

Interactions between Economic and Social Capitals of Tourist Communities: A Case Study of Dai Park in Xishuangbanna

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ABSTRACT Tourism not only has a great economic influence on destination communities, but also promotes the restructuring and regeneration of local capital through local culture. Economic and social impacts of tourism on destination communities are no longer separated but integrated. The present paper explores the characteristics of capital changes and interactions of residents in an ethnic tourism community chiefly through interview and observation. The paper finds—that: 1) Villagers have got an increased economic capital while maintaining their social networks in tourism activities; 2) Villagers' social capital is accumulating, or their life satisfaction decreases due to the conflict of values during the growth of wealth; and 3) There is a growing instrumental rationality in villagers' social networking practices, which proves to be beneficial to gain economic capital. The key factors affecting capital interactions are personal competency, instrumental rationality, and recognition and practice of the Dai traditions.

INTRODUCTION

Host community in destination takes an important role in tourism development which impacts the local community in terms of economy and culture (Cole 2006; Gursoy et al. 2002; Teye et al. 2002; Tosun 2006). In tourism activities the economic interests have been regarded as the most important behavioral motivation of community participation (Cater 1994; Colvin 1996; Wunder 2000; Zuo 2012), especially for developing Chinese communities (Bao et al. 2006). Residents' participation in tourism activities is a process of not only economic capital accumulation but also cultural interaction. Their behaviors are affected by economic factors, reflect local cultural customs, and also affect capital activities of target communities deeply. Lin (2001) accepted that economic status and social status are complementary and may be acquired through exchange. They are strongly associated and inter-convertible (Peng 2004), and cannot be considered separately. There is also an explanation for the distribution of the economic capital of tourist communities: due to the asymmetric interest structure among different groups, the im-

portance of exchange differs for them, which results in a loss of economic interests to numerous dominated parties of social capital (Fu 2004). The tourism development of the Dai Park community also shows such problems as "asymmetric structure of interests" and "loss of economic interests". However, few studies have interpreted economic activities of residents in scenic areas from the perspective of social capital.

The concept of "social capital" was proposed by Pierre Bourdieu in 1970s, and is defined as an aggregate of actual or potential resources related to the members of a group. The possession of such resources relies on the occupation of a certain network, which is a recognized institutionalized relation network, and this network can support every member of the group with collectively owned capital (Bourdieu 1986). On this basis, Lin (2001) suggested that social capital is a resource embedded in social relations but not owned by individuals, though the power to acquire and use such resource is vested in individuals. Similarly, some other scholars regard social capital as a factor that strengthens the potential of economic development by creating and maintaining social relations and patterns in a society (Knack and Keeffe 1997; Narayan and Pritchett 1997; Portes and Sensenbren-

ner 1993; Woolcock 1998). Such classic conceptualizations of social capital generally stress that social capital is essentially a social resource. However, other scholars think that social capital is restraining and involves norms about responsibility and expectation from the perspective of social norm. Putnam et al. (1993) consider social capital as “features of social organization such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action”. Coleman (1988) makes an in-depth analysis in his paper *Social Capital as a Condition for Human Capital Development* (Bian et al. 2000), and thinks that it is the social structure resource owned by individuals that can restrict or encourage certain behaviors and improve social efficiency by promoting cooperative actions. Afterwards, both Burt (1992) and Porte (1998) suggest that social capital is a resource embedded into a network, from where individuals acquire rare resources; or they do so from a broader social structure through their membership. Such ability to acquire resources is not inherent in individuals but an asset embedded into relations with others.

It can be observed that different scholars have different definitions of social capital. It can be concluded from their findings that social capital is network-based, recessive and non-transferable. Thomas F. Brown (2000) thinks that social capital has three levels, including the microscopic, mid-scopic and macroscopic levels, which should be analyzed from the embedded ego perspective, structural perspective and the perspective of embedded structure respectively. These three levels of social capital analysis have their own priorities and interact with one another. In this paper, social capital, which can be utilized by an individual or organization that has membership with the network is the sum of resources or competencies that is embedded in social networks. Social networks begin with microscopic social capital, and are also affected by mid-scopic and macroscopic social capital. Compared to social capital, economic capital here means family wealth that can be converted directly into money, and it is a dominant, quantifiable capital (Zhao 2011). Many scholars have realized the role of social capital in promoting personal and even national economic growth (Cheng et al. 2006). Return on capital invested is also an embodiment of interaction and conversion between capitals. Lin (1999) proposes that social capital has instrumental and emotional

return. The former is new resources acquired, such as economic capital, and political and social benefits, and the latter is the maintenance of resources such as physical and mental health as well as life satisfaction. However, interactions between capitals may be positive or negative. Recent research has shown that social capital partially mediates community participation in tourism context in two levels: structural social capital and cognitive social capital (Liu et al. 2014). The structural dimension refers to the composition, practices and scope of local-level institution both in formal and informal context, while the cognitive dimension addresses values, attitudes, norms, beliefs and sharing and trust among members (Harpham et al. 2002; Jones 2005; Krishna and Shrader 2000; Tian 2014). Apart from this, religious culture such as Christian institutions is also considered as a relevant element in social capital formation in Europe, especially in Germany. Religions are also undergoing a transformation process within the context of capital formation (Putnam 2014:7).

By examining economic dealings among residents of a tourist destination using economic and social capitals, the process can be explored through which the residents are economically and culturally affected by tourism, and the changes and interactions of economic and social capitals during this process. Because economic capital is a measure of family economic status, and the formation and outcome of social capital are dynamic embodiment of the culture of the target community. The Dai Park scenic zone in Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, which is affected by both economic and cultural factors, is selected as a case to examine changes and interactions of the economic and social capitals of local residents in this community with strong ethnic characteristics. Specifically, the paper addresses the following three issues: (1) How do the Dai Park residents' economic and social capitals have been affected by tourism?; (2) How do the economic and social capitals interact during tourism development?; and (3) What factors have affected such interactions and the overall return for Dai Park residents?

METHODOLOGY

Research Subject and Methods

The Dai Park scenic area chosen as the case site is located in Ganlanba, Xishuangbanna, in

which five Dai natural villages (Manjiang, Manchunman, Manzhain, Manga and Manting) are still well preserved. In the first half of 2012, there were 340 households with 1,683 persons in the park, in which the Dai population accounted for over 99 per cent. Dai people who have lived here for generations have participated in tourism activities since early 1990s. In 1998, the Dai Park Company which is affiliated to Ganlanba Farm entered Dai Park community and applied the “company-household” mode to tourism development and management. Therefore the Dai Park scenic area overlaps with the community in space (Sun 2006). In the second half of 2011, Jinghong Urban Investment and Development Company acquired 51 percent of the shares of Dai Park Company, and began to take over the operations of Dai Park. Currently, the main tourism activities in this zone include two “Songkran (Water-splashing) Festival” shows on the Songkran Square every day, and a Dai singing and dancing show between them. In addition to watching these shows, tourists may also look around in the park by battery car, or walk on the village roads in the Dai Park community to visit the nonmaterial cultural heritage and temples. Villagers have changed their production patterns and traditional life style to participate in tourism development, and their economic and social capitals have experienced a series of changes.

The research methods used in this paper include semi-structured in-depth interview, and participatory and non-participatory observation. First, in-depth interview is an ideal choice for learning substantially participation of community residents in tourism development, their income, expenditure, network of interpersonal relations, and for revealing their potential motivations, attitudes and emotions. Since Dai people have limited educational levels, but are mild and hospitable in temperament, this method works well and fits the objectives of this investigation, that reliable first hand data can be collected. Second, observation is highly purposeful and planned, and repeatable. Both participatory and non-participatory observation have been applied with purpose of being the “most familiar stranger” for the researcher. Complex economic activities take place in the Dai Park scenic area every day, and are observed and recorded purposefully in a planned manner for comprehensive analysis.

METHODOLOGY

The field work on the Dai Park scenic zone lasted 23 days, between February 6-16 in the high season of tourism and September 2-14 in the low season in 2012. During this survey, the secretary of the Manting Village branch of Communist Party of China, the heads and some villagers of the five natural villages, managers and employees of Dai Park Company, and some tourists chosen randomly were interviewed, totaling 59 persons, in which 30 persons were interviewed in depth. The main sites of observation were the Songkran Square, singing and dancing square, Dai-style guesthouses, storefronts, village roads, Buddhist temples, Dai Park Company, and so on.

By visiting Dai Park Company, the authors also collected a great deal of information. In the first round, the author collected basic information about the Dai Park community, villagers’ income sources, operations of Dai Park Company, and major events in the park and their impacts. In the second round, practices of economic dealings of residents in Dai Park were investigated in detail, including modes of economic dealings before and after the introduction of tourism, types of relations, motivations, level of participation, formation process, scale and influence of activities, expected and actual return, community residents’ economic capital, social capital and routine social activities, relations in economic activities of tourism. Since some of the information is repeated and less significant, the typical information from the key interviewees is collected and shown in Table 1.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Tourism influences the Dai Park community economically and socially in a concurrent way. As a result the residents’ economic and social capitals have changed to varying degrees. The interactions between the two types of capitals are reflected in the observation that causes change and are closely connected. The changes and interactions of economic and social capitals under the influence of tourism will be discussed below.

Residents’ Economic Capital Increases Continually Through the Interactions

After tourism began to develop in Dai Park, the production modes of community residents

Table 1: Information of key subjects of in-depth interview

<i>Times interviewed</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Venue</i>	<i>Identity</i>	<i>Participation in tourism and income</i>
1	120 214 CZ1	Feb. 14, 2012 17:00	No.26 Manjiang	Head of Manjiang Village	His son and daughter-in-law work at the Ethnic Affairs Dept. and Box Office of Dai Park Company, and paid RMB1,000 per month each.
1	120 914 CM1	Sep. 14, 2012 28:30	Manjiang Souvenir Store	Villagers of Manjiang Village, handicraftsmen	Selling necklaces at RMB2-5 each, earning RMB100/day in the high season and at most RMB20/day in the low season.
2	120 211 CM 2-1	Feb. 11, 2012 9:00	No.22 Manchun- man	Villager of Manchunman Village, Dai bamboo house operator	Running a Dai bamboo house since 1994 together with a friend. This is to invite tourists to their own Dai house and introduce Dai culture as well as tradition to guests and sell souvenirs of Dai style, earning RMB4,000-6,000/month (RMB20,000/month in the high season) and sharing profits equally with the friend.
1	120 211 CZ2	Feb. 11, 2012 17:00	No.50 Manchun- man	Head of Manchunman Village	The Dai bamboo house was built in 1984 and renovated in 2007 to add 4 rooms, and is open in the golden weeks only. He taps rubber at ordinary times and earns RMB 4,000-5,000/month, which is medium in the village.
1	120 910 CM3	Sep. 10, 2012 11:00	Yu Jin Dai-style guest house in Manchun- man	Villager of Manchunman Village, Dai-style guesthouse operator	One of the first villagers running a Dai bamboo house, often receiving state leaders. The house, with 6 rooms, receives 2-5 persons/month in the low season and is full in the high season.
2	120 911 CM 4-1	Sep. 11, 2012 16:30	No.36 Manzha	Villager of Manzha Village, Dai-style guesthouse operator	He has run a Dai-style guesthouse independently since 2004, and earns RMB50,000-60,000/year. In the golden weeks, daily income is over RMB3,000.
2	120 211 CZ3-1	Sep. 13, 2012 16:30	4-2		
2	120 211 CZ3-1	Feb. 11, 2012 20:30	No.31 Manzha	Head of Manzha Village	He has run a Dai-style guesthouse with 11 rooms since 2000, and earns RMB50-60/room/night in the low season and RMB150/room/night in the high season.
1	120 904 CM5	Sep. 8, 2012 18:00	Manzha	Villager of Manzha Village	Has run a Dai-style guesthouse with 5 rooms for two years, open in the golden weeks only, RMB100/room, tapping rubber at ordinary times; his son-in-law works at a state-owned enterprise out of Dai Park
1	120 903 CM6	Sep. 4, 2012 15:00	Manzha	Villager of Manzha Village, owner of a Dai clothes store	He can make 3 or more Dai-style suits per day. Depending mainly on process and material, such suits are sold to Dai Park residents at over RMB200 each, or double the price or more to tourists.
2	120 210 CM 7-1	Sep. 3, 2012 18:00	Manzha Clothes Store	Villager of Manzha Village, owner of a Dai clothes store	1. The guesthouse has 5 rooms and can accommodate 10 persons. Room rate is RMB50/room/night in the low season or RMB200/room/night in the high season. 2. Snacks are sold on the ground floor,
2	120 210 CM 7-1	Feb. 10, 2012 15:20	Manzha	Former head of Manzha Village, Dai-style guesthouse operator	

Table 1: Contd...

<i>Times interviewed</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Venue</i>	<i>Identity</i>	<i>Participation in tourism and income</i>
	120 915 CM 7-2	Sep. 15, 2012 15:00			earning RMB2,000-3,000/day during the high season and none in the low season ³ . Former employee of Dai Park Company (until August 2011), paid RMB1,540/month then
1	120 213 CM8	Feb. 13, 2012 11:00	Li Chenglin Grocery	Settler from Hunan Province	The total amount of rents, and water and electricity charges is about RMB10,000/year. The total cost of existing commodities and facilities is about RMB50,000. Customers include tourists and villagers. Since there are many tourists in the golden weeks, he can break even almost every year, but his net income is not as much as that of villagers running Dai-style guesthouses.
1	120 213 CZ4	Feb. 13, 2012 15:00	No.1 Manga	Head of Manga Village	He has run a Dai-style guesthouse with 6 rooms since 2009, earning RMB150-250/room/night in the golden weeks and RMB50-60/room/night in the low season. The guesthouse has 6 rooms, is full every day in the high season, and has little income in the low season. Usually a dining table is for 10 persons and earns RMB300 at a time. 3 tables can be offered a day.
1	120 909 CM9	Sep. 9, 2012 10:30	No.28 Manga	Villager of Manga Village, Dai-style guesthouse operator	Fruit-selling villagers of Manting Village
3	120 903 CM10	Sep. 3, 2012 10:00	Manting Buddhist Temple		He sets up a stall in front of Manting Buddhist Temple almost every day from 9:30 am to 5:30 pm. He can earn RMB20-30/day in the high season and RMB100-200/day in the low season.
2	120 209 CM1 1-1	Feb. 9, 2012 15:30	Manting Buddhist Temple	Villager, incense seller in Manting Buddhist Temple	1. The temple offers accommodation only without food, and has 14 rooms. Annual income is about RMB5,000. 2. His grand-daughter works at the Art Performance Dept. of the company and is paid RMB1,400/month. 3. Rental rate is RMB350/room/month.
1	120 903 CM 11-2	Sep. 3, 2012 12:00			
1	120 906 CM 12	Sep. 6, 2012 15:00	No.42 Manting	Former deputy head of Manting Village (1993-1998), security guard of Dai Park Company, Dai-style guesthouse operator	1. Earning RMB15,000/year by running the Dai-style guesthouse ² . Receiving RMB1,500/month from Dai Park Company for his job
1	120 212 CZ5	Feb. 12, 2012 16:00	No.38 Manting	Head of Manting Village	He has run a Dai-style guesthouse with 10 rooms since 2007, with a room rate of RMB80/room/night in the low season or RMB100-150/room/night in the high season. The number of customers is very unstable.
1	120 210 GS1	Feb. 10, 2012 9:30	Dai Park Company	Program host of Dai Park Company	He is paid RMB 4,000/month by the company. As a famous local host, he can earn RMB300-2,000 per event.

have changed to a great extent. Family social networks maintained by residents help increase

their economic capital, while more complex production relations are created.

Tourism Has Changed the Modes of Production in Dai Park

The traditional agricultural production of the Dai Park community has been transformed to tourism on a large scale, and the residents' life-style has been gradually fused with their production patterns. The main traditional production pattern of Dai Park residents is to cultivate rubber, paddy rice, banana, pumpkin, corn and other cash crops. Since cultivated land was far away from their residences, their burden of farming was heavy. Since 2000, they have rented cultivated land to outsiders gradually and begun to collect rental as considerable income. In addition, after entering the Dai Park community in 1998, Dai Park company has made contracts with villagers to lease their land for tourism development, which reduced cultivated land in the park sharply. As a result of the capitalization of land resources, more and more villagers have more free time, and put more time and effort in tourism development in adaptation to the environmental change. It can be seen that from Table 1 that villagers in Dai Park have invested their arable land, village roads, fruit, Dai bamboo houses, and labor for Dai Park Company in tourism development. Their participation in tourism have given rise to the following new production patterns: (1) running a Dai-style guesthouse or Dai bamboo house; (2) setting up a stall to sell fruit, snacks or souvenirs, where Dai Park residents can earn net income from investment without paying any fee to the company; and (3) becoming an employee of Dai Park Company. It can be observed from these three modes that tourism is already closely associated with the lives of the residents in the target community, and is of great significance for their production.

Community Participation Has Accelerated Residents' Capital Accumulation

The change of production modes have enabled villagers of Dai Park to benefit from tourism development. As a result, their economic capital has accumulated rapidly. Dai-style guesthouses and Dai bamboo houses in Dai Park are run by households. Dai bamboo houses have at least 2-3 rooms, usually around 6 rooms, or even over 10 rooms. It can be seen that from Table 1 that in the low season of tourism, Dai-style guesthouses are rated at RMB30-60 / room-night. The

monthly income of a Dai bamboo house is about RMB3,000. Stalls run flexibly and can earn RMB20-60 / day each. In the high season, all Dai-style guesthouses in Dai Park are fully occupied, and their rates rise to RMB100-150 / room-night or even RMB300-400 / room-night. The monthly income of a Dai bamboo house is over RMB10,000, and the daily income of a stall is at least RMB100. In addition, villagers receive a certain amount of income from the company: Firstly, entrance ticket income redistribution: This is the main income received by villagers from the company, which distributes 15 percent of its annual after-tax profits from entrance ticket income to villagers of the five villages in Dai Park (Table 2), and the percentage will rise to 20 percent from 2016 to the expiry date of the contract in 2048. It can be seen that the annual entrance ticket income during 2009-2011 exceeded RMB21 million and rose year by year. Villagers' economic interests are protected. Secondly, land rent. This is a stable income source received by villagers from the company. According to the agreement, the rental rate was RMB500/ mu-year during

Table 2: Operating statistics of Dai Park Company during 2009-2011

<i>Year</i>	<i>Tourists received (10,000)</i>	<i>Income (RMB 10,000)</i>
2009	45.30	2169.42
2010	41.84	2184.10
2011	48.35	2431.02

1999-2011 and would grow by 25 percent every five years after 2011. Thirdly, subsidy for stilt-style buildings: RMB15,000/household. Fourth, coordination expenses of the villager coordination team: The CPC branch secretary, head and deputy head, and women's director of each village will receive RMB400-800 / month each.

The Process of Capital Accumulation Gives Rise to More Complex Production Relations

The change of production modes and the reallocation of economic capital are changing the economic and social relations in the Dai Park community, which overlap and interact to create more complex production relations. Dai-style guesthouses and Dai bamboo houses in Dai Park are usually run by households. In this case, fam-

ily members are both relatives and business partners. In Manzha Village, Dai-style guesthouses are more sophisticated. Yan Yue is one of the first villagers there developing Dai-style guesthouses. His wife attended training on Dai-style guesthouse operation at her own expenses in 2002, when Yan Yue did farm work that should have been done by two persons during the busy farming season. After she returned, the couple decided to specialize in the Dai-style guesthouse and rent out more distant land of the family. They also planned to cultivate fruit trees and ornamental flowers on the land near their Dai bamboo house. When they built a new house in 2003, the couple improved the guestrooms. Since 2004, their business has been developing rapidly with their growing income. After they were invited to take part in the CCTV program *To Speak the Truth* in 2006, their business has gone even better, and their daily income can be over RMB3,000 in the golden weeks. Nowadays many tourists would visit their house out of admiration to taste their Dai dishes. Economic relations arising from tourism are overlaid on existing social relations. Villagers are inheriting their own culture and customs very well while running tourism operations, and their production relations become more complex. Mutual help among relatives and friends is very common in Dai Park, and does not require economic return formerly. However, now when Yan Yue has insufficient manpower, his sister is paid for helping. Few villagers run Dai bamboo houses or Dai-style guesthouses in cooperation with their relatives and friends, and share income equally with them. In addition, five residents in the community have become shareholders in a major tourism project of the company and have the opportunity to receive profits. These residents are mostly executives of the company, and have more effective sources of information. They make capital contribution using their wages and bonuses and have less shares, and their average dividend is about RMB4,000 per month (120210CM7-1).

It can be seen that the accumulation and reallocation of economic capital have made social relations in the park more delicate. While economic relations of tourism interweave and complement with local social relations. Subjects of interaction have created a more complex network of production relations. Host residents are seeking ways of increasing economic capital in such networks.

Residents' Social Capital May Increase or Decrease Through Interactions

Tourism has further promoted local residents' social networks and brought gradual growth of tourist income, which is the foundation for the accumulation of their social capital. In addition, the conflict of values among subjects of interaction would also cause losses in the return on investment in social capital.

Tourism Has Extended Community Residents' Social Networks

Tourism has made subjects of interaction between residents of the destination community more diversified and their interaction more frequent, and has extended self-induced social networks. Kinship and geographic relations in Dai Park are naturally embedded into villagers' social networks upon their birth, giving rise to an inborn social capital. Relative to this is acquired self-produced social capital, which has to be maintained through frequent emotional or rational actions (Fu 2004). Since the beginning of its tourism development, villagers in the five villages of Dai Park have shifted from agricultural production to tourism activities in varying degrees, and the structure of their income sources has changed greatly, both of which extend their range of interaction and increasing their frequency. Not only relations among villagers are closer, but also the interaction of new subjects such as the tourists, settlers and the company, has extended other than damaged the existing residents' social networks. Many tourists (usually loyal tourists) have become friends of hosts or developed local kinships (for example, by designating local children as nominal sons or daughters). Han settlers from outside have developed social relations with local residents by doing business in Dai Park and living with them in harmony. In addition, the company has established a villager coordination team after its entry into Dai Park, which is composed of village heads and villagers to coordinate relations between the company and villagers. This means that while receiving subsidies from the company, villagers can also extend their own social circles, gain new social capital and develop new ways of making profits. However, the relationship between local people and the company is so vulnerable that

calls for caution and sincerity. The company had promised its distribution of entrance ticket income in the first few years. But the company did not carry out its promise until 2012.

Tourism Has Promoted the Accumulation of Residents' Social Capital

The existing social networks support destination residents to gain economic interests, and the growth of tourist income reflects increasingly strong social relations. In the busy high season of tourism, relatives would help run Dai bamboo houses and Dai-style guesthouses, and stall owners would take care of one another, during which they have built up mutual trust and emotional reliance. When an on-street Dai-style guesthouse is full, the host would guide tourists to other guesthouses. Such tacit understanding is a form of return on social capital and embodies an accumulation process. On festivals, tourists would return to Dai Park as nominal parents to give material support to their "sons" and "daughters", thereby strengthening affective connections. In more profitable areas around Songkran Square, when fellow A employed by the company for cleaning worries that he might be imposed a penalty by the company for selling fruit, he asks fellow B who has a fruit stall to sell jackfruit for him. He would put two bowls of jackfruit on B's stall at a time, selling RMB5 per bowl. B sells jackfruit for A while taking care of his own business. A, doing cleaning work nearby, would prepare other two bowls of jackfruit when the former ones have been sold. B gives the sales income of RMB10 to A, but A just takes RMB8. When B returns the "kickback" of RMB2 to A, A insists on giving RMB1 to B. However, when A returns later, B returns the remaining RMB1 to A, because B thinks what he does not worth mentioning and does not care about any "kickback". In this process, A has received a profit from tourism through his social relations, and the social capital between A and B has strengthened.

The Conflict of Values Has Weakened the Return on Social Capital

Due to the conflict of values among different people, villagers may receive tourism income at the cost of personal wealth and life satisfaction. Being the dominating culture in the Xishuangbanna region, Beiye culture of the Dai people has a highly stable internal structure, which gives great tenacity to internal social relations

among villagers. Minor conflicts in tourism activities are insufficient to impact occur in strong relations among villagers, but often occur in the weaker relation between villagers and other agents. Currently, the operation mode of the company is still grinding in with the behavioral logic of local villagers. The company's effort in its emotional bonding with villagers is for profits, wealth, power and reputation, while villagers rely on the company's material and financial resources to increase household wealth. In the end they fulfill their own emotional objectives, such as developing their hometown and improving life satisfaction. The increasingly sharp conflict between these two sets of values has caused certain losses to villagers' social capital and return on investment. Some villagers' expectations and actions cannot be coordinated with the company's planning and development objectives. So the trust, norm and reliance established earlier are worn down gradually. The villagers want to be recognized by the company but some of them have failed and they cannot get the expected return despite their efforts. Several villagers' ideals are broken and their immediate interests suffer losses. Moreover, as the company has not honored its promised entrance ticket income distribution to villagers for "managerial reasons" in its first 13 years of development, the relationship between villagers and the company has been deteriorating. In July 2011, villagers organized a three-day collective protest against the company by blocking the entrance of the scenic area, which greatly affected the company's regular operations and villagers' daily lives. Due to these longstanding conflicts, the villagers who became shareholders of the company at the beginning have withdrawn their capital, and finally only one family has remained a shareholder. Moreover, it was these events that forced the company to consider fulfilling its promise of entrance ticket income distribution in 2012, and this had later on improved the relationship between the local community and the company.

Factors Affecting the Interactions between Community Residents' Economic and Social Capitals

Dai Park residents' economic and social capitals affect the motivation, mode, degree and return of community participation through mutual restriction and promotion. The three major factors that act on capital interactions are personal operating capacity, the instrumental rationality tendency in actions, and the degree

of identification with and adherence to Dai cultural traditions.

Managerial Competence

Either economic capital or social capital has to accumulate and appreciate through management. Operating capacity affects the accumulation of community residents' economic capital, and also indirectly affects the maintenance of their social capital. Capacity differences are reflected in the return on economic and social capitals, and affect interactions between the two capitals. Income from tourism business depends on personal competence, such as wisdom, diligence, service skills, ability to mobilize resources and ability to utilize capital. With the elapse of time, villagers are differentiated into different levels in their capacity to benefit from tourism, as shown in the following ways: (1) Dai-style guesthouses in Dai Park operate at varying levels; (2) Some Dai bamboo houses boom while others decline; and (3) Villagers have different ranks at Dai Park Company.

Economic Rationality

Tourism causes villagers to utilize their social capital as an instrument more frequently. The most direct motivation is to get economic return (increase in economic capital), and its essence is to improve quality of life and happiness (accumulation of social capital) on the basis of neighborhood harmony. As a result, local people's behavior and their culture have also been affected (Gursoy et al. 2002; Teye et al. 2002; Tosun 2006). Li and Sun (2007) think that public spaces can give rise to self-produced social capital, and replace inborn relations in traditional rural communities to some extent. Tourism development has created more public recreation spaces in which residents in Dai Park conduct tourism operations. Due to the seasonality and vulnerability of tourism, they are more sensitive to profits and losses on economic capital. Villagers no longer follow the rhythm of nature, but actively seek for opportunities of making profits using their social capital through the seasonal fluctuations of tourism. Social capital self-induced with an instrumental rationality is playing an increasingly important role in villagers' behavioral patterns, which is a prerequisite to capital accumulation.

Cultural Identity

The degree of identification with Dai culture is reflected directly in villagers' behavioral patterns, while their behaviors act directly on the interaction process between economic and social capitals. Villagers' thoughts and behaviors are always affected by their traditional culture, and their different attitudes to cultural customs have resulted in different levels of income. Some villagers have elected not to work for the company after calculating costs and benefits, because their low wages have to be deducted if they request a leave for private or collective affairs (120211CZ2). Attending collective ceremonies is a local cultural tradition that is deemed to be more important than working for the company by villagers.

CONCLUSION

It can be seen from the above analysis that the increase of economic capital and the change of social capital are essentially a process of interaction and coexistence between the two capitals. Results show some differences and connections between the economic and social capitals of residents in the Dai Park scenic zone in the context of tourism development (Table 3). Residents' economic capital is increasing under the influence of tourism, while their former social relations have not been broken but further developed. Similarly, the increase or decrease of residents' social capital will affect their economic capital. When tourism entered an ethnic community dominated by Dai culture, it has not only brought multiple economic impacts, but also promoted the restructuring and regeneration of local capitals. Thereby local people's income structure has greatly changed over time. Villagers have accumulated economic capital while maintaining their family social networks, some of them have even become shareholders of the major tourism project. While receiving tourism income, villagers' social capital is growing spirally, containing financial accumulation and diminishment of individual life satisfaction because of the conflict between different values. The enhanced instrumental rationality tendency of villagers' social networks in tourism activities makes it possible for economic capital to accumulate, and Dai Park Company has won villagers' trust and support by employing certain economic means.

Table 3: Differences between economic and social capitals of residents in the Dai Park scenic area

<i>Capita type</i>	<i>Economic capital</i>	<i>Social capital</i>
<i>Items for comparison</i>		
<i>Definition</i>	Capital that can be converted into money immediately and directly	Sum of resources or competencies that is embedded into social networks, and can be utilized by an individual or organization
<i>Characteristics</i>	Dominant, quantifiable, transferable	Recessive, network-based, non-transferable
<i>Mode of Accumulation</i>	Running a Dai bamboo house or Dai-style guesthouse, selling fruit / snacks / souvenirs, working for Dai Park Company, entrance ticket income distribution, distribution of land rents on scenic area development	Developing social networks, strengthening the stickiness and intensity of horizontal interaction with other subjects (all being investments in social capital)
<i>Application</i>	Investment, conversion	Mobilizing resources in the tourist community network through personal competencies
<i>Form of Consumption</i>	Reduction of assets or wealth	Damage of formal or informal social relations, such as trust, reliance and reciprocation
<i>Mutual Impact</i>	Economic capital is the foundation of social capital.	The operating outcome of social capital directly determines the increase or decrease of economic capital, and is a prerequisite to the accumulation of economic capital.
<i>Possibility of Mutual Conversion</i>	Possible	Possible

The key factors that affect capital interactions and villagers' returns are personal operating capacity, the instrumental rationality tendency in actions, and the degree of identification with and adherence to Dai traditions.

The investment in and accumulation of economic and social capitals involve certain risks, and villagers are affected both economically and culturally by tourism when carrying out tourism activities under the regulation of the norms of Dai culture. It is rare that in the changing environment, though the economic rationality displayed by villagers to outsiders is increasingly prominent, it has not diluted the traditional culture and spirit of the Dai people. Local villagers would still pray for blessings at the temple on important days, and all villagers would organize celebrations on New Year's Day (Dai calendar), the Songkran Festival, Open-door Festival and Close-door Festival, weddings, sacrifices and other ceremonies. They have got due returns from tourism with their own abilities, and have reached an equilibrium between the modern pursuit for money and traditional cultural values.

LIMITATIONS

Community participation plays an important role in sustainable tourism development, in which economic benefit is the most driven mo-

tive and social factors have also been involved. Dai culture in the paper is seen as a whole rather than disaggregated into two dimensions. Relations between economic benefits with structural social capital and cognitive social capital can be discussed respectively in further research.

Economic development brings the instrumental rationality to the community through tourism, which also impacts the local culture. The interaction between tradition and capitals (social and economy) is analyzed limitedly. New process of social and economic capital accumulation does not destroy the traditions of the culture. Instead, the norms and traditions take an important role in this new capital formulation. In the future, how instrumental rationality and tradition lead the role in the interactional process in the religious background like Christian institutions can be further explored.

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