to facilitate future implementation of drafting policies and approval of plans.

Policy implementation and supervision: As mentioned earlier, a series of policies about how to share benefits of tourism development with local communities is needed first to be established as a guideline for future project planning and evaluation. Making a series of policies will require the inputs of government departments and external experts. Policy making can be conducted through discussion and sharing information and concerns in workshops. This is a procedure that is gradually

becoming more familiar to governmental authorities. The workshops should include participants from both provincial government departments and departments of some representative regions of the province, such as regions successfully promoting tourism and regions lacking in development but with rich resources. In addition to the Tourism Bureau and the Department of Development and Reform which have been assigned by provincial government to facilitate the well-being of local people through promotion of participation, related government departments such as the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Environment and Resources, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Marine and Fisheries and the Department of Education should be also invited to the discussions to build a stronger link between tourism and many other crucial industries or key sectors in Hainan Province. Also, experts from multiple disciplines should be invited both from local education and research institutions, such as Hainan University, and external institutions, such as Zhong Shan University of Guangdong Province which used to participate in many planning projects in Hainan. In the workshops, a series of policies that will direct tourism development towards “development of the people” should be discussed. Also, a monitoring system with criteria to evaluate the performance of policies with the intention of gradually improving them should be on the agenda.

It is equally important to monitor the performance of provincial policies at the regional level and to evaluating whether regional policies are consistent with the provincial counterparts. Two levels of committees should be established to facilitate this task. One is an advisory committee which could include some provincial officials and outstanding external experts in various fields, with invited inputs as appropriate and necessary. Another is a review committee which should be organized by members of various provincial departments and some other experts in local research institutions. The review committee can send teams to different regions to monitor the performance of provincial policies and to investigate whether regional policies are consistent with provincial decisions according to formulated criteria. In addressing any conflicts or problems, the review committee could first discuss the situation with the specific regional government to mitigate

problems. In cases in which the problems are complicated or the committee and local government cannot reach an agreed solution, the problem could be referred to the advisory committee. The decisions of the advisory committee, which would function much as the Ontario Municipal Board, should be respected and followed. If the decision of the advisory committee is strongly resisted by either local government or the review committee, other measures should be taken, such as public consultation and the seeking of further expert opinion.

The Provincial Policy Research Office (a government institute), which has been designated to have 57 positions of which only 30 are filled, could be in charge of the review committee. The function of the Policy Research Office is to investigate impacts of national and provincial policies in regions and to investigate the performance of local government in implementing top-down policies. In fulfilling these roles, members have rich experiences in investigating policy issues at the regional level. Therefore, the proposed task fits the current mandate very well. Furthermore, the office is staffed by people with higher educations and varied backgrounds such as in economics and sociology, and three have graduated from tourism-related specialties. Moreover, over 20 positions are still available and more experts could be recruited to facilitate future work. The current working style of the office is very mechanical in that they visit regions and explore their concerns in implementing national, provincial and regional policies and, according to information collected, reports to higher officials are generated with suggestions either to modify some of the political decisions or to change the way of implementation at the regional level. However, office members, taking advantage of their high education and strong links with regional government, could be trained to cooperate with officials of various departments and external experts to undertake evaluation projects systematically and to monitoring the performance of provincial policies and regional decisions.

Tourism plan approval and investigation of samples: Approval of tourism master plans and tourism projects is currently the responsibility of provincial and municipal tourism bureaus. However, the current operation should be expanded to include a systematic evaluation framework as

previously suggested. First of all, tourism planning projects which have not been involved in a bid process or a consultation meeting to collect information from various perspectives to improve should not be approved. In other words, planning for a tourist zone, updating a tourist zone's master plan or planning for a large-scale development project should involve a regular planning process and not be solely the task of developers any more. Second, a system of criteria for plan approval should be formulated. It can be drafted in workshops by officials and external experts after decisions on policies and a policy implementation evaluation have been made. The system of criteria should itself be evaluated by the tourism bureaus for its practical effectiveness.

Furthermore, in order to make sure that tourism bureaus are on the right track in approving plans and projects, a plan review committee should be established to investigate a sample of approval cases each year. Information on the project, plans and approval documents in the sample cases should be submitted to the plan review committee to determine if procedures have been followed. The plan review committee should include external experts, members of provincial government who have power to criticize bureaus' decisions, and also members of the policy review committee to ensure continuity between policy making and planning. In case of disagreements, the advisory committee can make a final decision. If it found that an approval cases has been conducted in an unacceptable way, key personnel in charge of approval can be investigated and, if necessary, punishment handed down.

Changes in the policy-making and planning process are not unfamiliar in the province since similar processes have actually occurred in project-specific situations. Collaboration among government departments and external multidisciplinary experts is politically acceptable and has occurred in several planning projects such as planning of Urban and Rural Areas in the province as mentioned earlier. A bid process has been used to select the best concept plan out of several alternatives, for example in planning of Haikou Volcano Tourist Zone in 2004. A meeting to evaluate a draft plan before finalizing a plan based on project-specific criteria has occurred, for example in planning Haikou City in 2004. However, all these experiences are specific cases: the

province currently does not have such actions organized systematically. It is harder to systemize such procedures than to working on a case by case basis; however, case experiences can be used to develop principles and procedures for undertaking these tasks incrementally.

Plan implementation and evaluation: One action would be extremely valuable to introduce is to evaluate the implementation of tourism plans or projects, since this implementation is a task that is mainly undertaken by developers. This is important since, for example, Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone planned a souvenir manufacturing base without implementation and Nan Shan Buddhism Cultural Tourist Zone mentioned benefits to local people without providing detailed information on how these would occur. In fact, the researcher learned at Ye Zi Yuan Village that the tourist zone had refused to recruit villagers to take positions with higher status and sometimes blocked villagers' stall businesses on the edge of the tourist zone as introduced in Chapter 4. Therefore, plans to share benefits with local people at those places were no more than platitudes. The current situation allows developers to escape some of their responsibilities in implementation. For example, government currently has the responsibility for supervision of a development project from participating in a consultation meeting to making sure that the project will promote the public good and then it approves that plan; however, its work is then complete. The implementation of a plan is left to the development company and the government does not supervise the implementation (in which many problems can occur and previous decisions might not be completely realized in reality). A well-drafted plan cannot solve the problem of ineffective implementation or the purposeful ignoring of some items drafted in a plan. Therefore, monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of projects could be beneficial.

Although potentially valuable, the government has not previously taken this type of action and, hence, lacks trained personnel to undertake such tasks. An implementation evaluation project requires planning professionals to communicate with other social groups, such as developers and local residents; to evaluate a specific case based upon an understanding of the local situation and the plan document; to identify problems and gaps between what has been planned and what has

happened; and to provide recommendations and solutions. External planning experts could be invited to solve the problem of human resources insufficiency but the cost might be unacceptable from the government's point of view to conduct each case-specific evaluation. It may be more practical to require that all development projects and tourist zones conduct self-evaluation projects periodically. However, development companies may not be willing to spend money to criticize their own projects. Also, self-evaluations may not be accurate. More generally, the importance of evaluating the implementation of tourism plans or projects has not been widely perceived in the public sector; therefore, the encouragement of policies to regulate the implementation of development projects may be dismissed by government. Research or educational institutions could be encouraged to undertake the task using their own research funding but with government collaboration, the latter providing information, helping to establish local contacts and providing other assistance. However, since such projects would be based in academia, they would be outside of the control of government and could not provide a systematic or comprehensive solution to the issue.

(4) Encouraging model development projects

In addition to enforcing measures policies, planning and evaluation, measures that encourage appropriate actions could also be instituted. Some model development projects need to be in place that can be used as a template to inform the actions of others. The national tourist zones should lead in this respect. Developers who implement their tourism plans in ways that are consistent with provincial policies should be acknowledged. Non-financial rewards should be emphasized, such as public recognition and publicity in the media, and provision of opportunities to participate in major public events with key government officials, such as in tourism promotion campaigns and in major international activities, such as the Miss World campaigns (The Miss World contest now takes place annually in Sanya). Such events could be used to publicize the development projects. In such ways, developers may be encouraged to be more positive and active in following the approved plans and

provincial policies. At present, when there are few successful cases of community participation in tourism development, it will not be difficult to identify those with a strong performance. As time goes and if more and more tourist zones and projects take action, a system may be needed to select the best ones to praise.

6.2.2.2 Adopting Participatory Research as a Way of Understanding the Local Situation and Initiating Community Participation

In promoting local communities' participation in tourism, the ideas and concerns of the local people should be taken into consideration. This may apply to a more informed process of policy making, plan or project approval, design of implementation evaluation, bid meeting or consulting meeting. Of course, local people's ideas can be collected using conventional research methods, such as surveys and interviews with pre-designed questions. Participatory research, comparatively, may require more time and resources than such conventional methods but a richer body of information may be generated and participants may be enlightened through group discussion and exchange of ideas. Through workshops, discussion and related procedures, a deep understanding about situations, problems and collective aspirations can be gained and agreements may be forged that will facilitate change.

No matter how well a policy is formulated, a plan is written and implementation is conducted, people may still be reluctant to take action to initiate participation in tourism development since they may fear change when facing unfamiliar circumstances. For example, three of the four studied villages partly relinquished traditional ways and accepted a new livelihood largely because of experiencing displacement or land expropriation. When compared with neighbouring villages that previously had been in very similar situations, the three villages were much more successful in improving their living situations through participation in tourism. Nevertheless, the neighbouring villages took no active action to imitate. One may argue that the less

success of surrounding villages was because people lacked spare money and opportunities to participate since they had not been compensated from displacement. However, most of the villagers' businesses had a very low start-up investment and some neighbouring villagers probably had the ability to invest in similar businesses if they had seen this as a priority. This was especially the case in the Boao case where rent of stalls at the local market in the Dong Yu New Village was slightly over RMB 300 (Can\$50) per month and it could be paid at the end of the month after some money had been generated. However, most stalls were rented by town residents but not by residents of nearby villages. Some fishermen of surrounding villages continued to sell their catch to businessmen who came to purchase at a low price, even though they themselves could sell their catch at a much better price at the local market or in Qionghai City. In another example in Nan Shan Area, other villages than Ya Zi Village refused a minority handicraft manufacturing project without carefully analyzing the benefits and threats. These examples showed that although resource constraints hampered participation and imitation of neighbours' successful actions, insufficient knowledge and courage to facilitate changes and fear of new ways were other important obstacles.

If this interpretation is correct, participatory research might be used to facilitate action as previously suggested. It can be used to initiate participation that villagers may take action after gradually becoming familiar with issues and opportunities which they previously had not taken into consideration. As shown in Ya Zi, most of villagers easily became interested in the new eco-village concept which was first heard about in the collaborative study. An interest to explore the concept and gradually implement it was engendered when villagers realized that the project could generate benefits and that some actions required implementing the concept were not very complicated for them to understand and undertake. The case shows that rural people can accept new things once they understand them and realize that implementation may not be hard in their situation. In another case in Ya Zi, villagers might long have had the idea that the public toilet was unbearably dirty, but this did not result in change. In the collaborative study, when the villagers found that most people would like to see a changed situation, actions were called for to clean and rebuild the toilet. The

example supports the idea that understanding helps to generate action in promoting changes. Some young villagers in Ya Zi generated an idea of building household toilets which would be a substantial change in village life. However, most villagers could not understand benefits of having household toilets, hence, the idea was not accepted. In short, participatory research, in helping to develop understanding of new information about other livelihoods and lifestyles, can help to promote change in a non-stressful way. Therefore, the method is useful in facilitating rural community participation in development. On the one hand, it generates a deep understanding of the local situation and unifies an agreed understanding and, on the other hand, it releases rural people from a fear of the outside world and gradually draws their attention to new issues and possibilities. It is necessary to popularize participatory methods and encourage more researchers to adopt it as a primary means of conducting research, especially in developing areas such as Hainan where decision makers generally lack a deep understanding of rural issues.

Whereas clear guidelines and procedures can be summarized for the use of conventional research methods, such as interviews and surveys, participatory research is highly context dependent. Since it is built on the ideas of the participants, it can hardly be fully designed in advance. It is a flexible set of methods reflecting the specific case situation. In order to generate collective understanding, a two-way or even a multi-way communication between researchers and the researched, and even among the researched, is encouraged. Therefore, it is difficult to suggest a system of rules for conducting participatory research since it depends upon the local situation, the research participants' understanding of the situation and the researcher's interpretation of participants' understanding. Nevertheless, some basic principles can be shared for conducting participatory research in Hainan.

Participatory research must be participatory in nature and this can be expressed in two different dimensions. First, a participatory program should involve as many people as possible since the research process, in exchanging information, generating knowledge and understanding about new issues, seeking agreement and encouraging actions is itself an empowering process. Therefore,

information about the program should be distributed to everyone in a community and participation of everyone should be welcomed and encouraged in order not to induce an unbalanced distribution of power. In conducting studies to encourage local community participation in tourism development, it may be preferable to engage a rural region rather than one village at a time. For example, in the future, it may be better to engage all ten villages at the Nan Shan Area as a study unit or all six villages under Po Hou Committee in Ya Long Bay Region, instead of conducting a multiplicity of programs in each village. This will be more efficient in a context of scarce funds, time and human resource. It will also allow the various villages to share experiences and learn from each other. In the researcher's experience, it is not difficult to conduct a group discussion among 20 or 30 participants since people can be divided into sub-groups and educated participants can take the roles of facilitator to a rapporteur. If the group cannot be sub-divided, as was the case in Tang Fang, villagers can express their ideas in turn under the facilitation of a researcher. In short, the number of possible participants can be much more than what the Western literature suggests (7 or 8 people). However, even 20 or 30 people can not represent everyone's ideas in several villages. Nevertheless, a participatory research program can still be conducted, combining methods with high-level participation in small-scale group discussions and lower-level participation in a large-group feedback or discussion meeting. It is easy to imagine that small-scale discussions may be dominated by local leaders and those with higher education since they may have greater confidence and ability to articulate their thoughts. However, this could undermine the power balance in a research program. In this case, it will be desirable to solicit more general inputs in a large-scale feedback meeting. Feedback followed by discussion and supplemented by comments collected from non-small-group-participants will be crucial to promote relatively balanced participation in an empowering research process.

The following recommendations concerning participatory procedures are derived from the research experience that has been reported in this thesis. First, all decisions should always be reported in a timely fashion to all villagers. The information should include the content of the

decision, background information of making the decision (e.g. from what identified problem the decided actions were arose), what improvements can be induced by taking this action, how the decision will be implemented and by whom. Second, ideas, concerns and comments regarding a decision should be discussed publicly among villagers. All comments, concerns and suggestions should be recorded, for example, on blackboards. Through this process, new insights might be raised and recorded for further discussion. In the end, all generated decisions, both those raised in small-scale groups and those raised by general villagers in a large group, should be voted upon to see which have been collectively supported. What suggestions face some opposition and from whom, or are rejected by most villagers. Third, all agreed decisions should be listed and categorized into short-, middle- and long-term actions with some detailed implementation and supervision procedures.

Since even several large-scale meetings will not ensure that all rural families have been reached to share information, some supplementary methods, such as open houses or interviews can be conducted before actions are implemented. The selection of supplementary methods should be based on local demographic information. For example, if rural people in a region are active and well educated, as was the case at Ya Zi, an open house may be an effective method to gather comments since people have the ability, awareness, understanding and confidence to express their ideas clearly. However, if villagers are not well educated and the confidence to participate, interviews may be a better method to encourage villagers to expressing their ideas. Moreover, many other methods, although not necessarily research methods, such as the “blackboard program” undertaken in Ya Zi, can be used to release information.

Frequently mentioned in literature, the second dimension of participatory nature of this research method is that participatory study should be a collaborative process in that all participants, both researchers and researched, should be able to express their ideas, thoughts and concerns equally. Discussion themes should be decided collectively between the researchers and the researched to make sure that they are consistent with participants’ interests. Even though themes

may appear to be beyond the boundary of a pre-determined research question, as vegetable planting was raised in Ya Zi when discussing participation in tourism, they should be respected bearing in mind that rural people generally have a multiple sources of livelihoods.

The second requirement for conducting participatory research is adaptability. As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, since most researchers will be unfamiliar with village life, discussion themes should be consistent with the rural situation and not merely be derived from the researchers' understanding. The selection of research methods and the levels of collaboration, including the length of the study, should be adapted to local conditions, such as the education or economic situation of people, and the amount of funds available. Where research funds are sufficient, time is enough and communities in a region are generally well educated, a study can use diverse methods and some may be lively, such as drama or game-playing, to leave participants with a strong impression about important issues. Also, the study can be conducted with a greater level of collaboration with participants who can share in the design of the program and make decisions on discussion topics. In other cases, researchers may still need to "manipulate" the process to facilitate progress.

Participatory research requires the establishment of friendship and trust between the researchers and researched. This is done through frequent contact with participants, such as living in their villages during the research process. This will also help researchers to understand the rural situations through daily observation and personal practice. Researchers will need to adapt to rural situations, learning to understand, appreciate and respect village life which likely will differ greatly from the normal living situations of researchers.

Participatory research in rural regions needs to be carefully designed to involve participants with different backgrounds. For example, it has to be considered that some rural people, especially minority groups, are afraid to expressing their ideas in front of people with higher political or social status, such as government officials and developers.

The third requirement of participatory research is communication. The basic process is talking to facilitate understanding of a situation and to gather others' ideas. A lay language should be adopted and complex terminology should be avoided. Necessary terms that are difficult to replace by ordinary terms should be translated into a phrase or even several sentences to facilitate understanding. For example, the term "participatory research" was translated into "collaborative study" ("*hu xiang xue xi*" in Chinese). It was difficult to find a Chinese term for "empowerment" and, therefore, it had to be translated into a sentence: "aspects in which you feel you can become stronger, better, improved and more confident; please consider this from economic, social, cultural, political and psychological aspects."

Moreover, the researcher learned from the Tang Fang case that the first several workshops focused too much on an academic evaluation including the establishment of criteria. This was a process that village participants were unfamiliar with; unfamiliarity reduced people's enthusiasm to participate and people gradually lost interest in the collaborative study until the study topics were adjusted.

A feeling of having contributed to discussions can enhance participants' enthusiasm to participate and to act upon any decisions that are made. Therefore, every participant should have a voice and people can be encouraged to speak in turn in a discussion. Also, rounds of discussion should begin with different people so that different people have a chance to speak first. Local people can take different roles to facilitate communication, such as recorder, timer, conflict-eraser and facilitator. Taking such roles can encourage participation in discussion and greatly raise villagers' commitment to the study process. It also prepares villages to be able to continue the research process as a method of solving village problems and as a part of village life after the withdrawal of researchers. The Ya Zi case is an example of this.

Sometimes, rural participants may blindly trust researchers' ideas, simply agreeing instead of thinking about their own answers. Therefore, researchers sometimes should take the role of observer instead of participating in the discussion. At the end of the discussion, researchers can then raise

their own or new ideas to facilitate further discussions.

The fourth nature of participatory study is that it is essentially a learning process: researchers come to a study site to learn instead of to teaching rural people how to do or to make indiscreet remarks or criticisms. Participatory research is a two-way learning process in that researchers learn from the researched about the local situation and local knowledge, and the researched learn new ideas and information from the researchers. The learning can involve multiple ways in that villagers are not always unified in their thinking and their agreement on certain issues may be gradually built up through a learning process with each other.

In order to taking advantage of participatory research to initiate rural people's adoption of new livelihoods or new ways of life, new concepts and information from the outside world should be gradually introduced to rural people as their interest in knowing grows. Therefore, introducing new concepts, especially about new livelihood opportunities, should be emphasized as one important learning component in future participatory research in Hainan. Interest in new concepts can be induced among rural people through a process of problem identification, including understanding of current obstacles that preventing improvement of rural lives, or through a SWOT analysis to identify strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in a rural area. Then ways of building on advantages and addressing disadvantages can be considered. If the focus is on tourism, as in this study, it is important to mention repeatedly that tourism is only one life opportunity and that multiple livelihood opportunities should be considered and sustained. The availability of assistance from elsewhere to support diverse livelihoods should be discussed and not only tourism.

Participatory research, as mentioned earlier, is time and resource-consuming and government is unable to conduct such research, although their support may be helpful. Rural people sometimes may not want to work together in discussions with government personnel. Local policy making and planning processes are traditionally top-down and, from a government perspective, experts in research or educational institutions may be the only ones that the government is willing to work with in making decisions. In these situations, it may be a waste of time to suggest the adoption of a

bottom-up planning process. The conduct of research in rural regions may be better undertaken by trained researchers from institutions which have communication channels with political decision makers. For example, direct communication between researchers and officials can occur in consulting. In such an indirect process, government officials can be provided with information about local situations that can be incorporated in their decisions. This may be one of the few practical ways in the researcher's mind to encourage a more knowledgeable and considerate decision making process that incorporates rural communities' perspective.

6.2.2.3 Cooperation among Government Departments at Different Levels and External Experts

Cooperation among government departments and with outside experts in research or educational institutions is needed in four different dimensions. The first is in drafting policies and in evaluating the performance of these policies in the regions. The second is establishing evaluation systems for tourism plans and project approval, and supervising the approval process at provincial and municipal levels. The third is a system to supervise developers' implementation of tourism plans or projects. The fourth is conducting participatory research as a method of collecting local information and initiating understanding and interest among rural people to participate in development interventions.

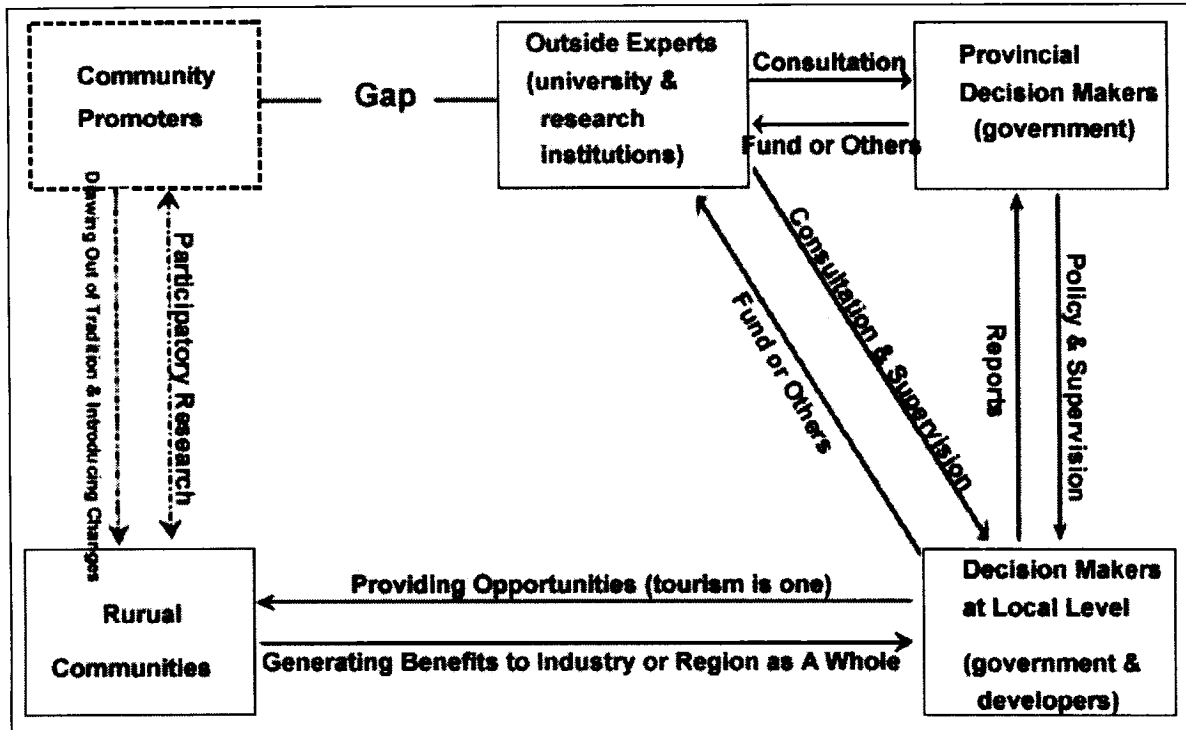
Based on the ideas of some provincial and municipal government key-informants', cooperation among various departments of same level of government is being gradually strengthened. Directors of departments often have the chance to sit together in regular government meetings to review departmental performance, to discuss problems and concerns, and to ask for help or cooperation with other departments in solving specific problems. Government meetings provide a good platform for government officials to working with each other, sharing information and resources.

However, cooperation in government currently largely exists among departments at the same

level of government: cooperation among different levels of government seldom occurs. When it does occur, it mainly happens on an unequal basis. Higher level government decide on policies or issues unilaterally and make their decisions known to lower levels. Lower level governments report their decisions and concerns to higher levels to receive supervision or to ask for assistance. In short, different levels of government currently have no regular opportunity to sit together to share information and concerns to facilitate local decision-making processes and to implementing higher-level decisions in the regions. Cooperation among different levels of government may currently be more frequent in the capital city, Haikou; and in the larger cities, and greater collaboration may be becoming more common. For example, in several planning cases introduced earlier, such as the Hainan Provincial Master Plan of Urban and Rural Areas in 2005, Renewal Plan of Sanya Eastern and Western Rivers in 2004 and a bid meeting to selecting the best concept plan for Haikou Volcano National Geographical Park, various regional government departments and several key provincial departments, as well as external experts were all invited to present their ideas in the planning or evaluation processes. Although the trend is still case-based rather than systematic and limited to several key regions, the transition is happening and it could be accelerated to be a systematic progress if government is willing to promote the change. At least, collaboration between government decision makers and outside professional facilitators has become more and more politically acceptable although final decisions are still mainly made by government officials.

All above information is summarized in Figure 3. It shows that, from an organizational perspective, cooperation among government departments at the same level occurs. Therefore they have been placed in two cells boxes as “provincial decision makers” and “decision makers at the local level”. Although developers can not represent a local perspective, some tourism planning and development projects are mainly initiated by them and they have a strong voice in directing implementation; therefore, “developers” take a place in the cell of “decision makers at the local level”. The communication between provincial and local decision-making groups is currently not on an equal basis. As the figure shows, higher level government directs and supervises lower levels

Figure 3: Cooperation Structure of Decision Making Groups



governments and lower levels should always keep higher level government informed about their practice on key issues. However, as suggested earlier, a more equal communication among different levels of government may occur in the future. The figure shows that cooperation between political decision makers and outside experts is currently close and frequent. Involvement of outside experts in the planning or project development process with developers has been commonplace in China since the 1990s as shown in Table 2 in Chapter 1. Note that the local community currently has little input into the decision-making process, therefore, a “community promoter” cell is added for the task can be undertaken by external experts who can explore local people’s ideas and take advantage of the smooth communication channel to inform officials about the local situation. However, a gap is identified because, at this time, external experts at this time do not usually see their function as a communication bridge.

It is insufficient merely to present an organizational framework that describes the current

situation. As mentioned earlier, it is significant to unify an understanding about the importance of improving local people's living situation among several decision-making groups: the provincial government, lower levels of governments, experts and even with developers since they are directly involved in implementing measures to realize the goals. Moreover, government departments at different levels and outside experts should have a basic understanding of how to evaluate policies, plans, projects and their implementation. As introduced in Sections 6.2.2.1 and 6.2.2.2, these groups do have some experiences through involvement in specific projects but their knowledge has not been built systematically. But people can be incrementally educated and evaluation systems can be gradually established and improved through practice - if government has the desire to do so, a bright future is foreseen.

A real problem, as mentioned earlier, is that outside experts currently cannot successfully take on the role of community promoter by undertake participatory research or even using more conventional research methods to understand local situation, ascertain local aspirations and encourage actions. Thus, a gap exists and the locality may lack an effective means to transfer information between political decision-makers and their professional consultants. Therefore, an organizational readjustment is required. Hainan University, as the highest educational institution in the province, should take a leading role in reorganization. In a situation in which well-educated populations and independent research institutions with sufficient research funds and human resources are lacking, the local educational institutions, such as Hainan University, must take leadership roles in teaching and research. Strengthening cooperation with other organizations, such as business groups and government departments is necessary to gain funding and to identify practical research directions. Funding should be preferentially provided by government to projects exploring rural situations through participatory research to encourage the adoption of this method.

However, adjusting existing educational institutions may take a long time and rural people cannot wait. Therefore, some short-term actions should be taken to connect local educational institutions with rural regions or even rural communities. For example, regional government should

take various means to encourage cooperation between regional research and educational institutions and rural districts. For example, government can encourage institutions to provide training programs or evening school programs to local rural communities. Institutions can also send students to practice in rural regions, especially students in agricultural and tourism-related university departments or colleges and technical schools.

6.3 Summary

Although in three of the four studied cases, initiation of community participation in tourism development depended on community displacement and compensation, it can be replaced by other methods. The community's ability to take action (Zhen Wen Case) and tangible assistance from outside groups can replace such a stressful process in stimulating change. Cases also showed that benefit-sharing activities can be initiated successfully in poor rural communities, strengthening the capacities of communities to enlarge and deepen their participation. On the other hand, participation in sharing in decision making in regional development met difficulties in all four cases. However, there was some evidences, especially in Ya Zi, that the capacity to share power in managing the tourist zone gradually grew among the rural population along with their successful participation in sharing benefits. Recommendations made in this chapter take this point into consideration in that most suggestions do not upset the local traditional top-down decision-making process but emphasize measures to initiate and enhance rural communities' participation in sharing in the benefits of development.

Moreover, based on the theoretical analysis of the development spiral, it was found that many internal and external factors can influence the direction of the participation process. Community participation in development, as a complicated social phenomenon, is not a unidirectional process. Therefore, in the recommendations, attention was given to both internal aspects of rural communities, such as enhancing local people's capacities, awareness and social

networks, as well as external factors, such as favorable policies.

The recommendations that have been made, which focus upon initiating rural communities' participation in tourism development, have been derived from an understanding of issues at the study sites and from a theoretical analysis guided by the development of the spiral hypothesis. The importance of local inputs is stressed and the difficulty of altering the top-down decision-making process is acknowledged. In consequence, instead of suggesting a revised planning process emphasizing a bottom-up approach, the approach that is recommended is to input local information into the top-down process with outside experts acting as a bridge between the local community and political decision makers.

Notes:

1. The current population in Boao Region is 5000; however, according to Master Plan, the planned population is 15,000. Therefore, future opportunities and competition in businesses in the region are likely to increase.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

This chapter first summarizes the research goal, objectives, research process, findings, recommendations and more specific, a further discussion about adopted methods is outlined (Section 7.1). It then discusses the significance and limitations of the study and presents questions that merit further research (Section 7.2).

7.1 Conclusion

Shared decision-making and planning among various stakeholder groups is a major concept in the prevailing Western tourism planning approaches. Therefore, many planning-related studies carried out by Western researchers strongly emphasize public participation as a point of departure to initiate some disadvantaged social groups' involvement in mainstream development in a society. Researchers sometimes suggest participation can be used as a criterion to evaluate development projects: if participation does not occur, then the project is deemed to be "not successful". Recommendations are frequently made to replace conventional top-down planning processes with bottom-up approaches but without seriously considering the local political, social, cultural and economic constraints that may exist. In fact, the Western style of planning involving shared decision making is not viable at present in many countries including China. As has been shown in this investigation, even the communities themselves have little interest and awareness concerning the sharing of planning or decision-making powers with traditional decision makers. The people's dominant concern is improving their living situations. Even though a desire to participate in planning or decision-making processes might eventually arise at those communities in the future, it is not feasible to force people to accelerate change in their awareness and understanding in a short period of time even though nominally it may be "for their own good". Therefore, the idea of sharing planning and decision-making power with some groups who traditionally have not had that experience may not be welcomed by either current policy makers or policy takers. Furthermore, it is

not acceptable to suggest that disadvantaged groups should wait until the internal and external environments are such that participation can be initiated and their living conditions improved. A grounded approach is therefore needed if practical changes are to be made.

In this study, the feasibility of implementing a different way of facilitating participation was explored. Participation in tourism development in Hainan Province, China, was explored with an emphasis on sharing in benefits as the initiator of rural community involvement and as a precursor to participation in decision making. A Participatory Spiral was presented as an hypothesis suggesting that planning for disadvantaged social groups' participation in development should be initiated through benefit-sharing, gradually proceeding to shared decision making and planning. It was expected that people would become more and more capable through participating in benefit-sharing activities and then their interest in and capacity to participate in decision making would increase. Moreover, the hypothetical spiral suggests that the planning process should be viewed as having several stages. Initially, those receiving the negative influences of development as "impacted" should first become "beneficiaries" through the provision of compensation for losses and by involving them in various activities to share in the benefits. Local capacities may then become strengthened and participation may be enhanced so that the "beneficiaries" become "clients" who have more initiative and control over development. Eventually they may become "owners" of development interventions. This does not mean that they actually "own" everything, rather it means that they can collectively exercise the right to determine decisions that affect their lives.

This study, in exploring the participation of rural communities in tourism development in Hainan Province and exploring the spiral model, consists of three components that were undertaken in eight months of fieldwork in 2005: Master Plans of all rural tourist zones were evaluated and key personnel in various government departments and several development companies were interviewed to select four communities which represented the most successful participation in tourism development in the province. Then, surveys of rural community members, interviews with

community leaders and on-site observation were conducted to explore the initial and present situations of participation in the communities. Next, participatory research with supplementary interviews at two out of four communities was conducted to understand rural people's lives, to explore their capacity to participate in tourism development and to ascertain the importance of tourism as one means to improve village lives. All explorations of community participation included two dimensions: participation in benefit-sharing and in decision-making activities. These were used to distinguish stages in rural community participation in tourism development.

Four selected villages represented the most successful in participation in tourism development: Tang Fang in Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone, Ya Zi in Dong Tian Tourist Zone, Zhen Wen in Tian Ya Hai Jiao Tourist Zone and Dong Yu in Boao Tourist Zone. Three of them were minority villages. The study showed that tourism-induced land expropriation was an important but harsh initial introduction of the rural population to tourism development. Tang Fang, Ya Zi and Dong Yu had been isolated from tourism development before the land expropriation. Zhen Wen was the only one of the four in the study in which villagers spontaneously started various tourism-related businesses when they perceived the economic opportunity. In other words, in initiating rural community participation in benefit-sharing activities, some rural communities may lack the initiative and means to participate in the nearby development and may be reluctant to break from their traditional lifestyle.

The research project has not verified the whole spiral process due to the constraints of the local situation: none of the communities that were studied had a high level of participation. Based on the research findings, it is suggested that the spiral model has great instructional significance. However, as a theoretical model, it must be acknowledged that such a complicated social phenomenon as community participation in development cannot be successfully reduced to a simple spiral model since many internal and external factors can influence the direction of participation and development. Thus, there are enhancing, decreasing, accelerating or decelerating processes as discussed in Chapter 6. Furthermore, as Zhen Wen case indicated, being "impactee"

was not a necessary condition to initiate the rural communities' participation. However, in three cases, it became an efficient way to quickly reorient rural people from their traditional lifestyle. The research results also show that the participation of rural community in sharing the benefits of development as "beneficiaries" can be promoted successfully in previously poor villages. The concept is easy to be accepted and understood by traditional decision makers and by the rural people themselves. Research also provides hints that some communities might become "clients" if current progress continues and more outside assistance is provided. However, rural people and traditional decision makers generally lack understanding about the concept of sharing decision-making power and do not ascribe great importance to it. Even so, as discussed in Chapter 6, some actions occurred in the Ya Zi and Dong Yu cases suggesting that people's concerns could be collected and considered in making decisions. Such embryonic initiatives could eventually become a small-scale process of consultation focusing on specific issues and carried out by the traditional decision makers.

In all four cases, the initial forms of participation were mainly employment- or business-related, namely, benefit-sharing activities. Economic benefits and an improved living situation after participating in tourism catalyzed villagers' enthusiasm to be involved in the nearby development. Current participation was still largely in benefit-sharing as "beneficiaries" in all four cases. Although situated mainly at the level of "beneficiary", the four cases were different in terms of the scope and degree of participation in development. For example, in Tang Fang, villagers had experienced a stable improvement in household income since 2001 after participating in tourism development. Villagers' dominant activities in participation were income-related, such as tourism-induced employment or a variety of small-scale home businesses. Although formal education was generally insufficient among younger adults in the village, their skills, which were mainly gained through on-the-job training, helped them in seeking better jobs. Villagers had not participated in any program or activity designed to enhance their awareness or strengthening their networking with other minority villages or outside groups before the study was initiated.

Nevertheless, tourism development had had an influence on these attributes. In other words, it was an “improving through doing” process. Villagers’ awareness about the benefits of and opportunities to participate in tourism development were enhanced and their relationships with others were strengthened at their workplaces or through operation of small businesses. Villagers’ access to skills, knowledge, information and even some tangible assistance was then greatly improved. However, participation in decision making and planning was limited and Tang Fang villagers generally lacked awareness of and chances to participate in this way.

The Ya Zi case exhibited the most comprehensive and well-grounded participation that was explored in this study. In addition to their traditional vegetable businesses, villagers got tourism-related jobs and business opportunities in the tourist zone. Some of them also got capital and technical support to operate some non-tourism-related businesses. In these ways, villagers’ economic situation was greatly improved. Participation in development at Ya Zi took many forms and was not restricted to income-generation. In addition to villagers’ relatively strong formal educations, the tourist zone provided several programs to enhance villagers’ practical knowledge, such as training programs and an evening school program. These were important sources contributing to encourage villagers’ skills, knowledge and awareness. Moreover, various activities which helped to strengthen villagers’ social contacts with other villages and other groups were held in the area, such as the Annual Volley-ball Match and the Festival Evening Party etc. Importantly, in some specific situations villagers had some voice in contributing to decisions about matters that were linked closely to their own lives. For example, villagers who worked in Dong Tian Park could make suggestions on issues related both to the park development and to their lives. Some villagers even took high positions in the tourism zone and they could then participate in the daily decision-making process in managing the park. Also, helped by village committee, villagers’ ideas and concerns could be reported to the tourism zone to be considered in making decisions. Therefore, even without a regular bottom-up planning process, sometimes, villagers’ thoughts could reach decision makers to facilitate the making of more informed decisions.

However, the story at Zhen Wen was quite different. Although villagers spontaneously started to participate in the nearby tourism development, most of their businesses were perceived as being “disorderly and illegal” from the point of view of the management company which planned to stop them. Villagers were refused work in the tourist zone and were prevented from working with the tourist zone due to the hostile relationship that existed between the local communities and the management company of the tourist zone. Therefore, although villagers, at the time of research, got significant economic benefits from their participation, their participation might not be sustained if resistance from the management company becomes overwhelming. Moreover, Zhen Wen villagers’ participation was concentrated on income-generation. Villagers had very poor formal educations and they could not participate in training programs because they lacked the chance to get paid jobs. Although their negotiation skills and awareness of the benefits of tourism might have been improved by doing, the improvement might not have been as comprehensive and effective as it could have been through well-designed programs. The local Hui minority communities also had a hostile relationship with business groups of other nationalities since most of their businesses competed with them, as mentioned in Chapter 4. Therefore, it could not be concluded that villagers experienced an improvement in their networking with other groups. Because of the hostile relationship with the management company of the tourist zone, shared planning and decision making for the tourist zone with the local rural minority communities was unacceptable from the developers’ perspective in that case.

The last case, Dong Yu in Boao Tourist Zone in Qionghai City, was the most successful case in operating businesses and sharing in the benefits through the generation of incomes. Villagers’ businesses were largely stable and profitable at the time of the investigation, especially compared with other cases in the study. However, activities to enhance villagers’ education, training, skills, awareness and social networks were either very limited or less successful at the village. Although villagers’ skills in doing businesses, awareness of opportunities and social networking improved, an obvious shortcoming existed that might prevent continued improvement.

The villagers had a narrow, short-sighted perspective. The problem can be seen from two facts. First, the villagers had very poor formal educations and did not appreciate the value of having an education. Even after villagers had moved to Boao Town and were much closer to educational facilities, they were still reluctant to send their children to schools. Second, although a government work team had visited the village regularly and had helped them in many ways, after the villagers got used to their new life and had started to operate their businesses successfully, they became indifferent to the connection with the government work team. When the team withdrew in 2004, no effort ever was made to keep in contact with them, breaking the direct communication that previously existed between decision takers and decision makers.

In short, participation in development should be planned in stages, as what suggested by World Bank (1996). Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 6, the study supports the principle that initial planning should promote sharing in benefits. Once capacities have been strengthened, shared decision making may then be considered.

In order to understand rural lives in depth, participatory research procedures were introduced at Tang Fang in Ya Long Bay Tourist Zone and at Ya Zi in Dong Tian Park. Workshops were supplemented by other participatory methods, such as problem ranking, brainstorming and village tours. Collaborative investigation was emphasized in order to produce a mutual learning process among villagers and between the researched and the researcher. In Tang Fang, a list of short-term actions with only light emphasis on economic changes showed that villagers were relatively satisfied with or at least tolerant of the current economic situation at the village. They were not very aggressive in promoting quick changes in employment or business operations. In their short-term plans, villagers put greater emphasis on improving village sanitation and security situations and on building a more friendly relationship within the village and with neighbouring villages, and fostering a stronger social network with outside groups. Before the withdrawal of researcher from the study site, some of the actions that were decided upon had been initiated.

In contrast, most of the villagers' middle- and long-term actions were economically-oriented,

more specifically business-oriented, such as getting loans, establishing cooperation, contracting some work from companies and opening a village market. However, preparation for those longer-term actions had not started prior to the researcher's withdrawal.

Ya Zi villagers had much more diverse aspirations suggesting that they were eager for quick and large-scale changes. They made many and varied decisions to improve village, ranging from improvements in the physical environment to more far-reaching changes, such as eco-village construction or establishing a handicraft manufacturing base. Villagers made decisions to improve their knowledge by taking advantage of the resources that they could reach, such as evening school. They also desired to improve accessibility to information and advanced knowledge by requiring internet access at the village. As well, villagers desired to share information and knowledge that they learned from various sources with other villages through a blackboard program.

In facilitating actions, Ya Zi villagers identified the village committee, other villages, the nearby tourist zones and recreational companies (e.g. Sun-rising Golf Club), the evening school board, ex-instructors of the school and local government as sources of outside help to approach for information, advice, capital and technical supports. Furthermore, supported by the facts that villagers actively participated in meetings of Dong Tian Park and provided suggestions publicly which had been adopted by the company, the researcher perceived that Ya Zi villagers had greater aspirations to political power. In other words, villagers did not consider that a huge political gap existed between them and officials or developers which could block them from expressing their opinions or declaring their requirements.

However, in terms of implementation of those decisions, Ya Zi met more problems comparing with Tang Fang where a collective agreement on conducting short-term actions was easily reached. This was because decisions made by Ya Zi participants were generally more far-reaching. Also, the situation at Ya Zi was more complicated because of opposition to some decisions, especially among senior family heads. However, some decisions had already been fulfilled before the researcher left in August 2005 e.g. submission of "personnel introductions" to

Sun-rising Golf Club and Nan Shan Temple, making a volley-ball court for the nearby primary school, modifying some aspects of the evening school program and protecting water sources in the village, the deep well and the tank at the vegetable land. Moreover, with the help of the village committee, a previous middle-term decision, cleaning the latrine, was carried out at all villages in the Nan Shan Area. Bearing in mind that what villagers named middle or long-term actions referred to actions needing longer preparation or requiring a longer period of time to undertake, some preparatory work for middle- or long-term actions had already started before the withdrawal of the researcher. For example, the Li handicraft manufacturing base project was in the early negotiation stage and a system of formal negotiations would proceed as soon as the Malaysian manager would come to meet with the village committee. A course on eco-village construction was to have been introduced in the evening school program in the fourth term. Information about eco-villages was regularly posted on the public “blackboard” to inform all villagers. The village committee was working on organizing a supervisory team to protect the mountain.

On the basis of the case studies supplemented by understanding of the situation in Hainan Province as a whole, some suggestions for change were made from a planning perspective. Initially, specific recommendations were made pertinent to each village and they will not be reiterated here. It was suggested that villagers’ participation in tourism development can be further enhanced by taking each village’s advantages into consideration. Furthermore, some disadvantages or shortcomings were identified and ways to address them were suggested. The second part of the recommendations addresses the provincial situations as a whole. Many suggestions have been made regarding changes in policy making, planning and implementation processes, mainly from a governmental perspective to facilitate large-scale improvements. If changes in these processes can be made at the provincial level, realization of the political goal of “encouraging rural communities’ participation in development” will be greatly facilitated.

7.1.1 Discussion on Research Methods

From the goal perspective, adopted participatory research methods are different from conventional ones in this study: instead of measuring activities and outcomes to induce judgement and to provide concrete recommendations as conventional methods did; participatory methods, as stated in Chapter 5 and 6, emphasizing on mutual learning and discovery and to understand the people. Conventional methods were important to be incorporated in this study since they were responsible for gaining reasonable amount of findings to support theoretical framework and to provide recommendations to affiliated organizations within a time-frame; standardization then becomes necessary to keep the scientific meaning of the work and to simplify the work. However, any well-designed scientific work can hardly to be completely objective (Leung, 1985). Especially in this study, secondary data was hardly existed to provide a reasonable understanding about the study sites before the fieldwork; hence, pre-determined criteria in the exploration could not be that useful. As showed in the participatory research section, the overall research focus – participation in tourism development to improve people’s living quality was proved to be one of the life choices among the villagers; and this was the most important finding the researcher learned from the villagers. This fact also proves that participatory methods are powerful in gaining deep understandings about the studied issues. From the strategy perspective, conventional methods in this study took less account of contextual factors and emphasized on generalization. For example, differences among villagers in one community were generally ignored and people’s activities and their interpretations of their activities had been summarized as a group of work. On the contrary, individual’s ideas had been greatly respected and judged to be adopted to lead future actions in the participatory research.

All social scientific studies have participation to some extent. On that perspective, conventional and participatory methods are not different inasmuch. However, participatory methods emphasizes more, besides the measuring and judging elements, on creating an enabling environment for studied groups to learn how to identify and interpret changes for themselves; hence,

actions had been facilitated. There is no intent to say participatory methods are better than conventional methods, because the extent and nature of participation depend on the purpose of the study. In some studies aiming to encourage and empower the disadvantaged groups to generate some actions, participation may be a better route of research.

As discussed in Chapter 6, participatory methods had some common features, such as participation, adaptation, learning and communication. The components of these methods are to define the study mandate, collect data, analyze and understand the results of exploration and design for future action together with all stakeholders of the study. The soul of the methods is respect and a belief that everyone has some better knowledge about specific issues which are valuable to be shared with others. Responding to the conducted study, the author understands participatory methods as providing a platform on which allows the studied group to articulate their needs and concerns and based on which, the study issue could be collaboratively decided with the researcher. The participatory components of the study better helped the researcher to discover the reality of one aspect of the *others'* lives, participation in tourism development, as well as its links to many other aspects of a rural life, which scholars might think we know the reality but sometimes misled. More important, participatory research strives to be an internal learning process that enables people to reflect on past experience, examine present realities, and define future strategies; also, it provides the process of external learning in that indigenous knowledge and modern knowledge met and gave birth to a better understanding about the local issues. As Debbink and Ornelas (1997) point out, actions in participatory research happen not because people become “educated”, but rather actions will be driven by people’s needs, which, as a result of study, being identified through a collective learning process.

One thing needs to be frequently repeated, participatory research itself is a process of generating power through transmitting information and knowledge; hence, the study should be shared by everyone who would be influenced by its results. In other words, the study process should involve as many people as possible to be avoid of inducing unbalanced power. As

discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, different scales of collaboration in discussion can be incorporated. A high-level participation can be advocated the first in relatively small-scale meetings (20 or 30 people in a meeting is reliable as introduced in Chapter 5 and 6) with people in a community having better education, greater confidence or a leading role. Large-scale community meetings then follow to share discussions and opinions generated in the small-scale meetings and engender more ideas and consensus towards actions with general members of the studied community. If resources allowed, conventional methods, such as survey or interview, as well as open house, can be operated with villagers who do not show in either case.

In terms of the role of the researcher, although not entirely successfully practiced in this study, the researcher learned that in such a collaborative study process, she should work to facilitate and assist, instead of manipulate. An employable participatory researcher should work as a facilitator, helping to provide methodological ideas, to prevent the process from becoming mechanical and dominated by the vocal minority and to help to negotiate differences. As well, an employable participatory researcher has to be a good assistant, helping the data collection and analysis and taking the responsibility to transmit the findings to the participants for future discussion.

7.2 Research Contributions, Limitations and Future Research Needs and Opportunities

This research enhances the understanding of public participation in top-down planning and political environments. It addresses how participation can be initiated, facilitated and evolves, especially in a tourism setting. Practically, information has been gathered, lessons learned and recommendations have been made and these have been summarized and provided to most of the case-study communities. As well, local planning departments and tourism development bureaus have been provided with formal reports in an attempt to improve understanding about rural situations among decision makers and planners in the hope that this will lead to the making or more

informed decisions. Such information can also be transferred to government in other regions in the province which lack effective measures to encourage participation among local communities. Ideally, learning from others' experiences can induce greater and faster actions.

Importantly, it is suggested that improved policy making, planning and evaluation can facilitate local community' participation in development. If personnel in local research or educational institutions can be trained and encouraged to undertake participatory research in local communities, an effective and peaceful initiation of community participation may be engendered.

Since this research was undertaken independently to fulfill the requirements of an academic degree, the researcher lacked assistance in a form of team to undertake a large and complicated project. Therefore, many "hiccups" occurred which were not recognized until after the researcher left the study area. For example, an unbalanced gender distribution occurred in the data at Ya Zi Village but, because of lack of time to analyze the data before withdrawal, it was not possible to address this. The researcher conducted the participatory research by herself, and could not have a comprehensive consideration of all issues, at the same time as implementing diverse participatory methods and facilitating discussions.

The study leaves at least two main questions without answers and these might be examined in future research projects. First, the study did not examine communities that had not participated successfully in tourism development. Therefore, it is not known what obstacles prevented other villages from initiating participation when more successful villages existed beside them. Although some informal conversations with residents of other villagers occurred and these have been mentioned in previous chapters, the information is not sufficiently comprehensive to answer the question. Second, constrained by the level of participation at the four study sites, verification of the spiral hypothesis was not completed as discussed in Chapter 6. Although clues were found, they were not sufficient in number or representative enough to conclude villagers would enhance their level of participation to be "clients", participating in tourism development with some decision-making power concerning the development intervention. Nor could it be ascertained if

previously disadvantaged groups would be “owners”, not in an economic sense, but meaning that they would be able to control the development interventions that would impact upon their lives. The researcher suggests that similar studies can be conducted in Yunnan Province or in other relatively developed tourist destinations in China that have a longer history of tourism development.

Appendices

Appendix A

Survey to Households, 2004

Respondent:			The head of the family:
1. Accepted	2. Unfinished	3. Refused	4. Nobody at home

1. Number of family member: _____ (8= 8 and above; 10=refuse)

2. What is your family's dominating income sources: _____

2a. At present, how many of your family members work in:

- 1) ___ state-government units; 2) ___ employed in BGGC;
- 3) ___ employed in tourism-related company 4) ___ employee in other companies;
- 5) ___ farming; 6) ___ animal husbandry; 7) ___ self-employment (specific
_____); 8) ___ other (specific _____); 10) ___ refuse

2b. Until now, how many of your family members had ever worked in BGGC _____;

how many of them are/were contracted workers?

2c. What are businesses operated by your family members: _____;

profit situation _____

2c. Household annual income in 2003 (in RBM):

- 1) ≤ 5000 ; 3) ___ $5000 < x \leq 10000$; 2) ___ $10000 < x \leq 15000$;
- 3) ___ $15000 < x \leq 20000$; 4) ___ $20000 < x \leq 25000$; 5) ___ above 25000;
- 9) ___ don't know; 10) ___ refuse;

2d. Household saving deposit in 2003 (include both time-deposit and current deposit)

- 1) RMB _____ 2) Foreign currency _____

2e. Household annual net income in 2003 (in RBM):

- 1) ≤ 2000 ; 2) $2000 < x \leq 5000$; 3) $5000 < x \leq 10000$;
4) $10000 < x \leq 15000$; 5) $15000 < x \leq 20000$; 6) above 20000;
9) don't know; 10) refuse;

3. How many your family members come back to school since 2001: _____

(0= no one; 8= 8&above; 10=refuse;)

4. How many your family members had or have a training experience since 2001: _____;

(0= no one; 8= 8&above; 10=refuse;) where they got or get them

_____?

5. What is the highest educational level your family members held:

Appendix B

Questions in the Household Interviews and Group Discussion, 2004

Life after move

1. How do you appraise your living situations in general? (if respondents did not mention automatically, according to information collected from workshop, researcher reminded them about “income”, “expenses”, “house”, “living space” and “safety issues”, such as roads, hospital care etc.)
2. How do you appraise your family’s employment situation in general and more specific in BGGC?
3. What training program (where) your family members have ever had (especially tourism-related training programs)?
4. What is/are business(es) operated in your family? How is it? What are the methods that your family considers to undertake to improve the situation? (If respondents did not mention automatically, researcher reminded them about “cooperation”.)
5. Have you perceived any changes in the relationships among families at the village? (Becoming indifferent to each other? Why install iron doors, etc?)
6. What are your major concerns at this stage?
7. Do you think your family life becomes better or worse after the move comparing with that in the old hamlet?
8. Do you have any ideas that how your family life can become revived/better? (If tourism is being mentioned, than jumps to Q10)

About tourism

9. Is tourism is one of your options to get benefits from?

10. Do you feel more/less confident to participate in the tourism development after the move?
11. Do you think you get benefits from surrounding tourism development after the move? If yes, please explain.
12. Do you feel any negative impacts of the tourism development near your family? If yes, please explain.
13. Do you have any plan or desire to (further) participate into the benefit sharing in the tourism development in surrounding areas? If yes, how?
14. What are some situations which in your mind may help to improve participation in tourism development?
15. What outside supports the village has obtained for facilitating participation in tourism development? Where those supports come from...? Any more supports you think are necessary?

Appendix C

Guideline Questions in Family Surveys, 2005

Village:	Nearby tourist zone:
Respondent:	The head of the family:
1. Accepted 2. Unfinished 3. Refused 4. Nobody at home	

Section I: Demographic Information

1. Number of family member: _____ (8= 8 and above; 9=refuse)
2. Sexual distribution: 1) male _____ 2) female _____ (8= 8 and above; 9=refuse)
3. Nationality distribution within your family:
 - 1) ___ Li 2) ___ Miao 3) ___ Hui 4) ___ Han 5) ___ mixed 9) ___ refuse
4. What is your family's dominating income sources in 2004: _____
- 4a. If employment, please specific the source: _____
- 4b. Any change happened on major income source in last five year? Yes _____ No _____
 If yes, please specify the previous one(s) and its or their situation: _____
 Estimated annual income in the specific year and its dominate source: _____
 2004, 2003, 2002, 2001 and 2000: _____
- 4c. Household annual income in 2004 (in RBM):
 - 1) ≤ 5000 ; 3) $5000 < x \leq 10000$; 2) $10000 < x \leq 15000$;
 - 3) $15000 < x \leq 20000$; 4) $20000 < x \leq 25000$; 5) ___ above 25000;
 - 9) ___ don't know; 10) ___ refuse;
- 4d. Household annual net income in 2004 (in RBM):
 - 1) ≤ 2000 ; 2) $2000 < x \leq 5000$; 3) $5000 < x \leq 10000$;
 - 4) $10000 < x \leq 15000$; 5) $15000 < x \leq 20000$; 6) ___ above 20000;
 - 9) ___ don't know; 10) ___ refuse;
5. What is the highest educational level in your family: _____

Section II: Situation of family Participation in Nearby Tourist Zone

(1) Have your family members participated in any economic activities in nearby tourist zone?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please specify: _____

Economic influence of nearby tourist zone: strong _____; slight _____; none _____;

a) If employment-related activities:

* Number of family members working in nearby tourist zone: _____ where _____

* Who take the activities in your family: _____

* What kinds of jobs obtained by your family members in nearby tourist zone:

* What kind of payment your family members get from the tourist zone:

* How long the job(s) being obtained? Since when?

* How it began? _____

* What types of assistances occurred in facilitating employment at the village? When? How?

* Why employment did not occur in your family earlier than the time you mentioned?

b) If business-related activities:

* Number of family members participating: _____

* What kinds of businesses obtained by your family members in nearby tourist zone:

* Who take the activities in your family: _____

* Is(are) it (they) cooperated business(es) or individual family-owned? _____

* What kind of revenue the business can generate to the household:

* How long this activity has been proceeded? Since when?

* How it began? _____

* What types of assistances occurred in facilitating businesses at the village? When? How?

* Why business did not occur in your family earlier than the time you mentioned?

(2) Have your family members participated in any social activities in nearby tourist zone?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please specify:

Influence of these types of activities: strong _____; slight _____; none _____;

c) If skill-related activities:

* Number of your family members participating: _____

* Who take the activities in your family: _____

* What kinds of training or education provided by nearby tourist zone:

* What are those most useful programs: _____

* How long the activity(s) has been proceeded? Since when?

* How it began? _____

* What types of assistances occurred in facilitating skill-generation at the village? When? How?

* Have any of your family members ever had some training other than on-the-job-training? If yes,

please specify: _____

d) If social-network-related activities:

- * Number of your family members participating: _____
- * What are those activities: _____
- * Who take the activities in your family: _____
- * How long the activity(s) has been proceeded? Since when?

- * How it began? _____
- * What types of assistances occurred in strengthening social-network for villagers? When? How?

e) If awareness-related activities:

- * Number of your family members participating: _____
- * What kind of activities: _____
- * Who take the activities in your family: _____
- * How long the activity(s) has been proceeded? Since when?

- * How it began? _____
- * What types of assistances occurred in raising modern awareness for villagers? When? How?

(3) Have your family members participated in any planning activities in nearby tourist zone?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please specify:

Influence of these types of activities: strong _____; slight _____; none _____;

f) If planning or decision-making -related activities:

- * Number of your family members participating: _____
- * What kind of activities: _____
- * Who take the activities in your family: _____

* How long the activity(s) has been proceeded? Since when?

* How it began? _____

* What types of assistances occurred in facilitating sharing power in deciding regional development with villagers? When? How? _____

* What are the effects to your family members and to the family as whole?

4. Reflection of the Participatory Activities

(1) How do you appraise the content, effects and future trend of the happened activities:

(2) Whether your family members feel satisfied about the activities:

(3) Have the activities a strong emphasis on specific part of members in your family:

(4) Do the activities still continue:

(5) What kind of other activities which have not been participated by your family but you presume they will be beneficial?: Why and how?

Section III: Suggestions to the research

1. Did you participate to the village meeting where I announced the research purpose?

2. Do you feel clear about what I said and what I will do here in the village?

3. Do you know I will keep confidential about all information that you provided but do not want to released? _____

What kind of information you want me to keep confidential in this survey?

4. If a collaborative study will be held at a place in the village for us to discuss about what the research should do, how it is going to be conducted, and to discuss about our participation in various activities in nearby tourist zones, do you want to participate? When will it be in your convenience? Whom else in your family you want to bring to the discussion?

Section IV: Respondent' Information:

Name:

Gander:

Age:

Occupation:

Appendix D

Plan Scan of Key Theme "Surrounding Community"

City	Tourist Zone (TZ)	Title of the Plan	Prepared at	Planning Institution	Relevant Contents ("..." is direct citation)	Stars	Evaluation	Explanation	
Haikou	Shi Shan (Stone-mountain) Volcano TZ	Master Plan of Haikou Shi Shan Volcano National Geological Park	2005, 5	Japan PREC Academic Institute & China Beijing Academy of Sightseeing and Landscape Planning and Design	<p>1. It is important that development of tourist zone should bring economic profits to local residents (P15).</p> <p>2. "The chafing dish of local black goat is one famous dishes at the planned zone... Encouraging the local residents to raise the animal and other distinctive healthy foods may bring them large economic benefits" (P23).</p> <p>3. "The distinctive local houses, made by vesuvianite, are attractive to tourists" ... It provides an opportunity for local residents to operate family hotels (P24).</p> <p>4. "Investment projects cooperating with the surrounding peasant families, e.g. village visit, will be greatly encouraged in the tourist zone" (P46).</p>	*** **** **** ****	****	The plan had not yet been implemented before the researcher withdrew from the study site	
	Gui Ling Yang TZ	Master Plan of Gui Ling Yang Economic Development Zone & Seashore Tourist Zone	1994, 1	Hainan Branch, China Academy of Urban Planning & Design	<p>1. "... plus more than 10,000 residents who live on the first type inhabiting land, the total population in the area reach 30,000" (P5).</p> <p>2. "Nearly 10,000 Mu agricultural land in the tourist zone belongs to surrounding villages (P19).</p>	*	*		
	Nan Li Lake TZ	Draft Plan of Nan Li Lake Scenery Zone	1991, 7	Hainan Branch, China Academy of Urban Planning & Design	None				
	Tong Gu Ling TZ	Plan of Wenchang Tong Gu Ling Tourist Zone	1993, 5	ATRA Urban Construction Design Co. Ltd.	"This tourist zone is different from other zones in that the local peasants and villages will incorporate as a part of the scenery" (P11).	**	**	Not approved by Tourism Bureau	

Qionghai	Boao TZ	Master Plan of Hainan Boao Water-Town	2000, 7	China Urban Planning & Design Institute & Planning Bureau of Qionghai City	<p>"Development of Boao TZ should be harmonized with the development of Qionghai City as a whole; therefore, one most important issue in this plan is that developing tourism has to guarantee the interests and needs of Qionghai people, especially surrounding communities." ... Various employments and business opportunities should be provided to local residents... (P6).</p> <p>1. "Projects which are not relevant to Asia Forum are not allowed to be developed on the island." All islanders will be completely move to Boao Town. Detail compensation plan refers to attachment: Dong Yu Island Displacement and Compensation (P4).</p> <p>2. The 22-page-attached plan has the detail items in compensating the relocation. In the plan, Boao Investment Holding Company provided all material compensation and Planning Bureau helped the villagers to look for new income sources in tourist zone and surrounding areas.</p>	****	****	
Wuzhishan	Wu Zhi Shan TZ	Control Plan of Hainan Boao Water-Town Dong Yu Island	2001, 12	China Urban Planning & Design Institute & Planning Bureau of Qionghai City (Consultation)	<p>1. "93.2% of the total residents engage in agricultural-related jobs... their living quality is very low" (P3).</p> <p>2. Tourism development in the planned zone should consider the traditional Li Miao Holiday "March Third" as one of the main attractions (P39).</p> <p>3. "Local minority villagers can be considered to fulfill the employment needs" (P69).</p>	**	**	
Baoting	Qi Xian Ling TZ	Plan of Wu Zhi Shan Scenery Zone	1993, 8	Hainan Brach, Qing Hua University Academy of Architecture Design	<p>1. "Most of the local residents in the tourist zone are engaged in two types of works: local Li and Miao minorities are mainly engaged in agricultural-related jobs; local Han people ..." (P3).</p> <p>2. "In order to successfully develop tourism, it is necessary to improve and sanitize the living environment of the local Li and Miao villages" (P23).</p>	*	*	
Lingshui	Nan Wan Monkey Island	Control Plan of Qi Xian Ling Tourist Zone (Hot spring zone & Mirror Lake Zone)	1993, 4	Haikou Planning Building Locationing Design	<p>1. "Most of the local residents in the tourist zone are engaged in two types of works: local Li and Miao minorities are mainly engaged in agricultural-related jobs; local Han people ..." (P3).</p> <p>2. "In order to successfully develop tourism, it is necessary to improve and sanitize the living environment of the local Li and Miao villages" (P23).</p>	*	*	
		Master Plan of Hainan Lingshui Nan Wan Scenery Zone	1993, 3	Hainan Brach, China Academy of Urban Planning & Design	None			

Wu Zhi Zhou Island	Control Plan of Sanya Wu Zhi Zhou Island Tourist Zone	2004, 10	DGH Hawaii Planning Co. Ltd.	None			
Xi Island	Compendium of Sanya Xi Island Tourist Zone Construction & Plan	2004, 2	APEC Design Group & Haikou Urban Design Co. Ltd.	<p>1. Refitting or rebuilding some of the local houses in the fishery village which are not properly built or in bad situation to improve the environment of the island (P19).</p> <p>2. "Protect the local villagers' historical residential houses which have distinctive coral walls" (P19).</p> <p>3. The vacant land in the old blocks will be used as resettlement land for the removed villagers (P21).</p>	*	*	Reviewing by Tourism Bureau
Ya Long Bay	Detail Control Plan of Ya Long Bay National Tourist Zone	2004, 3	Hainan Branch, China Academy of Urban Planning & Design & Sanya Tourism Bureau & Sanya Academy of Urban Planning & Design	<p>1. "The tourist zone has to be harmonized with surrounding communities; development here should bring economic benefits first to them" (Preamble).</p> <p>2. Development projects should generate a balanced benefits and costs to its nearby villages. Projects may induce destructive community displacement should be largely escaped (P44).</p> <p>3. "Additional favorable policies or tax reduction are suggested to be given to the projects which may lead great benefits to surrounding communities" (P47).</p> <p>4. Investment projects should preferentially recruit surrounding residents to fulfill employment needs (P71).</p> <p>5. Local government should help and protect the local communities to build up home-owned small businesses; which not only benefit the villagers, but also enrich the tourists' experiences (P106).</p> <p>6. "Souvenir sale or other types of small vend businesses in Souvenir Market, Tian Du Town, should be encouraged among the local minority villagers" (P107).</p>	***	**	****
					***	***	****

Sanya

Dong Tian	Master Plan of Sanya Nan Shan Dong Tian TZ & Complementary Plan of Tong Tian TZ: Tong Tian Peasant Evening School	2001, 8 2004, 5	China Academy of Urban Planning & Design & Planning Committee of Sanya Nan Shan Da Xiao Tong Tian Development Co. Ltd.	<p>1. "Development of tourist zone and development of surrounding minority villages are equal important in management company's agenda that establishing a win-win situation between villages and the park is important" (Preamble).</p> <p>2. Tourism development should bring benefits to surrounding communities; it is the foundation that communities will support the development of the park (P6).</p> <p>3. "Tourism development is one method to encourage community development; especially in economic terms" (P7).</p> <p>4. One goal of the plan is to suggest ways of establishing win-win situation between the tourist zone and the surrounding villages: villages will support the tourist zone on providing labours, supplying local products, such as meats and vegetables, as while as keeping a hospitable environment towards tourists. More important, the park will provide the minority villagers opportunities of enhancing economic status... (P12)</p> <p>5. "Operation of tourist service spots which provide foods, drinks, rest and toilet etc to visitors can be handled by Li minority villagers, particularly Ya Zi Village where the land was expropriated" (P29).</p> <p>6. The complementary plan was about establishing the village evening school for surrounding villages, Ya Zi Village has the priority to be recruited first.</p>	***	***	
					***	***	
					***	***	
					****	****	
					****	****	
					****	****	

Appendix E

Summary of Workshops at Tang Fang

	Date		Numbers of Participants	Location
1st	February 26th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discussion about previous research results 2. Discussion of current research purpose 3. Discussion about participatory methods and frequent methods, especially workshop 4. Introducing confidential policies in research ethic 5. Introducing the meaning of "research goal" 6. Discussing on next workshop - topics, time and location 	around 70 (one group)	Classroom of nearby primary school
2nd	March 4th and 6th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introducing essentials of workshop 2. Deciding about research goal and three main themes of the study: PBS, PDM and empowerment 3. Discussing on the meaning of PBS, PDM and Empowerment and, the importance of establishing criterion systems for investigating these situations 4. Decided the topic of next workshop, time and location 	21 on March 4th (one group) 32 on March 6th (three groups)	same
3rd	March 12th and 13th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introducing essentials of workshop 2. Discussing on criterion system of PBS 3. Discussing on PDM and concluded that no participation in decision-making existed 4. Discussing on criterion system of Empowerment 5. Introducing the academic criterion systems and discussing on combining the two pairs of systems 6. Deciding topics of next workshop, time and location 	16 on March 12th (one group) 11 on March 13th (one group)	same
4th	March 26th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introducing essentials of workshop 2. Discussing PBS 3. Discussing Empowerment/Improvements 4. Decided the topic of next workshop, time and location 	26 (one group)	same
5th	April 3rd and 4th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stopped introducing essentials of workshop since villagers were familiar with them 2. Villagers suggested directly discussing some practical issues and renewed the research goal 3. Members brainstormed a blueprint of ideal situation of participation in tourism development 4. Identification of gaps between the ideal situation and present reality 5. Decided the topic of next workshop, time and location 	18 on April 3rd (one group) 20 on April 4th (one group)	same

6th	April 13th	1. Identifying problems and obstacles which prevented villagers to improve towards the ideal situation. 2. Ordering identified items according to levels of urgency: capital insufficiency was decided to be the most serious one 3. Decided the topic of next workshop, time and location	9 (one groups)	Spare room at Village Committee's building
7th	April 17th	1. Reporting the situation that Red Gorge had not paid the rent for two years and villagers decided to both urge the company to pay rent on time and negotiate a higher rent 2. Discussing on concerns of offending Red Gorge and some corresponding strategies 3. A negotiation group was formed to meet with the manager of the golf resort. 4. Villagers decided to contact Red Gorge in written first.	39 (four groups for deciding the corresponding strategies and concerns)	Classroom
8th	April 19th	Discussing on the drafted letter and following actions to meet Red Gorge manager	around 50	same
9th	April 28th	The negotiation group reported the results of meeting with the new Red Gorge manager and files provided by the manager in terms of money spent on compensation. Some differences between the amount on the file and what the villagers got were identified by participants.	around 80	same
10th	April 30th	A list was made up about the received money and the "lost" part. A hot discussion was raised about where the money went. A group of villagers was assigned to examine on it. On the other hand, villagers suggested continuing negotiation with the company since Red Gorge refused to pay rent and enhance it.	around 80	same
11th	May 4th	Continually discussing on the lost money; some villagers even suggested the possibility that the previous village committee defalcated the money. An stormy argument was raised between the group of ex- village head and the new, which led the workshop dismissed without any solutions.	44	same
12th	May 7th	The researcher was absent because of the workshop in Ya Zi. She was told that another terrible argument between the ex- and new village heads and their adherents.	?	same
13th	May 10th	Villagers decided to deal with Red Gorge to request payment and to raise the rent as a priority apparently and secretly seek for the lost money through reporting the issue to municipal legal institutes to ask for help.	14	Yard of the village clinic
14th	May 16th	A lawyer was invited to delegate Tang Fang villagers to negotiate with Red Gorge for rent payment. She suggested that the previous contract was legally invalid since the company refused to pay rent for over two years. At the end of workshop, villagers decided to continue the interruptive workshop on removing problems at the village which prevent a more profitable participation in tourism development.	31	Classroom

15th	May 20th, 21st and 22nd	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reporting the identified problems/obstacles in an order of urgency and new items were added. 2. Exchanging lessons and experiences in operating home businesses 3. Discussing on solutions for each identified problems and possible actions which might help to mitigate/solve the problems 4. Decided the topic of next workshop, time and location 	<p>9 on May 20th (one group)</p> <p>11 on May 21st (one group)</p> <p>12 on May 22nd (one group)</p>	same
16th	June 3rd and 4th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identifying actions/solutions and scheduling them respectively in categories of short-, middle- or long-term 2. Discussing on whether outside helps would be needed in supporting each actions/solutions and identified the sources of outside supports 3. Discussing all decided actions in a village meeting 	18	same
17th	June 8th	Deciding the dates for reporting results of workshop, interviews, "Thank-you" party, and collected concerns, ideas and suggestions about the research, especially about the collaborative study	no fix numbers, since people came and went	same

Appendix F

Summary of Workshops at Ya Zi

	Date	Main Topics in Discussion	Numbers of Participants	Location
1st	Mach 19th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction of collaborative study and its purpose. 2. Introduction of confidential policies in research ethic. 3. Discussion about frequent participatory methods. Villagers suggested to adopt workshop as a dominating method since most of them were familiar with the method from the experience of evening school. 	31 (one group)	Classroom of nearby primary school
2nd	March 25th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Villagers suggested that the study would be helpful if more aspects could be included; therefore, participants decided that the vision of workshops was "improving the quality of village life". 2. Participants decided about a procedure of the study: identify themes; identify problems associate with a theme; identify origins and current situation of a problem then identify solutions to formulate action plans. 3. Election of three villagers as research assistants. 4. Decided the time and location of next workshop. 	19 (two groups)	same
3rd	April 7th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discussion about the influential issues of village lives. 2. Decided that each workshop would focus one issue decided. Groups would be divided if necessary. 3. "Water and reservoir" was decided to be the first discussion topic as the most urgent issue at village. 4. Villagers suggested that next workshop should proceed as soon as possible; therefore, it was decided to be held at Sunday evening when the researcher came back from Haikou to pick up the transcript workshop records. 	10 (three group)	Entertainment room
4th	April 10th and 11th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identification of current situations of drought and origins of the problem. 2. Groups were divided to brainstorm the possible solutions and identify obtained or possible resources or sources of asking assistance. 3. A village meeting was held to call on collecting money from families but villagers were reluctant to do so. 4. Fieldtrip was organized to survey the existing reservoir and wells, the site of deep-well in construction and other possible spots for well or tank. 5. A work-group was organized including the three research assistants to conduct some petition action to government and potential donors to ask for assistance. Petition letters were drafted later on and one was sent to town government and another was sent to Department of Water Conservancy. 	47 on April 10th (10 groups) 9-11 on April 11th (people came and went)	Entertainment room; land field and villager Fu's home.
5th	April 15th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The construction of the well was failed and no response was got from government departments from which villagers asked for help. 2. Participants decided to adopt the third solution and call on collecting money from all nearby three villages. 3. Decided to call on a meeting the next day. 	6-10 persons (mainly the work-group)	villager Lan's yard

6th	April 16th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Secretary of Nan Shan Village Committee and the heads of nearby villages were invited to come to participate the meeting. 2. Suggestion on raising funds among villages was denied. 3. Suggestion on raising money among Ya Zi Village was once again denied. 4. Solutions were concentrated on outside support. 	around 70 persons	Classroom
7th	April 17th	The research was absent because of workshop in Tang Fang. However, she was told that all outside response were negative. Everyone was upset at the workshop.	?	Classroom
8th	April 20th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A fieldtrip was organized with villagers, village leaders and engineers who came to help to investigate the available resources and potential sites for construction of wells. 2. A village meeting was held to report the news that a professional well-sinking team would come to help the village. 3. Discussion on what types of support that villagers could be devoted to the team to facilitate the construction. 4. Arranged a rough schedule of irrigating lands after the construction. 	around 50	Spare space
9th	May 6th and 7th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Villagers expressed a great excitement about successfully saving their vegetables in the lands. 2. Discussion on government's future irrigation plan. 3. Discussion on collaborative study as a method to solve real life problems. 4. Suggesting renewing discussion issues since new participants were involved. 5. New issues were decided which represented more villagers' priorities. 	<p>37 on May 6th (1 groups)</p> <p>32 on May 7th (10 groups)</p>	Classroom
10th	May 7th and 8th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For topic one "Water and vegetable", participants discussed solutions about the missing chance to sell their vegetables wholesale. 2. Problems and obstacles in fighting long-term drought were identified and solutions were raised. 3. Schedule the designed actions. 4. Decided about time and location for next workshop. 	<p>32 on May 7th (10 groups)</p> <p>41 on May 8th (10 groups)</p>	Classroom
11th	May 11th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For topic two "village construction", participants pictured the current physical situation of the village then many problems were identified and lacking money and awareness were found as origins of problems. 2. Solutions were then raised and scheduled. 3. Decided about time and location for next workshop. 	19 (5 groups)	Entertainment room
12th	May 14th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For topic three "employment and businesses", participants first pictured a very satisfactory situation of employment. 2. Some possible improvements were suggested by taking into consideration of the overall situation of the village instead of focusing on personal situations of participants. 3. Some suggestions were raised and scheduled as actions. 	17 (4 groups)	Entertainment room

13th	May 14th and 15th	<p>1. For topic four "formal education and evening school program", participants first pictured the situations and identified the reasons why education was successful in the region.</p> <p>2. Situation of evening school program, mainly focused on problematic issues, were identified.</p> <p>3. Possible solutions and actions were suggested to encourage the school board to change its design of classes and to encourage instructors to change their lecture styles.</p> <p>4. Decided about time and location for next workshop.</p>	17 on May 14th (4 groups) 19 on May 15th (four groups)	Entertainment room
14th	May 27th and 28th	<p>1. For topic five "village sanitation", participants pictured the a very bad situation.</p> <p>2. Problems were identified with a dominating origin of lack of awareness of sanitation.</p> <p>3. Discussion of the essentials of eco-village construction and suggestions on implementations were collected among large amount of participants at the village.</p> <p>4. Schedule the designed actions.</p> <p>5. Decided about time and location for next workshop.</p> <p>6. A village meeting was called on to discuss and vote the decided actions of workshops with general villagers.</p>	12 on May 27th (1 groups) more than 80 on May 28th	Entertainment room; Classroom
15th	May 29th	<p>1. For topic six "benefits from tourism", participants first discussed the criterion system to evaluate "improvements (empowerment) and losses".</p> <p>2. The researcher introduced the academic criterion system.</p> <p>3. Combination of the two systems with more comments.</p> <p>4. Evaluated indicators in categories of "greatly improved, slightly improved, general, worsen and greatly worsen".</p> <p>5. Identified more opportunities to share benefits from tourism.</p> <p>6. Decided about time and location for next workshop.</p>	38 in ten groups	Entertainment room
16th	June 1st and 2nd	<p>1. Village leaders introduced two potential opportunities of operating tourism-related businesses by villages.</p> <p>2. Discussing the advantages and disadvantages of both projects and one was eliminated at once.</p> <p>3. Discussion on possible methods to mitigate disadvantages of operating another project.</p> <p>4. Designing details strategies for future negotiation of the business.</p> <p>5. The researcher was announced that villagers wanted a larger-scale discussion on the made decisions about future village tourism project. Information was introduced to all participants and further discussion on disadvantages of the project was proceeded.</p>	31 on June 1st (ten groups) 57 on June 2nd (10 groups)	Same

17th	June 5th and 6th	Summarized all decided actions, scheduled them into short-, middle- and long-terms and categorized them into groups of "accepted or refused". New solutions, ideas and strategies to facilitate agreement among villagers were raised in the discussion.	??	Same
18th	June 10th	Sum-up meeting for questions, concerns and suggestions. Scheduling for a celebration party and future interviews.	19 persons	Same

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Glossary

This glossary is designed to provide special forms of usage that have been adopted for this particular thesis.

Brain-typhoon Brainstorm, a group activity in which participants take turns to sharing ideas about a topic. Participants think creatively about their own answers and comment on those of others to generate new ideas through the interchange of ideas.

Collaborative Study Participatory research, a group-setting enquiry method; generating two-way communication between the researcher and the researched to facilitate a mutual learning and understanding process.

Hypothesis A tentative explanation for some social phenomenon or scientific problem that can be tested or verified by further exploration or investigation.

Impactee People have been negatively influenced by development projects; getting proper and sufficient compensations will promote these people into the development process as beneficiaries, however, improper or insufficient compensation will undermine these people's wellbeing in a long run.

PBS Participation in benefit-sharing activities in tourism development. In this study, it refers activities to generate income, enhance skills, awareness and knowledge and strengthen social network.

PDM Participation in sharing-decision making and planning processes. In this study, it varies from a level of none-participation to interaction, a two-way communication planning process. In between, it has stages of expert-consultation, information dispersal and information gathering.

RMB Yuan, Chinese currency. 1 RMB \approx Can\$ 0.1538 to 0.1428 according to varying exchange rate.

SM Village self-management Movement in rural China. An administrative decentralization program, which has been impelled from top-down, to encourage rural participation in decision-making but within the village territory to provide the rural people with the opportunity to choose local leadership, to express claims in the village management and oversee its results.