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Research on the Consumption Space Production of Community-type Scenic Areas

Based on the Observation of Hong Village in Anhui Province

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Abstract—Under the background of building new socialist countryside, the heritage-type scenic areas near the metropolis make the industry represented by community-based scenic areas in rural areas come into the public view thanks to their convenient location and deep historical and cultural background. Based on the space production theory of neo-Marxism, this paper chooses Hong Village, the ancient village in Huizhou as an object, and divides the transformation of consumption space in Hong Village into three stages: community origin, government leadership and market promotion. Through the transformation of the content of consumption space in each stage, it is found that different consumption patterns have formed in the rural areas during the process of change. It points out the inevitable motivations in the process of transformation of the space in communitytype scenic areas of ancient villages. The author tries to find a new direction to reduce the negative influence by analyzing the specific consumption space in the case of "over-consumption".

Keywords—community-based scenic area; transformation and change of consumption space; risk avoidance

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Consumption Space Production of Community-type Scenic Areas

The consumption space emerged in western developed countries in 1950s. After entering the post-industrialized period, the capitalist goods expanded and people's consumption sites gradually integrated into daily life. With the growth of urban residents' consumption level, the rural community-type scenic areas with historical heritage characteristics gradually acquire the characteristics of consumption space driven by the growth of urban leisure consumption economy. Rural areas on the edge of metropolis, with natural cultural landscape and life experience different from that of the city, have gradually become a popular tourist destination for urban residents. City residents rent small farm courtyard and vegetable plot, and purchase the second set of real estate in the rural tourist attractions, which embodies the consumption of living space, life and production mode of the village. And there are various international competitions and featuring carnival. The employment opportunities farmers can obtain through

non-production function of the scenic areas increase, so that non-productive function of agriculture and the added value of agricultural products improve and the diversification of rural management drives the sustainable development of rural areas.

At current stage, the consumer culture rapidly invades in the historical and cultural heritage scenic, so that the degree of commercialization within the scenic area is deepening. The historical villages represented by Hong village embody the traditional type of social production and life. Historical villages serve as the daily-life community of residents as well as a tourist attraction that provide service for tourists. There are two kinds of consumer space in local residents and external residents and tourists and urban consumers continue to increase, resulting in the phenomena of disharmonious development like over-consumption and excessive tourism in traditional scenic areas. At the same time, in the process of continuous expansion of commercialization in traditional community-type scenic areas, the commercial space in scenic areas continues to expand.

Therefore, this paper analyzes the evolution mechanism of commercialization in heritage-type scenic areas in Hong Village and explores the phased development characteristics of consumption space of community-type scenic areas in tourism development, to reveal the production process of consumption space of Hong Village scenic spot in the context of boom in tourism development, so as to provide reflection and suggestions for improvement of the life of community residents, historical and cultural protection, continuous operation of scenic areas and so on.

II. SPACE PRODUCTION AND THE CHANGE OF SPACIAL FORM IN HONG VILLAGE

Lefebvre repeatedly stressed that (social) space is a (social) product, and each particular society product their own specific space model historically, so changes in social form will inevitably bring about changes in spacial form. After the reform and opening up, structure of Hong Village gradually transforms from "traditional" to "modern" and rural form changes greatly. According to the space production impetus, changes in consumption space form of



Hong Village can be divided into three stages as shown in "Table 1".

TABLE I. THREE STAGES OF CHANGES IN CONSUMPTION SPACE FORM IN HONG VILLAGE

	Consumption space production under the Community origin	Consumer space production under Government leadership	Consumer space production under market promotion
Time	before 1986	1986-1997	1997 till now
content	Agricultural space production in rural area, patriarchal space order production, living space production	Rural agricultural space, industrial space gradually reduce, consumption space production	Community space reconstruction in Hong Village, gather commercial consumption space production
impetus	Self- organization Village	Based on government power, supplemented by market forces	Based on market forces, supplemented by government power

A. Changes in Space Production and Spatial Form under Community Origin



Fig. 1. Early range of activities in Hong Village.

With the growth of population in Hong Village, the clan elders in Hong Village expand the natural spring in the center of village to form lunar palus, and then the center of village gradually developed southward. Wang residents of the village mostly concentrate in the middle and western parts of the village, while Wu and clans of other surnames concentrate in the eastern part of the village, so according to the distribution scope of the residence, the distribution of consumption space within the village also reflects this characteristic: upscale shops, such as shops of tea, herbs, tobacco, and inn are generally distributed in Hong Village Street, and some workshops of carpenters, oil and pastry are located in Eastern Street. This street is the earliest consumer space of the village. Although commercial consumption space has developed in this period, it is still focus on living and agricultural production. At this time, the commercial development is in closed budding state as shown in "Fig. 1".

B. Changes in Space Production and Spatial Form under the Leadership of Rural Government

In 1980s, Tourism Bureau of Yi County bought "Chengzhi Tang" in Hongcun and began to operate. Tourism of ancient village community in Huizhou started. Many photographic and drawing artists and ancient architects came to Hong Village for the purpose of photography. Because the commodity economy awareness of villagers is weak, the reception facilities in the village are also very scarce. By 1996, the government exerts the ownership on behalf of the villagers as the enterprise entity, appoint officials as operators, monitor and control the management of its agents. The change of rural space entered the stage of government leadership. The vacancy of liability subject leads the high operating costs. Revenue of tourism ticket in Hong Village in this stage grew very slowly. According to Lefebvre's view, space not only has use value, but also has exchange value. Space production concerned more about the exchange value of the space, so space can be produced in large-scale. Local government of Hong Village actively promote the diffusion of commercial space and transportation development, and drive the rural living space to transform from the traditional living space to the commercial space combined commercial use and resident, making farmhouse and folk inn gradually emerge.

C. Changes in Space Production and Space Form under the Market Promotion in Rural Areas

After the 15th National Congress of the CPC, in response to the national policy, Yi County government began to attract private capital and foreign enterprises to participate in tourism development and the Beijing Zhongkun Group win the management rights of Hong Village. Zhongkun Group set up the Jingyi tourism development company, in charge of tourism business activities in Hong Village. At that time, the relationship of property rights is vague. Giving out the operation right led to the rapid development of tourism but did not change the poor situation of the local villagers. Instead, it began to make the villagers lost the employment opportunity of tour guide, so they can only live on farming or out-migration for work. In 2000, the success of world cultural heritage application brought rapid improvement of economic benefits to Hong Village, but the villagers were unsatisfied with the related provisions of selling their own interests in 1997 and they took various means to obtain the operation right. And the villagers cannot effectively participate in the economic activities including production, exchange and consumption of tourism products, and business management did not significantly improve the infrastructure conditions in the village, which increased the negative emotions of the villagers, leading to the collective appeal of villagers. This laid danger for the later commercialized development.

At that time, the tertiary industry based on tourism in Hongcun held the dominant position, and number of operators of catering, accommodation, and retail and son on continues to grow. According to the survey, it is found that there are three types of commercial shops: shops for tourists, shops for tourists and migrants and shops for aborigines. As



a whole, the business shops in Hong Village are concentrated, and the spatial distribution are the shape of "dot", "line", "band" and "face". Shops of "Dot" shape distribution are mostly the inns, snacks, and restaurants operated by residents in Hong Village scenic spot based on their residence. Snack bars have strong liquidity, most of which are in small scale. "Line" shape distribution refers to mainly distributing along the popular tourist routes within the scenic area, such as Hong Village Street and Backstreet, where there are various types of commercial shops distributed along, mainly including special snacks, handicrafts, and bamboo sculpture. Today, these two streets have the strongest business atmosphere, focused on the business investment of external residents, since a lot of original residents emigrated after renting the shops. Due to the small number of ancient houses along the street, coupled with the road widening and commercial transformation, the interface construction of southern section of Hong Village Street and Shangshuizhen Street destroy the original measure of traditional street and its interface characteristics. Shops of "belt" shape are mainly distributed in the surrounding area of core scenic area in Hong Village, on both sides of the street along the traffic line across the river, in the core scenic area, and on both sides of the street in public activities areas of the residents. "Face" distribution refers to the small commodity market near the South Lake and the tree area at the entrance of the village as shown in "Fig. 2".

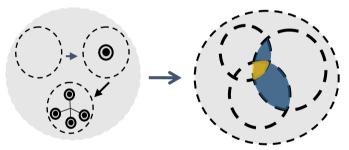


Fig. 2. Formation of commercial space.

TABLE II. CATEGORY OF SHOPS IN THE COMMERCIAL STREET

Functional classification	Shops for tourists	Shops for tourists and external residents	Shops for aborigines
	souvenir and local specialty shops	post office	drugstore and clinic
	clothing shop	bank	farm tools
	agritainment and featured inn	supermarket	garage
	pub, internet bar and billiards entertainment	food store	canteen
	milk tea shop	dry cleaner	barbershop
	stationer (writing brushes, ink sticks, paper and inkstones)		

At this stage, the consumption space of community scenic area in Hong Village has experienced the

development process of self-development, government market promotion, leadership and commercialization characteristics are becoming more and more obvious. But the commercial consumption space of Hong Village also has the space of transformation, which embodies in three aspects: first, symbolic consumption. Some of the internal space transforms to external space. Tourism economic interest drive a large number of residents transform their homes into a variety of tourism business and service facilities, such as bed and breakfast, restaurants, and shops and so on. In the overall form, the street space gradually shows the export-oriented characteristics, the characteristics of original traditional local life and family gradually disappear. Some commercial hotels, restaurants, and shops on both sides of the street present the symbol elements belongs to Huizhou style in the commercial space. The original drama stage, ancestral hall, river bank and the area around the court are places where aborigines always gather to exchange feelings, carry out traditional activities, eat and chat. Such public space belongs to the "acquaintance society" of the rural community, and people gather together based on the convergence of living customs and ideas, which has obvious regional characteristics. Cultural symbols of traditional village are declining. Second, the social structure of aborigines is fragmented. Out-migration of aborigines leads to the partition of commercial and residential zone. Although the development of tourism provides the villagers with a large number of jobs, in fact it is a large number of external residents that develop business in Hong Village. According to the interview with the villagers of Hong Village, the local residents all rent the old house and move out of the ancient village or go out to work, since they think renting shop is easier than running shops on their own. External migration of living space led the traditional rural communities to be distribution center of tourists. Therefore, both the excessive commercialization of the main tour routes and the out-immigration of the living space have changed the characteristics of the traditional villages and destroyed the most attractive spatial characteristics of the traditional rural community tourism, leading to the subtle changes in attitude of some cultural consumption tourists and local residents towards tourism. Third is the diversified consumerism. Huangshan Jingyi Tourism Development Co., Ltd., as the interest community of community of government and enterprise, plays a key role in the development of Hong Village. It not only sponsors the restoration of green landscapes and infrastructure, but also invests 230 million to build the project of Hong Village and A Ju and spends huge fund to build Qishu Lake Tourism Resort and so on. High-intensity new development and operation greatly strengthen the commercialization of Hong Village, and characteristics of the scenic area in the village gradually become obvious, which shows the changes in villagers' lifestyle. Travel routes in Hong Village are set obviously, and businesses are concentrated on both sides of streets between the residential area and tourism spot. Shops on behalf of the traditional cultural customs only account for small proportion in the commercial division, and the theme



centering on the culture of heritage conservation has begun to deviate.

III. AVOIDANCE AND STRATEGY OF "SIDE EFFECTS" OF CONSUMPTION SPACE IN COMMUNITY-TYPE SCENIC SPOTS

A. Taking Community Development as the Main Axis to Promote the Development of Community by Tourism Development

Ancient village of Hong Village is not the landscape built to attract tourists. Instead, it is the historical social heritage preserved by residents in the ancient village with the social changes, so the living space is able to become a tourist attraction, and even become a world cultural heritage. The ancient village community tourism is carried out based on the historical society of ancient houses - the settlement landscape and its constituent elements (architecture, streets, and water systems, etc.) in the living space and its social and cultural connotation as the core tourist attraction. Besides, community residents as a part of the local tourism products, their attitude and behavior constitute the destination resources, so without the understanding and support of community residents for the tourism industry, visitors will not travel to a non-featured and unpopular place.

B. Mutual Assistance of Finance

We can organize residents to build their own banks according to the community via mutual assistance, popularize financial knowledge, solve the difficulty in loans of resident, and establish mutual loan cooperatives to make community residents actively participate in it.

C. Build the Village History Museum

Hongcun is the tourist attraction with deep accumulation of historical and cultural heritage as well as the village where generations of residents of Hong Village live. However, with the invasion of tourists and external residents, external residents energetically promote the development of commercialization with the catalysis of tourism boom. Gradually there derived a large number of consumption space. Continuous expansion of consumption space also brought the crisis of commercialization of culture. Festivals and cultural entertainment of the aborigines in scenic area have gradually faded out of people's memory. In addition to the landscape resources of the historical villages, the village history museum that records the village history, carries nostalgia, and gathers the historical memory of the village history is also very important to the community residents.

IV. CONCLUSION

This paper attempts to introduce the theory of space production into the transformation and change of traditional rural space in Hong Village, Huizhou, and analyzes the change of consumption space from the original state to the later stage after reform and opening up. The change of the consumption space of the rural community is divided into three stages. With the change of the three forms of

community origin-government leadership-market promotion, the spatial form of the village is transformed in the process of interaction between tourism and community. Based on the development of the village, the consumption space shows gradual development. With the catalysis of the global consumerism wave, commercial consumption excesses the cultural and landscape symbol consumption. In this case, there are positive impacts as well as multiple crises. For example, the living space of aborigines transforms to consumption space, and the social structure fragmentation of aborigines emerges. And there are "localized" crisis, diversified consumption crisis and excessive consumption.

Therefore, between the consumption space that meets the basic needs of aborigines and that serves the tourists, the game between various interests subject of government and enterprises is complex. In the condition where tourism commercialization and consumerism is inevitable, we should take into account the possible crisis of the consumption space in improvement of community residents' life, historical and cultural protection and continuous operation of scenic area during the development of tourism through a predictive way to avoid them.

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