Riding the Horses of Modernization: How Ethnic Identities Transcend Differently in Two Hani Ethnicity Autonomous Villages in China

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Abstract: This thesis focuses the research on how two autonomous villages with the same ethnic minority background demonstrate minority identity under different objective conditions. The researcher went to the two villages to conduct field research. By observing and interviewing local villagers, they framed four clothing, food, housing, and transportation themes and compared and analyzed them separately. It was found that the villages with older houses and less convenient transportation lacked cultural preservation; the villages with more modern houses, more developed transportation, and better economic conditions had better preservation of ethnic culture. Furthermore, the villages with more developed tourism had worse economic conditions, while the villages with less developed tourism had better economic conditions. More research is needed to confirm the occurrence of this phenomenon in addition to the four factors of food, clothing, housing and transportation.

Keywords: Ethnic minority, Hani ethnic minority, autonomous village, modernization, culture transformation

1. Introduction

China has undergone swift and drastic political and economic transition during the past century, which played a crucial role in transforming the identities of China's ethnic minorities that make up 8.89% of the total Chinese population, according to the seventh national census. Among these, the Hani people (a Tibeto-Burman ethnic group known as the Ho people in Vietnam) ranked the 16th most influential minority group out of 54 in China, with a 1.7 million population (1.2% of the total Chinese population). Hani people congregated in Yunnan Province, southwest of China, located across the Ailao Mountains, between the Mekong River and the Red River. Over generations, the Hani people have cultivated distinctive architectural styles, farming techniques, and dance rituals. However, the Hani people were poverty-stricken, with a life expectancy being 59 years in 1990, compared to 70 years nationally [1]. The Chinese government has targeted poverty reduction programs in these remote rural Hani ethnic villages. Government subsidies come in various forms, including infrastructure, primary education, agricultural technology, and tourism eco-system design. Different villages get different subsidies based on governmental planning and individual applications. The researcher is especially interested in whether and how the Hani people transcend their ethnic identities while coping with the forced modernization and sinicization process. Scholars have long

debated tourism's double-edged function in preserving indigenous culture and destroying its authenticity [1,2]. The researcher selected two similar-sized Hani villages undertaking tourism development at different levels for field studies. These two villages are 186 km away from each other. Village A has undertaken a government-instructed tourism eco-system design program carried out by the research team of a top-tier Chinese university. Village L has received government subsidies to build its infrastructure but was largely left alone for its tourism development. This research uses Anthony Giddens's Structuration theory [15] to compare and contrast how the villagers in these two villages carry on their daily lives while riding the intense modernization, including clothing, food, living, and transportation. By closely observing how the villagers shape their daily living while the structure changes, the researcher gives an account of how villagers of the two villages have transcended their Hani ethnic identities differently and why.

First, this paper proposes the research question based on a literature review of topics including Hani ethnic history, tourism's effect on cultural preservation, structuration theory, and formation of daily life. Second, the research method is introduced to explain how the research question is explored in steps. Lastly, the research question is answered in the results and discussion.

2.   Review of Literature

2.1.   The Study Subject: Comparing Two Hani Ethnic Minority Villages

First, the introduction starts with the geographical location and historical background differences between the two villages. Hani is one of the oldest cross-border ethnic groups on the southwest border of China, among which Yuanjiang County in Yuxi City, located in the south-central Yunnan Province and the middle and upper reaches of the Yuanjiang River, is a multi-ethnic area inhabited by Hani, Yi, Dai, Miao, Bai, Han, etc. [3]. The Hani people are mainly distributed around the Honghe River in Yunnan, China, and the two most representative local Hani settlements are Honghe and Yuanyang counties, as they are the places where the Hani population is most concentrated [4]. The Samba Terraces and the Yuanyang Terraces are the two most representative tourist terraces in Honghe, where the researcher chose to conduct the primary research. With the state's strong support for the scenic spot of Yuanyang Terraces in the area, it officially withdrew from the sequence of poor counties on May 17, 2020 [5].

Along with it, Honghe County is located on the south bank of the upper reaches of the Red River. The region where Village L is located was historically an important gathering place for "horse gangs". Village A in Honghe County does not have a history of "horse gangs". The "horse gang" was a group that took advantage of its location on the river to do business, and from its founding in 1853 to 1981, for over a hundred years, it pioneered the way to do business abroad [6]. The "horse gang" expansion has opened the business road to reach Myanmar, Thailand, and businesses abroad and has become a trend and a model of entrepreneurial success [7]. Stepping on the stone hoof prints, generations of Honghe people out of the mountains, to the world, the current Honghe County overseas Chinese have more than 10,000 people, distributed in 18 countries and regions, is the province's second-largest overseas Chinese township [7].

The second is the economic situation of the two villages separately. Since ethnic minorities are primarily located in the southwest and northwest of China, most are located in remote areas in terms of distribution; the limited educational resources make the cultural and educational levels relatively low [8]. Because of their large family size, the per capita income of ethnic minorities is 19.2 per cent lower than that of the Han Chinese. With this trend, rural ethnic minorities earn less than half the income of the Han Chinese [9]. As of 2018, the average income of China's ethnic minorities is still lower than the national average income and has been on a continuous downward trend [10]. Therefore, the income earned from tourism becomes particularly important to balance the income. Such a

situation seems to make exporting traditional culture to the outside world compassionate, making tourism's impact on cultural preservation interesting to the researcher. Village A in Yuanyang County is a mountainous village, and villagers mainly live in mushroom houses, a unique traditional architecture [11]. Village A is one of the five inscribed villages in the Red River Hani Heritage Area, a World Heritage Site [11]. The average annual income per capita in Village A is 2,785 RMB (around 403.62 USD) [11]. Village L in Honghe County is also a mountain village, but it had an average annual income per capita of 28,265 RMB (around 4,096.38 USD) [12]. The stark income difference between these two geographically similar villages interested the researcher in further investigating the situation.

Finally, there is a difference in the attitude and retention of minority cultures in the two villages. Since the region where the Hanis resident contains multiple ethnic minority groups, various festivals that take music and dance as their dominant way of demonstration were then formed. Therefore, the Hanis constitute a complex and diversified network of cultural identities – mainly ethnic, faith, religious, regional, and national. [3]. This culture has long been embedded in the ethnic and national identity of the Hani people themselves, resulting in the integration of national festivals of national significance based on Chinese cultures, such as the Spring Festival, National Day, Dragon Boat Festival, and so on; these festivals mainly demonstrate the minority's understanding of national and regional identity [3]. Therefore, Hani's performing arts are closely associated with self-identity, national identity, and regional identity, further reflecting the Hanis' dedication to arts in festivals [13].

In summary, the identity of the Hani people is gradually structured by these factors, from their geographical location, history, culture, and economic situation to their ethnic characteristics. Therefore, the differences in these factors between Village A and Village L gradually pull apart the identities of the people living in these two places, ultimately leading the researcher to explore what exactly makes ethnic identities transcend differently in two Hani autonomous villages.

2.2. Tourism's Effect on Ethnic Minorities

To combat the economic hardship in rural ethnic minority areas, tourism has become a meaningful way to facilitate economic development and preserve ethnic and cultural heritage [14]. However, modernisation and Sinicization will inevitably affect remote areas with tourism development. For example, minority languages are slowly abandoned with the replacement of Mandarin; the design of buildings in the villages is getting more modernized. These are all signs of Sinicization and modernization. However, at the same time, if these small minority areas do not rely on tourism for their development, the economy will be slow if they rely on farming. So this raises the question that many scholars have discussed: there is a contradiction between the impact of modernization brought by tourism and the preservation of the traditional culture of ethnic minorities [14].

Village A has received help from Sun Yat-sen University, one of the top universities in China, to help alleviate poverty since 2018. With the help of this poverty alleviation team, the tourism industry in Village A is also developing very fast. In contrast, Village L does not have a poverty alleviation program, so its tourism industry is not as well developed as Village A's. As a result, although Village A receives more help, its cultural and economic situation and level of cultural retention are lower than those of Village L.

2.3. Structuration Theory and the Formation of Daily Lifestyle

Anthony Giddens's [15]'s structuration theory suggests that human agency and social structure are in a relationship with each other, and it is the repetition of the acts of individual agents that reproduces the structure [15]. Under this definition, each individual is their agency, which they have the power to control how they want to perform in society, to the point that they can change the social structure

that restricts social norms [15]. Therefore, as society progresses under the influence of modernization trends, people's definitions of standards change, leading to self-identity becoming an inescapable issue to consider for individuals [15].

Culture can be reflected in people's living habits, shown in the necessities of life: food, housing, and clothing. A place's culture can be reflected first through its food. Food occupies a significant place in both a culture and a religion, mainly because it can fully reflect the way of life of a group. For example, how this food is grown, how it is baked, with whom it is eaten, and who eats first, are all ways to understand how culture works in this particular ethnic group [16]. Another important reason traditional foods are still passed down in the culture: the continuation of traditional food is a symbol of pride for their ethnicity [17]. Therefore, exploring the eating culture helps to understand the agriculture of the Hani people. It is also possible to compare whether the cultural background is the same between Village A and Village L.

Secondly, housing habits also reflect on culture. According to Dana Tell's research on housing and culture among the Lakota [18], income, unemployment, weather, access to resources, and federal policies are all factors for ethnic groups, in this case, Lakota, to not able to find suitable housing [18]. Thus, the construction of houses can reveal the resources of a people and their knowledge of house construction, and thus the extent of their development. At the same time, the construction and design of houses can also show the extent to which modernization and Sinicization have influenced an ethnic village, and Ghose [19], discussing Asian architectural design, says that Asian houses are generally not favoured in the housing market because of their overall backwardness [19]. In other words, "design was recognized as one of the factors which could help export"[19]. The architecture of the local minority villages also allows for introducing local foreign cultures and the extent of their cultural exports. Therefore, the researcher can use the architectural design of the two villages to determine whether their cultures are in sync and whether the identity of their ethnic minorities has changed due to the different degrees of external cultural introduction.

Third, one of the most direct ways in which an exposed culture is expressed is through clothing. Clothing is a symbol of identity, which is associated with identity because people want to represent their culture, behaviour, habits, etc., through external visualizations [20]. Therefore, clothing as a symbol can effectively reflect an individual's identity. At the same time, clothing can also reflect the habits of individuals [20]. For example, if the person usually needs to do farm work, then his or her clothing must be comfortable and loose. Therefore, the costume design of ethnic minorities also connects with the ethnic group from its historical and cultural background.

Lastly, transportation and infrastructure represented and spread of culture. People are constantly developing ways to get from one place to another to give away and earn more items [21]. Delivering goods and people's curiosity about the outside world have led them to build more roads to open bridges with the outside world [22]. Therefore, the transportation of a place can also reflect the modernity of the place. With the development of transportation, Western and Sinicization were introduced to the outside world, which led to the more Western architecture and design of the houses described above.

The history and culture of the Hani ethnic minority are deeply rooted in the Hani people. However, the geographical and economical situation of the different Hani villages affects the extent to which the Hani people themselves understand their culture in different ways. As tourism has become a significant trend in contemporary economic development, the introduction of tourists reflects how the Hani people present their understanding of minority culture and identity to the outside world. Village A and L share the same ethnic background. Still, because of the differences in history, location, tourist introduction, and development of the area, they show differences in all aspects of their ethnic identity in terms of clothing, food, housing, and transportation, including significant income

differences. This paper explores the research question: how ethnic identities transcend differently in two Hani autonomous villages.

3. Methodology

To answer the research question of how the ethnic identities transcend differently in two Hani autonomous villages, the researcher collected qualitative data by interviewing different people, including short and long durations. The process included observing, collecting, acquiring, and analyzing data. At the same time, when looking for interviewees, the researcher avoided deliberately excluding apparent variables such as gender and occasion, thus forming a controlled group; instead, the researcher tended to observe already naturally formed focus groups such as piled-up seniors, children playing together at school, and staff working in visitor areas. This method of experimentation is suitable for the topic of the study because ethical consideration is given to the importance of observing social order and diversity [23]. Finally, to ensure the research's reliability and validity, I searched for multiple groups with the same characteristics in the tourist areas of Honghe Yi Hani Autonomous Prefecture to ensure reliability, and constructed interview questions around the research topic and ensured that these questions were directly related to the research topic.

4. Data Collection

Two qualitative methods are used to collect the primary data: participant observation and interviews.

5. Participant Observation

The principal methodology the researcher used to obtain primary data is to observe the lifestyles already presented by ethnic minorities and to interview them with questions developed to answer the research question. In order to better observe the habits of ethnic minorities and to understand their understanding of their traditional culture, the researcher needs to visit the principal places where the Hani live. According to Marlinowski, participant observation, which is when the researcher is in the environment of the subject's life, would benefit from getting a better understanding of cultural rules for behaviour, whether passively being an outsider to just observing or actively doing what the people are doing [24]. Therefore, the importance of the qualitative study is mainly to attend to the contextual richness of the real-world settings and enable both the researcher and reader to understand what different kinds of people think under various circumstances [25].

6. Interview

There are three types of interviews conducted by the researcher: short, extended, and online. I interviewed 10 villagers in Village A and 8 in Village L. The table will present the interviewees' essential background, including gender, age, occupation, and characteristics.

Table 1: Basic information of interviewees in Village A.

Interviewees in Village A	Gender	Age	Occupation	Characteristics
A-1	Female	82	None	Introverted, love to laugh
A-2	Female	Around 40	None	Extroverted, talkative
A-3	Female	Around 80	Retire	Extroverted, enthusiastic, welcoming
A-4	Male	83	Veteran	Extroverted, sophisticated
A-5	Female	17	Student	Introverted, curious
A-6	Male	35	Innkeeper	Extroverted, welcoming
A-7 (2)	Male	Around 17	None	Avoiding, introverted
A-8	Female	Around 25	None	Extroverted, happy
A-9	Female	Around 25	Student	Tender, formal
A-10	Male	Around 25	Student	Formal, introverted

Table 2: Basic information of interviewees in Village L.

Interviewees in Village L	Gender	Age	Occupation	Characteristic
L-1	Female	15	Student	Extroverted, sociable
L-2	Male	50	Innkeeper	Extroverted, welcoming, sophisticated
L-3	Female	Around 55	Farmer	Extroverted, talkative
L-4	Female	Around 80	None	Introverted
L-5	Female	Around 45	Government officials	Extroverted
L-6	Male	Around 45	Government officials	Extroverted
L-7	Male	Around 20	Kid of government officials	Introverted, love to participate
L-8	Female	Around 40	Wife of innkeeper	Extroverted, talkative

The interviews are conducted semi-structurally around the questions, including age, occupation, inclination to dance and sing, ways they spend their free time, and the intention to leave the village in the future. However, different questions were asked in different lengths of interviews. There are

three main types of interviews: short interviews lasting about two minutes, extended interviews lasting longer than ten minutes, and interviews with professionals conducted online.

The interviewees for short interviews include A-7, A-8, L-4, L-7, and L-8. The questions include "How old are you? What kind of work do you do now?", "Do you usually sing and dance?', "What do you like to do during your free time?" and "Do you want to leave the village in the future".

More extended interviews that last for around 10 minutes include interviewees A-1, A-2, A-3, A-4, A-5, A-6, and L-1, L-2, L-3, and L-5. In addition to the questions above that have been asked in the short interviews, more questions are included. For example, "How long have you been living in this village?", "Have you ever gone out and come back?", "What are your plans for your life?" and "Do those with children want them to leave the village in the future?"

Lastly, the interviews conducted on graduate students, A-9 and A-10, who came to help uplift Village A's economic status were implemented online. The six questions were "What difficulties did you encounter in promoting the project?", "What was the resistance from the villagers?", "How was the project affected during the pandemic?", "Is the Tiktok account still in operation? Who usually operates it?", "Why didn't you mobilize people in the village to create self-publishing?" and "Is there a plan on how to promote local culture? What are the specific plans?"

Most of the interviews were conducted on the streets. They lasted for around 5 minutes, while other interviews were conducted with the researcher sitting down with the interviewee and asking questions for around 15 minutes. All interviews were not audio-recorded due to the short time frame but were transcribed in notes immediately following the interview. The primary interviews were obtained by the researcher while walking through the villages. For example, the first group of people I interviewed in Village A was A-1 and A-2, who saw my intention to talk and then invited me to sit in their homes. The whole interview lasted about ten minutes and was not recorded or videotaped due to the other party's protection. However, the interviewee was willing to be photographed and provided the researcher with suitable photos. Another example of the street interview the researcher conducted was short conversations that lasted for around two minutes. Such short and quick communications are usually the result of the researcher taking the initiative to greet a potential interviewee while walking down the street and opening up with quick questions and answers. Usually, these questions on the street are relatively basic, such as occupation, out of the village or not, etc. The purpose of conducting short and quick interviews on the street is to maximize the number of people interviewed and thus increase reliability.

The online interviewees are graduate students of the 14 doctoral and graduate teams led by Professor Jigang Bao of Sun Yat-sen University [26]. This economic uplift project is called the Village A project, in which the students take turns living in the village and help the villagers develop skills that can help them improve their income levels. It has been more than three years since the project began, so the researcher reached out to one of the students through TikTok, the Chinese version of the well-known short video site. After being contacted, the student said she had stopped her residency and therefore recommended a student currently in the village to me. However, after communicating online, the student who was stationed in the village was unable to answer questions about the pandemic period because he had only been in Village A for less than half a month.

7. Data Analysis

The primary method of analysis used in this qualitative research is framing analysis, which is a method that looks at images, texts, messages, and more to code and identify distinctive themes arising from the data. For example, the reappearing themes in this study can be broken into clothing, eating, housing, and transportation. The interview transcript was coded into four categories. New patterns and themes arise inductively through the coding process. By using those themes to frame and code

the data collected during field research, the researcher better understands the perception and motivation of ethnic minorities.

8.   Limitations

This research used the interpretive approach to discover the differences in ethnic identity of Village A and Village L. The main reason for not choosing other methods, such as social scientific and critical, is that they focus more on the definition of the topic under study and the balance of power in society. In addition, choosing a test method that is relatively open to the results allows for a better understanding of how the conclusions are generated. Nonetheless, this research method involves uncertainty: for example, there are many uncontrolled factors such as weather, pandemic conditions, and residents' density in the uncontrolled variable interviews. These uncertainties can affect the search for interviewees and their responses to a certain extent and therefore lose some of their accuracies. However, the advantages of uncontrolled interviews are clear: the influence of uncontrollable factors on the answers also directly reflects the most practical activities of the interviewed group and their perceptions of the Hani culture and its position in their identity. Furthermore, these uncontrollable variables occur all year round, so it is more realistic to include uncertainty in the interview and research process.

Another shortcoming of using this research and interview method is the short interview time and the reluctance of the interviewees to cooperate. The interview time was about five minutes, as the research was mainly conducted by finding groups of people on the street who were potentially relevant to the research or by interviewing people who were knowledgeable about the topic, like government officials and students. This length of time would have meant that the interviewees' answers were not very insightful but mostly superficial and quick. However, the researcher tried to let the length of the interviews be consistent so that the results were comparable. Also, to avoid bias in interviewees, the researcher interviewed people with similar identities from each village so that the traits of that group of people could be studied.

9.   Results

During the interviews, the researcher found that the people in Village A in Yuanyang County and Village L in Honghe County felt that the preservation of Hani culture could not be separated from the local economic situation. Therefore, an important theme was the economic situation. The later findings and discussion section will also focus on the impact of the economic situation on culture. Through the thematic distillation and framework analysis of the interview answers, the result section will compare the minority identity and embodiment in Village A and Village L in four aspects: clothing, food, housing, and transportation. According to Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, analyzing people's definition of their minority identity from their daily life can help answer how ethnic identities transcend differently in two Hani autonomous villages.

First of all, the clothes. The dressing habits of the two villages relied heavily on the researcher's observations for information gathering. When visiting both Village A and Village L, the researcher found that most people were not wearing Hani clothing but modern clothes. Mostly, only the older people wear ethnic clothing and traditional headscarves, and other decorations from time to time. When asked why they did not wear ethnic clothing, many (A-6, A-7, L-1, L-3, etc.) replied that they were uncomfortable. However, villagers are asked to wear ethnic costumes during unique festivals or formal occasions to show respect. Like A-7 and L-1 said, Hani ethnic dress is like western dresses and suits to them and is only worn on special occasions. So on the point of traditional dress, A and L villages are the same, neither would consider Hani traditional dress an essential part of their lives. According to Giddens' structure of signification and structures of domination, clothes do not simply

indicate a person's identity but also convey important messages about the powers they are considered to hold [27]. Clothing symbolizing power can be reflected in Hani funerals. According to A-7, the elders or respected members of the village usually wear black or dark Hani clothing and multiple silver jewelry or belts during the funeral. The rest of the people are not required to wear specific colours of clothing or jewelry. Such an ethnic culture allows villages A and L to emphasize their ethnicity and identity to some extent. However, there is no apparent difference in the clothing culture between villages A and L for formal occasions.

Second, the habits and ways of eating can also reflect the habits and ways of living. The food habits of the two places are framed by the environment where and how the villagers usually eat. Due to the same cultural background of Village A and Village L, as well as the relatively fixed way of handling some ingredients in Chinese food, there is no difference in the choice of food between the two villages. Village A, a relatively poor economy but with a developed tourism industry, has several restaurants and even a modern tavern. Locals occasionally eat at these restaurants where tourists go, but the vast majority cook in their own homes and rarely eat out.

Village L, on the other hand, has absolutely no option to go out to eat. According to L-2, the innkeeper where the researcher stayed said that the nearest outside restaurant was more than an hour's drive to the county to eat, so people in the village cooked at home. Giddens' concept of agency and social structure can also be used to interpret food choice patterns. In relation to structures of domination and authoritative resources, people living in Village L have limited access to store-bought food, such as long distances in transportation and inconvenience. Thus, their food choice preferences are limited [28].

Third, the villages' housing preferences reflect their economic status and lifestyle. In Village A, people dominantly live in the mushroom houses, one of the traditional buildings of Hani that are named because of its appearance, or in the houses that are built by themselves. Since Village A is established on a hill, the overall plan is somewhat confusing and chaotic. Because the road's width is narrow, only people and cattle can pass, and there is no road inside the village that can pass a car. Moreover, the population density of the village is relatively high; almost every house has people living in it. There was only one way in and one way out of the entire village, and after parking the car in the only parking lot, I needed to walk to the front of the inn. However, the condition of Village L is quite different. Although Village L is also on a hill, the overall plan is much neater. All the houses were lined up evenly on both sides of a wide road, so I could park directly in front of the inn's entrance when I went to the inn. The roads in the village are also very spacious and can pass two cars at the same time. The condition of the houses was also different from the old houses in Village A.

Many of Village L's houses were new ones that had not yet finished being built. Most of them are large, about three to four floors, including space for a parking lot. The population density of Village L is also very low, the houses that have not finished construction have no people in them, and the number of people who live there is minimal. Under the influence of urbanization, infrastructure developments and new development policies are accommodating new lifestyles [29]. The income level of certain groups can also affect their preferences on housing: lower income groups tend to look at their house as the fulfilment of survival needs, whereas the higher income group tends to establish a sense of belonging that satisfies their need for self-expression [29]. This lifestyle theory reflects Giddens' idea of agency, in which an individual agency's decision can be affected by the general social rule or condition. Village A's economic condition is relatively low, thus individuals who live in the village's decision on housing fall into the category of fulfilling human survival; Village L's economic condition is relatively high, thus individuals who live in the village's decision on housing fall into the category of moving self-expression need.

Lastly, transportation and accessibility to different locations reflect what extent the villages are connected to the cities around them and the level of urbanization. Village A has a relatively narrow

road, which cannot fit cars or large vehicles other than motorcycles and cows. The lack of roads meant that communication between the village and the outside world was infrequent, and it was not very convenient for people to leave the village and return. The situation in Village L is different: its roads are very spacious, and vehicles can enter the village directly from the main road leading to other villages. The easy access also reflects the better interoperability between Village L and the outside world. As a place slowly expands under the influence of modernization, the travel demand becomes higher and higher; thus, increasing the ease of travel also affects the city's economy to some extent [30].

Village A and Village L's perception of identity through lifestyle can be distinguished from the aspects of clothing, eating, housing, and transportation. Village A has poorer overall economic conditions, more open tourism, but inconvenient transportation and chaotic village planning; Village L has better overall economic conditions, not fully developed tourism, but convenient transportation and a well-planned village. The interviewees in Village A generally believed that ethnic culture should be discussed after economic needs are met. Hence, their focus is not on how to preserve culture, while the interviewees in Village L generally believed that ethnic culture is an integral part of their childhood. Many people sing and dance from their hearts rather than for money.

10. Conclusion

After field research, the researcher found that the ethnic identity that an individual holds is highly related to the economic status of the village. Therefore, the local economic situation determines what is the most critical issue for the villagers at the moment. Village A's innkeeper A-6 says, "Ethnic culture belongs to the spiritual world, and how can we pursue the spiritual world now when we cannot even fill our stomachs?" Village A's goal for generations has been to improve the economic situation of individuals and the village, not to preserve the culture of the Hani people, unlike Village L, where the preservation of traditions and the culture of song and dance in the neighbourhood is essential. According to the information provided by the innkeeper, L-2, in Village L, Honghe County, most of the dancers who perform for tourists have been dancing since they were children but were hired to convert this skill into one of the ways to earn money.

Moreover, whenever the Hani New Year comes, L-2 said they have a long-table banquet in the village homes, where each family makes a few dishes and sets them out on a table that runs through the entire village for everyone to share. The long-table banquet is a big tradition of the Hani New Year, but when the researcher asked A-6 about the New Year custom, he said they never have long-table banquets. Therefore, for ethnic minorities who are dominantly living in relatively poor areas, the question should be whether their culture and tradition are preserved.

According to Anthony Giddens's structuration theory, as trends in social change, so do people's definitions of themselves and how they are defined in society. Driven by the rapid Sinicization and modernization of this society, fewer and fewer minorities will wear traditional ethnic clothing. Not only their outward appearance but also their attitude towards culture is slowly changing. According to the interviews, people in Village A are more concerned about how to get out of the village to make money and live a better life than how to preserve and spread their ethnic traditional culture. As stated in the historical part of the literature review, both villages can be categorized as poor, so the concern about satisfying the need for food and clothing has always been there. However, because of the difference in the degree and speed of modernization, the two villages' pursuit of spirituality has gradually opened up a gap due to their economic situation.

Comparing Village A and L, the economic situation of the two villages is very different. Moreover, the economic situation of the two places can be compared mainly by the following. First of all, the history of the two places, Honghe County due to the horse gang, is a great credit to the development of the Red River for business at that time. Second is the degree of development of the road leading to

the village;. However, both counties have passenger stations, and the road leading from the county to the village itself; according to the researcher's observation and experience, Honghe County will be flat and new.

Moreover, geographically speaking, Village A is 28 kilometres from the town and 1.2 kilometres from the village council. Moreover, Village L is just 0.4 kilometres from the village council and just 3.9 kilometres away from the township government site. Therefore, geographically, people in Village L can be better helped by the government, and the road is relatively smooth, so it also saves time.

The two innkeepers' concept of the house is equally worth exploring. The innkeeper in Yuan Yang County Village A is renting the residences of other villagers who have houses in the area by renting and redecorating them himself while needing to consider whether he can earn back his capital in twenty years. The innkeeper in Village L, Honghe County, is different; he bought the land and spent a total of 5.8 million yuan on renovation, utilities, and so on. So two different places for how to run the inn can also be mentioned in their level of wealth. However, the same in both villages is that most villagers are not growing their rice in their fields but renting out these days to those who come back from working outside to pick and buy. Moreover, the owners of these rice fields earn their income by collecting rent. So the two villages' different attitudes and concepts about housing can be framed from the responses of the two innkeepers.

After knowing that I was conducting research, the innkeeper of Village L was very enthusiastic and said he would get the neighbours to hold a small singing and dancing party in the evening. At the end of the night, he, his wife, and some older adults from the neighbourhood all wore traditional costumes and came to teach the inn guests to dance. Moreover, the guests of the inn that day, besides my family and me, were the local county government officials. They were keen to learn the dance and one of the ladies, L-5, was very enthusiastic in telling me where this Hani dance movement came from. According to her, two hands are grasping to the left to the right and then to the back because this dance comes from the Hani people growing rice. Moreover, these grasping movements are derived from catching fish in the water. This level of cultural understanding led the researcher to wonder why places that are relatively less developed in terms of tourism are better at preserving their culture while places that are better developed in terms of tourism are worse at preserving their culture. The researcher speculated that this is because the places with better tourism development, Village A, have a greater need for economic advancement and therefore have relatively poorer economic conditions themselves and less need for culture.

Conversely, places with poorer tourism development, Village L, have less need for economic uplift, are therefore better off economically, and have a greater need for culture. Although the government is subsidizing more tourism in Village A, due to the long-term poor economic situation, economic support in a short period will not be able to fill the gap quickly. The students from Sun Yat-sen University interviewed by the researcher also said that the pandemic significantly impacted the tourism industry in Village A. During this period, they could only help the village residents improve their language and service skills to continue earning money after the pandemic recovered. The graduate student also said that the biggest problem they faced in the project was the lack of consensus among the villagers regarding the improvement of hardware and facilities and which projects the government should spend money on. Researchers believe that there is an intellectual divide and information asymmetry in precise poverty alleviation. For example, villagers do not know how to use social media and cash in on media, while outsiders do not know much about the village; and academic marketing strategies do not effectively reach the villagers. The villagers ultimately ride this modernization horse, and how fast it runs depends on them but not the government.

Although these two villages are contrasted in various aspects, at the same time, these two villages do not represent all the villages in Yuanyang and Honghe counties. Other variables the researcher could not predict can be essential factors determining the preservation of culture and tradition.

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