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Heritage conservation and communities' sense of deprivation in tourism: the case of the Hani community in Yunnan, China

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ABSTRACT

Communities play a critical role in the development and maintenance of sustainable heritage tourism. However, conflicts often arise when these communities are ignored or marginalized in the heritage tourism development process. This paper examines whether the community located within the Honghe Hani Rice Terraces, a World Heritage Site in China, views the designation and subsequent tourism development as beneficial or not. The findings show that there are significant differences in opinion between the local Hani people and non-Local Hani and outsiders who live in the heritage area. The local Hani feel a greater sense of deprivation due to de-empowerment and economic inequalities as compared with non-Local Hani and outsiders. This deprivation has reduced their motivation to conserve their own heritage, while the non-local Hani feel a greater sense of gain and a newfound appreciation for their personal and collective heritage identity. Frequent interactions between the two groups have led to local Hani people resisting the heritage preservation responsibilities enforced upon them.

摘要

社区对于遗产旅游的可持续发展十分重要。然而在遗产旅游发展实践中, 常因忽视或边缘化社区而引发冲突。本研究以中国红河哈尼梯田世界遗产地为例, 探索哈尼社区如何看待世界遗产命名与旅游发展带给他们的利益, 这些看法又怎样影响其遗产保护。研究发现, 在地(居住在遗产区)哈尼人与非在地(居住在遗产区外)哈尼人对此看法有显著不同。其中, 在地哈尼人因经济收益低于外来旅游经营商, 以及相比过去家园感的缺失而有明显的剥夺感, 这极大降低了他们保护遗产的积极性。然而非在地哈尼人却有强烈的获得感, 因为参与遗产保护和旅游发展的过程实现并强化了其个体及集体文化身份认同, 这进一步增强了他们对遗产的保护责任。在地与非在地哈尼人两个群体的互动, 强化了非在地哈尼人的遗产责任, 却让在地哈尼人对加于其身的遗产责任产生了更多的抵制。

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Introduction

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage List plays an important role in the preservation and sustainable development of natural and cultural resources around the world. Since the adoption of the Venice Charter in 1964 by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), several conservation guidelines have been developed and adopted by international organizations and countries, guidelines that cover both tangible to intangible forms of heritage. Within these guidelines, there is a taken-for-granted assumption that local communities share a natural affinity with their heritage and have an innate desire to preserve said heritage to the point that this connection needs no justification or explanation. Indeed, the preservation of cultural heritage is often regarded as the responsibility of local communities, whose responsibility can be enhanced by top-down procedures and funding. However, this innate connection only works when local residents have positive reactions to these top-down initiatives regarding the protection of their heritage, which positive reactions come when they understand and experience the benefits of heritage conservation and preservation.

Heritage tourism is often considered to be one of the fastest growing tourism niche sectors, with natural and cultural heritage being one of the oldest motivators for travel. This is because heritage tourism development, like other sectors of the tourism industry, can improve a community's quality of life through economic development as well as empower the community to preserve their traditional culture for future generations. However, research has demonstrated that tourism can lead to a community feeling a sense of deprivation, which deprivation can lead to frequent conflicts in tourism development (e.g. Li et al., 2020a, 2020b). Research also shows that the use of the powerful authoritative heritage discourse (AHD), or top-down heritage governance, can lead to community marginalization, which in turn leads to resistance by local residents to heritage protection (Mair & Reid, 2007; Smith, 2006), which resistance is detrimental to sustainable heritage tourism development.

Community participation and empowerment is vital to the realization of sustainable heritage tourism development (Bao & Sun, 2006; Bing & Jigang, 2012; Jiuxia, 2005; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Scheyvens, 1999; Shixiu & Hua, 2010, 2011; Shuntie, 1998; Weihua, 2002). Heritage is important to the development of community belonging and identity (Poulios, 2014), and if communities do not benefit from or identify with heritage being developed for outsiders, it will be difficult for these communities to support and ultimately inherit this heritage (Ballesteros & Ramírez, 2007). However, the current literature on communities and heritage tourism development often considers communities as homogeneous, neglecting its heterogeneous nature in the context of heritage tourism development. This is particularly in the case where communities live in and serve as the living heritage component of certain World Heritage Sites. While communities are inherently heterogeneous, this is especially the case after heritage tourism development, where different groups within these communities, as well as community groups that live outside of the area, hold different attitudes toward how their heritage has been developed.

This paper follows work done by other tourism scholars on relative deprivation to explore the ways in which different groups within the Hani community – local versus

non-local Hani – who live in and around the Honghe Hani Rice Terraces, a World Heritage Site in China, differ in their perceptions of heritage protection and tourism development. After reviewing the literature on communities, deprivation, gain, and heritage conservation, attention is turned to a description of the case study site, its inclusion on the World Heritage List, and different feelings of relative deprivation local Hani have due to tourism development before concluding.

Communities, deprivation, gain, and heritage conservation

As noted above, the role of communities in the protection and enhancement of tourism development has become increasingly important in the tourism development literature (e.g. Cole, 2006; Li & Hunter, 2015). In the context of heritage tourism development, communities are creators and carriers of traditional knowledge, skills, beliefs, and values that become the basis for heritage tourism development. As such, local communities are integral in ensuring that their culture and heritage are resilient against the impacts of globalization and tourism commercialization, which forces will inevitably alter the way in which this heritage is developed, marketed, and consumed (Chow et al., 2019; Joppe, 1996). Indeed, it is now a common practice in the protection and management of world heritage sites to consider whether communities located within or around world heritage sites are active participants in and are receiving benefits from the designation of these sites (Dragouni & Fouseki, 2018). As such, communities are a key stakeholder in the success or failure of local tourism development (Chand 2013).

Local communities are more likely to support heritage tourism development when they experience positive economic and socio-cultural benefits while also having a strong say in the developmental process of their heritage conservation and management (Chen & Chen, 2010). When this is not the case, there may be a lack of support for heritage tourism projects. Indeed, even with the positive benefits brought about by tourism development, communities are not homogenous when it comes to supporting the development and commercialization of their heritage. Rapid top-down development of local heritage, the exclusion of community members and stakeholders from participatory decision-making, the lack of consensus among different local stakeholders, differences in place attachment and views on sharing and preserving heritage, and the differences in the level of engagement in and perceived and real benefits from tourism development can exacerbate the heterogeneous nature of communities and lead to conflict between local stakeholder groups, between local and non-local stakeholders, and also resistance by some segments of a community to tourism development and its accompanying discourses and marketing efforts (Ce & Chaozhi, 2016; Chen & Chen, 2010; Crooke, 2010; Dragouni et al., 2018; Mydland & Grahm, 2012; Waterton & Smith, 2010; Xie et al., 2020). As such, communities are not just a collection of individuals with shared ethic or historical commonalities but are the result of social processes that are constantly flowing or changing based on people's common interests, undertakings, collective experiences, and views of how to respond to external pressures.

Conflicts over heritage tourism development between different local and regional stakeholders can lead to local communities either feeling deprived of opportunities to control, participate in, and benefit from tourism, or to feel a sense of 'gain' if they positively benefit from the same opportunities. The study of deprivation in tourism studies stems from relative deprivation theory (RDT), a socio-psychological theory introduced in the late 1940s (e.g. Merton, 1957; Stouffer et al., 1949) that posits that people will feel a sense of deprivation when people 'compare the situation they are in to others or their past conditions and realise that they have less of what they believe themselves to be entitled than those referenced' (Peng et al., 2016, p. 735). While tourism development, with its capitalist and consumptive emphasis, does bring economic benefits to countries at different scales, low and uneven domestic incomes, along with severe negative socio-cultural impacts, can lead to host communities feeling deprived of benefiting from the positive impacts of tourism as compared to other stakeholders (Hall, 2001; Peng et al., 2016; Xu & Sun, 2020). This theory has been utilized to study the impacts of tourism development on marginalized and disadvantaged socio-cultural groups, particularly in Cuba and China (e.g. Liao, 2015; Peng et al., 2016; Seaton, 1997; Xu & Sun, 2020).

In their study of the views of tourism development by farmers living in 'tourism-first economies' (Peng et al., 2016) in rural China, Xu and Sun (2020) found that the farmers suffered from relative deprivation in three different ways. The first was what the authors term 'horizontal deprivation', where deprivation is found when comparing themselves to others in the same socio-economic class. The second type of deprivation was 'vertical deprivation', which occurs when they compared themselves to groups in different socio-economic classes. The third type of deprivation was based on the concept of equity, where they felt they were unfairly treated or that the benefits of tourism development were unevenly distributed to them as compared horizontally and vertically to other socio-economic groups. Xu and Sun found that, based on which of these three types of relative deprivation the farmers felt, their responses to tourism development ranged from passive acceptance to commenting negatively on tourism development projects through the media and through word-of-mouth to active resistance through petitions or other forms of contestation. As such, relative deprivation is generally related to both social justice issues within a society and the negative emotions and behaviors that individuals or groups have towards unequal tourism development. Groups that experience relative deprivation tend to identify with groups more readily both horizontally and vertically that are also experiencing the same kinds of negative impacts of tourism development (Meng & Yiduo, 2016).

Relative deprivation is a part of heritage tourism development. As Smith (2006) noted, what is promoted as heritage is generally done by people or institutions in positions of authority in a society, which people or institutions decide who and what is preserved and promoted for preservation, commemoration, and consumption. This process is a top-down approach to heritage tourism development in which authorized heritage discourses replace local views of heritage, which discourses often ignore the wishes of local communities and do not resonate with the local community's emotional processing of these heritage discourses (Jian, 2012; Mydland & Grahn, 2012). This is why communities living in World Heritage Sites often feel deprived or marginalized in terms being left out of both the economic and interpretational

decision-making (e.g. Koramaz, 2018). As noted by Seaton (1997), local communities' sense of deprivation comes from three different perspectives. First, through contact with tourists, residents become aware of their impoverished state as compared to those tourists. Second, residents can feel deprivation when they see tourists enjoying either specially made tourism products or local recreational and tourism infrastructure while the residents are not able or allowed to enjoy the same products and infrastructure. Third, residents can also feel a sense of deprivation when they see those who work in the tourism industry having higher incomes and other economic benefits. Relative deprivation cannot be entirely attributed to tourism industry, but also the immediate socio-economic conditions in which people live. However, it is the tourism industry that acts as the medium through which this sense of deprivation becomes more obvious to communities. Tourism changes communities from being static and homogeneous to places that becomes more diversified in terms of economic income, living conditions, inequality, and social justice (Ruhui et al., 2014; Xiangyun et al., 2016, Jian & Jian, 2012). By comparing themselves with others in and out of the community, residents who feel these forms of relative deprivation are more likely to either lose their interest in actively participating in heritage development and protection efforts (Hongtao et al., 2019) or to actively resist efforts to develop local heritage for tourism consumption (Kexin et al., 2017).

Corresponding to relative deprivation, sense of gain comes about through positive feelings of satisfaction and happiness that arise in an individual or group after they have obtained a particular benefit. In the context of tourism, this sense of gain occurs when tourism is viewed as benefiting community members through a more equitable share of tourism's economic benefit and as well as a sense of empowerment in the tourism development process – when socio-economic equality and social justice are realized through tourism (Tosun, 2000; Wenbo et al., 2020). Heritage tourism development, when done with the input and support of communities, can give residents a sense of gain, as this development supports the identity and creates a sense of belonging within the community more broadly and at scales ranging from the local to the national (Howard & Graham, 2008). When local resident's own lives and identity are part of the heritage tourism attraction, this can lead them to become more aware of their own culture's value and create a sense of individual and community pride (Hongmei, 2015). Without this sense of gain, heritage tourism development will still occur, but without the full support of the community, which will hurt the depth of the heritage tourist experience (Ballesteros & Ramírez, 2007).

Research design

Study sites

The Honghe Hani Terraces, a World Heritage Site located in the Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China, and the Hani community living within the World Heritage site, was chosen to see how communities living in a World Heritage Site view tourism from a deprivation/gain perspective. Since the late 20th Century, the Terraces have attracted photographers because of the beautiful landscapes and vistas and was eventually listed as a World Heritage Site in 2013 because of its unique

ecosystem of terraces, villages, rivers, and forests (see [Figure 1](#)). The Hani people, the main cultural group living in the Terraces, account for more than 70% of the population. While the Hani people are animist and have retained their traditional folk customs, the process of heritage and tourism development has led the Hani community to undergo significant changes both inside and outside their communities, which changes can be seen in the villages that are included in the zone of heritage tourism development, which includes the terrace districts of Duo Yishu, Lao Huzui, and Bada. Five of the villages in these districts in which heritage tourism development is the most intense were chosen for this study. They include: Old Pugaoold village, Azheke village, Quanfuzhuang village, Dayutang village, and Mengpin village (see [Figure 2](#)).

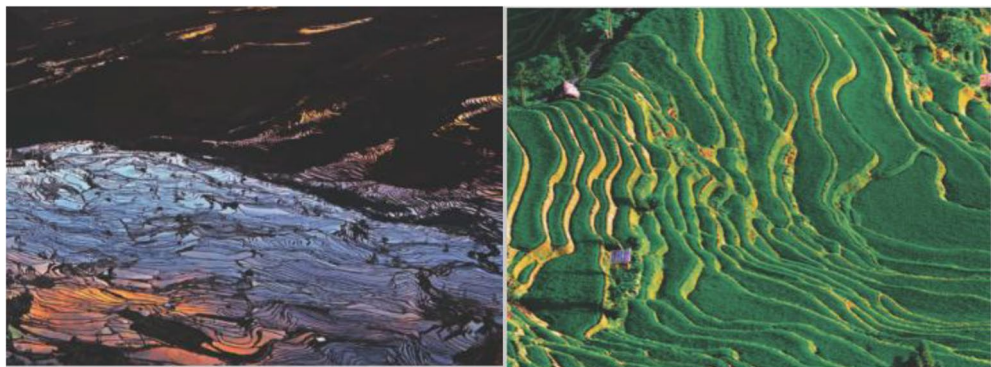


Figure 1. photographs of the Honghe Hani Terraces. Source: The nomination text.

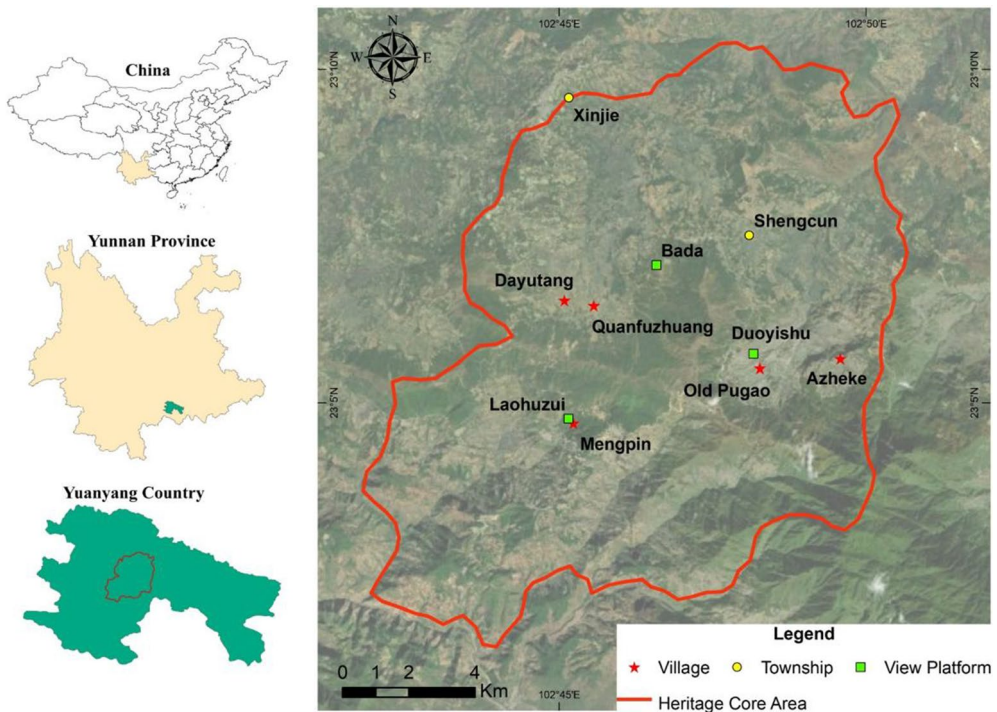


Figure 2. A map showing the location of the villages.

Data collection

The first author visited the Hani terrace on three separate occasions from 2015 to 2017 for a total of two months in the field. During the first visit (1/28/2015-2/17/2015), the first author conducted interviews regarding community views of their heritage. The second site visit (7/18/2016-8/13/2016) was to pass out a survey looking at local residents' cultural identity and their heritage responsibilities. Between the first and second visits, there were several conflicts between the Hani community and other stakeholders due to resource use and interests' allocation. Therefore, the survey also attempted to understand the causes and development process of these conflicts. The third site visit (12/28/2016-01/04/2017) was focused on participating in important folk events, such as the Long Street Banquet and the establishment of Hani Language School, as well as collecting data about the community's opinion toward Hani tradition and how to balance tourism and heritage protection.

In order to improve the data reliability and validity, the first author triangulated the data gathered by via in-depth interviews, non-participant observation, and the collection of secondary data from the terraces administration, tourist office, local village office, tourism companies, and other stakeholders. Because the first author did not speak Hani, Hani translators who also spoke Mandarin were hired to help with interpretation and translation. To maintain the currency of the data after field-work was completed, the first author also collated information from secondary sources, such as newspaper reports, official websites, and keeping in touch with interviewees through social media (e.g. WeChat and QQ) and occasional telephone conversations. The list of people who were interviewed for this study, categorized according to their relationship to the villages and tourism industry, are found in [Table 1](#).

Data analysis

In recent years, the application of discourse analysis in heritage research has increased (e.g., Waterton et al., 2006). Most common basis of discourse analysis is Fairclough's

Table 1. A table showing the coding and statistics related to interviewees.

Stakeholders	Occupation/number of people	No.
Government (G)	Terrace Administration (Prefecture 1, County 1)	G1-G2
	Tourist Administration (County 2)	G3-G4
	Sports and Recreation Bureau (County 2), Museum curator (1)	G5-G7
Tourist company (C)	Shibo Yuanyang Tourism Company (Vice President 3, Employee 3)	C1-C6
	Yuanyang Tourism Investment Company (General manager 1)	C7
Village (V)	Village cadres (Director 4, Village head 2, Secretary 2, College-graduate village officer 1)	V1-V9
	Village elders (Migu, Beima 3)	V10-V12
	Other villagers (tourism participants 11, migrant workers 10, farmer 1, college students 2)	V13-V37
Tourist (T)	Foreign country 1, Taiwan 1, Shanghai 1, Beijing 2, Jiangxi 1	T1-T6
Expert (E)	Yunnan University 5, Yunnan Minzu University 3, Kunming University of Science and Technology 1 and other foreign Hani experts	E1-E9
Non-governmental organization (N)	Hong Kong community partner 1	N1
Inn holder of non-local (H)	Jiujuyuan yang, Shuiyunjian, Xuanya, Yourenmatou, Diaokeshiguang and other 14 people	H1-H14

research based on Foucault's power discourse theory. Fairclough (1992) regards discourse as a three-dimensional whole, as shown in Figure 3: (1) social practice: discourse constructs social reality and regulates social order and behavior; (2) discourse practice: the process of production, flow and use of linguistic symbols; (3) the text itself: specific language use. Using this framework, the transcripts of the interviews were coded using keywords frequently mentioned by the interviewees. This coding was then classified into more abstract and generalized codes and eventually refined into several themes and concepts, which were then used to examine deprivation and gain among the Hani communities (Saldana, 2013).

Non-local Hani's gain and the founding of the Honghe Hani Terraces World Heritage Site

Shi Junchao, a Hani expert from Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, was the first person to propose the landscapes of the Honghe Hani Terraces as a World Heritage Site. He was born in a small Hani village (Anbang Village) in Honghe County and left his hometown with his father in 1953. In 1981, a visit to the terraces in the Ailao Mountains revived his childhood memories and with it a growing sense of his Hani identity. Junchao began to devote himself to studying the history and culture of the Hani people, and in 1995, decided to push for the Terraces become a World Heritage Site.

In 1999, at the 'First Seminar on the Construction of Yunnan Province with Rich Ethnic Culture' organized by the Yunnan Provincial Party Committee and the Provincial Government, Junchao made a presentation entitled 'The Concept of Establishing a Base for the Protection and Development of the Cultural Spectacle of Yuanyang Hani Terrace' and proposed to attendees at this seminar that the Honghe Hani Terraces should be made a World Heritage Site. The Yunnan Provincial Government and Honghe Prefecture Government agreed and supported this proposal. That same year, the Honghe Prefecture Terrace Culture Newspaper, edited by several scholars with a passion for local Hani culture, published the full text of Junchao's proposal. A year later, Junchao, along with fellow scholar Li Kezhong, wrote the *Implementation Plan of Application of Yuanyang Terrace for World Heritage*, which document explained the history and cultural details of the Hani people and suggested the concept of 'terrace-forest-village-river' as a theme for the proposed Honghe Hani Terraces World Heritage Site. In 2000, the Honghe Autonomous Prefecture People's Government set up the Honghe Hani Terrace World Heritage Application Expert Group. In 2002, the Hani Terrace was included in the World



Figure 3. The discourse analysis framework.

Heritage Tentative List. During this time, one Hani expert that was interviewed, G1, became an important proponent of the World Heritage Site listing. She was born in Honghe County but left the terrace early to grow up in Honghe Autonomous Prefecture Center. To raise support for the application, she actively engaged with the local Hani people in their language to explain the process and benefits of World Heritage status, and actively petitioned governments at all levels to continue their support for the project. She felt that gaining World Heritage status was the only way to preserve the terrace culture. Because of her devotion and efforts in moving along in the world heritage application, she is considered a 'daughter of terrace'.

In 2007, the Honghe Prefecture Hani Terrace Administration was formally established, which would be a subordinate deputy county-level unit of the Prefecture Construction Bureau, as well as the Yuanyang County Terrace Administration. The Honghe Prefecture Terrace Administration took full responsibility for the application for world heritage as well as the heritage protection management of the Terraces. In June 2013, the Honghe Hani Terraces were officially inscribed on the World Cultural Heritage List. For the sake of management coordination and the need to create an identity, the Honghe Prefecture Terrace Administration was renamed the 'World Heritage Administration' and became a vertical administrative organization being responsible for heritage preservation and management in the Terraces. This Administration has gradually changed from a small and more democratic organization into a strong top-down heritage institution. This has led to the cultural empowerment of the non-local Hani experts, which has in part helped to preserve the collective cultural identity of local and non-local Hani and their sense of cultural responsibility.

Being designated as a World Heritage Site has brought international attention to the Hani Terraces as well as the rapid development of the local tourism industry. This tourism development has been spurred in part by non-local Hani people who have returned from surrounding urban areas to assist in this tourism-led (re)construction of the Hani homeland. While many of the non-local Hani people chose to return to the Terraces for various reasons, such as wanting a slower pace of life or a cleaner natural environment in which to live, it is usually they who engage more fully in the tourism industry to maintain some of their more expensive, urban lifestyles running, for example, homestay businesses. By being Hani, non-local Hani can display and communicate aspects of Hani culture to tourists. In addition, the designation of the Terraces as a World Heritage Site has encouraged the government and Hani experts to institute programs to protect and preserve Hani culture. For example, the Lvchun County Hani Language Training School was established in 2016 to preserve the endangered Hani language. As a part of this effort at cultural preservation, all the signage in the villages are in Hani, which has strengthened the self-confidence of the Hani people and their sense of cultural community. In addition, non-local Hani businessmen have established several Hani cultural communication platforms via social media, such as the 'Shi yue nian' WeChat official account, created by non-local Hani businessman Li Mohei in 2016. Although this WeChat account is profitable, it mainly aims to promote Hani culture by 'publicizing ethnical culture, promoting ethnical spirit, creating a comprehensive platform for information sharing, exchange and a common online community or media for ethnic minorities in Yunnan'. Through this medium, a Hani virtual community has been created to connect local and non-local Hani.

Forms of deprivation in heritage tourism among the local Hani people

In general, the non-local Hani people have a much greater sense of gain than local Hani when it comes to socio-economic development due to tourism. In addition to being more engaged in the tourism industry, and thus receiving increased economic gain, the non-local Hani receive an affirmation of their Hani identity. Non-local Hani also dominate the Terrace Administration, which also gives them control over the socio-economic destiny of the Terraces. However, local Hani do not have this same sense of gain.

Relative empowerment deprivation

After the success of the application for World Heritage status, the Honghe Prefecture World Heritage Administration held a training course for those who would be responsible for the preservation and management of the Honghe Hani Terrace. Among those invited were well-known experts and professors in the Yunnan Province and Prefecture who would serve work as teachers and staff at different scales. Training included explaining why the Terraces should be protected, what should be protected, and how they should be protected. However, this training was not open to the public – only leaders and village residents who were a part of the Administration were invited. When Administration employees attempted to teach these principles to the public, the trainings were given in Mandarin and not in the local Hani language. As such, most of the local communities did not understand what these experts were saying. This led to confusion regarding the role the public played in the heritage tourism development process, leading to increasing frustration regarding the lack of local empowerment.

In 2012, the Honghe Prefecture Terrace Administration created a series of regulations and policies formulated to protect the Honghe Hani Terraces. One of the more controversial regulations was that the Hani people were not allowed to adapt newer agricultural technologies. Instead, villagers were forced to, and were ‘trained and guided’, regarding the use of ‘appropriate’ farming practices. As such, villagers were viewed as objects that were required to comply with relevant regulations, which compliance has taken away their autonomous rights and interests as terrace cultivators. This has given the villagers who used to cultivate fields additional cultural responsibilities, such as ‘learning the knowledge of terrace cultivation, approval procedures for building houses and compliance with the protection and management plan of the Hani terrace’ in the name of ‘World Heritage’.

Relative economic deprivation

Based on the interviews conducted for this study, it was found that the majority of the local Hani people have little to no opportunity to participate in both the tourism development process or work in the broader tourism industry. While some of the local Hani attribute this inaccessibility to a lack of education or understanding of how the tourism system works and therefore do not complain about this lack of opportunity, other local Hani consider it unfair that while they contribute to the creation and maintenance of the terrace landscape, they do not benefit economically from its use in the development of tourism – at least as compared to the Hani who are able to participate in the tourism industry. While the few local Hani people who

participate in the tourism industry have obtained more economic benefits from the Terrace, they complain that these economic benefits pale in comparison to outsiders who receive greater economic benefit. As such, there is a parallel horizontal and vertical comparison with regards to relative deprivation, as one group of local Hani see themselves deprived in comparison to another local Hani group, which group views themselves as deprived based on a comparison of others outside of their cultural group.

To illustrate this, in many of the villages it is the Hani locals who live by the roadside that take the initiative to be a part of the tourism industry, such as opening inns to tourists, and as such benefit from tourism mainly because of their advantageous geographic location. This has led villagers living far from the main road to become deeply resentful. As such, geographic location leads to a growing gap between the rich and the poor in the community. As a result of this economic inequality, many villagers choose not to cooperate with heritage tourism efforts. As the village officer of Laohuzui Terrace area noted, 'Our work is extremely difficult, especially for the protection of traditional dwellings. We force villagers not to demolish the old houses, but they do not listen. Because villagers living away from the road think that they have not gained from tourism, there is no need to protect the old houses' (V1).

However, the Hani who opened inns still feel that their engagement in the tourism industry is unfair because they must compete for tourism earnings with more profitable and successful outside tourism companies. For example, in 2012, the Yuanyang Shibo Tourism Company, in the name of environmental protection, purchased 20 charter buses for 8 million yuan and created an itinerary to drive tourists in and out of the scenic areas. As a part of this itinerary, the buses only stopped at three at observation platforms: the Duo Yishu, Bada, and Laohuzui Terraces. As such, tourists could see the main viewscapes of the Terraces without having to stay the night. This made the villagers who run the inns, restaurants, and van businesses greatly frustrated. As one inn owner told the first author (based on field notes), 'On October 2 [2012], he only sold two bowls of rice noodles the whole day. Compared to previous years, the loss assessment of the whole terrace scenic area was about 700 thousand to 800 thousand yuan in a month' (H3). To protest this loss of tourism income, many of the Hani people in the villages, particularly those involved in the local tourism industry, got together and wrote a petition letter to the county government protesting how this new tourism development affected local livelihoods.

To complicate things even further, the local Hani who were employed by the Yuanyang Shibo Tourism Company were also not satisfied with their position relative to their community peers when they compared themselves to non-Hani inn owners. This is because these Hani employees are forced to share their tourism income with their village. When the Hani who work for the Yuanyang Shibo Tourism Company interact with the local villagers, they often complain, 'If we have to share our profits [with] you, do those foreign inn holders who earn a lot of money have to give part of their income to the villagers too? But all you can say is that Shibo Tourism Company will not share our profits to you, so what is the difference between them and us?' (C2). As such, the local Hani people constantly feel deprivation relative to other reference groups, in which those who do not participate in tourism will compare with

those who participate in it, while those who participate in the tourism will compare themselves to outsiders who work in the tourism industry. It is this constant comparing that brings makes these groups feel they are experiencing relative economic deprivation.

Relative deprivation and the past

Another finding was that villagers are generally dissatisfied with the way in which the power structure in the villages has changed due to tourism development. As some village residents observed, 'Before, everyone was equal, but now you must be rich and have interpersonal network' (V15). 'Before, officials and people were in harmony, but now officials only care about themselves' (V14). 'Before, villagers were working together, but now no one is willing to help others' (V13). While the villages in the Honghe Hani Terraces have traditionally been relatively closed, homogeneous, and democratic communities, today the villagers are faced with extra heritage responsibilities, struggle with growing economic gaps, and unfair living rights because of the area's designation as a World Heritage Site and its subsequent heritage tourism development. In addition, the mostly agrarian economy has not shifted to a broader service-based, tourism focused economy. This has led a loss of a sense of community, with resident being more concerned with their own economic and social concerns rather than being community centred. This has led to the socio-economic interests of the village to become uneven, with village residents competing for scarce economic benefits of tourism, leading to disunity and a general sense of dissatisfaction with tourism. As such, many villagers in the Honghe Hani Terraces feel a relative deprivation as they compare the present socio-economic situation in their villagers to the way in which things were in the past.

For example, in the same vein as the restrictions placed on villagers regarding agricultural practices, villagers are also limited regarding how the improve and display their homes. According to one employee of the Terrace Administration, 'the most difficult task is the preservation of the traditional houses in the heritage areas' (G2). Heritage regulations state that 'Traditional houses shall not be demolished without permission. Heritage areas must maintain the site selection characteristics, layout structures, and construction modes of traditional villages, and must strictly abide by the principle of one household for one homestead. In case of house expansion, villagers must meet the relevant approval conditions, and declare to the village committee, the county land and resources bureau and the terrace administration' (Measures for the Implementation of the Regulations on the Protection and Administration of Hani Terraces in Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture People's Government, 2017). Although this regulation has been explained ad nauseum to villagers through different media outlets, the villagers rarely follow this regulation. This is in part because most villagers do not know what the 'heritage' is that is being preserved and what the designation of the Terraces as a World Heritage Site means to them. Still, there are villagers who believe that 'heritage does not benefit them, but rather restricts their freedom' (V19). Other villagers consider that 'there is inequity in the approval of housing, as those who have money and interpersonal network are allowed to expand houses even if they do not meet conditions, while those with family in

financial or material difficulties, such as an increase in the number of family members, overcrowding, and at least two brothers who are adults, are prevented from building houses' (V15, V20). As such, because of development restrictions imposed on the village residents, there is 'no freedom for housing construction at present' (V4). If villagers wish to expand or rework the façades of their homes, heritage conservation protocols require them to meet certain conditions and go through a series of approval and permissions procedures before starting work. This has led to most villagers being unable to make changes to their homes.

This is in part because of certain barriers that make it difficult for villagers to engage in this approval process. First, most villagers do not have access to high levels of education, and because of this they do not speak or write Mandarin. Therefore, they do not know how to fill out the application forms to gain permission to restructure their residences. Second, the approval procedure has to go through three levels: the village committee, the Land and Resources Bureau, and the Terrace Administration of the Yuanyang County. Moving petitions through these three levels of bureaucracy takes a long time, and this programmed heritage restriction policy creates a strong sense of relative deprivation among villagers as compared to the freedom they had to build and alter their homes in the past (Ce et al., 2018). As one emotional villager put it, 'The [world] heritage [designation] has not brought us any benefit. Instead, there are more restrictions than ever before' (V5). This has led to most villagers ignoring this housing regulation and building or expanding homes as they see fit. However, in 2014, eight houses at the village entrance of Pugao Laozhai Village, Duoyishu, were warned by the terrace administration for 'blocking the view of the terrace landscape without permission', and when villagers attempted to build or change their homes in secret those homes were demolished by force. This caused great economic loss to those who were building or renovating their homes, and as such villagers no longer dare to build houses 'illegally'.

Discussion

The findings discussed above show a clear division of values within the Hani community. The perceived benefits from heritage tourism development differ among local and non-local Hani people based on their history of living in the area and the benefits they receive from tourism. Although there are multiple interactions between the two groups, which at some level contributes to the sense of Hani Community in the face of outside socio-economic forces, most local Hani feel a sense of deprivation much deeper than non-local Hani people and non-Hani who work in the tourism industry. Having a deeper sense of deprivation, the local-Hani are not willing to conserve this world heritage unless the non-local Hani have more positive interaction with them, such as community building.

Based on the above discussion of relative deprivation and gain and their impact on heritage conservation, relative deprivation in the context of heritage tourism development can be conceptualized as shown in Figure 4. Local Hani residents felt a greater sense of deprivation in terms of a lack of empowerment in the heritage tourism development process, lack of economic benefits, and a feeling of disconnect from the past. They feel that they either do not benefit or benefit less from tourism than other

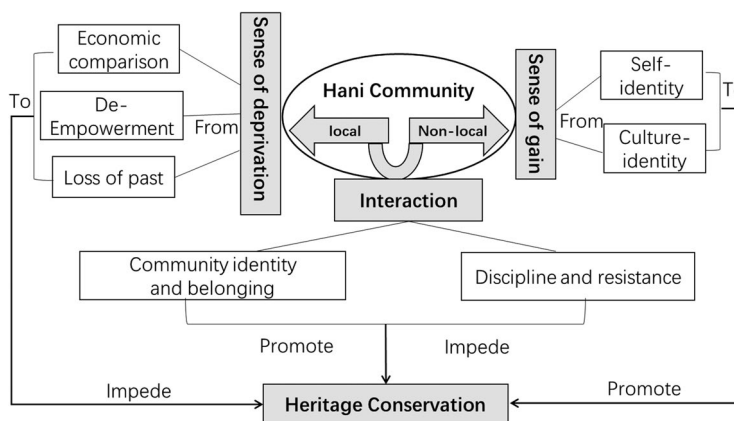


Figure 4. A conceptualization of relative deprivation in the context of heritage conservation and tourism development.

groups, including non-local Hani and outside tourism enterprises. They also feel that they are losing the solidarity and autonomy of their villages compared as to the past. This strong sense of deprivation, in addition to the lack of empowerment to actively participate in the heritage preservation process, leads to a predominance of negative emotions and opposition to top-down regulations that force them to live in an idealized or caricatured manner through either petitioning against certain forms of tourism development or ignoring regulations related to home building.

Non-local Hani who are engaged in the tourism industry and heritage process felt a greater sense of gain in terms of economic benefits and an increase in cultural identity. This increase in cultural identity was driven by the proposal to make the Honghe Terraces a World Heritage Site, which sparked interest in their Hani culture and heritage. This cultural identity was intensified by their involvement in heritage governance. With the gradual recognition of their Hani terrace's heritage and tourism value, the non-local Hani's identity has shifted from an individual awakening to group action. The administrative empowerment of the non-local Hani people makes their Hani enthusiasm incandescent and their heritage conservational responsibility firm.

While there are frequent interactions between local and non-local Hani people in the process of heritage and tourism development, the effects of these interactions are unequal. On the one hand, the non-local Hani people with administrative power have used their position to help maintain or rejuvenate local Hani culture to establish Hani language training schools, set up network interactive platforms, and assist in tourism construction, which have enabled the Hani to form an imaginary or at least a loosely formed community and a sense of cultural belonging. However, the non-local Hani people have compelled the local Hani people to comply with the rules and regulations of heritage development and protection through the issuance of laws, warnings, and the use of force, ignoring the living needs of the local Hani people. This has triggered resistance by local Hani and reduced their desire to be active players in the conservation of their heritage.

Conclusion

This study confirms earlier research by Xu and Sun (2020) that showed that communities are not homogeneous in how they view the impacts of tourism development. Indeed, like Xu and Sun found, communities experience different kinds of relative deprivation. In addition to the three types of relative deprivation noted by Xu and Sun, this study also found empowerment and continuity with the past as types of relative deprivation that influence how communities view and react to tourism development. In this study, the authors examined how local and non-local Hani people view relative deprivation. In the case of local Hani people, they live in rural areas and engage in agricultural production, while non-local Hani are from modern cities and have both higher standards of living and more educational opportunities. These different life experiences have led to these groups having different values and views regarding heritage tourism development. Because local Hani people that live in heritage areas and live traditional lives have a greater sense of deprivation from heritage protection and tourism development, they do not have the passion to preserve the type of heritage portrayed and promoted by the Honghe Prefecture Terrace Administration. While non-local Hani people have a great enthusiasm regarding Hani heritage protection, because they do not farm, rarely speak the Hani language, and hardly ever celebrate traditional Hani folklore festivals, the question can be asked if they are the right people to decide which heritage is preserved and how that heritage should be integrated into tourism development.

This study also expands on the idea of deprivation and gain, as the community's relative deprivation was not limited in tourism development, but also became more complicated when interweaved with the heritage development process. Compared with tourism participation from bottom to top, heritage application and its governance is always from top to bottom, so communities are more likely to be excluded from heritage decisions. As such, the excluded part of the community in this case study are mostly local Hani people, not the non-local Hani people. Therefore, the local Hani who are living in heritage area and farming the terraces lack the motivation to help with heritage conservation. The non-local Hani who are living outside of the heritage area and have never farmed the terraces are the ones responsible for heritage development. Fortunately, the non-local Hani work to help the local Hani to identify with their community, which is good for conservation. Even so, non-local Hani need to reduce their coercion of local Hani to protect their heritage or else it will bring about continued resistance by local Hani.

While relative deprivation is an important part of understanding the issue related to community views of and support for tourism development, the use of relative deprivation in applied tourism research is still in its infancy (Peng et al., 2016). It is an important theory to better understand residents' attitudes towards tourism development, as tourism development is rarely a zero-sum game where all stakeholders benefit equally. Although tourism research has used relative deprivation as an applied research tool, as noted earlier, on rural communities in China and Cuba, it is important to apply relative deprivation to other world regions and in urban contexts to see if the same types of relative deprivation exist. Also, relative deprivation theory has not been utilized in heritage research. This paper found that relative deprivation does impact heritage

conservation. But how relative deprivation influences heritage conservation and its mechanisms are worth further exploration to help with heritage tourism sustainability.

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