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The Establishment and Development of Tourism in China

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The Establishment and Development of Tourism in China

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1. ANCIENT ORIGINS

In China, it is common practice to approach on any subject by reflecting on its history, probably because of the availability of rich resources of historical material. Like other books in the field, *Lüyou Gailun* (An Introduction to Tourism) [YANG and JIANG 1983], which focuses primarily on contemporary tourism and travel, also touches on the history of tourism and travel in a broader sense. Being more or less representative of its genre, I have chosen to use this book as my guide in tracing the history of tourism and travel in China.

The book points out that an account of travel in ancient times can be found as far back as the ancient text of the *Shan Hai Jing*, and that the legendary Xia Yu was the first explorer and traveler in China. It also mentions that works of history, such as the *Chun Qiu* by Confucius, were based on actual travel through various parts of the country and draws a parallel between travel through various parts of China done during that period and international travel in the present day. We also learn that, before writing his *Shiji*, Si Maquian traveled extensively on foot in the regions south of Chanjiang, except Min and Yue, the present-day Fujian and Guangdong districts.

Xu Xiake, the author of *Xu Xiake You ji* (Xu Xiake's Travelogue), and famous as both a traveler and a geographer, visited present-day Hobei and Shanxi in the north and Yunnan and Guizhou in the south. Many politicians and poets, such as Qu Yuan, Du Fu, Li Bei, and Su Shi, also visited great rivers and famous mountains and wrote widely acclaimed poems. Naturally the book also mentions: Zhang Qian of Han, who was famous in relation to the Silk Road; Fa Xian, a priest of the East Jin, who visited present-day Sri Lanka and Indonesia; Xuanzang, who wrote *Da Tang Xiyu Ji* (On the Western Territory of the Tang Dynasty); the priest Jian Zhen, who reached Japan after several unsuccessful attempts; and Zhen He of Ming, who made seven voyages including a voyage to the east coast of Africa.

On the topic of accommodation facilities, such as inns, more detailed information is available in the specialized book, *Zhongguo Lüguan Shi Hua* (Stories of Hotels in Ancient China) [WANG 1984]. As the focus of this paper is historical development, an exhaustive presentation of each type of accommodation would be out of place. Therefore, I will continue to rely on the concise information provided by *An Introduction to Tourism*. According to the book, a type of lodging called *yi zhan* existed as accommodations for officials since the sixth century B. C. The name changed in later periods of its long history, but the book does not pursue this issue to any great extent. On the other hand, the existence of inns for the general public goes back at least as far as the Warring States Period. Hotels established for the use of foreigners can be traced back to the *man yi di* of the Han period. Temples were often regarded as the best accommodations for priests and were made available to foreign priests as well. Furthermore, the book describes Fanfang, a colony for foreigners in Quanzhou and Guangzhou where the bases of the Silk Road on the sea were situated. The book explains that this was a type of accommodation for foreign visitors.

Some additional information from *Stories of Inns in Ancient China* is pertinent here. In the category of inns, some were exclusively used by certain groups, such as a minority ethnic groups or hunting hawk traders. We must also keep in mind that there were "Western-style inns" run by foreigners at the end of Qin period, a point which will become relevant later in my discussion. There were also lodgings which were generally called the Ming-Qing Hall and the Compatriotic Hall where people who came to town to take the civil service examinations were accommodated. These accommodations increased toward the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Qing periods. These places were often given the names of their home region, such as the Jiangxi Hall or the Anhui Hall, and provided people from those regions with food and beds.

2. IMPETUS FROM THE WEST

The origin of "Western-style inns" was the so-called Guangzhou Thirteen Hong Merchants, a commercial building for foreign traders in Guangzhou in the early Qin period. As the number of foreign visitors to China increased after the Opium War, "Western-style inns" run by foreigners, such as French, German and American nationals, began to appear.

These lodgings were established mainly in Shanghai beginning in the nineteenth century, but between 1901 and 1939, they became more widespread and could be found in many cities: Guanzhou, Shantou, Shanghai, Beijing, Zhangjiakou, Tianjin, Shijiazhuang, Tangku, Fengtian (present-day Shenyang), Zhengzhou, Jinan, Qingdao, Yantai, Haishengwei, Jiaxing, Hangzhou, Ninbo, Jiujiang, Hankou, Changsha, Kunming, Nanjing, and Wuzhou.

As a consequence, travel agencies were established by foreigners as well. Tongjilong, owned by a British national was established in China in 1841 and an

American founded a travel agency called Yuntong. Those agencies which were established in Beijing and Shanghai were operated by foreigners to provide services for other foreigners. At the same time, Chinese nationals who wanted to travel overseas also had to rely on these agencies.

The growing demand for a travel agency specifically for the use of Chinese finally resulted in the opening of a few small agencies, such as Yusheng or Luzhou. Eventually, the Shanghai Bank of Commerce incorporated these small agencies into a "travel department" within the bank in 1923. The travel department organized their first domestic tour as early as the following year, and sent many people to Hangzhou by exclusive train service. In 1925, a Cherry Blossom Appreciation Tour was organized and about twenty Chinese visited Nagasaki, Kyoto, Tokyo and Osaka for three weeks. In 1927, the *Lüxing Zazhi* (The travel journal) was started. This magazine, which was originally published quarterly and later monthly, continued its publication until 1954. Branches of the travel department were not only set up in various cities in China, but overseas branches were also established in such cities as Singapore, Manila, Calcutta and Rangoon. Thus, as I have described so far, the development of Western-style sightseeing and travel in China came about a result of influence from the West.

3. TOURISM AS A MEANS OF "CIVILIAN DIPLOMACY"

After the birth of the new China in 1949, the Zhongguo Guoji Lüxing She (China International Travel Company) was established in 1953. The headquarters were located in Beijing and branch offices were in the following cities: Guangzhou, Shanghai, Hanzhou, Nanjing, Shengyang, Tianjin, Haerbin, Wuhan, Wuxi, Nanning, Dalian, Manzhouli, Dangdong, and Pingxiang. The company was under the direct control of the State Council and managed by the government. More branches have been opened recently, and in spite of a temporary decline during the Cultural Revolution, the company has been growing steadily.

In the early days of the company, when a private foreign tourist group was hosted, reciprocal contracts were concluded beforehand between China and the visitors' country. The fact that almost all the visitors were from the Soviet Union, East Europe, Mongolia and North Korea reflected the international situation of the period. In other words, virtually all the tourists came from the nations friendly with China.

However, around the time when the Zhongguo Lüxing Youlan Shiye Guanli Ju (Chinese Tourism Enterprises Management Authority) was established in 1964, the international climate had changed. The relationship between China and the Soviet Union had deteriorated and the Vietnam War had escalated. At the same time, the relationship with the West became closer as the number of nations which established diplomatic relationships with China increased in the wake of France's decision to do so, and an international airline service was opened with Pakistan. After President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 and the subsequent re-establishment of

diplomatic contact with the United States, tourism increased. An application of the three divisions of the world according to Mao shows that 80 percent of the visitors to China came from second-world countries, Japanese tourists comprising 40 percent of that category. The United States, which belongs to the first world, sent 7 percent of all visitors.

Incidentally, following the political changes in Eastern Europe, it seems that private tourist groups are able to visit China more easily; I met small groups of tourists from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in Lijang in Yunnan Province in the summer of 1990.

On the other hand, after China ceased recognizing dual nationality for overseas Chinese, the number of visitors of Chinese origin who subsequently acquired foreign nationality has increased. The Zhongguo Luxing She (Chinese Tourist Company), whose original name was Huaqiao Fuwu She (Service Center for Overseas Chinese), was set up in various cities in 1974 in order to provide services for the Chinese with foreign nationalities and the overseas Chinese. For example, *huaqiao dasha* (hotels for overseas Chinese) were built for their convenience in Beijing and Guanzhou.

The original aim of both the Chinese International Tourist Company and the Chinese Tourist Company was to promote amicable international exchange, therefore, the amount of revenue which initially resulted from the business was not an issue. On the other hand, at present, the goal of obtaining foreign currency is very important. As the Japanese would say, in the past "civilian diplomacy" was emphasized in the tourist industry in China.

4. WHAT IS THE IDEAL?

While the promotion of international exchange in the tourism industry is certainly emphasized today, at the same time more emphasis has been placed on the fact that the industry does not emit smoke and still brings in foreign currency. Of course, as the tourist industry grows some have warned that it is necessary to prevent damage to cultural artifacts by tourists, as well as the "contamination" of ideology and infiltration by spies who pretend to be gamblers or tourists.

An Introduction to Tourism also discusses this transition in detail. In order to obtain foreign currency, the level of service which has been provided to foreign visitors must be improved. Furthermore, the increasing number of domestic travelers will not be satisfied with the current level of service either.

Therefore, various improvements have been proposed. Some of the proposals are already taken for granted in Japan, but in China, they probably represent the ideal. For example, among the related aspects of the tourism industry, such as food, accommodation, transportation, sightseeing and shopping, it was pointed out that transportation must be improved most urgently. More specifically, harbours, airports, train stations and roads have to be upgraded. At the same time, the book also emphasizes the importance of related areas such as water works and sewage,

electricity, fuel, sanitation and communications.

Other aspects which need attention are: the improvement of accommodation facilities such as hotels, the training of people who work in the tourist business, the simplification of travel arrangements, the relaxation of restrictions on visa acquisition, and the organization of traveling activities. China must learn from countries more advanced in management and narrow the gap without delay.

Paralleling the goal of "modernization," the country is also working towards ethnicification which emphasizes traditional Chinese elements. China also aims at the dialectical integration of "diversification" and "standardization."

In order to achieve this goal, the book proposes that foreign branches should be set up in order to carry out surveys and market research, and compile promotional material on tourism in China. At the same time, China should send personnel to participate in international tourist groups to learn what should be provided in China. It also suggests that as hosts, the Chinese can absorb a great deal of valuable information from foreign groups visiting China.

The book further points out that tours should consist of a variety of attractions. For example, sightseeing and travel spots should combine modern and ancient civilization and natural beauty. In some places, a cable car or rope way should be constructed next to long stone stairways. Some tours should attract the curiosity and adventurous spirit of young people. They should also provide opportunities to ride camels and row sampan boats. Some tours should take advantage of natural resources, such as limestone caves and local flora. Tours need to offer a variety of attractions. Some tour groups should visit and explore the lifestyle and culture of the ethnic minorities, the route of the Red Army's Long March or the route Xu Xiake, the explorer, had taken. At the same time, some consideration must be given to the possibility of developing more optional tours, expanding the availability of duty-free goods, or developing commemorative goods for specialized tours, such as gourmet tours with a Peking duck feast.

Particularly, the central government should not minimize the importance of training travel agency personnel who handle foreign visitors. A person who deals with tourists and provides interpreting and guide services should learn not only a second language, but also a third and a fourth. One should also acquire a basic knowledge of history, literature and politics as well as knowledge of food, housing, transportation, sightseeing and shopping. Furthermore, one should utilize one's past experience in order to improve their modes of hospitality. Tourists should always be treated with courtesy. However, the book warns that courtesy should come with friendliness, but should not be overly obsequious to the point of losing self-respect.

Furthermore, the book urges attendants to provide courteous service at the General Services Center, reception desks at hotels, and service stations at international airports.

5. WHAT IS THE REALITY?

Has the tourist business in China improved?

Of course, accommodations and other facilities have been expanded and improved. Also, the so-called "open" areas where tourists are allowed to visit have become more numerous. However, in reality, the level of service in China is not up to the standard of Western Europe or Japan or even of some developing countries.

Most of the time, I have traveled by myself or in small groups in China. I also have had the experience of accompanying members of the Friends of the National Museum of Ethnology on a large, organized tour. I would like to discuss some of my past experiences in China in order to illustrate the reality of the tourist industry at this time.

With the expansion of "open" areas and the liberalization of individual travel where previously tour groups were handled by tourist agencies, the effects of the Cultural Revolution have become evident. For example, there has been an increase in incidents which are irritated and annoying to tourists. This might be partly because an insufficient number of personnel is available in comparison with the rate of growth of the tourist business.

The Zhongguo Min Han (Civil Aviation Administration of China) which is infamous both inside and outside of the country, does not have a system where one can book and purchase air tickets for all legs of a trip from the beginning. If one needs an air ticket from Beijing to Guangzhou via Kunming, naturally, one would purchase the ticket between Beijing and Kunming in Beijing. However, the ticket for the second leg, from Kunming to Guangzhou, has to be booked and purchased after arrival in Kunming. Thus, although one hopes to visit many places in a limited time, it is necessary to stay longer in each place to book and purchase airline tickets. Moreover, even after the tickets are purchased, it is often necessary to reconfirm the ticket. Although I agree this is a good procedure, one is required to visit the office in person, probably because they do not trust reconfirmation done over the phone. Yet, when I wanted to reconfirm my reservation at the airport, I was told to go to the office in the city. When I arrived at the city office, I was asked to come back some other time because the computer was down that day.

In the past, overseas Chinese were required to obtain visas to visit the home country. Since August 1, 1985, a visa is no longer necessary. The announcement was promptly issued in the *China Daily*, before the change became effective. Subsequently, I went to Guangzhou from Hongkong without a visa because I am an overseas Chinese. At the Guangzhou Airport, I was asked why there was no visa stamped in my passport, and I answered that it was no longer necessary from that day. I was told to wait for a while and after about ten minutes' wait, I could finally cross the border. My guess is that the announcement of the change had not reached all of the officers at immigration control. I could forgive the mishap because it happened on the first day the change became effective, but almost a month later at Kunming Airport, I was questioned by an officer about the visa when I was leaving

Kunming for Hongkong. This time there was no excuse. I could not help suspecting that the officer must have been asleep at the meeting where the change in the visa system was explained.

The next episode happened at Kunming Airport not so long ago. We were leaving Kunming for Bangkok and we had changed our Chinese currency into foreign currencies except for the Foreign Exchange Certificates in order to pay the departure tax. When we were going to pay the departure tax, we were told the amount of our Foreign Exchange Certificates was not sufficient. Other people in the group only had the exact amount in certificates. I had an additional amount because I was coming back to China again, so I was able to pay for the whole group. When I mentioned that we had confirmed the amount at the China Airlines Bureau in Kunming city the previous day, the female customs officer shouted hysterically, "C.A.A.C. can say whatever they want, but you are in the customs office. The figure printed on the ticket is the correct amount!"

In China, a vertical alignment in the workplace is called *danwei bu tong*. It is quite inconvenient to carry out business smoothly across different vertical groups. This is because the horizontal relationship between different groups is very weak in the Chinese social structure. Even so, when I was faced with the trouble at Kunming Airport, I was astonished by the miscommunication between the customs office of the airport, where international flights depart, and the airline. Furthermore, the one did not care what the other told the customer. We were also amazed when we went through immigration control. We had intended to do some duty-free shopping, but all the shutters of the shops were down. Just as we were ready to board, the shutters started to go up. If shops are closed when customers are present and open when they are gone, they cannot collect any foreign currency no matter how wide a range of duty-free items is available.

At the waiting room in Baoshan Airport, a guard on duty with his pistol hanging on his hip was chatting with and walking among his peasant friends with a cup of tea in his hand. Since his uniform was not buttoned up and his collar was open, he looked more unkempt. Is it supposed to be cute that their attitude is the same whether in or out of uniform?

During this trip, we made a reservation for flights to Guangzhou and Quanzhou at the reception desk of a first class hotel so that we could catch those flights after we came back from Dali and Lichang. We bought tickets to Guangzhou after we came back to Kunming and we made a telephone booking on a convenient connecting flight to Quanzhou from Guangzhou. What we found after we arrived at Guangzhou was that such a flight did not exist, and we had to stay overnight at Guangzhou. The next morning before dawn, we got up to catch a long distance bus and traveled to Quanzhou by road with one overnight stop. This would have been extremely inconvenient if we had been in a hurry. This incident illustrates that the management of information, even by tourist agencies, is not well-coordinated or accurate.

As previously mentioned, when the member of the Friends of the National

Museum of Ethnology went on a study tour to Inner Mongolia and Datong in Shanxi Province, I accompanied them as a leader and lecturer. We visited Xilin Hot and Baotou, and when we were about to leave the hotel in order to catch a train from Baotou to Datong, we were told that we could no longer board the train. So we rented a meeting room and I gave another lecture to kill time. We finally arrived late at night. I later found out from the travel agency that the reason we could not board the train in spite of the fact we had already purchased tickets, was because a group of high-ranking officials had suddenly boarded the train, taking up all of the available seats. We often encounter incidents like this in transportation arrangements.

In Kunming, we stayed at a hotel which was different from the one previously mentioned and we left for Dali and Lichiang. Since we were going to stay at the same hotel, we made the reservation at the reception desk. After ten days or so, we came back to the same hotel to find that there was no record of our reservation. The attendant at the reception was different from the one we had spoken to, so we insisted that she check the reservation book. After flipping through some pieces of paper in a file, she said nothing was recorded. As I have previously noted, not only is there a problem with the service at the reception desk, but also some receptionists are unreliable, as in this case.

I would now like to take a look at the standards of the available accommodations. Except for some joint-venture hotels, most accommodation facilities have problems with toilet and bathroom fittings. Dripping taps cannot be counted as a problem. When the toilet was flushed, the water tank did not fill. I got used to fixing this problem. I just took the lid off the tank and adjusted the float to fill the tank. However, often this maneuver did not fix the problem. One also has to be careful when taking a bath. It goes without saying that the hot and the cold water taps are marked as "H" and "C." But sometimes the hot water tap was marked "C" and the cold water tap was marked "H." If one just wants to take a shower, one could suffer a burn from the unexpectedly hot water.

I had a chance to visit Zhangiajie in Hunan Province, where active promotion has begun to attract tourists to a newly "opened" region with spectacular natural scenery. As the region's tourists' base town, Dayong had a large-scale hotel and each room had a flush toilet. However, many of the toilets did not have toilet seats and some seats had large cracks. So we checked the toilets in each room and used the ones which were the least cracked. Problems of this sort can often be found at hotels in the countryside.

The scale of inns called "*zhaodaisuo*" ranges from small to large. Some belong to the government, some to the Zhongguo Kexue Yuan (Chinese Academy of Science) and some to regional ethnic committees. Some of them are owned by farms and some are equivalent to regional branch offices of a certain *danwei*.

In a small-sized inn (*zhaodaisuo*), or even a bigger one in the countryside, flush toilets hardly exist. One has to use a communal non-flush toilet which is located inside or outside in the outhouse. Frequently in such cases, partitions between the

toilets are low and doors are nonexistent. Japanese find it hard to use toilets like these. Yet, this hesitation seems to be based on a Japanese cultural perception, because Americans do not seem to worry about it. However, as long as some foreigners find it hard to use such toilets, they should at least provide the toilets with doors even if they are not flush toilets.

Problems are not limited to toilets and bathrooms. Drafts coming through the windows are another frequent inconvenience. When I stayed in Guizhou in winter, one of the window panes in my room had a huge hole and I ended up catching cold. This might be rather an extreme case, but rooms in many inns are drafty.

Light bulbs in some rooms are burned out from the beginning or go out during the stay, and the bulb is rarely replaced if no special request is made. Even if one makes such a request, it takes a while for the problem to be solved. When we could not turn the light on although the bulb was fine and we asked to have this repaired, they would answer, "We'll be right there." But they rarely come immediately. In the worst instance, nothing was done for several days.

In general, restaurants affiliated to the accommodation facility have too many staff in relation to the amount of work. Still, in all, the service is inadequate, and attendants spend too much time chatting to each other.

When I visited Xishuang Banna in Yunnan Province for the first time, the area was not yet accessible to tourists. Since then, I have visited five times. Part of the area is now "open" and a long-awaited airport was opened in 1990. At an inn in the area, where I was once the only guest, the only attendant served me meals and carried hot water in a bucket to my room because there was no bathroom. At that time, I was very grateful for the hospitality.

By contrast, the present facility is much bigger, so that many foreigners can be accommodated, and it is now called a hotel. Each room has a bathroom, and a dining room is attached as well. However, during our stay, the dining room was closed without any notice. Luckily, there were small restaurants around the hotel, so we could eat out. Later, we heard that the dining room was closed because they did not have any other guests except us. In the dining room, pleasant Hani and Tai girls had been serving us everyday until this incident, but it is apparent from this incident that the management was sloppy.

Recently, TV sets are often provided in most types of accommodation. It is not absolutely necessary to provide a TV set in a room, but as long as it is there, it should be in working order. Yet, the TV sets are often out of order. If we complain, they might replace the broken one with another from a vacant room. If we do not complain, they leave a broken set since no regular check-up is done. At least, we can drink tea because hot water is brought in every day in a thermos bottle. I wonder why they do not check everyday whether the flush toilet, light bulbs and TV sets are in working order. It seems there are no service guidelines on these matters.

Occasionally, I get annoyed with the word "*xia ban*." When the staff work on shifts, *shang ban* means "on duty" and *xia ban* "off duty." When I went to the

barber's in a hotel in Beijing, the shop was closed although the sign showed it was within business hours. Later I was told that the shop was closed because the on-duty staff and off-duty staff could not coordinate their respective lunch times. Generally, many shops in hotels only open during certain hours of the day. It is their choice that they do not earn enough foreign currency, but, in many cases, the staff went off duty before closing time.

Thus we see, it is easy to point out flaws in the tourism industry in China and the list could go on and on, but I will refrain from giving further examples, because the Chinese people are well aware of the problems themselves. For instance, *Wo Yanzhong de Yunnan Lüyou Ye—Wei Yunnan Luyou Ye Xaince* (The Tourism of Yunnan from My Point of View: Some Suggestions to the Tourism in Yunnan) [ZHONG and RAO 1989] criticizes the current situation wherein different sections of tourism-related business operate without any coordination. The book urges that all *danwei* should be coordinated organically. Not only was the ideal proposed, but some concrete suggestions for improvement were outlined.

I would like to mention one example from the book. The section on restaurants run by the Tai in Manchinran village in Xishuang Banna states that the village was merely a typical Tai village up until 1986. Since then, about ten Tai restaurants have opened. The buildings are slightly larger than typical Tai stilt houses, and some of them offer overnight accommodation facilities for tourists. The total number of beds available for tourists was about 200 and they catered to about 2,000 customers each day at the restaurants. Thus, the number of tourists they served was almost equivalent to what a large up-scale hotel could provide.

In fact, the number of Tai restaurants and inns increased so much was because foreign guests did not always want to stay in Western-style hotels. There are many tourists who are interested in the everyday life of the ethnic minorities and want to make more contact with them and try out their food. The costs of building and operating a large up-scale hotel to cater to an equivalent number of guests would be much greater than the total cost for those Tai restaurants. Therefore, the book argues that it is not always a wise idea to enlarge and upgrade the present accommodation facilities.

As I have experienced for myself, the service in a private Tai restaurant was always friendly and courteous, the same kind of welcome the Tai would extend to any guest in their villages. What the foreign guests would hope for in China as a whole is not only improvements in the facilities, such as installing flush toilets, but also this kind of warm-hearted hospitality.

My next topic is street vendors. Within a two hundred kilometer drive from Kunming lies a Karstic geological region with limestone pillars. These limestone pillars are located in the Lunan Yi Tribe Autonomous County, which I had a chance to visit before the area was "opened." At that time, it was difficult to persuade the Yi people to sell their embroidered goods, but now, after the "opening" of the area, street vendors swarm around my car, even before I get out, trying to sell me their craft work they hold out their hands or carry in baskets on their backs.

When I get out of the car, a crowd gathers and will not disperse until I buy something.

It was the same when I revisited Hainantao. In the days before Sanya Beach was "opened," only a few people sold sea shells and they never followed me around trying to make a sale. Today, however, Hainantao, formerly a part of Kantong Province, has become Hainan Province. The island was designated as a special economic area and development has been carried out rapidly. Subsequently, the number of tourists has increased. When I revisited the beach with beautiful natural scenery, I was disappointed that souvenir shops have been built one after another. Moreover, I was annoyed when the vendors who wanted to sell shell and pearl necklaces followed me persistently.

When I visited a Miao village in Hainantao again, I saw a more tragic scene. People in the area are regarded as the Miao and they themselves say they are Miao, although scholars have not yet ascertained their proper ethnic classification. That aside, tourists from Hongkong arrived there in a big tour bus and took photographs of the children in their black ethnic costumes and red lipstick. When the photo session was finished, the children stuck their hands out to receive a few yuan notes. When I was walking in the village later, I happened upon several children sitting in a circle and comparing the amount they earned that day. In a Masai village in Tanzania, I once saw men standing in front of the cameras with spears which they used as weapons in order to earn money. They were adults, but it was far sadder in the Chinese case because those who were involved were children.

Although *The Tourism of Yunnan from my Point of View: Some Suggestions to Tourism in Yunnan* touched upon limestone pillars, it did not express any opinion on the annoying peddlers. It would be interesting to find out the tour operators' opinions of the peddlers. There has been a recent trend of *xiang qian kan* or "looking for money" in China. This phrase was coined from the phrase *xiang qian kan* ("look to the future")—and the Chinese themselves ridicule this social situation. When we see this satirized situation everywhere, it is hard to single out street peddlers.

6. IN THE CONTEXT OF CIVILIZATION STUDIES

In his *Kindai Nihon no Bunmeigaku* (Civilization studies in modern Japan) Umesao Tadao, the Director-General of the National Museum of Ethnology, defined the word "civilization" as the human lifestyle, or living system, as a whole, which includes material culture and institutions, as a whole [UMESAO and ISHIGE 1984]. In other words, when the civilizational system is examined in contrast to the ecological system, "civilization" means "human being = facilities and institutions." On the other hand, culture is a system of values of people who live in civilization. History is the changes of a synchronous system in time: everything in a certain period is related and the system of related matters changes as a whole.

From the point of view of cultural theory, Japanese culture and Chinese

culture are often considered to be very closely related and in actual fact they are. Many elements of the Chinese culture have passed over into Japanese culture. However, when the two civilizations are examined, the difference is astounding because the systems are so different. By contrast, when we compare Japan and Europe, the cultural elements of these two areas are totally different, but the integration principle of the two is surprisingly similar.

Following the approach to civilization studies discussed by Umesao, the comparison is not complete when only the facility cluster and the institutional cluster of the Chinese tourism industry and those of Europe and Japan are analyzed. This is because the facility cluster and institutional cluster in the Chinese tourism industry are related to each other as synchronous system. At the same time, the establishment of the industry is based on "ancient" Chinese civilization and traditional culture. The change from ancient Chinese civilization to present Chinese civilization has involved transfers of cultural and civilizational elements from China to foreign countries and from foreign countries to China.

As mentioned above, the modern accommodation facilities and travel agencies were modeled after "Western-style" inns and agencies run by foreigners. Yet, although accommodation facilities have been established with Western-style inns as models, the facilities, such as flush toilets and televisions and their level of maintenance, as I have described above, leave much to be desired. In addition, the institutional systems with respect to services, such as hotel reception, hair-dressing and dining room services have already been described. In both respects, there is a significant gap between China and Western Europe or Japan.

Thus, although specific facilities and institutions have been introduced to China, variations occur because the way human beings, the facility cluster and the institutional cluster relate to each other differs between China and Western Europe or Japan.

In China, 80 percent of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihood. The style of farm houses varies in different regions, but the most common style uses earth as its main building material. Soil is put into a wooden frame and pounded in order to make a building block. This method is called *hang tu*. Then, the wooden frame is taken away and set up again in order to place these blocks horizontally. Then, on each block, the wooden frame is set up and taken away in order to lay the blocks on top of each other. This method is called *banzhu* (construction), and the wall of a farm house is built in this way. Another method is to kiln bake one or three blocks, shaped by a wooden frame, at a time, and build these blocks into a wall. Roof tiles are also made by the method described in a technical manual in the Ming Period, *Tian Gong Kai Wu*. Therefore, there is a gap between the wall and the window frame and naturally, drafts come into the room.

The *zhaodaisuo*, or small-scale inns in the countryside, have been built using a method similar to the one described above, and thus, drafts do come into the house. Even the accommodation facilities for tourists have been built using traditional techniques.

Many of those who staff the front desk come from farming backgrounds, and therefore, possess traditional values even if they are not conscious of it. In addition, their family and friends are in the same situation. Therefore, it is understandable that their administrative efficiency or management methods are not at the same level as that of the West or Japan.

In the previous discussion, I mentioned inns which are controlled by different *danwei*. Usually it is easy to use inns controlled by the same *danwei* as long as an introductory letter is sent by someone of higher standing within the institution. On the other hand, if the introduction is given by someone who does not belong to the same unit, it is often difficult to make reservations. Previously, I discussed accommodation facilities such as the Ming Qing Hall or the Compatriotic Hall. These were often used during the Ming and the Qing Periods. I would like to suggest that it is possible to find similar patterns in the way inns and societies/halls were established primarily to provide food and accommodation for people who came from the home region.

In conclusion, whether China can achieve a "modernized" tourist system like that found in Western Europe or Japan will depend on how the Chinese people and the facility and institutional clusters will change as a whole.

In Guangzhou, there have been frequent transactions with Hongkong, and information can be exchanged easily using the Cantonese dialect, because most Hongkong residents originally came from Canton Province, for example, Guangzhou. It is comparatively easy to transfer the Hongkong type "people = facility/system" to Guangzhou as a whole and we can already identify its initial stage.

Although I can accept such an exception, it is not possible to expect that in the mean time, the "people = facility/system" of all of China to transform itself completely into the European or the Japanese style. Accordingly, the condition of tourism and travel in China will probably not change to any significant degree in the near term.

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