

Cultural Architectural Assets:
a new framework to study
changes and continuity of
dwellings of Mosuo tribes in
transitions

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the relationship between the Mosuo dwelling as ‘inhabited space’ and architectural form, its evolution in the face of modern pressures and the impact of cultural and social change, and the questions this raises for the cultural loss of Mosuo dwellings. This study extends the existing literature in vernacular architecture conservation to establish a Cultural Architectural Assets (CAA) framework, responding to the challenges by bringing together existing architectural anthropological and cultural theorisation from an architectural perspective in the changing context. The Mosuo people are a small ethnic group who live on the highland in Southwest China. This study employs an integrative architecture and anthropology approach by examining the relationship between living culture, building culture and the values of the Mosuo people in the evolution process. The researcher has conducted two-stage fieldwork, choosing nine Mosuo villages in the Yongning basin area, and 23 family members from five Mosuo dwellings in Zhashi village, for investigation. The research methods consisted of observation of locals’ daily routine and activities, photographic surveys of changes in dwelling forms, photo elicit interviews with local Mosuo families, walking interviews with professionals and a questionnaire to the tourists, as well as reviews of the local planning policy. Thematic analysis has been used to analyse the data. This research makes a significant contribution in expanding knowledge through documentation of the evolution of Mosuo dwellings and culture in the contemporary context. The main contribution of this study is the provision of the CAA framework for the Mosuo dwellings that may be used by inhabitants and relevant professionals (government officials, academics, etc.) as a form of guidance to the implementation of conservation works. It is also hoped that it may act as a starting point for the relevant policy makers to develop guidance aimed to safeguard this valuable dwelling culture.

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Parts of this work have already been published (see Appendix K).

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This photo was taken in the Lige village, Lugu Lake in 2014, which was the first time I travelled there. I was fascinated by Mosuo culture and their dwellings. The idea for this study was just based on this personal experience and generated by my desire.

1 Introduction

This research investigates the interrelationship between physical buildings, ways of living and culture of the Mosuo people of China. It considers the relationship between the Mosuo dwellings as ‘inhabited space’, their architectural form and evolution in the face of modern pressures, taking into regard the impact of cultural and social changes, and how these are reflected in new architectural forms. The research idea initially originated several years ago when I travelled with my family in the Lugu Lake area. We lived in a transformed courtyard house – two houses for guest accommodation and two houses for the locals. It was my first opportunity to understand Mosuo culture and get touch with the Mosuo people; their culture and the Grandmother’s house impressed me and made me curious. This introduction will state the context of the research more fully, it will also identify the region under investigation, explain the challenge of the study, and clarify the research aims, objectives and questions, and, finally, reveal the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Context of the study

1.1.1 The Mosuo tribe

The Mosuo tribe are a small ethnic group who live on the highland in Southwest China, close to the Tibetan border. According to the statistics of the Sixth National Census, there are approximately 50,000 Mosuo people. They are mainly distributed in the Yongning basin and surrounding areas: to the Lugu Lake of the Ninglang District in Yunnan Province, and to the west of the Yanyuan District in Sichuan Province (Compiling Committee of Ninglang Yi Autonomous County, 1993) (Figure 1.1). The political and cultural centre of the Mosuo is situated in the Yongning area. The Yongning basin was ethnically homogeneous until the early decades of the 20th century. At present, however, it is the home of 11 ethnic groups. In spite of recent changes, the Mosuo is still by far the most dominant group in this area (Shih, 2010, p.1). They have their own distinct language, but no written script. The Mosuo religion is

guided by two coexisting beliefs, Daba¹ and Tibetan Buddhism² (Shih, 1998; Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association, 2006).

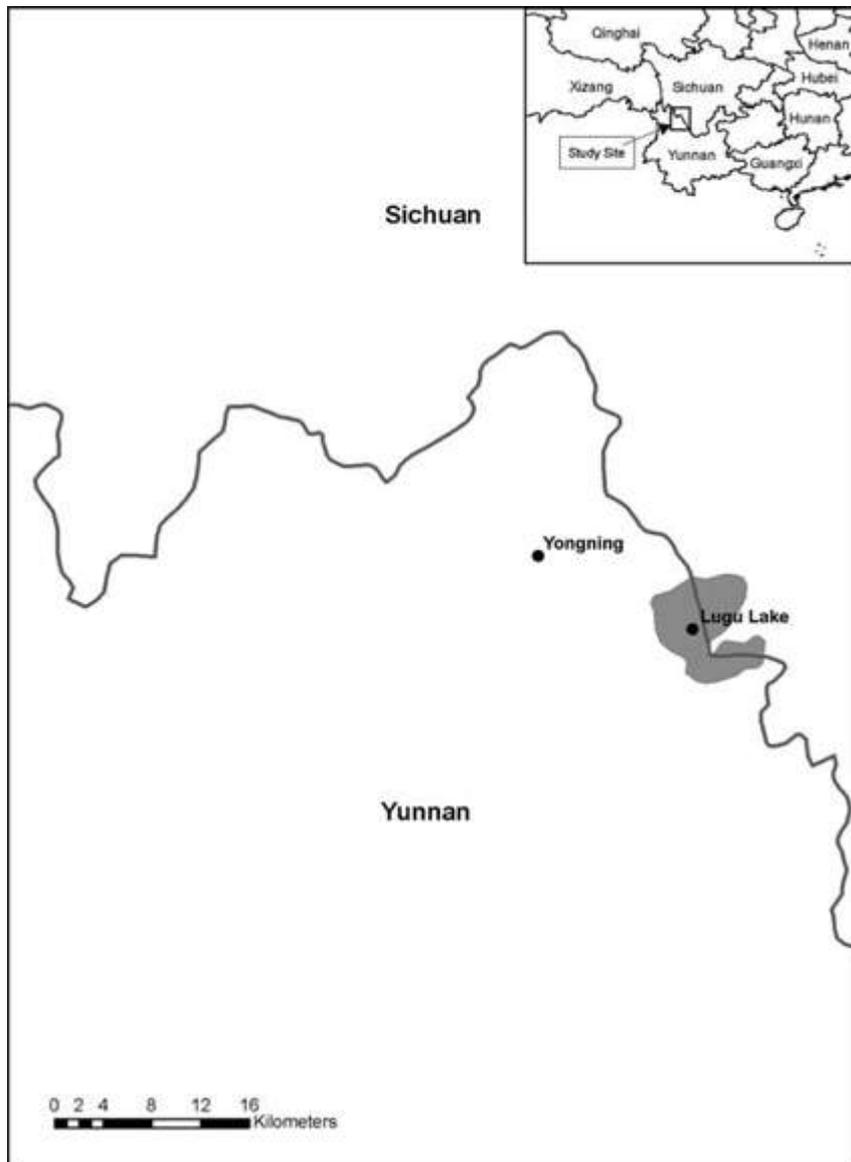


Figure 1.1 A map of study site, source from Mattison 2010

¹ The primitive religion of the Mosuo people is called Daba, which is a combination of ancestral worship, spirit worship and nature worship (Shih, 1993, 2010). Dabaism has no written scriptures, systematic creeds, classic books, religious organisations or monasteries. All its doctrine is retained in the memory of its practitioners, the Daba, and learned by rote orally from generation to generation.

² The Mosuo also practice Lamaism, a Tibetan variation of Buddhism, in which a Lama is a spiritual leader (LLMCDA, 2006). Since the mid-sixteenth century, Tibetan Buddhism has gradually become the dominant religion among the Mosuo. Before the 1956 Democratic Reform in the Mosuo area, Tibetan Buddhism was prevalent to the extent that almost every household had at least one member serving as a professional Lama.

Mosuo are known as ‘the Kingdom of Women’ (Luo, 2008) because they are a unique ethnic group which has maintained a matrilineal society for many centuries (Leong and Cros, 2008). In their prime, women are heads of households, property is passed through the female line and women make the business decisions. In order to preserve the social order and the family business, the Mosuo have a Zouhun (walking marriages)³, instead of a civil marriage, as a sexual and reproductive institution. Men usually visit their lovers at night in the woman’s house and then return to their own maternal family in the early morning (Lamu, 2005). They neither share a residence nor have economic relations with their partners. Any children resulting from the union of the couple live in their mother’s household, raised by uncles, and the man helps to raise the children of his sisters. As a matrilineal society, Mosuo kinship, walking marriage and dwelling form all reinforce the maternal bond (Isabel, 2017).

1.1.2 The history

The Mosuo was established more than 2,000 years ago, and assimilated Tibetan, Mongolian, Yi, Naxi and Pumi cultures, from which they formed their own unique culture (Guo, 1994; Zhang, 2006).

The etymology of the name Mosuo is quite problematic (Sichuan Mosuo Museum). There are occasional references in Chinese written history, but due to the many different names that have been used throughout history, it can often be difficult (or even impossible) to demonstrate that these definitely refer to the Mosuo. So much of what is ‘known’ about the Mosuo is a patchwork collection of ‘most likely’ hypotheses (Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association⁴, 2006).

³ Walking marriage (Zouhun in Chinese) is an on-going sexual relationship in Mosuo culture, whose bonds are based on mutual affection (Walsh, 2001). Individuals do not establish their own family but continue to live with their matrilineal families (Zang, 2006). Men do not live with their female partners and usually meet at night at the woman’s house, and at dawn go home to their own maternal family (Liu, 2006). They do not set up a new family and do not share property. Any children resulting from the union of the couple are the women’s children and the man helps to raise the children of his sisters (Blumenfield, 2009).

⁴ The Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association (LLMCDA) was an association, directed by John Lombard, focused on Mosuo cultural preservation and development.

Historically, the Mosuo had different terms in different times: the term Maoniu Qiang (牦牛羌), Maoniu Yi (牦牛夷) and Zuo (箝) were used in ancient times; the term Móshā (摩沙) was used in the Jin dynasty, followed by Móxiē (磨些) and Mǒxiē (么些) in the Tang, Song, Yuan and Ming dynasty; then Mǒxiē (麽些) and Mosuo (摩梭) in the modern times (Sichuan Mosuo Museum). These forebears of the present Mosuo were called Zuo (箝), xinan yi (西南夷) and Ranmang (冉駹) in the Han dynasty (206 BCE-AD 220) (Fan, 1965). The Mosuo people were first called Mosha yi (摩挲夷) in Huayangguo Zhi (Gazetteer of the Land of Huayang) written by Chang Qu of the Eastern Jin dynasty (265– 420 AD) (Chang, 1960). In the Tang dynasty (618-906 AD), Yongning was subordinated to Nanzhao and Dali, the term for these peoples appeared as Moxie man (磨些蛮) and Moxie (么些) in Fan Chuo's Man Shu (Book of the Barbarians) and later on Nanzhao Yeshi (An Unofficial History of the Nanzhao Kingdom) in Song dynasty. Since then, more than a half dozen variations of the name have appeared in Chinese literature, with various combinations of the characters pronounced as Moxie, Mosha or Mosuo.

How the transfer from Zuo to Moxie or Mosuo occurred is very controversial in the academic community (Sichuan Mosuo Museum). Scholars' studies (Fang 1944, 2002; Fang and He, 1979) suggest that the first syllable Mo (麼) of Mosuo is from Mao in the Chinese word Maoniu, meaning yak, because the ancient Mosuo made a living by herding yaks. They are hence also known as 'Maoniu Qiang'. The second syllable Xie (些) means people. However, Fang's explanation of the etymology of the term Mosuo is simply not convincing (Shih, 1993; He, 2017). Before the name Moxie and its variants appeared in Chinese literature, their forebears were indeed sometimes called Maoniu Qiang or Maoniu Yi, meaning "yak herding barbarians" (Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum). The literature records that the cultural characteristics of Maoniu Qiang are horse and yak – the Mo in the Moxie and the Mao syllable of the Maoniu are close, but its explanation is not related to horse this cultural characteristic. Another argument comes from folklore, that the word Moxi (摩西) and Moxie (磨些) are referred to as "unknown" or "do not

understand in the ethnic language of the Na”. This might be because the Mosuo ancestors did not learn Chinese and when asked about their ancestors, they answered with ‘Moxie’ (么些). The questioner mistook Mosuo and Moxie as their own names, thus erroneously circulating them. All these statements are only an extrapolation of the Mosuo people at that time and later generations, a lot of in-depth research about where the name of Mosuo people came from is still required.

There is no definite answer about where the Mosuo came from (Sichuan Mosuo Museum; Liu and Li, 2005; LLMCDA, 2006). Since the 1930s, many scholars have verified the relationship between the Mosuo and the ancient Qiang people (Zhao, 2014). It has been accepted by historians and scholars (both Chinese and overseas) that the Mosuo came from branches of the nomadic Qiang, an ancient population from the Tibetan plateau in Northwest China (Rock, 1947; Fang and He, 1979; Shih, 1993, 2009; Yuan and Mitchell, 2000). According to historical records, as a result of the Han expansion during the Qin dynasty (221-206 BC), under the pressure of war and survival, some Qiang from an area near the Huang (Yellow) River migrated south and west (Sichuan Mosuo Museum; Yuan and Mitchell, 2000). These Qiang people were one of the branches of the ancient Qiang, who first settled in the northwest of Sichuan Province and who then moved southward along the Dadu River to Dingzuo (now the Yanyuan area of Sichuan Province and Ninglang area of Yunnan Province) (Luo, 2013). These people were the forebears of the present Mosuo, they settled in this area more than 2,000 years (Sichuan Mosuo Museum; Liu and Li, 2005; He, 2017).

It is evident from Shih’s opinion (1993, 2009) that he made a strict distinction between the ethnic origin and succession system of Lijiang Naxi and Yongning Mosuo with informative data and rigorous textual research. Shih pointed out that Mosuo culture has been a unique phenomenon all along, and the ethnicity of the Mosuo should not be rashly confused with that of the Naxi. As learned from studies of historical records and linguistic analysis, both the Mosuo and the Naxi are descendants of the ancient Qiang peoples. According to *Book of the Later Han Dynasty* (Hou Han Shu) (Fan, 1965) and other historical

records, a tribe of the Qiang called Ranmang, living in the north of this area, practiced matrilineal descent and regarded women as superior to men. A few examples follow:

'The Rangmang Yi... women are held superior and the descent is traced through mother's line. After death the body is cremated.'
(Fan, 1965)

'The Sha people are the same as the Yuexi yi, also known as the Mengxi. Men braid their hair and wear long robes. Women wear embroidered white turban and red aprons... They use cattle as betrothal gifts. (The newly-wed couple) do not sleep together on the night of the wedding. (The couple) go to the bride's natal family and do not come back (to the husband's home) until the wife is pregnant.' (Yang, 1968)

In the meantime, another tribe of the Qiang, called Maoniu Zhong, living in the south of the same area, practiced patrilineal descent and marriage. However, due to the sketchy and fragmentary quality of the Chinese historical literature on the peripheral peoples, we have neither descriptive information about the marital customs among the Ranmang, nor data that link the ancient Ranmang to the contemporary Mosuo. As a consequence, *'the Ranmang and the Maoniu Zhong, as well as some other subgroups of the ancient Qiang in Chinese historical literature, were first respectively called by a variety of alternative names and eventually collectively called Mosha, Moxie, or other variants* (Shih, 2010, p.39).'

There is also a saying that the Mosuo are descendants of the Mongol (Shang, 1993; Shih, 1993; Yuan and Mitchell, 2000; Liu and Li, 2005). One reason is the historical record that Kublai Khan led the army to march south to the Dali kingdom in the Erhai area in the early Yuan Dynasty. They passed Yanyuan and Ninglang and were camped and trained in what is now the Mosuo area. During the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) – a period of minority rule by the Mongols – the first local administration accountable to the central government was established, the province of Yunnan was incorporated into the Chinese empire, and many Mongol soldiers settled in the Mosuo region. At the beginning of

the Ming dynasty, the Mongolians of the region rebelled against the Ming dynasty and were subsequently defeated. The lost Mongolians infiltrated the area and the Mosuo people may have integrated into the Mongolian bloodline; therefore, the Mosuo people to the east of Lugu Lake in Sichuan Province call themselves Mongolians. Another reason is the claim made by the former chief A Yunshan and some Mosuo chiefs around the Lugu Lake, that they were descended from the Mongols (Rock, 1947; Li, 1983). Not only has the Mosuo elite in Sichuan made this claim, but their counterparts in Yongning have long prided themselves on having Mongol forebears. One of them told Joseph Rock (1947, p.359) that *'he was a descendant of one of the Mongol officers left by Kublai Khan in Yung-Ning to govern that territory.'*

It is quite understandable that some people prefer to associate themselves with ancestors of great reputation (Shih, 1993), claiming themselves descendants of the Mongol. However, the Mosuo demonstrate none of the Mongolian cultural features, and likewise, the Mongols have none of the unique cultural features of the Mosuo. Furthermore, the Mosuo chief's genealogy (Shih, 1993), which records each and every generation of the rulers in this area since 1381, does not include any names carrying the Mongolian naming tradition. Hence, it is convincing that if there were any Mongol left in this area, they have long since melted into the Mosuo (Li, 1983).

Scholars have made detailed research into the migration routes and distribution characteristics of the ancient Qiang people migrated to south (Fang, 1944; Zhao, 2008). In Fang Guoyu's (1944) 'Moxie Minzu Kao (Moxie ethnic investigation)', he conducted the earliest analysis on the migration routes of the Naxi-Mosuo ancestors. The study pointed out that *'Mosuo originated from Qiang people in ancient times living in the Yellow River and Huangshui area in Northwest China'*, in the migration to the southwest which took place long ago. Later, Zhao (2008) further clearly put forward the specific migration route as *'moved south to the upper reaches of the Minjiang River, and to the southwest to the Yalong river basin, and to the upper reaches of Jinsha River.'* According to the archaeological materials, Zhang Zengqi believed that Naxi-Mosuo's ancestors moved south along the Lancang River (Zhao, 2014).

Some scholars used the ceremony of the Daba as the basis for the dead to send the soul⁵, i.e. the ancestors of the people who had been in the Yonglong River and the Jinsha River from generation to generation, sent their deceased ancestors to the north of the Muli (Liu and Li, 2005; Zhao, 2014). The ritual route coincides with the ancient Mosuo migration route from north to south, as given in the historical literature (Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum) – the souls’ destination is north of Sibu Anawa (a black mountain in which they had lived before), where the Mosuo claimed that their ancestors had migrated from (Liu and Li, 2005).

In this way, the Mosuo people are indeed related to the ancient Qiang, which is associated with the Yellow River basin culture in northwest China. Archaeological discoveries in recent years show that there are links with the cultures of the Majiayao (马家窑) in Qinghai Province in northwest China, the Karuo (卡若) in the Qamdo of Tibet, and the Shiguanzang (石棺葬) in the Hengduan Mountains. Thus, the history of the Mosuo people migrating south dates back to the Neolithic Age. Historical records of the Qin Xian Gong period show another large-scale southern migration of the Qiang people, resulting in much ethnic integration over time. Therefore, since the Neolithic age, the Mosuo people include the Qiang people from the northwest, the indigenous people of the region and the Mongolians (Liu and Li, 2005).

1.1.3 Ethnic identification – Who are they?

Official identification

The Mosuo group is not officially recognised as one of the ethnic minorities in China, but instead is categorised by the state as being part of the Naxi. For various reasons, mainly political, the state does not recognise these people as a ‘minority’ (Mackerras, 2003). Many scholars have combined and confused the Mosuo and Naxi peoples and mention them all together as if they are the same, however, the mistake should actually be attributed to the former historical classification of Mosuo

⁵ When the Mosuo people did the funeral, they called to Daba to read the ‘Route for the Dead’ to guide the deceased back to their hometown. The route for the dead by the Daba is from Yongning (Yunnan) to Qiansuo (Sichuan) to Muli Yakou (Sichuan) – Xilong – Sibu Anawa (now in Sichuan Songpan region).

people (Li, 2011). Thus, they have no legal status and they do not enjoy the privileges of being an official ethnic minority (Shih, 2010).

Between 1953 and early 1957, the newly established the People's Republic of China (PRC) government organised a massive field investigation of ethnic identification, known as *Minzu Shibie*, to identify how many ethnic groups existed in China and who they were (Fei 1980; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001; Shih, 2010). After the first national census was carried out, more than 400 nationwide ethnic names were registered and identified as unitary groups. More than 260 of the names registered for identification were from Yunnan, the most ethnically diverse province in China (State Ethnic Affairs Commission of the People's Republic of China, 2012). However, up until the end of the 1980s, only 56 groups nationwide – with 26 in Yunnan – have been granted the status of unitary nationality. The Naxi is included as one of the 56 members of the 'grand family of nationalities' of the PRC.

According to the records from Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum, the Mosuo were clearly distinguished from other ethnic groups many times in the official writings in the 1950s. For example, the document of the second People's Congress in Lijiang Special District clearly stated in 1950 that there were 12 Mosuo people present at the meeting. On 5th September 1956, the Lijiang Prefectural Commissioner's Office explicitly referred to the 'Mosuo ethnic group' five times in the 'Report about the Founding of the Ninglang Yi Autonomous County' to the People's Committee of Yunnan Province: (1) 'The Yi people live in the area of Ninglang and Liangshan also include Mosuo, Lisu, Xifan, Han and other 12 ethnic groups'; (2) 'there are 12 ethnic groups living in the Autonomous county, Yi, Mosuo, Han, Xifan, Lisu, Tibetan, Bai, Zhongjia, Naxi, Miao, Baiyi and Hui'; (3) 'The Mosuo live in three counties'; (4) 'The Mosuo know Tibetan language'; and (5) 'The Mosuo and Xifan believe in Tibetan Buddhism.' The report was then submitted to the State Council and approved by the Provincial People's Committee for implementation in Ninglang. On 20th September 1956, the general assembly of Ninglang Yi Autonomous County solemnly declared that the county had 12 ethnic groups, including Yi and Mosuo. In 1959, the 'The

Ninglang Survey' written by the CPC Ninglang Working Committee Office referred to the 'Mosuo ethnic group' in many places.

However, in current official documents, the Mosuo people living in Ninglang of Yunnan Province have been clearly classified as a part of the Naxi minority; while those living in Yanyuan, Muli and Yanbian of Sichuan Province have been considered as Mongol (Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum; Li, 1983; Shih, 1993, 2010; McKhann, 1996; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001; Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association, 2006; Isabel, 2017).

The Mosuo people in Yongning object to the imposed name and have pursued their own ethnic identity, yet those Mosuo people on the Sichuan side seemed to readily accept the assigned identity of Mongol. In August 2016, I visited Wujiao rural township in Muli county of Sichuan Province, which is adjacent to Yongning on the other side of the provincial border. I had a conversation with a dozen local people, one family I talked with referred to themselves as 'we Mongol', strongly indicating that they are not willing to be called 'the Mosuo people.' Moreover, pictures of Kublai Khan hung on the walls in the courtyard. When I asked why they called themselves 'Mongol', they replied that they were descendants of those left behind in the region by the army of the Mongol. While it is historical fact, that Kublai Khan subjugated the area in 1253, Cai and Hustvedt (2001) mentioned these 'Mongols' have nothing in common with the Mongols in Mongolia: not one among them even knows how to pronounce a single word in Mongolian. And Shih (2010) cited a local's explanation,

'Our customs and language are the same as those of the Mosuo in Yongning. We used to be one group. But now we are classified by the government as the Mongol and they are classified as the Naxi.'

The claiming of identity

The Mosuo refused to accept this classification, as they themselves felt distinct from the Naxi (Luo, 2008). Thus in 1956 the Mosuo from Yongning submitted an application for acknowledgement as a unitary group, using Mosuo (摩梭) as their preferred official name, rather than

Naxi. After further investigations, based on linguistic analysis and examination of the Chinese historical records regarding the origins and history of the migration of the peoples living in the larger area, the original decision was maintained and the Mosuo people continued to be classified as belonging to the Naxi ethnic group (State Ethnic Affairs Commission of the People's Republic of China, 2012).

Over the years, the Mosuo people have made unrelenting efforts to disavow themselves from the Naxi and to pursue the goal of their distinct ethnic identity (Shih, 2010). For more than a decade, the masses of Mosuo cadres have strongly demanded to resolve the issue of group name and ethnic identity. Through various forms and channels the Mosuo in Ninglang County have requested that the government and relevant departments, on every level from local to central, officially recognise them as an ethnic group distinct from the Naxi of Lijiang (Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). In 1988 they insisted that the ethnic designation to appear on their nationally standardised personal identification cards be Mosuo instead of Naxi, otherwise they would refuse to have their photos taken for the card and would not accept and use it at all (Shih, 1991, 2010). Due to the strong demands and repeated representations from the Mosuo people, the county committee and individuals from various ethnic groups, the attention of governmental superiors was aroused.

In September 1989, the People's Congress of Yunnan dispatched a delegation from the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, under the leadership of Guodong Dao, to Ninglang to investigate. On 6th December 1989, the working group submitted a report to the Party Committee of Yunnan, the government of Yunnan and the People's Congress of Yunnan calling for the reinstatement of the ethnic group of the Ninglang Mosuo people. In 1990, the National People's Congress (NPC) Standing Committee of Yunnan Province passed 'Ninglang yizu zizhixian zizhi tiaoli' (The Autonomous decrees of the Ninglang Yi Nationality Autonomous County), in which there was an acknowledgement of the appellation *Mosuo ren* (the Mosuo people) in reference to the group of individuals living in the Yongning basin (Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum). This compromise allowed their ethnic identity to appear on the

cards as Mosuoren (Shih, 1991) – hence, each Mosuo individual now has a valid resident identity card.

However, after three further formal claims for distinct nationality status, due to historical confusions (at various times the Chinese term ‘Mosuo’ was actually used to describe different ethnic groups, including the Naxi) and a lack of real knowledge about the Mosuo, the People’s Congress of Yunnan continued to only accord the Mosuo semi-independent status as a subgroup of the Naxi (Smith, 2005; LLMCDA, 2006). This result was based on linguistic analysis and Chinese historical records regarding the origin and migration of the ancestors of the peoples living in this larger area (Shi, 1993). As a result, the government agreed to call them the Mosuo ren (the Mosuo people) but not Moso zu (Mosuo ethnic group) (Knodel, 1998; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001; Luo, 2008; Isabel, 2017).

Given their prominent social-cultural features, the Mosuo should not be considered either Naxi or Mongol, for the following reasons: (1) the overwhelming majority of the adult Mosuo in the basin area practice a type of visiting relationship walking marriage instead of marriage; (2) the Mosuo society is organised through matrilineal descent and ‘grand’ matrilineal household systems; (3) the gender system situates Mosuo women as the central cultural focus, rather than Mosuo men; (4) the Mosuo people practice a unique funeral ceremony in which the deceased is cremated and then the ashes are placed at some secluded spot without burial; (5) Mosuo religious practice is a combination of Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism) and their own native religion, the ‘Daba’, as well as folk beliefs, rituals, festivals and legends (Shih, 2010). All these salient cultural features, which define the Mosuo way of living, thinking and dying, are absent in both of the groups to which the Mosuo have been officially assigned.

1.1.4 Geographical and climatic background of the Yongning region

Located in the east of the Western Yunnan Plateau, the Yongning area reflects the geomorphological characteristics of the Hengduan

Mountainous Region ⁶ (Compiling Committee of Ninglang Yi Autonomous County, 1993). The area has a complex topography and because of the influence of the plateau and alpine canyons, the climatic characteristics are ‘four seasons in one mountain, a different weather a few miles out’ (Yang, 2013). The temperature varies between morning and night, and decreases as the altitude rises; the annual temperature averages 9°C (Luo, 2008). The rainy season falls between June and September, and the annual rainfall is between 1,000 and 1,500 millimetres (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001).

According to the topography and elevation, the Yongning region is divided into four types (Guo and He, 1994; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001; He, 2017). Firstly, the terraces of the Jingsha River valley area (about 1,600 metres in altitude): this is where the Zhuang, Lisu and Mosuo people live, and the main economy comes from trees and fruits. The second type is the basin area with an elevation of approximately 2,500 metres: there are many basins scattered in the mountain areas – known as the Bazi (basins) by local residents – and they are the most important areas of intensive irrigation agriculture (Zang, 2016). The third is an average mountain range of 2,500- 3,000 metres: this is the dry food production area, mainly inhabited by the Yi, Pumi and Mosuo people. The fourth type refers to cold mountains that reach more than 3,500 metres above sea level: the climate in this area is harsh, crop growth is difficult and living conditions are poor, however, it has excellent grazing area; the main residents here are the Yi ethnic group.

As mentioned earlier, the cultural centre of the Mosuo is situated at Yongning basin as Mosuo people are dominant there and still keep traditional ways of living (Shih, 1993, 2010; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). As reported by a head official of Yongning Township (Yunnan Province Statistical Bureau, 2008), *‘There are 19640 people in the township, including 13 ethnic groups. The Mosuo, numbering 7184, represent the biggest group, and the most important public servants, the township mayor and secretary, are both Mosuo.’* Because the majority of Mosuo

⁶ The Hengduan Mountain System consist of many mountain ranges (including a complex of ridges and river valleys) that rise between the western margin of the Yunnan Plateau and the eastern margin of Tibet (Li, 2017).

people, on whom I am focussing, are distributed throughout the Yongning basin and along the shores of Lugu Lake, I will examine the geography of this basin area more specifically.

The Yongning basin is located in the northwest of the Ninglang County, at a latitude between 27°75' - 27°77' N and a longitude latitude 100°67' - 100°69' E (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001; Shih, 2002; Michaud, 2017). With an area of 41.23 square kilometres, it is surrounded by tall mountains. The regional climate is low altitude altiplano-southwest monsoonal (Wang, 2016). Covered mostly with pine and firs trees, the mountains are rich in animal and plant life, some of which is used in precious Chinese remedies. To the east is a mountain that the Mosuo call Gemu (Mountain Goddess), and the Chinese call Shizi (Lion) Mountain, because of its shape (Li, 2011). In the west is Maoniu (Yak) Mountain. The northwest and southwest parts of the basin each have an outlet connecting them to the outside world, and the northwest is connected to the Muli Tibetan Autonomous County in Sichuan Province. The southeast connects to the Lugu Lake, a plateau lake of 48.5 square kilometres that creates a microclimate suitable for farming, despite the high altitude (Lan, 2005). There are high mountains which extend outside of the basin – these are considered easy to defend and hard to attack. The Kaiji River flows through the centre of the basin, which ensures that the land is fertile with rich natural resources and which creates a microclimate conducive to agriculture (Shih, 1993, 2010). There are two harvests of rice per year; corn, sorghum, wheat and several varieties of fruit, such as oranges, clementine and pears, are also grown there (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). It can be seen that Mosuo society is highly self-sufficient; its relatively isolated geographical location and ecological environment enables the Mosuo culture to be preserved to this day.

According to an interview with the secretary of the Yongning County Party Committee in 2016, *'There are 72 Natural Villages in Yongning Township, these falling under the jurisdiction of six Administrant Villages: Yongning, Luoshui, Tuozi, Wenquan, Niquigou and Midiqing.'* The main tourist site, Luoshui (including Shangluoshui and Xialuoshui Natural Village), features the Lugu Lake and is governed by Luoshui Administrant Village. Many tourists come yearly to experience the

natural landscape, the plateau lake and the Mosuo's matriarchal culture. My first visit to Lige Natural Village was as a tourist in August 2014. Since then I have returned to conduct two stages of field research there, one in July - August 2016 and the other in April - May 2017. Further discussion will be stated in the methodology chapter (see p.103).

1.1.5 Social-economic structure

The Mosuo are culturally distinct in terms of their matrilineal family system. In view of the local historical and social circumstances, the Mosuo still preserve a very harmonious family structure. A Mosuo household usually consists of three or four generations related matrilineally, ranging from 20 to 30 members, typically including grandmother, mother, maternal aunts, uncles (mother's brothers), sisters and brothers, and the children of oneself and of the sisters, etc. (Shih, 1993). No members of the parental side are part of the household; each member of a matrilineal family belongs to a mother or her sister's children. Children remain in the maternal home throughout their lifetime and work there together with their brothers and sisters, who also belong to the household. The brothers of the mother are responsible for the religious activities and rites throughout the year (Lamu Gatusa, translation by Wang Yun and Jutta Ried, 2005).

Known as 'Kingdom of Women', in their prime, women are heads of households, property is passed through the female line and women make the business decisions. Any income gained by work, for example construction or business, will be handed to the clan-mother, the Dabu, who will use it to meet any family needs, such as clothing, food or housing. In order to preserve the social order and the family business, Mosuo women have a 'walking marriage' (see p.36-37) instead of a civil marriage as a sexual and reproductive institution; they neither share a residence nor have an economic relationship with their husbands. In a typical Mosuo household, female adult members receive their male visitors at home, while male members go out to visit their female partners in their respective home.

The matrilineal Mosuo ideology is not only demonstrated in the rules of descent, but also more fully in the concept that women, instead of men,

are situated at the centre of their world (Shih, 1998). Women are at the centre of power and make decisions on everyday activities for everyone in Mosuo. As the director, the leading woman in the family takes charge of money and distributes daily tasks to others (Shih, 2010). There is a clear division of labour between women and men: women are responsible for household duties, such as cooking, cleaning and child care, and men for heavy labour, such as agricultural production (Lamu, 2005).

According to Mosuo Folk Museum, the Mosuo economy was historically dominated by small-scale agricultural production, with abundant crops, such as highland buckwheat, barley, potatoes, corn, as well as garden vegetables. The secondary economy was grazing, horse caravan and fishing in the Lugu Lake, plus handiwork and the collection of non-timber products, such as herbs and mushrooms. Pigs, poultry, goats, sheep, cattle and horses were reared as sources of labour or food for consumption, and animal husbandry, the primary means of subsistence for Mosuo in past centuries, became a rather insignificant sideline (Shih, 2002). Horse, mule and donkey caravans criss-crossed zones where the Mosuo people and other Tibeto-Burman groups lived; they traded tea, salt and opium (Michaud, 2016) as well as domestic handicrafts (linen, woollen cloth and sewing) and other home produce (wine, oil, milk and butter).

After the Chinese Economic Reform in 1978, the Mosuo community gradually became a busy tourist destination, which created a new and welcome source of income. As a result, in recent years, subsistence for some Mosuo has shifted dramatically from agriculture to the thriving ethnic tourism industry (Walsh 2001, 2005). The Mosuo people have steadily developed in agriculture, grazing and commerce, and the tourism of Lugu Lake has developed rapidly. Zhang (2006) indicates that ‘the village economy has changed from an agricultural to a tourism base, with average farmer per capita incomes tripling during 1992–1996 alone.’ After the 1990s, even though tourism brought increasing prosperity to the Lugu Lake region, with the exception of the main tourist sites around the lake, the other villages mostly still remained an agricultural and natural economy, at least up until 2002 (Luo 2008).

The Mosuo are primarily an agrarian culture and they are able to produce most of what they need for daily life (LLMCDA, 2006). Farmers work ‘seven hours a day and seven months a year’ and most labour centres on raising crops (grains, potatoes, etc.), and caring for livestock (yaks, water buffalos, sheep, goats, poultry, etc.). So far as dietary needs go, the Mosuo are largely self-sufficient and able to raise everything they need for day-to-day life. Potatoes were their main staple up until the mid-20th century when they began growing rice – today it makes up more than half of annual production. Meat is a significant part of the Mosuo diet, but due to a lack of refrigeration, most meat tends to be salted or smoked to be preserved for future use.

The local natural economy tends to be more of a bartering system, with people simply trading what they need with each other. This system is greatly related to the harsh natural conditions and Mosuo’s low productivity. As a consequence of the restrictions of the natural environment, – the isolated location, the obstruction by mountains and ranges, the short period of warm temperature, and water sources – most households can barely achieve subsistence levels of production, thus have less surplus available for monetary trading and wealth accumulation (Cheng, 2009). However, as interaction with the outside world becomes more common, there is also increased use of a cash-based system of trade. The average annual income for the majority of Mosuo would be around £115-£150 GBP, which is quite low even by Chinese standards. Although this does not mean that the Mosuo are starving to death (they are quite able to provide for their basic needs), there are, however, severe financial restrictions when cash is necessary (such as for education, travel, etc.) (LLMCDA, 2006).

1.1.6 Religion

Religion is an inseparable part of daily life in every Mosuo family. The Mosuo religion is guided by coexisting beliefs: those of their own religion, the Daba religion, and those of Tibetan Buddhism. These two religions have influenced each other (Shih, 1993; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). Their values, culture, houses, arts and crafts, customs, rites and marriages are all deeply influenced by the two religions (Zhang, 2006).

This section aims to introduce the Mosuo religion in brief, and to describe and analyse those aspects closely related to the central topics of this study.

The native religion: the Daba

The Mosuo have their own native religion, Dabaism, which is a combination of ancestral worship and nature worship (Shih, 1998; LLMCDA, 2006). According to the introduction of Sichuan Mosuo Museum, in the Mosuo language, 'Da' means to cut down, 'Ba' means the marks left on wood and stone after cutting down. Daba chant like an iron axe to leave deep marks on the wood, which can cut off the evil of the disease and eliminate human suffering.

The Daba religion has been a part of their culture for thousands of years, originating in prehistory, flourishing during the Sui and Tang Dynasties, and declining with the upheaval among the Mosuo during the Nanzhao period and the introduction of Lamaism in the Yuan Dynasty (Sichuan Mosuo Museum). In the book *The Ancient Na Khi Kingdom of Southwest China*, Joseph Rock (1947: 389) wrote: *'Their original Shaman religion still exists and is practiced by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa. Unlike the Nakhi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.'*

As such, the Daba religion is the repository of the Mosuo culture and history. Since the Mosuo have no written scriptures, their history and traditions are passed on orally from generation to generation; and all its doctrine is primarily the responsibility of its practitioners, the daba, to memorize this and keep it for future generations (Shih, 1998; LLMCDA, 2006). A local villager told a story about the scriptures of the Daba: *'Long time ago, the Daba wrote their scriptures on pigskin. But one day, while traveling, the priests were starved. Because there was no food, they cooked and ate their books. Ever since then, they have had no scripture.'* Like any time-honoured oral tradition, little is known about where, when and how the Daba religion originated (Shih, 1993). The language of these oral accounts is ancient Na, therefore, the daba of today can only understand the sections that they frequently use.

Despite the prevalence and dominance of Tibetan Buddhism in this area over centuries, the Daba religion still plays an important role in the spiritual life of the Mosuo (Shih, 2010). Daba is mostly called on to perform traditional ceremonies at key events, such as traditional festivals, when a new house is built, ancestral worship ceremony, naming a child, a child's coming of age ceremony, specific rites if someone is sick, or a funeral (LLMCDA, 2006). There are three kinds of daba: one is Zha Daba, who leads the way for the souls of the dead and presides over ceremonies; another is Bu Daba, who specialises in ritual worship; and the other is Ru Daba, who presides over the ceremony of washing the horse for the dead (Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum). The Daba is the bridge between the dead and the living, the natural god and man.

The Daba is usually a man, however, before the 1940s, a woman could be a daba (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). The inheritance of Daba is mostly passed down from one generation to the next in a household, that is, father passed on to son or uncle to nephew (Sichuan Mosuo Museum). There are no dedicated teaching sites and temples, many of them are taught in ceremonial occasions or in their families. They have no organisation and conduct their rituals individually. When they conduct a ritual, they are very poorly paid (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001) and when not engaged in religious activities, they participate in all of the agricultural work.

Daba culture includes systematic chants, the calendar book and the Rirumu (carved wooden scriptures), and encompasses subjects such as native philosophy and religion, ethics, the arts, astronomy, the calendar, geography, medicine and language (Sichuan Mosuo Museum). According to legend, the Daba has more than 160 systematic oral chanting and epic poems, but due to the loss of words, the scriptures in Daba rely on memorisation, and are taught by the family lineage (Sichuan Mosuo Museum).

Daba culture carries the entire history of the Mosuo and all aspects of traditional Mosuo culture. It fully reflects the traditional attitudes, religious beliefs and behavioural norms of the ancestors of today's Mosuo (Sichuan Mosuo Museum). Daba culture is a window to

understanding the soul of the Mosuo, as well as a key to explaining, interpreting and decoding the Mosuo and Mosuo culture.

Influence of Tibetan Buddhism

The Mosuo also believe in Tibetan Buddhism, which known as Lamaism (from the word Lama, the name for a priest). The white (Sakya) and the yellow (Gelugpa) sects of Tibetan Buddhism have existed in the Mosuo area of Yongning for centuries – with the latter being much stronger – and both had a great influence on Mosuo daily life (Yuan and Mitchell, 2000). According to Ruan Xuewu (Secretary of the Party Committee in the Yongning Township), the yellow sect, based in the Zhamei Temple, maintained a body of about 180 lamas, coming from all over the Mosuo area. The white sect was smaller, with about 55 lamas, mostly from the three villages of Zhebo, where the Dajialin Temple was situated. The lamas of these temples organised regular events every year, which were attended by the Mosuo from all of the villages (Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum). Both the Zhamei Temple and Dajialin Temple were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Only a side hall of the Zhamei Temple remains.⁷

Tibetan Buddhism first entered the region in the late-13th century (Yuan and Mitchell, 2000). According to the Sichuan Mosuo Museum, the white sect was first introduced, followed later by the yellow sect. Based on the historical records and the background development of the yellow sect, Shih (1993) argued that the yellow sect was first introduced into the Mosuo area in the mid-16th century but not until around 1276 in the Yuan Dynasty⁸. According to the source *An Unofficial History of the Nanzhao Kingdom* by Yang Shen (1968):

‘There are many lamas around Lijiang and Heqing. They are from Tibet and recruit the Moso in this area to be their disciples. There

⁷ In my first fieldwork 2016, the reconstruction of the two temples was completed. Ruan mentioned, ‘Dajialin Temple has invested 9 million from all levels departments, while Zhamei Temple invested 19 million by the National Development and Reform Commission of the People's Republic of China.’

⁸ Zhan et al (1980) referred, ‘the Yellow Sect was introduced from Tibet around 1276 (the thirteenth year of Zhiyuan in the Yuan Dynasty), and the Zhameige Lamasery was formally built in Kaiping xiang in 1556.’

are two sects, the Red and the Yellow. The Red is weak, and the Yellow is strong.'

It is the earliest written record about when Tibetan Buddhism appeared in this region. More importantly, the Drepung monastery was built in 1409 and the yellow sect experienced an enormous expansion well beyond the geographic boundary of Tibet (Wang and Suo, 1982; Shakabpa, 1967).

The development of the various sects of Tibetan Buddhism itself is the basis for its widespread expansion into the surrounding areas. Moreover, the Yongning area, where the Mosuo people live, quickly accepted Tibetan Buddhism. This ready acceptance was closely linked to the rulers at that time; association with Tibetan Buddhism significantly strengthened the position of the Mosuo chief in regional politics, due to the fact that the yellow sect had established ruling power in the Tibetan theocracy at that time (Shih, 1993, 2010). Most importantly, it became a rule that for each generation in the chief's family, the third son would inherit the position of abbot of the Zhamei Temple (Luo, 2013) – religious power was under the control of the chief's family. Hence, Shih (1993, p.164) summarised that the reasons for the rapid development of Lamasim in the Mosuo region are *'the advocacy of the Mosuo chief on the one hand and its own recondite doctrine, powerful canon, and hierarchical organization on the other.'*

The Mosuo communities are strongly influenced by Tibetan Buddhism (LLMCDA, 2006). During the fieldwork, the impact of Tibetan Buddhism could be seen everywhere in the Mosuo village – prayer flags hang from houses, trees and mountains. There are one or several Mani Towers (a kind of Buddhist tower built of carved stones with sutras) in each Mosuo village, and every morning the Mosuo elders walk around the Mani Towers with a spinning prayer wheel, praying to Buddha. Moreover, most Mosuo homes set up a sacred chamber specifically for practicing Buddhist activities and for sheltering travelling lamas or monks. Unlike lamas in Tibet, lamas in the Mosuo area usually live in his family's household, where he reads the sacred scripture and only goes to the temple occasionally.

Before the 1956 Democratic Reform in the Mosuo area, Tibetan Buddhism was prevalent to the extent that almost every Mosuo household had more than two sons, and at least one of them, usually the youngest, would become a professional lama (Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum; Shih, 1998; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). In recent years, the number of such lamas has increased significantly (LLMCDA, 2006). Being a lama is well respected and lamas enjoy a privileged status, inside and outside the home – especially those educated for a long period of time in Tibet, who rise to an even more prestigious level. Their ascendants are even required to look up to them, and, in line with this privileged status, the lamas never take part in any kind of labour, not even cooking for himself. For all kinds of religious activities, they are generously paid; an average lama's income is considerably higher than that of an agricultural farmer (Shih, 1993).

The dual religion

Both religions are integral to Mosuo culture (LLMCDA, 2006). Daba and lamas are invited to share certain rituals in the religious activities, for example, the funeral (Sichuan Mosuo Museum; Yunnan Mosuo Culture Museum). Cai and Hustvedt (2001, p.102) mentioned when a daba becomes sick, a lama may be called to replace him and vice versa. Although Lamaism has become the dominant religion in this area, Dabaism is irreplaceable. Dabaism and Lamaism coexist with each other, and penetrate into all aspects of the life and spiritual sustenance of the Mosuo people.

1.1.7 Tourism industry in the Mosuo villages

With the economic reform and opening-up policy of the early 1990s, China's domestic tourism industry has emerged as a sector of strategic importance for local government (Zhang, 1997; Walsh, 2005). Inspired by government policies, the government in Yunnan Province subsequently considered its abundant ethnic culture and Yunnan Province then became a hot spot for ethnic tourism in order to develop the local economy (Nyaupane, Morais and Dowler, 2006; Donaldson, 2007). Ethnic tourism is based on a vernacular community, such as a tribe, a village, a town or a city (Cohen, 2001, p.27), therefore many villages (occupied by particular ethnic groups) have been chosen for focussed

redevelopment because of the tourist potential arising from its ethnic and cultural features (Bai et al., 2019; Gao, 2016).

Because of the uniqueness of the Mosuo culture and the physical beauty of Lugu Lake, the tourism industry exploded in the 1990s and the number of tourists has been continuously growing since 2000 (Administrative Council of the Lugu Lake Tourist Region, 2014) (Table 1.1). In 1995, 82,600 tourists visited the region and in 2011, the number grew to 500,000; by the first quarter of 2012, the number of people just visiting Lugu Lake had reached 1,506,000. The overwhelming majority (90 %) of the visitors are domestic tourists (O'Connor, 2012).

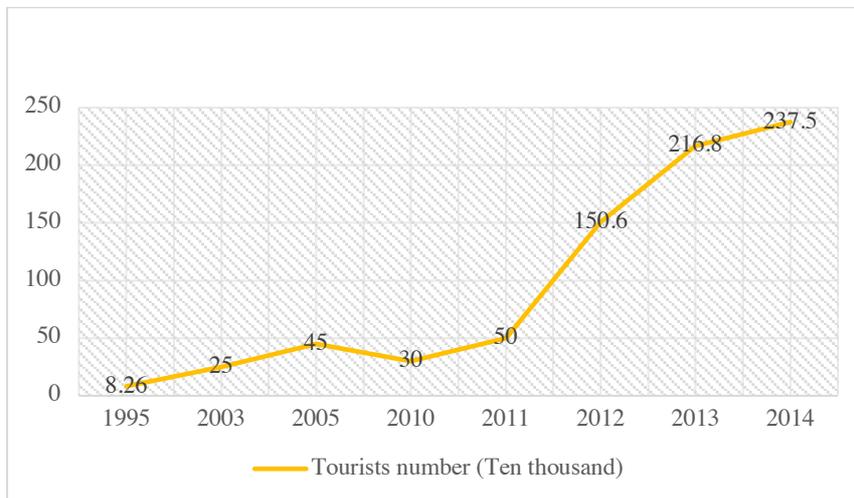


Table 1.1 Statistics of tourist arrivals from 1995 to 2014. (Drawn by author)

Owing to the matrilineal system that largely persists in Mosuo households, official representations of Mosuo culture have therefore placed an emphasis on promoting a marketing image of sexuality and gender figure (Luo, 2008; Walsh, 2005). Tourism increases wealth and opportunities for cultural assimilation, both of which are potentially important drivers of social change (Mattison, 2010).

'Local people ... [being] familiar with the 'famine.' Enticed by the promise of jobs that will allow them into a monetary economy, they often give up work on land and a subsistence lifestyle to become

dependent upon a monetary economic lifestyle (McLaren, 1998, p.77).'

However, because there is in the process of tourism development a contradiction between the twin goals of cultural preservation and economic development (Luo, 2008), the results of this development do not match up to the expectations of government or, in particular, the Mosuo. As Guo (2008, p.110) writes:

'Having survived political upheavals in the past millennium, the Mosuo matrilineal system is now facing the challenge of economic reforms and globalization. ... Ethnic tourism built on Mosuo culture, which has enriched the local population, presents a peculiar challenge to Mosuo society as well as to our understanding of culture change.'



Figure 1.2 Mosuo dwellings in Lugu Lake, Yunnan. (Photo taken by author, 2014)

Within the last two decades, many ethnic settlements have created a series of tourism-related developments around the Lugu Lake. Many locals have carried out a process of altering, restoring, rebuilding, refurbishing and renewing to transform ordinary Mosuo dwellings into multi-function dwellings. For instance, in the summer of 2014, when

visiting as a tourist, the author observed that some local residents (or newcomers) had rearranged the spatial layout of their traditional Mosuo dwellings (Figure 1.2), for example, adding more guest rooms or even constructing taller buildings of three or four stories (Figure 1.3). When an ordinary Mosuo dwelling is transformed into a guesthouse, the dwelling becomes not only the private residential house of a family, but also a public tourist agency to provide exotic cultural products for tourists' consumption. These tourism-related dwellings are not only obliged to provide a cultural experience through its unique accommodation style but also some of the ordinary activities in the daily life of residents may be developed into tourism-related activities, such as having a meal.



Figure 1.3 Three-storey ethnic guesthouse in the Lige village. (Photo taken by author, 2014)

In addition to the residents, the tourists become another group of users of the dwelling. As a result, not only does the built environment become involved in tourism development but also but also the lifestyle of local residents, and as a result the interrelationship between the dwelling and its inhabitants changes. Ironically, the majority of tourists seek a unique and exotic cultural experience through local accommodation, but at the same time are not able to bear the lower living standards and inconvenience of rural residences (Zhou, 2001). In order to meet the needs of tourists, the construction of a guesthouse has to include some of the latest equipment and facilities of Western-style accommodation, such

as a guestroom with a bathroom. Actually, a variety of new guesthouses has arisen, ranging from the combination of a guesthouse with a restaurant or perhaps with a cultural communication centre. It seems that the guesthouse represents a complicated mixture which must be able to provide not only accommodation for tourists, but also the consumer requirements associated with restaurants and cultural centres. The change of the function and the quality of the space in the original dwelling is obvious. If both economic development and tourism development are not well and sustainably well, the Mosuo is in danger of losing its culture.

1.2 Significance of the study

This study is important because it extends the existing literature in the vernacular architecture conservation to establish a Cultural Architectural Assets (CAA) framework for the Mosuo dwellings. CAA is the conservation framework proposed for the inhabited space with cultural values that are neither part of cultural heritage nor architectural heritage. This study brings together existing architectural anthropological and cultural theorisation from a cultural-anthropological perspective to discuss the interrelationships between the architectural form, ways of living and the culture of the Mosuo in the evolution process. CAA is the consequence of the interrelationships between living culture, building culture and values. It contributes new knowledge to the discipline of vernacular architecture in the changing context.

The significance of the research results from the cultural importance of the Mosuo dwellings. Mosuo vernacular dwellings are worthy of in-depth study because of their unique household structure, social organisation, and historical and cultural background (Yan and Song, 1983, p.151-163). Understanding the cultural expressions and meanings contained in the Mosuo dwellings could contribute to better understanding of the traditional Mosuo culture.

Furthermore, this study is not static but puts Mosuo dwellings in the process of contemporary society and explores the evolution of Mosuo dwellings. Since the 1980s, as Western culture permeated Chinese cities and accelerated their 'internationalisation', the fast pace of globalisation

and the force of its reshaping influences have posed a serious threat to the sustainability of Chinese traditions. Modernisation and tourism have turned Chinese traditional vernacular dwellings from indigenous to touristic and commercial, from the 'local' to the 'global'. This research attempts to interpret current changes in built form among the Mosuo by relating them to changes in their way of life. The reason for studying Mosuo dwellings in the contemporary age is *'these houses, being the direct expression of changing values, images, perceptions and ways of life, as well as of certain constancies, become a very fruitful topic for study'* (Rapoport, 1969, p.12).

These changes in Mosuo dwellings are responses to cultural shifts. As Abel (2000, p.144) argued, *'the essence of architecture as a culture-form has especially to do with the formation of personal, social and cultural identities.'* Importantly, in this context, Mosuo architectural form is distinctive and enduring; its balance of simple, appropriate construction, environment control and social and familial structures continues to provide for Mosuo inhabitants. It represents a legacy of past relationships as well as recent changes. Rapoport (1969, p.128) concluded, *'All of this evidence suggests the close relation still prevailing between culture and form'* – it is fraught with danger if ignored. However, it appears that there is insufficient data about the evolution of the physical aspects of Mosuo dwellings.

The evolution of architecture is a complex continuity, which is *'necessary for us to understand our own dwelling in a particular time and place, and also to make connections with other times and places, yesterday and tomorrow'* (Quantrill and Webb, 1991, p. ix). Quantrill and Webb (1991) states that we can see the nature of the present dilemma in architecture through the diagnosis of a dwelling's characteristics and constructs – its forms and patterns – since they provide evidence for the continuity of language and meaning in architecture. Therefore, what we need is a constructive partnership with the past – we can learn from the historical evolution of architecture.

1.3 Research aim, objectives and questions

The aim of this research is to establish a new framework for the sustainable development of Mosuo dwellings, to conserve the living culture, architectural form and cultural values embodied in Mosuo dwellings in response to challenges in the contemporary context. Following the effect of rapid cultural and social changes on the architectural traditions of present-day Mosuo societies, it was decided to examine how a traditional architecture morphs into a 21st century expression and the processes involved in this. At present, the ways to conserve vernacular dwellings include cultural relics conservation, tourism administration and commercial development (Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Centre, 2014). Instead, however, it should be centred on the conservation of local inhabitants, those who are familiar with the cultural characteristics that have been passed down in the village for hundreds of years. None of the above works set a framework for investigating Mosuo dwellings from the perspective of the locals – which is the task attempted here.

There are three objectives of the study:

- To document and understand the evolution of dwellings of the Mosuo tribe and its culture in the contemporary context;
- To provide a new way to look into vernacular architecture by investigating the relationship between architectural form, ways of living and culture;
- To provide insights for investigating the conservation of vernacular dwellings in transition, and also guide the actions and practices of relevant professionals, as well as those of policy makers for future conservation and development.

As a result of the above objectives, the research questions proposed in this study are as follows:

- How does the Mosuo dwelling and its culture evolve and continue in the contemporary context?

To address this question, it would necessary to achieve a fuller understanding of the evolution of dwellings in the Mosuo village, both traditional and modern. By analysing ways of living expressed in the

architectural form of dwellings, this question can establish a better understanding of the evolution of Mosuo dwellings in the present age. Sub-questions include: in what ways have Mosuo dwellings changed and retained during the last 30 years, and what are the drivers affecting change?

- What new framework can be developed to examine the relationship between architectural form, ways of living and culture?

In response to the challenge of this study, this question proposes a new framework about the relationships between architectural form, ways of living and culture to promote contemporary vernacular architecture conservation. Sub-questions include: how can this framework be interpreted in the Mosuo dwellings, what is the framework and what is its importance?

- How can vernacular architecture be protected and developed in the changing context?

This question discusses how to protect and develop vernacular architecture in the process of change. It helps to promote contemporary sustainable vernacular architecture culturally, and guide practices of relevant professionals.

1.4 Statement of the problem and design of the study

There exist a great variety of vernacular dwellings reflecting the cultures of different regions of the world. They express a long and intimate relationship between people and their inhabited space, and they contain evidence of our social and material history (Rapoport, 1992). However, Mosuo dwellings are increasingly being transformed to cater for tourism and commercial development⁹ (He, 2000) without taking into account the conservation of their cultural values. These dwellings are losing their identity, leading to loss of sense of place and local distinctiveness. Additionally, existing local regulations covering the restoration and maintenance of Mosuo dwellings do not fully address this challenge. Therefore, a key challenge now is how to avoid the cultural loss of the Mosuo dwellings.

⁹ He (2000) observed the social changes in Mosuo tribes between 1987 and 2000.

Mosuo dwellings have been specifically selected in this study because taking all types of vernacular architecture (e.g. religious temple, chief's mansion, etc.) into consideration as potential research objects meant that the field of investigation seemed overly broad, therefore it was necessary to choose one type of vernacular architecture to examine. Mosuo dwellings are the most typical vernacular building type and clearly show the link between form and life patterns. Mosuo dwellings are an expression of the Mosuo's matriarchal culture and ways of living, and the majority of daily activities take place in them. They are a humanised space – structured to express and shape family organisation – and guide the web of social and ethical norms, beliefs and values that are distinctly Mosuo. Although religious buildings and chief's houses fall into the vernacular category, when compared to dwellings, these nondomestic forms tend to be more affected by the other cultures (Tibetan Buddhism or Han) which coexist with them in Mosuo culture.

Previous literature on Mosuo dwellings, conducted by architects, was primarily focussed on issues relevant to the art of architecture. Most architectural studies sought to explain the variations of designs and spatial order of traditional rural dwellings by conducting measurements and mapping the original built forms; they emphasised physical and cultural features of the buildings, such as exterior form, interior plan, decorative elements, architecture materials, structure and technology, as well as traditional rituals underlying the construction process (Ma, 2001; Ma et al., 2009; Huang and Zhou, 2011; Lan, 2005; Li, 2012; Xiong, 2012; Yang, 1997; Zhou and He, 2011). The study of Ma (2005) on traditional Mosuo architecture, which provided valuable material on its formal and structural dimensions, was based on historical and architectural knowledge and could have benefited from more mutual understanding. Li (2012) illustrated the overall picture of Mosuo villages, domestic architecture and single buildings. Such studies are limited to physical forms, such as the classification, listing and description of various building types and their features, as well as the selection of building materials. These have been used as a basis to explain traditional Mosuo dwellings in the present study.

More recently, an increasing number of studies have explored the relationships between culture and built forms within the Mosuo region (Pan, 2014; Wang, 2014; Wang and Chious, 2007; Wu and Haaland, 2009; Xu, 2015). Egenter (1997) claimed that the conceptual model has shifted from 'architecture as art' to the relation of 'architecture and culture' by widening methodological and phenomenological horizons. These studies provide context through complex interweaving of architectural, historical and cultural aspects, which, in turn, provides some models for the present work. For example, Wang and Chious (2007) mainly examined the interaction between the spatial structure of Mosuo dwellings and continuity of matriarchal families. It appears that minimal attempts have been made to link these forms to the ways of life and desires of the Mosuo people. However, these researches are still based in a static method of understanding the vernacular dwellings, and none set a framework for guiding the conservation of the existing Mosuo dwellings.

The living environment and traditional village has been influenced by modernisation and tourism which has brought changes and pressures as well as new challenges (He, 2000, p.145-147). Mosuo dwellings are representations of a living culture, embodying a complex set of vernacular architectural traditions that have been transmitted for many generations. When the Mosuo dwellings are involved in tourism and modern development, architectural form and ways of living are changed, and the manner in which such traditional cultures are retained in new circumstances becomes an interesting problem. An investigation is needed to study how the changes brought by modernisation could benefit the transformation of the traditional living and associated architectural form; such a study would yield much important information relating to (a distinctive) vernacular architecture and its evolution in relation to modern influences.

The key to understanding vernacular architecture is to recognise it is not static but subject to dynamic forces in the economic, social and cultural spheres that have shaped it and keep shaping it. Attempts to influence these forces to a certain extent, in order to preserve vernacular dwellings, means that a framework should be established involving a wide range of

stakeholders from administrative and political levels, the community and inhabitants, developers and professionals.

In accordance with the emphasis of the investigation of the study, an integrative anthropological and architectural method has been adopted to investigate the interrelationships between the architectural form, ways of living and the culture of the Mosuo tribe in the evolution process. Research methods included observation of locals' daily routines and activities, photographic surveys of changes in dwelling forms, dwellings measurement, photo elicit interviews with local Mosuo families, walking interviews with professionals and a tourist questionnaire, as well as reviews of the local planning policy.

The researcher conducted two-stage fieldwork. By choosing nine Mosuo villages in the Yongning basin area, the aim of the first stage fieldwork was to document and understand the physical changes of Mosuo dwellings. At the heart of the second stage fieldwork was the gathering of views on the relationships between the dwellings, inhabitants and the Mosuo culture/traditions. The views of inhabitants were sought through the use of photo elicit interviews, which were used with 23 family members from five Mosuo dwellings in the Zhashi village. Thematic analysis was employed in the reporting of the data obtained. Finally, a new framework was proposed, in the light of the data collected from the investigation, as a contribution to the conservation of Mosuo dwellings.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

In order to answer the research questions of this thesis, the thesis structure is as follows:

Chapter 1 draws a sketch of the context of the study. It examines the history, ethnic identification, social-economic structure and religion of the Mosuo people, and then illustrates how Mosuo dwellings have become involved in the modernisation and tourism development of ethnic villages in China. The research question is raised, based on the issue of the transformation of traditional Mosuo dwellings into hybrid or new

construction dwellings. The link between the research question and the aim of the study is established.

Chapter 2 provides a detailed examination of the traditional dwellings in the Mosuo area, in terms of its layout, architectural materials, structure and construction methods, and traditional daily routine in the dwellings, and rituals related to dwellings, including Coming of Age, funeral and ancestral worship.

Chapter 3 is the theoretical stand to identify the theoretical location of this research in the whole social science discipline. Some theoretical research of existing documented material has been conducted, of which two bodies of literature are reviewed. One is relevant to the understanding of architectural anthropology and inhabited space, and then argues the Mosuo dwelling as an inhabited space; the other is associated with cultural perspectives in architectural studies, with emphasis on the analysis of the concept of culture and its relationship with the vernacular architecture. Finally, a cultural-anthropological perspective is adopted on the interrelationships between living culture, building culture and values and beliefs to extend knowledge within the architecture discipline in the dynamic context.

Chapter 4, on methodology, explains the rationale of the research methods and the two stages fieldwork that were conducted to achieve the aim of the investigation. It starts with an explanation of the methodology paradigm, including ethnography, qualitative research and thematic analysis. It then clarifies the research design, including the methods and sample selection of the two stages fieldwork. This chapter also explains data collection and data analysis in the two stages fieldwork separately.

Chapter 5 documents the findings through observation, photographic surveys and interviews from fieldwork, showing the traditional Mosuo dwellings 'evolved' into the modern version. Following the theoretical stand, it examines the changes and continuity of dwellings in the Mosuo area over the last 30 years to discuss the evolution of the Mosuo dwellings during this period, in terms of living culture, building culture and values and beliefs. The analysis provides more insights into the transitions and

the relationships between the dwellings, inhabitants and the Mosuo culture/traditions.

Chapter 6 identifies the drivers of change – the implementation of regional policy, the impact of tourism and the development of modernisation are transforming the built form of Mosuo area. Mosuo villages and dwellings are undergoing a transformation, a dynamic process that is the result of the close interaction of socio-economic, cultural and political forces in contemporary society.

In Chapter 7, it aims to set up a Cultural Architectural Assets (CAA) framework through the interpretation of CAA in the Mosuo dwellings. Living culture, building culture and values these three aspects are examined further, which help to explore the relationship between architectural form, ways of living and culture under the dynamic context. In the end, it provides insights of future development and conservation of Mosuo dwellings and villages.

The final chapter is the conclusion, in which the research questions are answered. The answers to the research questions leads to new understanding regarding the interrelationships between architectural form, people's ways of living and the culture of the Mosuo in the evolution process. It provides insights for future conservation and development of Mosuo dwellings and villages, which are generated from the fieldwork. It identifies the original contribution of the research and the limitations of the study. Finally, it suggests some possible directions for further investigations based on the findings of the study.

2 Traditional Mosuo dwellings

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates, through existing literature, the architectural forms of traditional dwellings created by the Mosuo people. This chapter explores how these dwellings' physical features sit within a historical context. It includes a typological analysis of Mosuo dwellings, spatial arrangement, building materials used, structure and construction methods. After understanding the physical forms of Mosuo traditional dwellings, it then discusses related social activities in the house, including daily living patterns and rituals happening within the dwelling. The historical basis of Mosuo dwellings establishes their general features, which helps create an understanding of them and has important implications for their future.

2.2 The 'courtyard house'

The typology traditional Mosuo dwellings is classified according to the combination of a timber framework. Thus, the four common types of traditional Mosuo dwellings (Table 2.1) are: (1) I-shaped plan, a single building is the simplest plan of courtyard houses in the Mosuo area; (2) L-shaped plan, another type of simple plan, with two structures forming an 'L' shape comprising a simple yard with walls at the other two sides; (3) U-shaped plan has three structures and one wall at the other side, surrounding a closed yard; (4) courtyard plan is the primary and most common type of house plan in the Mosuo area, it has a closed square yard with four separate structures around the perimeter.

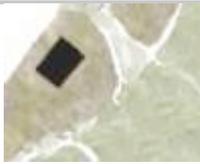
Typology	Composition	Examples
I-shaped	Only a Grandmother's house.	
L-shaped plan	It consists of a Grandmother's house and grass house.	
U-shaped plan	It consists of three buildings, a Grandmother's house, the sacred chamber/flower house and grass house.	
Courtyard plan	It consists of a Grandmother's house, the sacred chamber, flower house and grass house.	

Table 2.1 Four types of traditional Mosuo dwellings. (Drawn by author)

The combination of structures is flexible according to the economic conditions of each family and the practical usage of the dwelling. Economy, landform or family reasons (e.g. living apart to have their own small family) may lead to the construction of a single building and an incomplete courtyard – a complementary process then sees the addition of one or two further buildings. Cai, as an anthropologist, wrote his PhD thesis in 1993, in his English edition (2001) he found that the majority of matrilineal families lived in the courtyard dwelling, as opposed to only a third in 1963, but poorer families sometimes had only one or two buildings. No matter what type of compound, it was enclosed to form an independent space.

The traditional Mosuo dwelling is the result of collaboration of many Mosuo people over many generations, as well as collaboration between the maker and user of the building and other artefacts within it. Historically, the principal type of dwelling used in the Mosuo area is the courtyard house, consisting of four rectangular structures arranged in a square, open to the sky, surrounded by a clay yard (Mosuo Museum in Sichuan Province) (Figure 2.1). The height of the clay wall is very low,

no more than 1.5 metres. As from the historical record (cited by Yan and Song, 1983, p.151):

'Most Moxie (refer to the Mosuo) live on the hillside; the houses are built of timber; the walls are made of logs, which fit together perpendicularly through notches at each end; the roof has two gentle slopes, and the wood shingles are held down by stones.'



Figure 2.1 Prototype (physical architectural model) of traditional Mosuo courtyard house. Reproduced courtesy of the Mosuo Museum in Sichuan Province. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Another record (cited by Yang, 1997, p.45) describes its characteristics in detail:

'Most of the Mosuo dwellings have wooden roofs and buildings, and domestic animals must be kept downstairs. These houses are poorly built, and the structure of the houses is small, each of them is independent and not connected. Walls and entrances are not as polished or as sturdy. There are tables but Mosuo people usually sit on the ground and eat around the hearth.'

Due to the special matrilineal consanguinity, the spatial layout of a Mosuo dwelling tends to have a large-scale courtyard that consists of four buildings arranged in a square, surrounded by a clay yard (Ma et al.,

2009). Its spatial layout corresponds to the social formation and family structure, reflecting the matriarchal agricultural society (Yang et al., 2009). The Mosuo family is a unique, matriarchal extended family (Lamu 2005; Zhou 2002); all members of a courtyard house belong to the same matrilineal descent group, usually with three or sometimes more generations living together (Shih, 1993, 2010). Some Mosuo households have as few as seven or eight family members, while others have as many as 20 or 30 (Ma et al., 2009; Yan and Song, 1983).

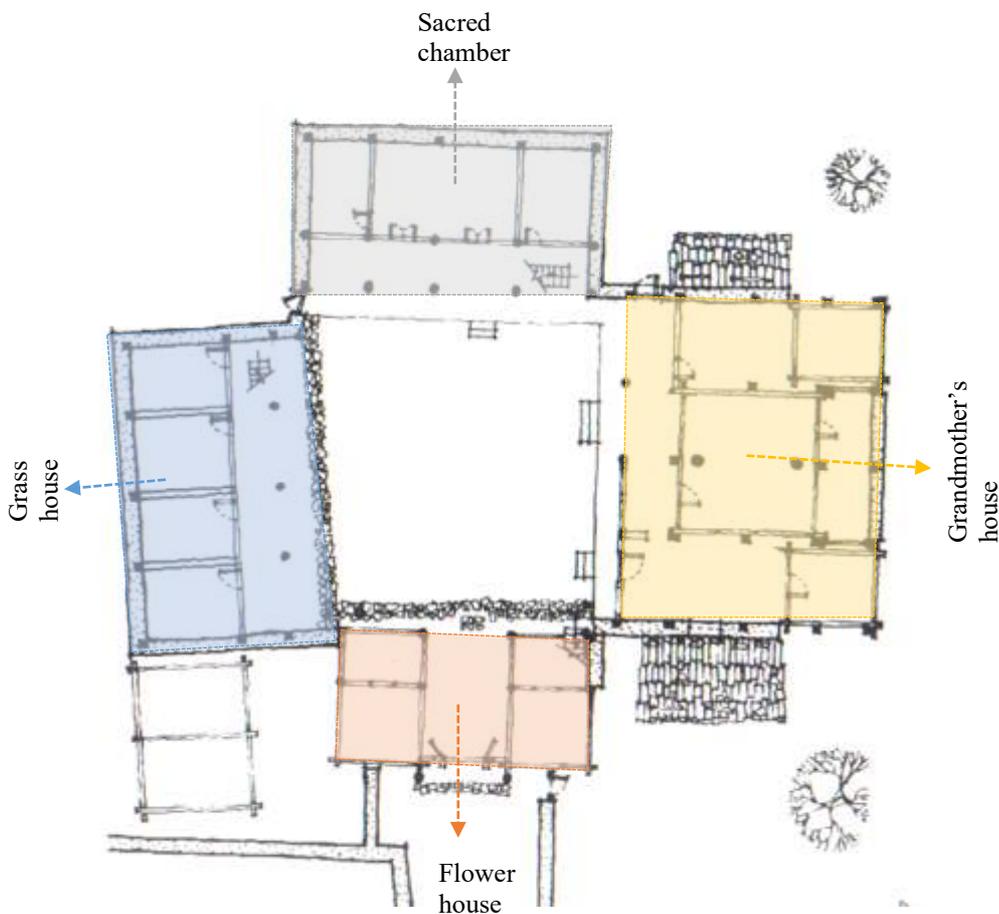


Figure 2.2 Plan of a traditional Mosuo courtyard house. Adapted from Ma (2001, p.93)

The most typical dwelling in the Mosuo area is the log house, known as Mulengzi in Chinese. Each building has a name and specific function: the Yimi (the single-storey main building, known as the Grandmother's house), the Galayi (the Sacred chamber), the Nizhayi (a two-storey structure for adult Mosuo women, known as the Flower house) and the

Zuowo (storing grass and domestic animals, known as the Grass house) (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001; Yan and Song, 1983) (Figure 2.2). The last three structures normally have two stories. The courtyard plan provides the basis for a traditional house-type that is deeply associated with the Mosuo way of life, each building serves a specific function of the matrilineal descent group, which will be examined later.

The characteristics of each building are based on the matriarchal family culture, liberated sexual marriage patterns, religious beliefs and farming production (He, 2000). Each space is reasonably arranged with clear functionality and has both connection and separation. A traditional Mosuo house has a special space organisation and segregated gender space which is therefore distinct from other courtyard types. The following sections present characteristics of each building in more detail.

2.2.1 Core cultural centre –Yimi, the Grandmother’s house

Yimi, known as the Grandmother’s house, was the traditional core of the Mosuo inhabited and cultural space. It was the largest building in the complex structure, however, compared to the two-storied buildings on the other three sides of the courtyard, the Grandmother’s house was only a one-storey building. It was the first building to be built when a new household was established and because of its special status, it could not be rebuilt at will. Therefore, most of the Grandmother’s houses had a long history, sometimes more than hundreds of years (Figure 2.3) (Ma, 2001; Huang and Zhou, 2011; Wang, 2016).



Figure 2.3 The Grandmother’s house that has existed for hundreds of years. Adapted from by Ma (2005, p.79)

The Grandmother's house is the cohabitation of deities with humans – the intercessory place between man and deities, the most crucial and sacred cultural place (Ma et al., 2009). Traditionally, the Grandmother's house was the central place where the daily life of the household took place, where its family members experienced major life events and held significant ceremonies, as well as to gather, cook, eat, drink, discuss family matters, receive guests and worship their ancestors (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). It was also a sleeping area for the elderly members who are no longer sexually active and young children (Shih, 1993, 2010). The Grandmother's house was divided into five sections: the main room (Yimi); the upper room (Gepan), a storage place and sleeping area for elderly male or female members of the family; the lower room (Mupan), a space equipped with millstones and a mortar and pestle for grinding grain; the front room (Cuoke), a passageway; and the back room (Dupan), a storeroom where grains and other kinds of food for the whole year were kept at ordinary times and a temporary mortuary during funerals (Figure 2.4).

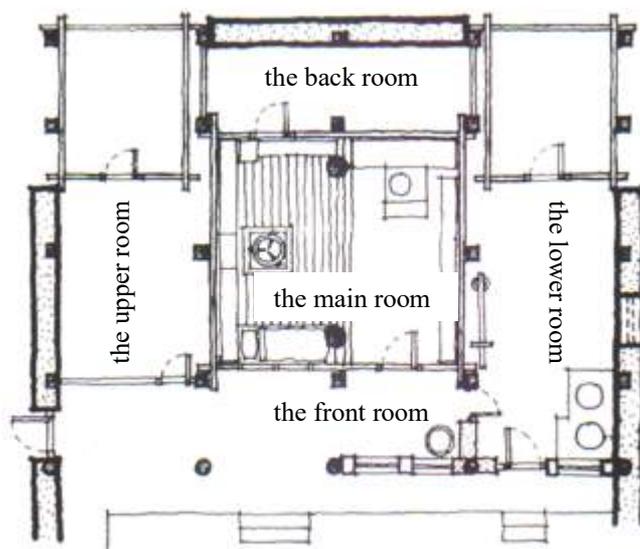


Figure 2.4 Plan of the Grandmother's house. Adapted from Ma (2001, p.94)

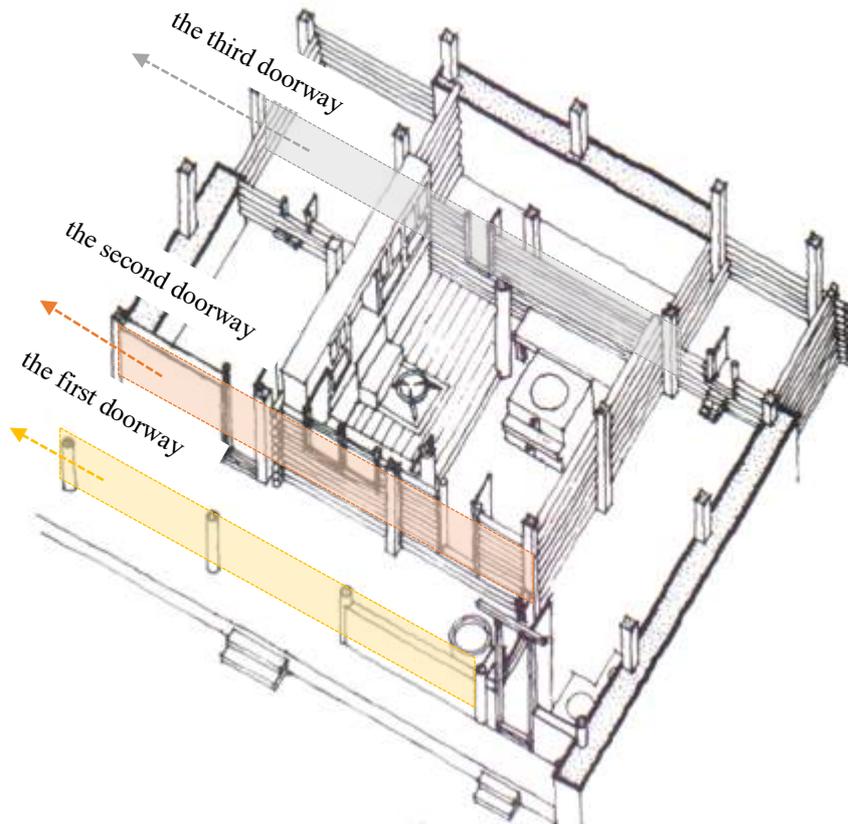


Figure 2.5 Axonometric drawing of the Grandmother's house. Adapted from Ma (2001, p.94)

According to the survey data during the early liberation period (Yunnan Province Editing Group, 1986, cited by Pan, 2014), the traditional Grandmother's house had three doorways (Figure 2.5). The first led to the front room, which contained a large container for drinking water. The second was to the main room, which was furnished with a hearth, above which was a skylight; a fire burned around the clock for cooking and heating (this will be expanded upon later). On either side of the main room, were the upper and the lower rooms. The upper room was on the left behind the Zambala (the kitchen god) and was used as a storage place or a bedroom for elderly members of the family¹⁰ (Shih, 1993). The lower

¹⁰ According to Shih (1993), in their sexually active age, men are supposed to sleep out with their walking marriage partners. There is no designated sleeping area for them at home. In the interim between relationships or when not spending the night with their walking marriage partners for any reason, they would have to put up for the night in the hayloft in the south building of the quadrangle. Only when no longer sexually active does a Mosuo man have a place to live in the upper room. Depending on the demographic composition of the household, this part of the main building can also be divided into smaller compartments and be used by sexually active female members to receive their partners.

room, on the right, was the kitchen, equipped with millstones, a mortar and pestle for grinding grain, a still for making wine and alcohol, and a fireplace where certain foods were processed and pig-feed was cooked (Yan and Song, 1983). The third doorway led to the back room – the Dupan – a storeroom where grains, preserved pork, potatoes and other kinds of food for the whole year were ordinarily kept. The back room was also used a mortuary where the deceased person was temporarily kept in a hole dug during the preparatory period of the funeral ceremony before cremation took place (see ‘the rituals related to dwellings’ for more details) (Shih, 1993). In the past, this was also the room in which babies were born (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001).

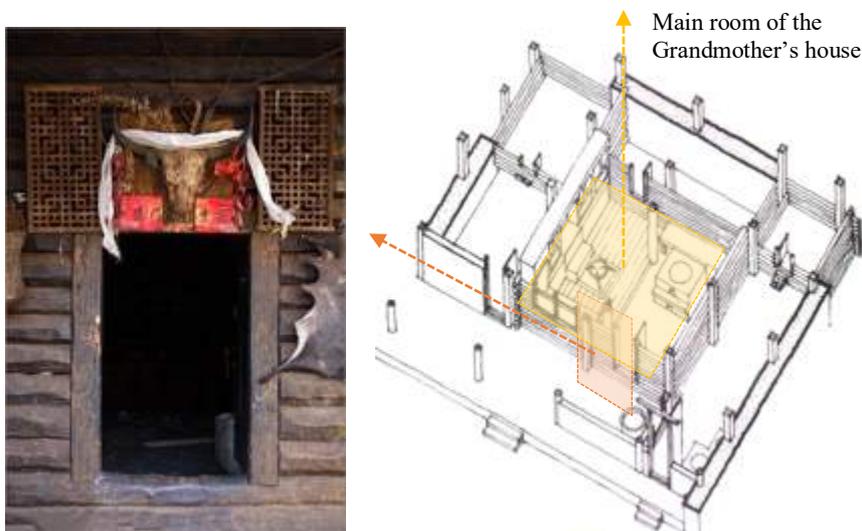


Figure 2.6 A knee-high threshold before entering into the main room. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

The most significant space in the Grandmother’s house was the main room (Guo, 2008; Wang, 2016). It was approximately 6 to 7 square metres in size (Ma et al., 2009) with a knee-high threshold¹¹ (Figure 2.6) and was about 4 metres in height. The main room was divided into two parts: one with a wooden platform, raised approximately 15-20 cm above the ground, and the other with a clay floor (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). This wooden platform was the most heavily used area in a Mosuo house, where household members gathered during the day and where children and senior female members slept overnight. Family members would sit

¹¹ Li et al. (2013) discussed the door of the main room, ‘it has a high doorsill, about 30-40 cm high... the doorframe is not high enough for going through, one must lower headfirst. This detail is in order to keep comers entering respectfully.’

on the wooden platform or a low stool because the Mosuo did not use chairs and tables in traditional times (Shih, 1993).

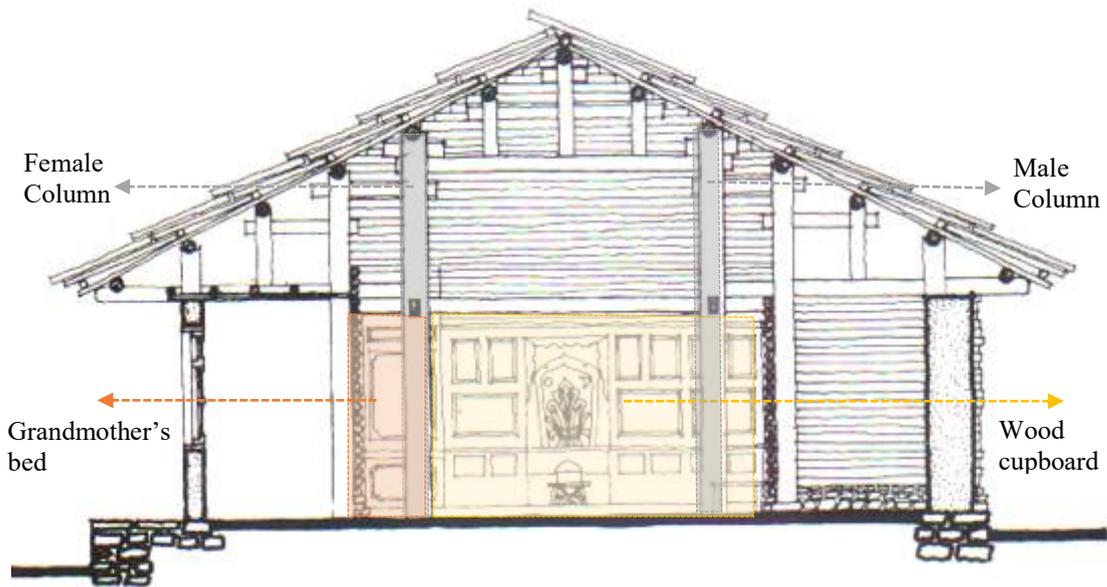


Figure 2.7 Section of the main room. Adapted from Ma (2001, p.94)



Figure 2.8 Wooden cupboard, Zambala and major hearth in the main room. Adapted from by Ma (2005, p.81)

On the wooden platform was a large undecorated wooden cupboard, in the traditional Mosuo style, mounted against the wall facing the mountainside (Figure 2.7-2.8). Greater than 1.8 metres in height, the cupboard occupied almost the entire width of the wall. Liquor, butter, salt, sugar and tea were usually stored in the cupboard, along with more valuable house-wares and items kept for rituals or New Year (Weng, 1993). Zambala – a bas-relief made of clay, paper or wood, depicting a fire with six flames (treasures), shooting out of a lotus, above which were a sun and a moon, and beneath, a cat and a seashell (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001) – was placed in the central niche of the closet. The belief of Zambala is considered to derive from Tibetan religion – where Zambala is held to be to the biggest household god – and is popular amongst Tibetan, Pumi and Mosuo (Editorial Board of Yunnan, cited by Weng, 1993). Although Zambala was Tibetan in origin, it has been the patron god of every Mosuo family. In front of the Zambala were placed Lamaist statuettes, incense, utensils for serving tea and wine, and various gifts brought back by members of the household or friends who went away on trips. Below the Zambala was a stove used only at festivals (Shih, 1993), such as the Spring Festival. Cai and Hustvedt (2001, p.133-134) mentioned, *'This stove is considered the place where the divinity of the hearth lives. This divinity is a bodhisattva, and there is a statuette of him on the altar.'*

There was a major hearth, also called the lower hearth, in front of the Zambala at the centre of the platform (Figure 2.8-2.9). The major hearth was built with stones beneath a square clearing in the wooden platform, with an iron trivet to support a cooking pot. All cooking was done on the hearth. Shih (1993, p.139) gave an explanation about the major hearth, referred to as the lower hearth:

'Because it is at ground level while the other hearth at the southwest corner is raised to the height of the L-shaped sleeping closet. Thus, the other hearth is also known as the upper hearth.'

The particular order and hierarchy in matrilineal Mosuo culture was reflected in the seating arrangement (Lan, 2005; Yan and Song, 1983). Seated around the major hearth, members of matrilineal Mosuo family

ate their meals and discussed family business on the platform (Heng, 2008). Cai and Hustvedt (2001, p.134) argued each member had an assigned place:

'If your back is to the wall, the seating arrangement is as follows: children face the Zambala, women are to the right, and men are to the left, seated along the fire pit according to their age, the eldest closest to the wall and the youngest near the edge of the platform (Figure 2.9-2.10). If there are two members from the older generation, and they are the same sex, they sit on either side of the hearth against the wall. When there are guests, these elders sit on the left according to their age, but without distinction made to their sex, and the same holds true for the members of the household, but on the right. This arrangement is mandatory: you can usually tell someone's identity and the respect he or she commands from his or her seat placement.'

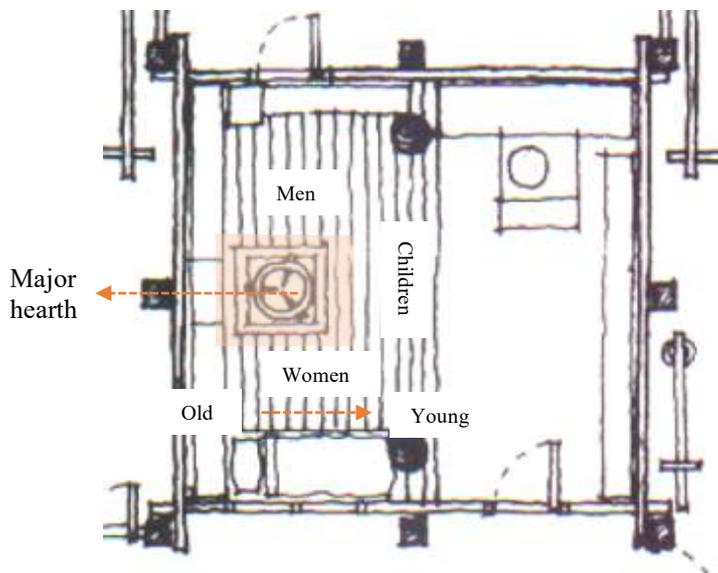


Figure 2.9 A graphical presentation of the seating arrangement. Adapted from Ma (2001, p.94)



Figure 2.10 Mosuo people seating around the major hearth according to the seating arrangement. Adapted from Liu and Li (2005, p.85)

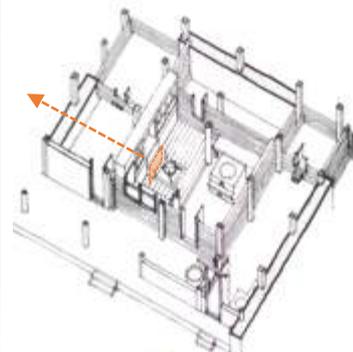


Figure 2.11 Guozhuang stone behind the major hearth in the main room. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

There was a piece of cubic stone called the Guozhuang stone (altar) directly behind the major hearth (Figure 2.11). To the Mosuo, this piece of stone is of special significance as a memorial post of their ancestors. It was described in the literature (e.g. Weng, 1993) that during every meal and each time tea is served, before any member gets their share, a morsel of each and every kind of whatever food is to be consumed by the household members has to be first served to the ancestors on this piece

of stone. Shih (1993) claimed that *'it serves as the border between this world where the current household members live and the other world their ancestors of the household reside.'* Weng (1993, p.51) stated that the Guozhuang stone is regarded as a sacred heirloom of a household, as seen from building construction rituals: *'Whenever a household builds a new grandmother's house, its Guozhuang is supposed to be moved only by the female head of the household from the old Grandmother's house to the new one.'*

Next to the cupboard on the wooden platform, on one side of the major hearth near the front door, was grandmother's bed (Figure 2.7 and 2.12). This bed was not only for the elderly grandmother but also for the person who was in the most need to be taken care of. Described by Cai and Hustvedt (2001, p.130), *'The bed was quite basic: two trestles support several boards, a straw mattress, and one or two blankets made from yak or sheep felt.'* On another side of the wooden platform was a door leading to the back room (*Dupan*). As mentioned earlier, the function of the back room was to store various objects and large vessels of salted vegetables, and also act as a temporary mortuary during funerals.

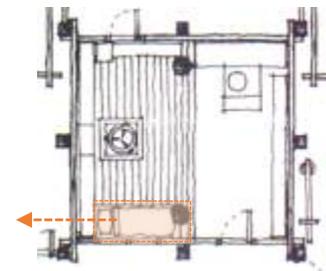


Figure 2.12 Grandmother's bed on the wooden platform. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Along the central line of the main room was a pair of symmetrical columns, parallel to the wall (Figure 2.7). One of the columns near the

doorway of the main room was named female column, the other one was named male column (Weng, 1993). At the Coming of Age ceremony, men stand by the male column, and women by the female column (further description on p.74-75). Shih (1993) cited one informant's answer on the gendered symbolic meaning of the two columns – they respectively symbolised the female and male members of the household. More importantly, the Mosuo believe that members of both sexes are the backbone of a household, like the two central columns joining forces to support the beams of the building.

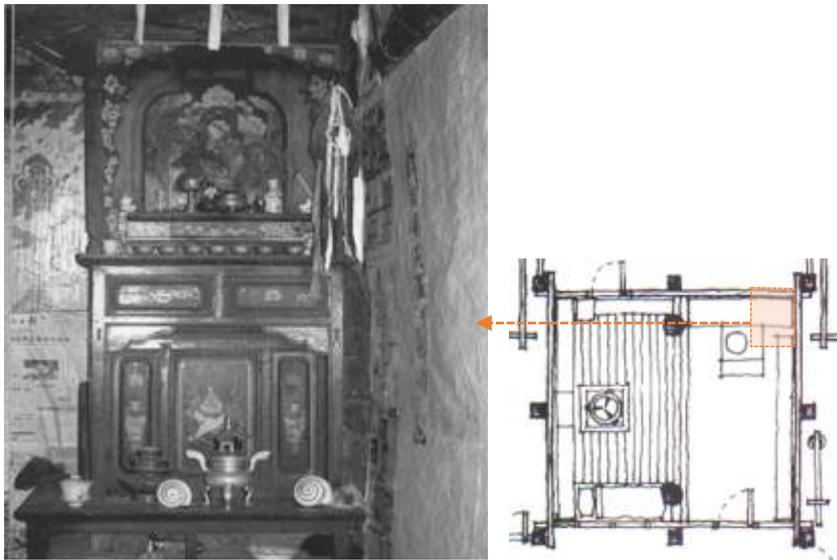


Figure 2.13 Situo (wooden altar) in the main room. Source: (Liu and Li, 2005, p.86)

Along the wall opposite the front door and the wall opposite the Zambala, were two boards – about 80cm wide and 50cm high – placed on the clay floor, which served as another sleeping area for children or elderly women. The board opposite the door was used as a bench or a bed, depending on the hour of the day; one-half of the second board, the one closest to the door, served as a cupboard, while the other half was also used as a bed. In the corner where the two boards met, there was a cabinet called Situo (Figure 2.13). Cai and Hustvedt (2001, p.135) described the arrangement of Situo in detail, *'It was a wooden altar on which an incense burner, a vase of flowers, candles and worship offering for the emperor as well as their ancestors are usually placed.'* In the existing literature, Situo is considered the heart of the main room and the

repository of the valuables of the household. Shih (1993, p.140) cited the Mosuo saying: '*Situo jio numi...., which means literally 'the 'cabinet' is the hearth of the house....'*

Behind the front door of the main room, pig bladders were hung from the beam, which the Mosuo people believed would protect them from fires. According to Yan and Song (1983), in the event of fire, it squeaked and alerted the household.

2.2.2 Religious-based space – Galayi, the sacred chamber

Galayi refers to the sacred chamber – the best furnished and cleanest corner in the residence (Shih, 1993, p.145) that was the embodiment of Mosuo religious belief and spiritual world. Lamaism has strongly influenced the Mosuo communities since the introduction of Tibetan Buddhism into the Mosuo religion (LLMCDA, 2006) (more details in p.33-36). Almost every residence had a sacred chamber that was a concrete manifestation.

The presence of a sacred chamber was not only a symbol of Tibetan Buddhism (He, 2000, p.190), but also a symbol of prosperity (Shih, 2010, p.219). The sacred chamber was the most splendid within the courtyard house, and contained all kinds of golden Buddha statues, prayer flags and utensils from India, Lhasa and other places, which symbolised the wealth and ability of the family. Of course, the sacred chamber had a functional significance; it was the place for the gods to live and also for the Lama in the household to practice his religious routine (Shih, 2010, p.218). A variety of rituals, including prayers for health and happiness as well as driving off evil spirits and ghosts, were held in the sacred chamber. For example, the inauguration ceremony – one of the most important rituals during construction in the traditional Mosuo society – calls upon Lamas to chant in order to cleanse all evil and bring health and happiness. A sacred chamber was necessary to keep the rituals from intervening in other procedures in the household.

Traditionally, the majority of sacred chambers (Figure 2.14) had two stories and backed onto the sacred mountain (Huang and Zhou, 2011). The ground floor of the sacred chamber was for storage, serving as both

a shed for farming tools and firewood; the upper floor was the sacred space. For some households, there were two rooms on the upper floor, one was the sacred chamber and the other was used as a space for the Lama to sleep. The three exterior walls of the sacred chamber were clay (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001, p.130) and the wall facing the inner courtyard was timber.



Figure 2.14 The exterior of an old sacred chamber is in the Sichuan Province for religious activities. Adapted from Liu and Li (2005, p.94)

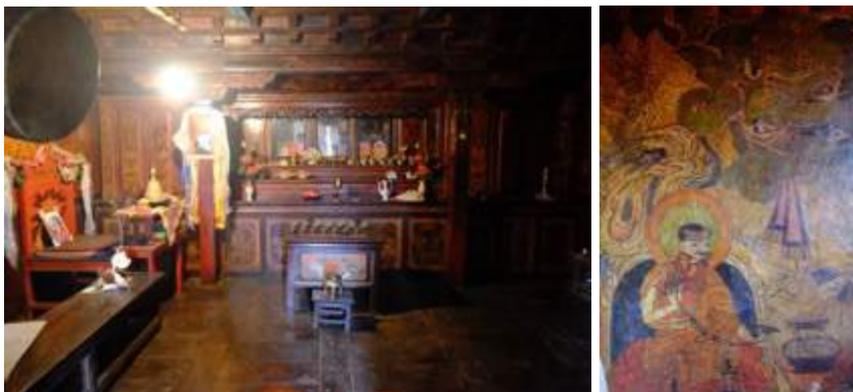


Figure 2.15 (Left) The interior of a sacred chamber, which has over 200-years of history in Lijiazu village. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Figure 2.16 (Right) A religious painting. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

The interiors of other three buildings were relatively untouched and simple, while the sacred chamber was exquisitely carved and richly ornamented (Shih, 1993; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001) (Figure 2.15). The

niche for statues of the Buddha was against the wall that faced the door and was backed by the sacred mountain (Wang, 2016, p.269); earthen, gold-plated statuettes were set in the middle and Tibetan scriptures on both sides. In front of the statuettes, there were various ritual objects including at least seven, or a multiple of seven, bowls of holy water, oil lamps and a white conch. In the historical sacred chamber, the walls were richly decorated with paintings of Buddhist religious stories (Figure 2.16), Tibetan Lamaist *thangkas*¹², murals and scrolls; all the icons and prayer devices made of silver and brass were of museum quality (Shih, 1993, p.145). The Lama spent day after day in the sacred chamber, praying to and worshipping the Buddha, and would sleep in a nearby room, normally on the upper floor. It was strictly forbidden for women to spend the night here (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001, p.130).

2.2.3 Female space – Nizhayi, the Flower house

The Flower house, or Nizhayi in the Mosuo language – literally meaning ‘two-storied building’ – was opposite to the Grandmother’s house (Figure 2.17). It was ‘the most local characteristic’ (Huang and Zhou, 2011; Wang, 2016) within the Mosuo dwellings and was the manifestation of Mosuo walking marriage customs. According to Shih (1993), in the past, the main entrance of the Mosuo courtyard was located on the ground floor of this building. The rest of the space on the ground floor was the woodshed that stored the large farm implements, such as the plough, harrow, horse cart, etc. (Shih, 1993, p.143). A stairway led upstairs to an unwallied passageway of the Flower house. The upstairs was separated by several boards to form three or four small independent rooms (Huang and Zhou, 2011). On average, each room of the Flower house was approximately 8-10 square metres (Shih, 2010, p.217) (Figure 2.18), arranged in a row so that each room was accessible from the passageway. This was the place where sexually active female members of the household received their partners – the walking marriage of the Mosuo culture. Moreover, the Flower house had independent stairs not connected to the Grandmother’s room or the sacred chamber, arranged for the convenience of walking marriage (Wang, 2016).

¹² The *thangka*, a Tibetan painting using ground mineral pigment on cotton or silk, usually depicting a Buddhist deity, scene or mandala. Its functions as one of the principle meditational tools in Buddhist practice (Coyle, 2016).



Figure 2.17 A traditional two-storied Flower house in the Zhashi village. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Figure 2.18 Traditional interior of Flower house, resetting in the Mosuo Folk Customs Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Mosuo Folk Customs Museum. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

During their sexually active age, each adult woman in the household had such a personal room. This privilege was apparently associated with the recognition of and respect for the female reproductive power (Shih, 1993). According to Wang (2016, p.269): ‘... All girls who have had the initiation rite ceremony would move from the Grandmother’s house to the Flower house and have her own room there to receive her walking marriage partners.’ Shih (1993) followed that when she grew sexually inactive, a woman who had spent the golden age of her life in such a room would move out with her personal belongings and pass the room to a younger woman in the household.

2.2.4 Animal shed – Zuoyi, the Grass house

Zuoyi, known as the Grass house, was traditionally used as the animal shed. In the majority of dwellings, the Grass house was built opposite the sacred chamber; the ceiling height of this two-storey wooden building was very low, less than two metres. Because domestic animals (horses, pigs, chicken, water buffaloes and cows) were necessary and meaningful for life, they were inseparable from the Mosuo people and as such, humans and animals lived together in one courtyard (according to local elders, livestock and people traditionally lived in one building to keep each other warm). The animals were kept on the ground floor and on the first floor was the hayloft or rooms for the Mosuo adult men who did not

participate in walking marriage (Huang and Zhou, 2011) (Figure 2.19). In some households that had more sexually active women than the number of rooms available in the Flower house, part of the hayloft was remodelled into additional rooms for female household members to receive walking marriage partners (Shih, 1993, p.145).



Figure 2.19 It Illustrates the upstairs rooms for Mosuo male to live and the downstairs space for domestic animals. Adapted from Liu and Li (2005, p.81)

As can be seen from the layout pattern and room functions, the traditional Mosuo dwelling takes full account of the large households of the matriarchal system, the women-focussed religious worship, and the needs for respecting the old and cherishing the young. He (2000, p.184) argued that:

'Mosuo courtyard has a special space organisation to fit their matriarchal family structure, liberated sexual arrangements, religious belief, and their farming production. The Grandmother's house is the physical expression of Mosuo traditional culture, and has multi functions as a worship, etiquette, gathering, dining, relaxation, and etc. It is the core cultural-centre of the whole courtyard. The sacred chamber is the religious-based space, which is the result of strong influence of Tibetan Buddhism. Flower house

is directly the product of walking marriage system, a female private space. In order to adapt to plow agriculture production, Grass house is formed. For a long period, the Mosuo created their own unique dwellings and its spatial organisation to fit in their culture in the productive life, to get rid of primitive life.'

To sum up, the traditional Mosuo dwellings are a reflection of their ways of living and an embodiment of matriarchal culture, religious beliefs and language. The living spaces, including the courtyard, the Grandmother's house, the sacred chamber, the Flower house and the Grass house, become stages for the Mosuo people to perform daily activities and social practices. A variety of cultural practices strongly connect with the dwelling space. For example, matriarchal culture and walking marriage custom is reflected in the dwelling space. It is apparent that Mosuo women instead of men are constantly situated at the centre of the household life (Shih, 1993, 2010). This is reflected in the fact that Mosuo women, rather than men, have always had their own place in the dwelling from birth to death. Every adult Mosuo woman always has a separate private room in the Flower house, regardless of whether she would receive any visitors at night. On the other hand, an adult Mosuo man, would have to move out of the Grandmother's house where he lived as a child. If he had a sexual partner, he would sleep in his partner's room. Yet, if he did not have a partner, he would have to spend the night in the Grass house instead. Alternatively, if he became a monk, he could live in the sacred chamber. Ancestral worship is also an important part of the Mosuo cultural activities. Daily worship to ancestors, dedicating food and liquor before every meal, takes place in the Guozhuang stone in the Grandmother's house. Annual ancestral worship is held in the inner courtyard.

Mosuo courtyard houses involve a number of religious activities (e.g. Coming of Age ceremony, funeral, etc.) which combine their both indigenous religions, Dabaism and foreign Lamaism. These two religious practices are represented in the courtyard space. Lama rituals are mainly held in the sacred chamber, a room which forms an integral part of every Mosuo household, a place for gods to live in and for the Lama to stay and practice his religious routine. On the other hand, the Daba rituals are

mainly held in the main room of the Grandmother's House and inner courtyard.

In addition, different languages differ in different parts of the house. The native Mosuo language is mainly used in most parts of the courtyard house. For example, activities such as family discussions take place in the Grandmother's house and daily conversations in the Flower house, strongly influenced by the Tibetan Buddhism. The Tibetan prayer (language) is mainly recited in the sacred chamber and near the white tower in the backyard. The interesting thing is that the Lama in the Mosuo family is the only one who can speak and understand Tibetan language. This is because they must attend religious classes. Yet, the majority of Mosuo locals know little Tibetan and they can only speak simple pray language.

2.3 Building materials, structure and construction methods

2.3.1 Building materials

Mosuo traditional dwellings used wood as the main building material (see Figure 2.20), followed by clay. These materials were used simultaneously in the local architecture, showing a simple and rustic natural beauty (Ma, 2005, p.89). For example, the walls of the Grandmother's house were made of clay and the main room was surrounded by another wall made of wood. Because of the building materials typically used, traditional dwellings had a degree of uniformity, however, variations in the size of individual houses and the level of finish and furnishing within reflected the wealth and status of the owner.

Traditional dwellings in the Mosuo area were dependent on the available local natural resources – i.e. wood. Given the abundant rainfall and dense forests, wood was largely available in remote upland areas; Yunnan pines could be found at lower altitudes, while more resilient fir and redwood trees were obtainable at higher altitudes (Pan, 2014). Adapting to local geographic and climatic conditions, the walls of dwellings were built

entirely with pine trees, sometimes with a foundation made of rubble, and roofing shingles were made from China fir¹³ (Wang, 2016).



Figure 2.20 Wood used as the main building material in the Mosuo traditional dwellings. Adapted from Liu and Li (2005, p.77)

In the Mosuo custom, there were time restrictions and limits on the quantity of trees to be cut down (Yan and Song, 1983; Qian, 2004) – cutting trees was forbidden from 1st April to 15th August of every year. During this period, each household in the village took turns to conduct the daily ritual service on the hillside outside the village, in which they made offerings of burnt pine needles, highland barley, corn and alcohol to the mountain spirit (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). In addition, the village allowed two households to go up the mountain each year for logging, although the amount they may take was limited to ten trees. The wood was considered as a vital material that needs long-term storage and accumulation (Pan, 2014).

¹³ China fir, known as *Cunninghamia*, coniferous evergreen timber tree of the Cypress family (Cupressaceae), native to China, northern Vietnam and Laos. The China fir may grow to a height of 50 metres (160 feet), with a circumference of about 5.5 metres (18 feet), defined by Jain (2011).

Living in a log house ensures protection from extreme weather in both winter and summer, and is especially efficient at conserving heat in a very cold climate; the wooden structure is also more resistant to earthquakes (Ma, 2001; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001; Heng, 2008).

2.3.2 Building structure

The Muleng house is another traditional log-cabin style construction (Wang, 2016) (Figure 2.21). Walls of the Muleng house were built with round pine logs, horizontally overlapping each other and joined at each end with tenons and mortises, forming the “井” font pattern (Shih, 1993; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001; Ma, 2005) (Figure 2.22). Ma (2005, p.100) described the process of construction in detail:

‘Above all, select the log with proper diameter and length, and then peel off the bark. After drying, smooth and straighten the plane of the log. The diameter of the log is between 150mm and 170mm, and the length is determined according to the scale of the house. Tenons and mortises are at the end of the log. The tenon and mortise makes the log vertical lap joint can ensure that the wall is airtight.’



Figure 2.21 The Muleng house. Adapted from Yan and Song (1983)



Figure 2.22 A Mosuo dwelling under construction, round logs of the same length are first joined head-to-end to form the “井” font pattern and then piled layer by layer to construct walls. Adapted from Ma (2001, p.93)

This type of construction utilised a beam-column system as a building structure. According to Wang (2016), its structural form was equivalent to that of the raised-beam frame buildings of the Han people. Beams and rafters were supported by the four side walls and two internal columns (female and male columns) (Shih, 1993, 2010); each element being made of different sizes of wood. The wooden wall built with the “井” font pattern itself can be used as a load-bearing structure, for example, the wooden wall of some Flower houses and Grass houses directly bear the load (Ma, 2005).

A great deal of wood was needed to construct a traditional Mosuo log house. To construct just one building, the following materials were required: two large columns (to represent male and female), 12-24 smaller columns, 5 beams, 92 logs for the log cabin structure, 700 wooden shingles for roofing and 500 rafters, plus materials for a wooden bed, floors, doors and windows, etc. In total, more than 700 trees would be cut down (Yan and Song, 1983; Ma, 2005), for more complex log structures with perhaps with two stories, multiple rooms and courtyards, more than 1400 trees would be needed (Lan, 2005). In addition, Shih

(1993) mentioned that the Grandmother's house is always log-walled, but the other three buildings in the courtyard house used rammed earth walls. Some less affluent households, who cannot afford an all-log Grandmother's house, may also use rammed walls for the outer rectangle of the Grandmother's house.

The roof pattern of the Muleng house was two-sided, low-pitched, covered by wooden shingles (axe-planed boards) (Wang, 2016). The overhanging eaves were wide, and the roof had two gentle slopes so that it can be used to dry grain, such as corn and soybean (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). In terms of roof construction, the traditional method was to cover the roof with wooden shingles staggered and overlapping each other on the rafters (Shih, 1993; Ma, 2005), nails were not used. The wooden shingles used to cover the roof are logs cut from the local mountains – pine or China fir – and are 50-60 cm long, 20-30 cm wide and about 2-3 mm thick (Huang and Zhou, 2011). To protect the wooden shingles from wind and rain, stones of appropriate sizes were laid on it (Shih, 1993; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001) (Figure 2.23).



Figure 2.23 The roof is covered by wooden shingles and stones. Photo by Xie (2015)

2.3.3 Building construction and technology

Historically, the Mosuo people did not build houses very frequently, so most of the Grandmother's houses are already at least half a century old

(Weng, 1993). The construction details of a Grandmother's house are explained below – the same methods, structures and materials are also applicable to the additional buildings in the courtyard house (sacred chamber, Flower house and Grass house). There were three stages for constructing a Grandmother's house, including preparation, construction and inauguration ceremony (Yan and Song, 1983).

- Preparation stage

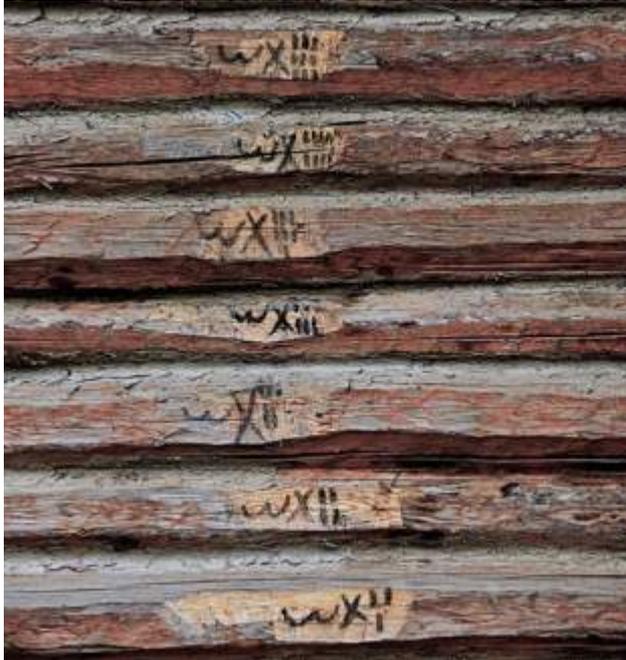
Before constructing a Grandmother's house, both a Daba and a Lama would be invited by the household to select an auspicious site and stipulate the date for chopping down the trees (Yan and Song, 1983; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001; Ma, 2005). To be more specific, potential sites were first selected by the owner who would then pick up a stone from each of these places, the Lama or Daba would then choose one stone and the original location of that stone would be where the house was to be situated. In terms of spatial organisation, certain principles had been taken into consideration, such as the Grandmother's house must face north or south, and the hearth must sit west facing east. The size of the house was determined by the materials prepared, there was no fixed modulus, but the distance between the male and female columns was generally more than one metre (Pan, 2014).

To choose the auspicious time, the Lama based his calculation on the Twenty-Eight Stars, while the Daba followed the rules of the 12 zodiac signs (Yan and Song, 1983). Pan (2014) expanded on this and suggested that the auspicious date was chosen according to the zodiac match between the day and the Dabu (the head of the household), every four zodiac signs are matched, and every six are mutually exclusive.

The traditional construction habit formed a harmonious neighbourhood relationship of mutual assistance. Traditionally, the construction of every new house was completed by cooperative labour (Yan and Song, 1983), the local tradition being *'help has to be provided by each household from the same village or nearby village when any Mosuo household is going to construct a new house'* (Weng, 1993); there was no need to pay, only provide food and accommodation.

- Construction stage

The first step in constructing a house was laying the foundation. Building a house usually required five or six carpenters, one of whom was the head carpenter responsible for the house design and for directing the other carpenters (Lan, 2005; Yan and Song, 1983). Under the supervision of the head carpenter, a stable and solid house foundation was laid in stone (Ma, 2005).



*Figure 2.24 Mark numbers on each log to indicate its direction and order.
Photo by Xie (2015)*

The next step was to use the prepared wood to build a frame for the four walls (Pan, 2014). Four carpenters were respectively responsible for one corner of the Muleng house, cutting notches on both sides of logs and placing the wood. After the completion of the frame, it would be disassembled and moved to the prepared stone foundation for re-assembly (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). In order to move and correctly reassemble the Muleng house, a mark was made on each log to indicate its direction and order (Figure 2.24); these carved marking were conventional symbols used as a primitive recording method (Yan and

Song, 1983; Ma, 2005). The Grandmother's house of the Mosuo traditional dwelling was made up of 18 or 23 round logs¹⁴ (Lan, 2005).

Once the frame was finished, the central columns were then erected (Lan, 2005). As previously described, there were two central columns in the Grandmother's house, one female and one male. Traditionally, the male and female columns came from the same tree; the female column was cut from the lower part near the root of the tree, while the male column came from the upper part (Weng, 1993). There was a ritual for choosing central columns for the new house. Before the tree which would go on to become the female and male columns was cut down, a worship ritual had to be conducted by a Daba in front of the tree on the mountain. The Daba would pray and burn pine leaves as incense, and place various offerings in front of the tree, including tea, alcohol and grain. According to Weng (1993), the four directions of the tree were marked before it was cut down; the columns made from it would be erected in the room in accordance with the orientation of the trunk before it was cut down.

Subsequently, the head carpenter would hold a ritual once the central columns were installed. Cai and Hustvedt (2001, p.138-139) described this ritual in detail:

'He begins by filling a wooden chest or a bamboo basket with grain and by placing a jug of alcohol next to the central pillars. He then takes a chicken and walks it around them. When he has gone around three times, he pierces the chicken's comb and mixes the drops of blood with the grain and alcohol. He then lets the chicken go. If the bird runs to the east, it is a sign of good luck; if it runs in a different direction, it is a sign of bad luck.'

Also, there is a lyric in the song of 'Building a House' (Chen, 1990, p.2):
'Building a new house today/ The centre column should be erected/ The

¹⁴ There is no accurate explanation for the number of round logs, and there are even different voices for the exact number. Pan (2014) claimed it has 19 or 21 round logs. The use of 21 logs may be attributed to the image of the Twenty-one Tara in Tibetan Buddhism, which is considered as a goddess who can save all beings from suffering, but the number of 19 is unknown.

male column and the female column are erected/ The white cock flies toward the east.'

Following the ritual of erecting the central columns, the beams were then placed on the column (Ma, 2005); at the same time, carpenters would put up the rafters and cover them with a roof of wooden shingles. The main beam was painted red and in the centre was placed a piece of red cloth with a silver line, symbolising grain – a representation of the heart of the house, as well as wealth and harvest. Some families placed clay sculptures from Nepal, India, Tibet and other places on the main beam to pray for family peace, life and harmony. After putting up the house beam, the host family would then spread highland barley and money in the courtyard and the people who came to celebrate, especially the children, would all swarm to grab it for good luck. After having installed the hearth, the Guozhuang stone and Zambala (Lan, 2005), the Grandmother's house was almost finished and there was only one final step to complete.

- Inauguration ceremony

The hearth is built on the top of the house/ There is Zambala above it/ There is a Guozhuang God in front of it/ There is a fire in it/ Building a new house today/ The neighbours come to help/ Take a sip of tea/ Drink a bowl of wine.

- The song of 'Building a House' (Chen, 1990, p.2)

To celebrate the completion of a new Grandmother's house, a grand inauguration ceremony was held (Yan and Song, 1983; He, 2000). In addition to chanting and blessing, this ritual was used to express gratitude to friends and relatives who had come to help (Ma, 2005; Lan, 2005). The date of the ceremony was calculated by a Daba or a Lama and usually took place at dawn. One woman was asked to carry a bucket of water, entering through the front door of the main room; one man entered through the back door with a torch (the fire was brought from the house of the original maternal family, in order to keep the fire left by the ancestors alight forever). These two people had to be born in the Year of the Monkey and have many children. They then came to the major hearth, and the woman poured the water into the cooking pot, while the man lit the fire. The Daba then took a piece of burning wood from the hearth and

walked around the main room, while sprinkling water from a bowl into every corner. At the same time, he sang prayers:

'The hearth is the heart of the house. From this day on, the fire will never go out but remain lit for three hundred and sixty days of the year ... To build the main building, two central columns, five hundred beams, and seven hundred wood shingles are needed ... There is a treasure chest behind the door, a yak on the left side of it, a tiger on the right side of it, a peacock above it, lion at the foot of it. A golden frog sits in the water jug, and there is a silver mill in the low room ... The right pillar is female, and the left pillar is male ...'

— Prayer song (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001, p.140)

Having said prayers, the Daba then poured alcohol on the Guozhuang stone in an offering to the ancestors. The Mosuo believed that this ritual cleansed the house and welcomed the host, and also *'chase away bad spirits and anything else that might bring bad luck'* (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001). At last, a grand feast was held and relatives, friends and villagers were invited to participate. The guests would bring gifts to the host, such as money or bacon, and congratulate them on moving into their new house. That evening, a dance party was organised in the village. Pan (2014, p.60) interpreted the inauguration ceremony:

'The purpose is to clean the house on that day, bring in the fire, and pray for the completion of the house by the gods, and invite the ancestors to return to the house and visit their new home of the descendants. Then they sent away their ancestors and asked the gods to stay at home. Situo in the corner of the upper hearth is considered to be the place where the gods stay. Only after the gods are invited can put into the gods, sutras, incense burners and other items.'

For the Mosuo, the inauguration ceremony was the most important ceremony in the whole construction process (Pan, 2014). Not only was the hearth the centre of the daily life of all family members – the place for cooking, eating, entertaining and discussion, and also the bedroom of

some members in the household – it was also where the ancestors and gods were, where daily ancestor worship and chanting took place. The inauguration ceremony dealt with the relationship between people and gods; it signified both the entry of the secular daily life and the entry of gods and ancestral spirits associated with all aspects of life. Therefore, the significance of the inauguration ceremony was not only the opening of a new house, but also the establishment of a ‘home’ in the spiritual sense (Ma, 2005).

2.4 Traditional ways of living in the dwellings

This section describes the traditional ways of living of the Mosuo people in relation to the spatial organisation and use of rooms. Because they were primarily an agrarian culture (as previous discussed in p.30-31), the traditional daily routine of the Mosuo people was dominated by household maintenance and agricultural production. Shih (1993, 2010) observed the traditional ways of living of Mosuo in the late 1980s and provided a general picture for the reader. Shih (2010, p.222) argued that the traditional daily life of Mosuo had followed the same pattern of routines day in and day out for hundreds of years right up until the end of the 20th century.

The following account – mainly based on previous literature and memories of elder interviewees – describes the traditional daily routine of a Mosuo family. Early, every morning, a Mosuo woman in her prime age (usually the head of the household, known as Dabu in Mosuo) would light the fire to boil morning tea at the major hearth in the Grandmother’s house (Shih, 1993, 2010). Some houses had an incense burner, a small white tower (called Weisang in Mosuo) in the backyard dedicated to gods and ancestors – this also needed to be lit every morning. Then Dabu would go to the sacred chamber to tidy the shrines up, change at least seven, or a multiple of seven, bowls of holy water, light the oil lamps, and burn incense and pray. At the same time, the other young household members would go out to collect sufficient firewood in the mountains; elder members would chant scripture in their rooms; the older children would go to the farmland to collect pigweeds for pig feed; younger children would play with others of their age in the inner yard after they

got up later (Shih, 1993). After a while, walking marriage men would return from their partner's family and they would join in the chores; some of them would feed domestic animals and others would refill the water container in the front room of Grandmother's house. Dabu would start to cook breakfast for family members at the major hearth.

At about seven or eight o'clock, depending on the season, it was time for the family to eat breakfast. Sitting by the hearth in the Grandmother's house, Dabu would put a morsel of food on the Guozhuang stone behind the hearth to invite the ancestors to enjoy the food first, expressing respect for the ancestors, and then shared the rest of the food with the family members – this ritual happened at each of the three daily meals (Weng, 1993).

After breakfast, the major work began. For most of the day able-bodied men and women would work on the farmland, especially in the planting and harvesting season (spring and autumn) (Shih, 1993); elder men would go out to herd cattle and sheep on the open grassland. During the day, elder women were less physically active – they stayed mostly at home by the fire around the major hearth in the winter, or in the sunny inner courtyard in the summer, taking care of children or cooking meals. Given the great distance to the fields, lunch was usually delivered to those family members working there, to save time walking back and forth. There was no school and formal education in this area in the traditional times, so older children would help with household chores or with work in the field, while younger children played in the open space of the village. Because of the prevalence of Lamaism (see p.35-36), some Mosuo boys were accepted into religious training and become professional monks. Religious training included learning the Tibetan alphabet and some basic sutra. Serving as a professional monk, he was separated from daily agricultural activities and only required to pray or chant scripture, practice Buddhism and undertake religious homework in the sacred chamber (Shih, 2010).

At the end of the working day, around six or seven o'clock in the evening, all the family members would return home and sit around the major hearth, awaiting dinner. After dinner, family members would converse

for a short period and then go to bed soon after, especially in the winter (Shih, 1993, 2010). Sexually active adult women would go to their own room in the Flower house, while adult men would go to their partner's house for the night, elderly people and children would sleep in the Grandmother's house.

The daily work tasks for each member were assigned by the leading woman, Dabu and would likely be one of the two major tasks of traditional daily life: agricultural production or housework maintenance. There was clear division of labour between women and men (Wang and Zhang, 2015): most housework – cooking, cleaning, childcare and taking care of the domestic animals – was usually undertaken by women, and heavy labour – long-distance trading by horse train, logging timber and constructing houses – by men. In the busy agricultural seasons, farm work, such as planting corn and grain, was shared by both women and men. As an agrarian culture, much of the Mosuo daily life centred around tending to crops and livestock.

2.5 The rituals related to dwellings

The traditional Mosuo dwelling was primarily the abode of an extended maternal family, it was also understood as the abode of ancestors and gods, as such, it was expected to be the site of coming of age and death, along with the rituals that accompanied them. Therefore, in addition to the building ritual mentioned previously, of the many rituals of the Mosuo people, three were directly related to the layout, structure and functions of dwellings: Coming of Age, ancestral worship and funeral ceremony.

2.5.1 Coming of Age

Customarily, a Coming of Age ceremony was performed for every Mosuo child when they were about 13 years old. Known as the 'skirt-wearing ceremony' for girls and 'trouser-wearing ceremony' for boys, it always took place in the Grandmother's house and was held on the morning of the first day of the lunar New Year (Wang and Chiou, 2007); prior to this ceremony, Mosuo boys and girls would all dress the same.

At the Coming of Age ceremony, Mosuo girls would wear their hair in braids and don traditional white dresses with red belts, the boys wore jackets and trousers with colourful belts. The girls then stood next to the female column in the main room, and the boys next to the male column – this was because these two columns symbolised all the female and male members of the household respectively (see description about female and male columns in p.57). Each girl and boy put their left foot on a sack of grain and their right foot on an unbroken piece of salted pork – the grain and salted pork were symbols of abundant food, and standing on them symbolised that the girl and boy would have plentiful supplies of food throughout their lives (Figure 2.25) (Weng, 1993; Shih, 1993, 2010).



Figure 2.25 At the Coming of Age ceremony, Mosuo girls wear traditional white dresses with their left foot on a sack of grain and their right foot on an unbroken piece of salted pork. (Source from Chinadaily, 2011)

A Daba was invited to host the ceremony. While they were being dressed, the Daba chanted and blessed the girls or boys, so that they may be *'long-lived, capable and protected by ancestors of the household'* (Weng, 1993, p.68). When the ceremony was over, family members entertained the guests with a feast.

This ceremony marked the transformation from childhood into adulthood and bestowed upon them the rights and duties of becoming a full member of their community (Shih, 1993, 2010). From this point, they began to take on adult roles and participated in social activities, such as farm work or housework. More importantly, for a girl, she could get her own private bedroom in the Flower house so that she may begin to invite a sexual partner to spend the night; while for a boy, the ceremony officially deprived him a sleeping place at home and urged him to find a sexual partner (Williams, 2017). The sleeping arrangements for Mosuo people ultimately constituted the cultural practice of the visiting relationship, called 'walking marriage' in Chinese (Guo, 2008).

2.5.2 Ancestral worship

Worshipping ancestors was a major event in the life of the Mosuo people as well as an ancient tradition. The Mosuo believed that the ancestors did not die, rather their souls shared time and space with their offspring living in this world (Shih, 1993, 2010). In daily life, the head of household dedicated food and liquor to the ancestors before every meal, three times a day. When the meal was served on the Guozhuang stone on the upper side of the major hearth, the Dabu simply recited some words to invite all the ancestors to join.

In addition to daily worship to ancestors, traditionally there were three significant ancestor worship activities throughout the year, namely Lunar New Year, and the Festivals of the fifth month of a lunar year and tenth month of a lunar year (Weng, 1993; He, 2017). Among these rituals, tenth-month ancestral worship, called 'Bokuosibu' in the Mosuo language (Wang, 2006), was the most important calendrical ritual. However, this annual ceremony died out after the 1956 Democratic Reform (Shih, 1993, 2010). It used to be held in the tenth month of every

lunar year, and each household had to host in turn an ancestor worship ceremony - that is a ritual of pig slaughter¹⁵.



Figure 2.26 The branches would remain on the roof until the next year, when they would be replaced by new ones. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

The whole ceremony had to be conducted by a Daba. At the ancestor worship ceremony, an altar for the ritual was set in the courtyard or inside the Grandmother's house. An altar was made of clay blocks in a square shape with pine and walnut branches inserted, various offerings, such as grains and fruits, were placed before the altar. After setting up the altar, the Daba would chant to invite the ancestors back to attend the ceremony and report to the ancestors how the pig was raised. The pig was then slaughtered¹⁶. When the ceremony was over, a bundle of branches was placed on the roof of the Grandmother's house (Figure 2.26) – according to Weng (1993), these branches were used as symbols of the transient

¹⁵ It was the Mosuo custom that pigs were fully grown before they were butchered (shih, 1993).

¹⁶ Weng (1993, p.84) has a detailed description of the process, 'The first pig slaughtered is made as an offer to their ancestors. They make the rest of pigs into what might be termed a kind of bacon. After taking off all bones and butting out all meat from each pig, they put salt inside the pig thoroughly and sew it up and keep it for several years, sometimes more than a decade.'

dwelling places of the ancestors, signifying that they had lived here in the course of their migration.

This annual ceremony showed the unity and harmony between the living and the dead members (ancestors) of the family. Through ancestor worship ceremony, the living members expressed their respect and care for the ancestors as well as their desire to seek the protection of the ancestors (Weng, 1993).

2.5.3 Funeral

Even today, the funeral ceremony continues to be the most elaborate rite-of-passage in Mosuo culture (Weng, 1993). Shih (1993, 2010) noted that the way in which a funeral ceremony is conducted is almost the only thing that has not greatly changed from traditional times. The living spaces, including the house (the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber), the courtyard, the street and mountains, become stages for the community to set up ritual activities for a funeral (Feng and Xiao, 2018).

After a person dies, the corpse is first cleansed and wrapped with a white cloth into a foetus-like posture¹⁷, and then kept in a pit dug in the back room of the Grandmother's House until the funeral ceremony (Wang and Chiou, 2007). Meanwhile, the family members of the deceased are obliged to inform the other households of the same lineage and the remaining villagers in the shortest possible time after death.

It takes three days for the entire funeral ceremony, and the family is assisted by the villagers. In the early morning of the first day of the funeral ceremony, a temporary 'mourning hall' is set on the upper hearth in the Grandmother's house – it is decorated with new clothes, a house-like coffin, and white paper with Fenghuang totem to lead the dead people, plus various kinds of offerings including food, alcohol, flowers, etc. At the same time, the religious chants are chanted by the Daba and Lamas. All relatives and fellow villagers taking part in the funeral prostrate themselves before the coffin and light yak butter lamps.

¹⁷ Bundling up the body like a foetus is because the Mosuo believe that the deceased will return to the other world in the same posture as he or she first came to this world. Also, in this way, the deceased is ready for another life to begin (Shih, 1993, 2010).

Taking place over two days, funeral feasts are held in the courtyard and a traditional bonfire dance is conducted after dinner prior to the cremation ceremony. At midnight, the corpse is removed from the back room and put into the coffin (Cao, 2009). During this time, the Daba and Lamas both chant all night long.

The cremation is conducted in the early morning of the third day. The coffin is transported out of the village to the cremation site¹⁸. After the fire is lit, a flax hat and clothing, including the deceased's clothes, are thrown into the fire. Finally, family and relatives bow and bid their final farewells, and wish the deceased an easy journey to their ancestral land.

Through the processes of the funeral ceremony, it can be understood that to the Mosuo people death is not the end of life but a life-relief. More importantly, from discussing the procedures of the funeral – from the preparation of the corpse, through the varied dramatic ritual performances and on to the climax of the cremation – every aspect is aimed at reinforcing matrilineal solidarity and revalidating matrilineal harmony and related cultural values (Feng and Xiao, 2018).

2.6 Summary

This chapter has traced the characteristics of the Mosuo dwellings from a historical perspective, which is summarised in Table 2.2. Traditional Mosuo dwellings reflected the environment and climate of the area, as well as the ways of living of the people who lived there. It has also considered the very particular influence that ceremony has exercised on ways of living and, consequently, on house construction. It has demonstrated that traditional Mosuo dwellings have evolved to meet the needs of matriarchal culture. The distinctive features of courtyard dwellings and their components respond to the Mosuo's living environment, social practices and cultural beliefs, and the available technology in a particular region. The dwelling style and culture expresses residents' creative ideas and aesthetics in their specific area.

¹⁸ The site of cremation is decided by the Lama based on astrology, as well as the dates and times of birth and death, which could be on the hillside or in the farmland (Shih, 1998).

They also express the adaptation and assimilation of various cultural and social influences associated with social and cultural changes.

The traditional Mosuo dwellings are an expression of the ethnic culture, beliefs and customs that can ensure the Mosuo people's continuation. However, the evolution of the current conditions and living experience of these houses, perceived by the inhabitants in the contemporary context, remains unexamined.

Characteristics	Traditional Mosuo dwellings
Courtyard form	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A courtyard house that is built with well-structured wooden buildings (Muleng house)
Spatial arrangement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Characterising the traditional houses built in the Mosuo area: A complete Mosuo courtyard is composed of the Grandmother's house, sacred chamber, Flower house and Grass house. The courtyard is built around the rammed earth wall, less than one person in height, with an enclosed space and surrounded by rooms accommodating the various activities of the occupants. The outer courtyard is planted with fruit trees and used for stacking firewood.
Meaning and function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Grandmother's house is the heart of the Mosuo inhabited and cultural space. The main room of the Grandmother's house is the central place for its family members to eat, drink, discuss family matters as well as receive guests; • The sacred chamber is usually upstairs for gods to live in and also for the Lama to stay and practice his religious activities; • The Flower house is where sexually active women live. The upper floor is divided into several small separate rooms, one for each person, for the purposes of walking marriage; • The ground floor of the Grass house is for domestic animals and the upper floor is the hayloft.
Floor levels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the exception of the Grandmother's house, the other three sides of the courtyard are two-storey buildings, access was via a staircase from the courtyard
Entrance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The entrance is typically located in the middle of the ground floor of Flower house
Windows	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With hardly any windows in the external walls, the windows of houses are inward-looking, towards the courtyard on which the rooms depended almost totally for light and air circulation
Roofs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gabled roof house, wooden shingles as roof material
Building materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timber and rammed earth – these materials were exposed
Sanitary facility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No toilet

Table 2.2 Summary of attributes of traditional Mosuo dwellings

3 Theoretical stand

3.1 Introduction

As stated in the introduction, this study is to investigate the interrelationship between the Mosuo dwelling as inhabited space, ways of living and culture of the Mosuo people. This chapter attempts to interpret this relationship from anthropological and cultural perspectives drawn from relevant literature. In order to clarify the field to which the study will contribute original knowledge, the objective of the theoretical stand is to identify the theoretical location of this research in the whole social science discipline. First, theories underpinning the field of architectural anthropology will be reviewed, starting with the theoretical understanding from an architectural and anthropological perspective. An anthropological approach in architecture would be beneficial to this research and will be explained; inhabited space as the research direction of architectural anthropology will also be intensively discussed. Second, it examines the cultural perspectives in architectural studies. In order to achieve the objective, the literature review will put emphasis upon the analysis of related studies of the concept of culture and its relationship with the vernacular architecture. Finally, this study will adopt a cultural-anthropological perspective on the relation between built form, ways of living and culture to extend knowledge within the architecture discipline in the dynamic context. This perspective led to the fieldwork in the investigation, which facilitated collection of data.

3.2 Architectural anthropology

This research, working in the field of architectural anthropology, sets out to provide an understanding of the social and cultural importance of architecture, as well as of the characteristics of an anthropological approach to its study. It attempts to explore the evolution of architectural forms and the culture of the Mosuo people by defining its dwellings in response to socio-cultural development from the perspective of architectural anthropology. Additionally, this research considers the dynamic interrelationship of material, social and cultural aspects of all forms of buildings and settlements, and how the Mosuo shape their dwellings and what these dwellings mean to their culture.

Architectural anthropology is an interdisciplinary disciplinary field (Roesler, 2012) and attempts to build bridges between architecture and anthropology to gain a greater understanding of the built environment. The anthropologist's interest in physical space leads to a better understanding of the social relationships, cultural values and symbolic meanings that give rise to a particular form of architecture (Amerlinck, 2001; Vellinga, 2017). Although a particular space may be different from those physically framed by constructions – including the space of practice – from the perspective of an anthropologist, the two may coincide (Rostas, 1996). In other words, the aim of the anthropologist studying architecture is to improve the understanding of the cultural context. Conversely, architects are aware that they need draw anthropological theory and knowledge into architectural study in order to understand social structures, economic relationships and cultural values (Rostas, 1996; Jasper, 2017). This is to learn ‘why a building has the spatial layout it does, why specific materials or technologies have been used in its construction, or why a particular decorative feature has a symbolic meaning’ (Vellinga, 2017, p.9). Such knowledge would help architects design architecture focussed on human values.

Although the idea of combining architecture and anthropology was proposed a long time ago (e.g. Pieper, 1980), the rigorous discipline definition and systematic theories of architectural anthropology are not entirely clearly delimited. Some scholars refer to an integration of two disciplinary approaches, such as ‘architectural anthropology’ (Amerlinck, 2001), ‘ethnography of architecture’ (Yaneva, 2012; Roesler, 2014) or ‘anthropology-by-means-of-architecture’ (Ingold, 2013); whereas others refer as the ‘anthropology of architecture’ (Buchli, 2012; Marchand, 2009; Waterson, 1998). The former seeks to break the boundaries of the two disciplines and develop an anthropology related to architecture; the latter is an anthropological study that takes architecture as an object of study (Stender, 2017).

Despite drawing upon anthropological approaches, this study is intended to further deepen the architect's understanding of the cultural embodiment of architecture. Thus, this study is carried out under the category of architectural anthropology, and the term ‘architectural

anthropology' will be expanded in detail. At the 14th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES), Mari-Jose Amerlinck proposed a definition of architectural anthropology,

'The subject matter of architectural anthropology is not the exploration of the whole spatial dimension of human behaviour but just of the products of human constructive or building behaviour, defined as a series of actions geared to transform natural and manufactured resources in tridimensional forms that define, delimit, and enclose space. If we agree on this definition, then architectural anthropology is anthropologically oriented synchronic and diachronic research on the building activities and processes of construction that produce human settlements, dwellings and other buildings, and built environments.'
(Amerlinck, 2001, p.3)

Architectural anthropology not only studies the architecture itself, but also studies the human values embodied in different built environments and the socio-cultural context of the building (Zhang, 1999; Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2001). As Yimsruai (2013, p.24) stated, 'It is a renewal of anthropological study of the perception and interpretation of the built form as social process.' The issues of architecture can be studied from the perspective of culture; architecture is the tangible and concrete expression of culture in the process of cultural development. Architectural anthropology focusses on the study of various aspects of social culture, including human customs, religious beliefs, social life, aesthetic concepts and the relationship between people and society. These contents constitute the social and cultural background of architecture, and are expressed through the spatial layout, exterior form and interior decoration of buildings (Zhang, 1999). Architectural anthropologists seek to understand how people live in buildings and their relationship to the spaces they inhabit (Rostas, 1996).

3.2.1 Architecture and anthropology

Architecture and anthropology have always had overlapping interests in issues such as spatial organisation, dwelling forms and the interaction between social and physical environments (Stender, 2017). In the late

1960s, the two disciplines encountered each other and overlapped (Roesler, 2017; Yimsrual, 2013); disappointment with modern architecture greatly stimulated a handful of architectural researchers and architects, who started to widen their interest in the built environments of traditional cultures (Egenter, 1990; Lawrence and Low, 1990). Proposed by architect Bernard Rudofsky in 1964, it was commonly referred to as 'architecture without architects' (Roesler, 2012; Stender, 2017; Yimsrual, 2013).

Early representative examples included Amos Rapoport's *House Form and Culture* (1969) and Paul Oliver's *Shelter and Society* (1969). According to Rapoport (1969), he studied a large number of traditional houses and proposed that house form is the consequence of a whole range of factors, among which the socio-cultural factors are primary and others (climate conditions, methods of construction, materials available and technology) are secondary as the modifying factors. Rapoport rejects single-factor deterministic explanations over built environment (Lawrence and Low, 1990; Karakul, 2007). In this view, architectural form is clearly determined by the relationship between man and the specific socio-cultural complex (Yimsrual, 2013). Oliver in his publication 'Shelter and Society' emphasises the use and value of an anthropological approach to the study of architecture. To Oliver, an anthropological approach to architecture can be beneficial to the understanding of those intricate ways in which architecture relates to cultural contexts, and increases architects' awareness of the cultural embodiment of architecture (Vellinga, 2017). Roesler (2017, p.6) noted that the year of 1969 should be considered '*as being seminal to the foundation of architectural anthropology research.*'

Anthropological research in architecture, shaped by the construction knowledge of architects, was still in the initial stages of development in the 1980s. Jan Pieper, a German architectural historian, spoke of an 'anthropological approach to architectural theory.' In his article 'An Outline of Architectural Anthropology in Relation to the General History and Theory of Architecture', Pieper (1980) explained some of the unsolved research of the then-novel architectural anthropology and some related architectural theories and histories. Even reading his article now,

Roesler¹⁹ (2017, p.2) commented that *'It is remarkable that he puts architectural anthropology in an explicit, informatory relation to architectural theory.'*

At the time, architects interested in anthropology aimed not only to describe and classify forms, but also to understand them in their local context. British architectural theorist Paul Oliver was a representative scholar in that period. In his publication *Dwellings: The House Across the World*, Oliver (1987) transcended his academic concerns about the cultural embodiment of architecture and the inclusiveness of architectural discourse, and began a more direct engagement with contemporary social issues. He (1987) pointed out that studying the relationship between architecture, society and culture is not only to better understand the architectural tradition, but also to meet the fundamental needs of the world's future housing. His subsequent publication, *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World* (1997), was a monumental work (Vellinga, 2017, p.3). Oliver (1997) examined and documented the various house forms in different cultures around the world, and proposed that they explained the relationship between architectural aesthetics and the specific structural conditions associated with ways of living and social order.

In the mid-to-late 1990s and early 2000s, there was an intermittent interconnection between anthropology and architecture. In 1996, Cris Shore, in his article 'Anthropology's Identity Crisis,' suggested that anthropologists should speak to other disciplines. He also stated the importance of understanding other cultures, values systems and how they work; how societies are organised and what that means to people, *'In a word, a grasp of what it means to be human, to have culture and to live in different kinds of society (Shore, 1996, p.5).'* In the same year, Clare Melhuish agreed with Shore's suggestion and thought it might equally be applied to the architectural discipline.

¹⁹ In 2017, based on Pieper's idea, Roesler wrote an essay 'Architectural Anthropology as an Omission in Architectural Theory', in which he argued that the emergence of architectural anthropology itself can be understood as an outcome of a conceptual omission in architectural theory.

Several authors have attempted to further investigate how architectural objects can be approached from an interdisciplinary perspective, including *Architecture and Anthropology* edited by Clare Melhuish (1996), and *Architectural Anthropology* edited by Mari-Jose Amerlinck (2001). These two publications agreed on the benefits of interdisciplinary collaboration and on the expectations of architectural anthropology to move beyond the comparative study of ‘primitive’ architecture; but opinions differ on what to give and what to expect from the two disciplines (Amerlinck, 2001). For instance, Melhuish (1996, p.8) stated the reason why anthropology is important for the practice and theory of architecture, ‘... *human life consists of more than simply a series of functional needs to be met: the psychological and the metaphysical dimensions of human existence are absolutely integral to each individual’s capacity for wellbeing.*’ Another author, Rykwert (1996, p.6), believed that anthropologists cannot tell architects how to utilise specific building technology, nor help to shape any particular element of architecture, but they can show how buildings were interpreted and experienced in the past,

‘Anthropologists can set out the condition of building: they can tell us what people expected from them in the past; how they interpreted what they say and experienced, even about the most obvious pieces of a building – doors and windows, walls, roofs and floors; how the experience of each part related to the whole – as the building, the district, the city were walked through, penetrated, integrated by use, their fragments compacted into a body.’

Meanwhile, *Architectural Anthropology* aimed to build bridges between architecture and anthropology to further understanding of the built environments and a more humane architecture (Amerlinck, 2001; Banks and Ruby, 2011) – witnessing a renewal of anthropological study on the spatial dimensions of human behaviour, including ‘*the perception and interpretation of landscape as social process, of house societies ... of traditional dwellings and settlements; and how space is culturally construed, gendered, envisioned, and most decisively, physically built*’ (Amerlinck, 2001, p.6-7).

In addition, Amerlinck proposed the creation of a new subdiscipline – ‘Architectural Anthropology’ – suggesting that ‘it goes beyond approaching architecture with an anthropological vision in order to become an interdisciplinary field of inquiry’ (Amerlinck, 2001, p.23). He (2001) went on to take anthropologists to task for believing that they have all the tools necessary to study any human phenomena (Archer and Bartoy, 2006). As far as architecture is concerned, Amerlinck (2001, p.11) argued that through architectural awareness, we can understand and graphically communicate and describe the basic building mechanisms to others, gaining many insights. To achieve a true interdisciplinary study of architectural space, mutual knowledge (both theory and practice) is needed (Amerlinck, 2001).

The development of architecture and anthropology over the last decade has brought them closer, allowing their overlap to be explored and developed. As a result, there is a growing body of literature contributing to the common understanding and conservation of existing built environments. But today, anthropologists seem to have greatly increased their interest in architecture, partly as a result of a broadening of the scope of anthropology itself as it has become more linked to the contemporary urban domain, and see the development of greater links with architecture (e.g. Buchli, 2012; Marchand, 2009; Ingold, 2013; Yaneva, 2012). For example, as an anthropologist, Trevor Marchand published *The Masons of Djenné* in 2009. Marchand provided a step-by-step construction description of a mud-brick house, and explored the technical and social processes involved in constructing buildings and renewing the urban environment of Djenné²⁰. He joined an architectural team and became an architectural apprentice, acquiring basic skills through participant observation – brick-making, building walls and roofing, and decoration.

British anthropologist Victor Buchli (2012) reviewed how anthropologists have studied architecture and examined from within anthropology how architecture shapes people, sustains forms and unravels social relations. It aims to explain the materiality of the built

²⁰ The town of Djenné in Mali is famous for its mud-brick architecture, monumental mosque and merchant-traders’ houses. These buildings retain, and continue to be built in, some of the most enduring and traditional styles of sub-Saharan Africa (Marchand, 2009).

environment, *'not merely in terms of immediate empirically evident material form ... but in terms of how architectonic forms might be understood additionally in different registers such as image, metaphor, performance, ruin, diagnostic, or symbol ...'* (Buchli, 2012, p.1). As Buchli stated, architecture is not a manifestation of society or humanity, but a set of relationships and processes in which social forms can continue and, in the use of which, individuals can see themselves as participants in a larger social system (i.e. society) (Bingham-Hall, 2014). These prominent works mark a major step in understanding of the links between material culture, people and society.

Although the systematic theories of architectural anthropology are still in the exploration stage, previous studies have provided a related theoretical and methodological basis for this study. As Amerlinck (2001) argued, the study of the relationship between culture and the built environment can be classified under the rubric of architectural anthropology. This is because the subdiscipline of Environment-Behaviour Studies covers the study of human behaviour and the environment, including both the unbuilt and built, while architectural anthropology focusses solely on human constructive or building behaviour. Relying on the concepts and methods within the emerging field of architectural anthropology, this study mainly contributes to examining the relationships between architectural form as inhabited space, ways of living and culture, as well as demonstrating the influence of multiple social and cultural factors over the dwellings.

3.2.2 An anthropological approach in architecture

Compared to ordinary architectural studies, the difference of architectural anthropology is that it can provide a deeper understanding of the relationship between space, society and culture (Yimsrual, 2013). According to Peter Blundell Jones (1996, p.22), the anthropologist's research on architecture is more indirect and essential, raising fundamental issues such as the organisation of social life, the origins of architecture and the relationship between people and buildings. Jones also pointed out that anthropology for architecture can help to clarify the complex relationship between architecture and society.

Architectural anthropology could help to explain, describe and represent the human values and beliefs embodied in different built environments and socio-cultural contexts (Yimsrual, 2013). This approach requires architects and architectural researchers to observe cultural elements of the people, such as their religious belief and its influence on their ways of living and social norms (Gachogu, 2014). These cultural elements would influence the inhabitants' ways of living and their choices in relation to the dwellings which they live. Cultural observations could assist architectural researchers to understand the relationship between individuals' ways of living and architecture, and help architects in constructing corresponding architecture. That is why architectural anthropology is important to this study of the interconnection between architectural form, people's ways of living and their culture.

More importantly, it is worthy to investigate architectural anthropology in the contemporary context. The rise of multi-culturalism, globalisation, modernisation and tourism has raised many new and fascinating architectural anthropology issues (Melhuish, 1996). The penetration of modernisation and tourism is now apparent in rural settlements in China, where new construction dwelling forms are altering ways of living and the appearance of rural dwellings. The challenge for architectural anthropology today is to include consideration of current changes – in what ways do they affect people inhabiting the building and how can traditional culture and ways of living be preserved (Gachogu, 2014). New theories and approaches of architectural anthropology are needed to interpret and explain these changes in their social-culture context (Amerlinck, 2001).

3.2.3 Inhabited space

In this research, inhabited space refers to any physical alteration of the living environment, from hearths to villages, through construction by humans. It also refers to the place provided for inhabitants to perform various kinds of domestic, religious and social activities. More importantly, inhabited space has symbolic meaning and reflects the worldviews of inhabitants and the values and beliefs of a culture. Defining inhabited space is important because it is the primary daily setting for the majority of people and is deeply influenced by culture. To

investigate the nature of inhabited space is to gain further understanding of vernacular architecture from an anthropological and architectural perspective, which will ultimately extend knowledge within the architecture discipline.

As a part of vernacular culture, inhabited space is not merely regarded as a physical structure, but a living manifestation of cultural forms, with rituals, meanings and values embodied in it. According to Lawrence and Low (1990), the particular forms of inhabited space offer not just the provision of shelter, but the reflection of the cultures that produced them. In addition, Roxana Waterson's 'The Living House' (1998, p.xv) stated that *'the study of inhabited space, its construction and daily use could provide a 'way in' to a whole culture and its ideas.'* The layout, structure and interior decoration of vernacular dwellings reflect an ideal natural and social order understood, and lived by, the residents (Waterson, 1998). Paul Oliver (1987, p.7-15) stated that every culture has its own forms of dwelling, built by the people who inhabit them, in clear response to the society's physical, social and psychological needs, and shaped as much by belief systems and concepts of status, territory and security as by economy, material resources, technology and climatic conditions. As Li (2013, p.14) put it,

'The main function of each vernacular dwelling was originally as a residential home for a family. The construction of a vernacular dwelling is designed to meet the socio-cultural requirements of family members, and residents of a vernacular dwelling foster and evolve a specific lifestyle according to the needs of living.'

Consideration of the study of inhabited space can be traced to the earliest endeavours in anthropological discipline (Waterson, 1998). There was a significant example attempt to analyse house forms, in terms of kinship structures and social organisation, by Lewis Henry Morgan in his publication of 'Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines' (1881). Morgan (1881) described a picture of '*Indian longhouse organization and its concomitant communism in living*', where household members produced and consumed food jointly. He believed that aboriginal house forms were designed to accommodate the collective

endeavours of several nuclear families. In the 1960s and 1970s, analyses of cosmologies and symbolic ideas embodied in the spatial layout of the vernacular built environment increased because of the development of structuralism (Waterson, 1998). An early but seminal study was Pierre Bourdieu's *Berber House* (1970, 1973), in which the author focussed on characterising how the symbolic elements of dwelling space were symbolically organised and how they reflected social beliefs about male and female relationships. Bourdieu (1977) pointed out the manner in which inhabited space could serve as an embodiment of cultural messages in the absence of a literary tradition. He asserted,

'A dialectical relationship between habitat, the socially structured environment, and what he terms the 'habitus'- that collection of schemes or perception. Attitudes, and behaviour which shapes the cognitive world of individual actors in a society and lends order to experience.' (Bourdieu, 1977, cited in Waterson, 1998)

There are similar studies, such as Duly (1979) and Waterson (1998). In the *The Houses of Mankind*, Colin Duly (1979) examined how important social and religious elements in tribal life are reflected in a community's domestic buildings and symbolically expressed through the design and decoration. Waterson (1998) discussed the social and symbolic aspects of houses in South-East Asia and analysed the technological and cosmological considerations behind architectural style. Very recently there appears to be a growing momentum in study between social structure/organisation and architectural space in ethnographies (Carsten, 2018; Gulzar, 2017; Verkaaik, 2016; Zhao, 2014). Although physical architectural spaces (such as house form, spatial organisation, architectural structure and interior decoration) are investigated by anthropologists, most of the study concentrates on the social and culture of ethnography (such as kinship structures and social organisation), reflecting different facets of a vernacular culture and society. In short, anthropological study of inhabited space aims to gain further understanding of the socio-cultural factors that are reflected on the vernacular built environment.

Specific to the object of this research, one could argue that Mosuo dwellings are inhabited space. The study of Mosuo dwellings was initiated by anthropologists to gain further understanding of vernacular culture and society (Yan and Song, 1983; Zhang et al., 1980). Mosuo ethnic culture has been the subject of study since the early 20th century: ethnologists undertook several investigations of Mosuo culture from the 1950s to 1980s, producing in-depth research reports and monographs. However, although some studies of this period revealed details of society, history and culture of the Mosuo people (e.g. Rock, 1947²¹), few of them mentioned the Mosuo dwellings.

After the 1980s, Chinese anthropologists drew attention to links between social structures and architectural spaces. According to Yan and Song (1983, p.151-163), Mosuo vernacular dwellings are worthy of in-depth study because of their unique household structure, social organisation, historical and cultural background. As mentioned in Chapter 1, in Mosuo culture, women are the head of the household, property is passed through the female line and women tend to make the business decisions (LLMCDA, 2006). The most unique cultural feature of the Mosuo is a visiting relationship between males and females called ‘walking marriage’²². In the 1990s, new and detailed ethnographies began to greatly increase knowledge of the Mosuo people and culture, not only of its vital role in the social structure and culture of the region, but also of the power of the house as symbol (Asakawa et al., 1993, 1994; Shih, 1993; Weng, 1993). Shih (1993, 2010) and Cai (2001) have indicated that the Mosuo architectural structures and residential arrangements are compatible with matrilineal family patterns, walking marriages, religious beliefs and economic activities relating to daily life. Such studies suggest an interrelationship between Mosuo culture, Mosuo people’s ways of living and their dwellings. As Weng (1993, p.22-23) discussed, *‘the*

²¹ Joseph Rock was the most eminent Western researcher to record valuable information about the Mosuo people. Rock published a two-volume work, ‘The Ancient Na Khi Kingdom of Southwest China’, based on his twelve years of exploration in 1947, which is a general survey of their history, culture, religion and geographical environment. It is important to note that such data and figures provide information from cultural and historical contexts.

²² Mosuo men do not have a marriage contract with Mosuo women and Mosuo women have the right to control their own sexual lives. It is the complementary and cooperative relationships between Mosuo women, as mothers and sisters, and Mosuo men, as sons and brothers, that ensures the continuity of Mosuo descent groups and their society as a whole (Jesse, 2007).

cultural constructs of gender of the Naze as it is symbolized in the understanding of time and space implied by their myths, the mother house, zodiac and orientation.’ However, these studies are static and only focussed on the understanding of traditional Mosuo culture rather than exploring Cultural Architectural Assets of inhabited spaces in the evolution process.

Mosuo dwellings bear many complicated interrelationships with their inhabitants. The main function of each vernacular dwelling was originally as a residential home for a family. The construction of a vernacular dwelling is designed to meet the socio-cultural requirements of family members, and residents of a vernacular dwelling foster and evolve a specific lifestyle according to the needs of living (Li, 2013). In the household-based Mosuo society, dwellings are used by the Mosuo themselves as the most important space to reinforce their unique kinship ideology centre around matrilineal harmony. The Mosuo people have established their own dwellings with distinctive features in spatial structure between male and female accommodation (Wang and Chious, 2007). For instance, ‘Grandmother’s house’ as a core of the whole courtyard represents traditional matrilineal culture, and is the centre place of the household for its family members to gather, cook, eat, worship ancestors and to receive guests (Cai, 2001; Shih, 1993; Zhan et al., 1980). It is also the sleeping room of the elderly female members and young children in the household. The elderly and young children are most in need of care from other members of family, which represents good moral habits and traditional virtues to respect the aged and care for the young (Yang, 1997). In short, vernacular dwellings are private units built to meet the needs of a specific group of people, whose style of housing is part of their specific culture. Rather than living in primitive caves, over time, the Mosuo have created their own civilisation that has unique characteristics and meanings behind the architectural forms and spaces rooted in their agrarian life (He, 2000, p.184). Liu and Li (2005) regarded Mosuo architecture as a product of the physical and spiritual needs of man. They (2005, p.72) summarised two characteristics of traditional Mosuo architecture: firstly, the expression of Mosuo culture from Daba philosophy, that is all living things have spirits, which shows harmony of human with nature; secondly, inclusiveness – architectural patterns not

only reflecting the matriarchal culture, fulfilling functional and pragmatic purposes, but also assimilating the external culture, such as Tibetan Buddhism and Han culture.

3.3 Cultural perspectives in architectural studies

This section is to review various theories related to cultural perspectives in architectural studies, these are summarised and analysed. At first, the discussion is around the materials and subjects to understand the concept of culture and the different definitions of culture. The second main discussion is devoted to the analysis of studies on how culture plays a role in the creation of a vernacular built environment.

3.3.1 Understanding culture

In order to define the concept of culture concerning the subject of this study, this part reviews some of these definitions briefly. Culture has a diversity of classification and definition in terms of context, which is commonly used in sociology and anthropology. One of the most quoted definitions was written by Edward Burnett Tylor (1871), in his book *Primitive Culture*, where the term ‘cultural’ was defined as: ‘*complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society*’ (Tylor, 1871, p.1). In this definition, culture can be regarded as the whole complex of distinctive material – spiritual and intellectual – that characterises a community, society or social group. It includes not only arts and literature but also beliefs, values, traditions and behaviour. As Mitchell (2000, p.13) reflected that culture included ‘... *language, dress, food, habits, music, housing styles, religion, family structures and most importantly, values.*’ Also, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952) collected 164 distinct definitions of ‘culture’ in *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definition*, including,

‘Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and

especially their attached values).' (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952, p.181)

In the context of the built environment, many scholars have argued that the term culture can be understood with respect to both human behaviour and physical dimensions (Rapoport, 2000). Stephen Harris and Joy Kinslow-Harris (1984, p.32) stressed that '*Culture encapsulates a person's way of life and everything one thinks and feels, and how one behaves or represents thoughts/feelings in a social and spatial environment.*' The view of culture extends to the way in which a social group represents itself through a spatial environment or its physical artefacts. This material aspect of culture is reproduced through mechanisms that are also part of culture; the design and construction characteristics of buildings mirror the commonalities of a culture as a whole, or distinguish one built environment from another, as per the nature of rules embedded in them (Furlan and Faggion, 2015). Based on the habitus concept (Bourdieu, 1977), with regard to the house, Lawrence (1985, p.117) pointed out '*houses are sociocultural artefacts*' because it is the defined dwelling environments, as the time-line of past and present, that provide a framework for daily household experiences. In this research, the culture relates to the vernacular dwelling, and the traditional ideas and values embedded in building and everyday use is part of that culture.

For the purpose of the study, culture is defined as a set of values and beliefs of a group or society that is transmitted from one generation to the next through meaningful practices and built environments, and the way settings are used. In addition, it underlines the existence of a strong intangible element to culture, and the material culture makes up only a part of it. The concept of culture provides a useful basis for understanding the relationship between built form, ways of living and culture.

3.3.2 Culture and architecture

Architecture is an expression of the cultural context in which it resides. The form and relationships of buildings and spaces can be used to describe the ways of living and social status of inhabitants. Architectural

form not only contains the basic needs of a group of people or society, but also responds to more complex system.

Most vernacular dwellings are cultural in the sense that they result from human actions given over historical time. The inhabited space with which human continuously interact include settlement, buildings, spatial organisation, interior settings. According to Rapoport (1992), cultural traits allow human to behave and react differently to a given condition, including values, beliefs, norms, lifestyles and the like. Human shape their dwellings according to cultural traits. Different cultural traits lead to different tangible and intangible products forming a distinctive cultural dwelling.

It is clear that this study focuses on the specific vernacular dwelling within a specific area. According to one of Triandis' (1972) views on the study of culture, it seeks to provide the best description of social phenomena and uses concepts developed from the examination of only one culture which is the case for architectural study.

Several theoretical approaches regarding culture are examined for determining its relevance to vernacular architecture. An influential framework about how to study culture from both material and intangible aspects was introduced by B. Malinowski in his *A Scientific Theory of Culture* in 1944. Malinowski regards culture as the means by which people adapt themselves to the environment in the satisfaction of needs. Based on function, the satisfaction of a need by an activity, he defines the relationship between the human needs and culture. He correlates the basic human needs to cultural responses through dismantling into components (Malinowski, 1944; Herskovits, 1955). In his analysis, Malinowski (1944, p.150) states that culture can be analysed into many aspects regarding the type of activity, '*such as education, social control, economics, systems of knowledge, belief and morality, and also modes of creative and artistic expression.*' He views culture as a process involving the material aspects of culture, namely, artefacts, human social relations and symbolic acts (Malinowski, 1944; Karakul, 2011).

Variable culture combining with environmental variables, settlement scale and social characteristics leads to various types of vernacular dwellings, which culture in the vernacular environment has a great influence on it (Rapoport, 1980b, 2005; Oliver, 1987). As one of the founders of Environment-Behaviour Studies (EBS), Amos Rapoport (2005) proposes a framework to systematize culture-built environment relations, which can be seen in Figure 3.1. Rapoport (2005) states that to link culture with architecture, cannot be done directly because culture is too abstract. Culture can be dismantled into small components and variable in two ways. One way is culture can be specified into elements associated with certain aspects of the architecture, like world views, values, lifestyle and activity system. Another way culture can be extracted tangible elements to be more observable, like kinship, family structures, roles, etc. These two ways are different, but they complement and influence each other. Therefore, it necessary to consider two ways at the same time (Heidari, Mohammad and Behdadfar, 2014). Rapoport's contributions are particularly important for this research because his definition of culture is formed by constituent components of interrelationships.

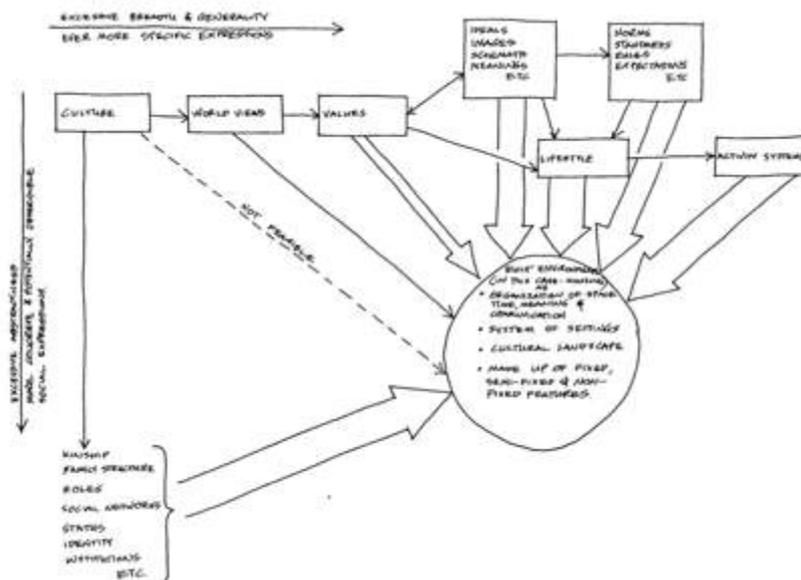


Figure 3.1 Interrelationships between components of culture and built environment. Source from Rapoport (2005, p.98)

The main outcome of this diagram is ‘activity systems’ that is directly related to lifestyle and culture and provides a useful entry point into relating culture and built environment through human behaviour (Rapoport, 1980a, 2005; Yousefniapasha, 2016). As can be seen from the Figure 4.1, lifestyle leads to the understanding of activity and activity systems, which are the most concrete expression of culture. People cannot look at a single activity, but must consider activity systems that includes activities related to living, work, social, worship, and something more related to the daily living activities not only in the dwelling itself (Rapoport, 1990, 2005). Rapoport (1980a, p.10) suggests that it is easier to identify the differences in lifestyle, values, images and worldviews beginning with activity, and finally identify cultural aspects related to the built environment.

Another outcome proposed is ‘systems of settings’ derived from dismantlement of built environment (Rapoport, 1980b, 2005). Rapoport (1990) argues that the activity takes place in systems of settings, including streets, settlements, open spaces and the whole landscape, rather than in architecture. This is because people do not live in dwellings alone, but they inhabit in systems of settings (Gehl, 2010). Thus, the study the vernacular dwelling should not only study the buildings themselves, but also consider the system of settings and activity systems.

These former studies can help to understand architecture and culture relationships from a cultural perspective. In addition to cultural approaches, the following section will demonstrate that a broader range of aspects is needed to decipher the relationships between the architectural forms. However, none of them can explain the interrelationships between architectural form, ways of living and culture in the evolution process.

3.4 From a cultural-anthropological perspective

This study extends the existing literature by bringing together existing architectural anthropology (e.g. Amerlink, 2001) and cultural theorisation (e.g. Rapoport, 2005) from a cultural-anthropological perspective in the dynamic context. It shows the interrelationships between architectural form, ways of living and culture in the evolution

process. Many scholars state that the study of vernacular architecture requires the combination of different approaches to effectively conduct research, because no one approach can comprehensively cover all the objectives of such research (Oliver, 1987; Rapoport, 2006; Yousefniapasha, 2016).

This study views cultural components as comprising living culture, building culture and values and beliefs, each of which are interrelated parts and cannot be analysed out of context. A diagram describing these interrelations is shown in Figure 3.2. A select these three aspects has been reviewed which have been found to be the most influential in the study of architecture form. Not all aspects of culture have an impact on architectural form (Kenney, 1994).

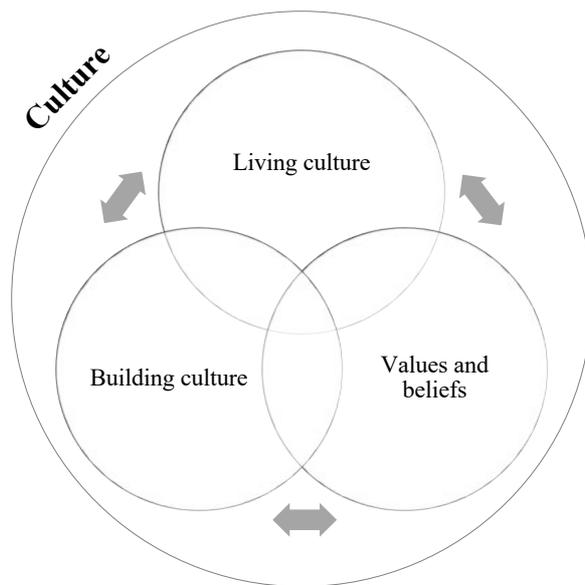


Figure 3.2 Cultural components containing living culture, building culture and values and beliefs

Living culture is a reflection of culture in the built environment, which includes certain cultural expression (Karakul, 2007, 2011). Ways of living, family structure and kinship are examined as the components of living culture within the scope of this study. Activities are more specific aspect of ways of living (Rapoport, 1980). According to Rapoport (1969, p.56), family structure in some particular examples of vernacular

architecture clearly affects house form; it mainly affects the required activities of the architectural form, determines the function of the room, and affects the spatial organisation of the building regarding the association type of activities (Oliver, 1997b). Kinship also affects the architectural form (Rapoport, 1969), which is mainly reflected in this study in the settlement form and spatial organisation.

Building culture, as another reflection of culture in the built environment, also contains certain cultural expression. The interrelationship of building culture with physical environments can be examined in terms of the selection and style of usage or pattern of the building materials and architectural elements, as well as construction details and scale (Karakul, 2011). Taken as a whole, building culture can be also understood in relation to technology and knowledge (Pultar, 1998; Ito, 2003). However, this study does not involve craftsmanship in building culture, rather it focusses more on the discussion of the conservation the physical aspects, including site, spatial organisation of buildings, building structures and constructions, and interior decoration settings, in the following chapters.

Values and beliefs also have the formative power of cultural expression. Within this study, it means a set of values and beliefs about *'how to behave or do things'* of a group or society (Altman and Chemers, 1984; Mitchell, 2000). In terms of Kenney's (1994), values are one of the primary aspects of organizational culture system, and cultural system relies on a series of values rather than a single dominant value. The series of values are responsible for the overall cohesion of the culture system. He (Kenney, 1994, p.2-3) also quotes Laszlo's saying: *'Cultures are value-guided systems... Values define cultural man's need for rationality, meaningfulness in emotional experience, richness of imagination, and depth of faith.'* Values and beliefs include not only 'mental' and 'behavioural' processes, but also in objects and physical environments. Vernacular dwellings explicitly reflect the values and beliefs of a culture. Thus, physical environment is shaped by these values and beliefs which lead to choices whether in creating a particular house or a settlement (Rapoport,1980).

The main objectives of this chapter are to identify the theoretical location of the study. The study is to discuss the vernacular architecture from architectural anthropology and cultural studies, and the findings of the study will contribute new knowledge to the discipline of vernacular architecture in the changing context. Therefore, the theoretical location of this study is perceived on the map of vernacular architecture from a cultural-anthropological perspective.

4 Methodology

4.1 Methodological approaches

Research methodology occupies a central position in the research process. This section presents the research approach – a qualitative approach based on ethnography and thematic analysis – and aims to set out the methodological position of this study. Accordingly, the following section explains how the research approaches were applicable to this study.

4.1.1 Qualitative research

This study adopts a qualitative approach, including on-site observations, photographic surveys and semi-structured interviews. A qualitative approach can be used to understand and explain social phenomena, which aims to answer questions about the ‘in what way’, ‘why’ or ‘how’ rather than ‘how many’ or ‘how much’ that are answered by quantitative methods (Hancock, 2002; Mason, 2002; Creswell, 2014). This approach was adopted in this study in response to the research questions of how a traditional architecture morphs into a 21st century expression and the processes involved.

According to Creswell (2014), qualitative research takes place in a natural setting, enabling the researcher to develop a degree of detail from in-depth involvement in the actual experiences. It is a social science research that collects and works with words rather than numbers, and that attempts to interpret meanings that help us to understand social life through research on target populations or places (Punch, 2013; Walia, 2015). Since the goal of this research is to explore the interrelationship between the architectural form, people’s ways of living and the culture of the Mosuo in the evolution process, use of the qualitative approach is appropriate to achieve the goal of this research. This is because the:

‘Qualitative research is ... concerned with how the complexities of the sociocultural world are experienced, interpreted, and understood in a particular context and at a particular point in time. The intent of qualitative research is to examine a social situation or interaction by allowing the researcher to enter the world of

others and attempt to achieve a holistic rather than a reductionist understanding' (Mason, 1996, cited in Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008, p.80).

Therefore, the use of qualitative research is considered to provide a means of obtaining a very rich and in-depth explanation of research questions within the scope of current research.

4.1.2 Ethnography

Ethnography is a form of qualitative research aimed at studying cultures and groups from the perspective of research objects. According to Fetterman (2010, p.1), ethnography is *'the art and science of describing a group or culture.'* It is the in-depth study of the behaviour, values and social interactions among the members of the group, involving participation and observation over a long period of time, and description and interpretation of the data collected (Cook and Crang, 1995; Creswell, 2014; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Herbert, 2000; Mohajan, 2018). This approach in the current study is used in order to gain a thick description and an interpretation of the Mosuo dwellings and the social and culture structure of Mosuo people.

Clifford Geertz (1973, p.167) described ethnography as *'a craft of place that works by the light of local knowledge.'* Unlike case studies that study a person, a project, or an event, ethnography studies the entire group that shares a common culture (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001; Reeves et al., 2013). While my research approach is grounded in ethnography, this is not an ethnographic study of the Mosuo as a people. This study concerns the dwelling and cultural changes of the Mosuo people in the context of modernisation and tourism, rather than simply the Mosuo people and its culture.

Current ethnographic studies are increasingly appearing in the study of architecture (Vellinga, 2017). For example, Swiss architect and theorist Sascha Roesler (2014) proposed an ethnographic approach, which is an architectural-ethnographic research. In his opinion, architectural-ethnographic representation can be divided into three forms: visualisation, embodiment, and translation. Danish architectural researcher Marie

Stender agreed and expanded Roesler's view that architectural-ethnographic research is as relevant when studying urban space as when studying vernacular architecture. Stender (2017, p.33) argued that

'Any ethnographic attempt to analyse what a building does would have to be approached through the social life that takes place in and around it. Still, the spatial and material perspectives of both our ethnographic analysis and anthropological theories could benefit from inspiration from, and collaboration with, the world of architecture, where spatial and material aspects are much more thoroughly integrated.'

The application of ethnography in architectural research can be further developed in the study of vernacular architecture. Stender (2017, p.30) pointed out that *'studies of vernacular architecture can provide an understanding of local building traditions and materials, but ethnographic analysis of contemporary cultural identity, spatial organisations, and every practice in the given society may be even more useful for the architect working abroad.'* This study uses an ethnographic approach to discuss relations about the intricate relationship between architecture, ways of living and culture. This methodological approach serves as an effective means to provide deep insights into the architectural expression and building traditions of specific peoples and cultures.

As stated in the previous theoretical chapter, the theoretical stand of this study is based on the field of architectural anthropology. Melhuish (1996) discussed that at the centre of the methodological discipline of anthropology are fieldwork and first-hand observations, which have been widely accepted as a necessary preliminary for any architectural project. Therefore, in order to conduct fieldwork from an anthropological sense, the author stayed in the villages of the Mosuo people for a long period of time, drawing and photographing its dwellings, observing and interviewing its family members, and participating in daily as well as ceremonial activities. Research methods will be described in detail in the research design.

4.1.3 Thematic analysis

In this study, a thematic analysis method was used to analyse all transcripts of interviews. Thematic analysis is defined as a method for *'identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data'* (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.79). Thematic analysis is a data analysis strategy that is a widely used approach of analysis in qualitative research (Castleberry and Nolen, 2018). Braun and Clarke (2006) believed that thematic analysis is a foundational method to qualitative analysis, because it provides core skills for facilitating many other types of analysis. The goal of a thematic analysis is to identify themes that are relevant to a particular research question and use them to answer or address the research (King and Horrocks, 2010; Clarke and Braun, 2013). Maguire and Delahunt (2017, p.3353) stated that *'this is much more than simply summarising the data; a good thematic analysis interprets and makes sense of it.'*

With regard to this study, using thematic analysis is the most appropriate method for the data analysis for the following reasons:

- First, thematic analysis is flexible and can be used with any theory chosen by the researcher, and allows for rich, detailed and complex descriptions of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006; King, 2004).
- Second, thematic analysis does not need the complex theoretical and technical knowledge of other qualitative analysis; it is simple and easy to use, especially for early researchers (Braun and Clarke, 2006). For those who are unfamiliar with qualitative methods, they may find that thematic analysis is easy to master and relatively fast to learn because there are fewer prescriptions and procedures for it (Nowell et al., 2017).
- Third, according to Braun and Clarke (2006) and King (2004), the usefulness of thematic analysis is that it can examine the views of different research participants by observing the similarities or differences in the entire data set, generating unexpected insights. Moreover, thematic analysis can help researchers clarify the structure of thesis when summarising key features of large data sets (King, 2004). In this research, thematic analysis is conducted more on an

analysis with the inhabitants and is also applied to the professionals (including local officials, the head of villager, developer, etc.).

This study draws on Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six phase framework (Figure 4.1) and applies it in a systematic manner to interpret the process of analysis. As it provides a clear and usable framework for doing thematic analysis, it is arguably the most influential method approach in the social sciences (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). This visually effective means of analysing data is achieved through the concept of a ‘tree’ diagram style (Braun and Clarke, 2006), which is reflected in this study. Here, they illustrate the process using an example based on a short extract from a photo elicit interview, conducted with inhabitants.

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Figure 4.1 Phases of Thematic Analysis. Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006, p.95)

The themes are inducted directly from the text. This research aims mainly to obtain an interpretive description based on an exploration of the inhabitants’ and professionals’ perceptions of the changes occurring in the Mosuo dwellings. The formation of themes was based on the transcribed data gathered from the interviews. A large amount of qualitative interview data requires thorough analysis; through thematic analysis, it makes sense to look at the data and attempt to identify the descriptive patterns arising from the stories contained therein (King and Horrocks, 2010). Thematic analysis was used for the all transcripts of interviews, as further discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

4.2 Research design

This section explains how the research methods were designed. There are two types of data in this research: primary and secondary data. From the

fieldwork conducted in the Yongning township, Lijiang, primary data included photographic surveys, observation and measurement, plus interviews with local inhabitants, the head of the village, local governors, planning officers and developers. In addition, the researcher collected secondary data from the National Library of China, and Lugu Lake tourism administration officers at county, township and village levels.

In terms of the procedure of the investigation, it is necessary to apply documentary research before fieldwork. Documentary research involves theoretical investigation based on published material, existing literature and other second-hand material. Through documentary research, the main definition of key terms in the study would be defined, such as inhabited space and culture. In addition, the significance of the study would be revealed, based on the theoretical gap identified through the literature review. Furthermore, the documentary research would provide multiple levels of information relevant to the social transformation of contemporary China, for instance, modernisation, tourism development in vernacular villages and ethnic minority development. This information creates a socio-cultural backdrop for the cases to be investigated. It also provides guidance for the fieldwork in terms of selection of the site and participants. In general, the documentary research provides a theoretical basis for the field study.

After reviewing methodological approaches, the author chose an integrative anthropological and architectural method to investigate the interrelationships between the built form and the culture of the Mosuo in the evolution process. Waterson (1998, p.xv) notes that in the last 20 years or so, indigenous architectures have become the subject of a growing literature by both architects and anthropologists, yet the two disciplines are not taken together as an integrated approach. According to Vellinga (2007, p.756-757), anthropology and architecture lie closely in their studies yet have different focusses, strengths and weaknesses. When anthropology and architecture are taken together in academic studies, it can provide fruitful perspectives about dynamic interrelationship of architectural forms and social aspects of a setting.

Multiple methods like observations and semi-structured interviews are employed in the fieldwork alongside architectural methods, such as measurement and architectural drawings. Anthropological fieldwork involves living among the people under study for a lengthy period, and gathering data through continuous involvement in their lives and activities (Fetterman, 2009; Bhat, 2019). Through lengthy participation, author becomes familiar and is able to gain insight and first-hand information. The strength of the anthropological approach is the ability to view things at close quarters, and the thick descriptions produced from the long involvement (Johnson, 1975, 1978; Pelto, 1970; Spradley, 1980). As Lucas (2016, p.69) stated, '*Field research focuses on context, and prioritizing the messiness of everyday life produces research that is grounded in real life rather than abstracted and aloof.*' Anthropological fieldwork suited the thesis, as the researcher conducted the research in minorities villages where the locals' identities were so different from her own. Fieldwork techniques allowed the researcher to spend time establishing relationships and gaining acceptance in the Mosuo villages, in order to produce the thick description of Mosuo dwellings and its culture.

On the other hand, architecture, as explained by Vellinga (2007, p.256), is a central constituent of culture and it has been frequently studied from an anthropological point of view. Architectural research approaches, as existing in some literature, focus on relationships in space and time in relation to people who design and use the buildings in everyday lives (Rapoport, 1990). The strength of an architectural research approach is the ability to tangibly explain the concepts of places and visualise the interrelationships between places, peoples and their underlying ideas. Its visually illustrative outputs are understandable by a wider audience from different backgrounds (Groat and Wang, 2002). As a dwelling incorporates a spatial arrangement according to the various demands of the inhabitants, an architectural approach, which emphasises the spatial relationship between people and places, is used to visualise and decode the dynamic relationship in the dwellings. Some research methods commonly used in the discipline of architecture, such as space analysis, measurement, drawing and mapping, are also applied to collect some physical evidence of the changes in the dwellings. Together the thick

descriptions from an anthropological approach and the visualisation and spatial relations from architectural approach help widen and deepen understanding of the interrelationships between architectural form, ways of living and culture.

Rather than verifying previous existing theories, the basic methodological position of this study is to discover the interrelationship between the Mosuo dwellings as inhabited space, architectural form and the culture of the Mosuo in the evolution process. The research objective and research object in this study will be clarified through a step-by-step investigation conducted in the two-stage fieldwork. A more substantive topic needs to be identified through fieldwork. The first stage of fieldwork will be conducted according to the general research direction identified by the suggestion of theoretical gaps. The investigation in the first phase of fieldwork will generate new research questions and hypotheses to guide the second stage fieldwork. Therefore, the two-stage fieldwork forms a progressive process.

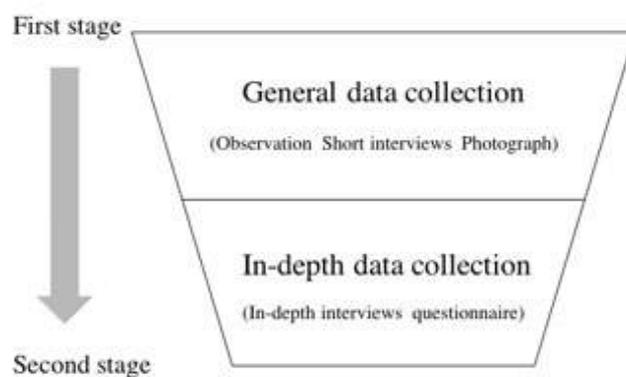


Figure 4.2 Process of investigation. (Drawn by author)

The fieldwork was carried out based on the progressive process, which is a process embracing two stages: general data collection and in-depth data collection (Figure 4.2). After two stages of the evolutionary investigation, the initial research objective was gradually narrowed down from a general research topic to a specific subject, which facilitated intensive and in-depth data collection. The two-stage fieldwork was carried out in a progressive investigation process. In addition, the theoretical gaps identified through the literature review are of relevance to the phenomena

happening in a real field through application of investigation, which associated the research questions to be investigated with the behaviour, ways of living and perspectives of real people in a real field.

The research object and objective were not very clear in the first stage of study, however after this initial stage, the research object had narrowed from all types of Mosuo vernacular architecture, to the typical Mosuo inhabitants involved in the hybrid and new construction dwellings. The research objective shifted from exploring the evolution of the Mosuo architectural form and Mosuo daily life, to exploring the interrelationship between the built form, ways of living and the culture of the Mosuo people. A comparison of the research objects and objective in the two stages of fieldwork is listed below (Table 4.1). Two stages, the pilot study and the second stage of fieldwork will be carried out in more detail later in this chapter.

Stage	Object	Objective	Methods	Conduct time
First stage	Traditional, hybrid and new construction dwellings	To understand the evolution and how Cultural Architectural Assets are preserved or retained in existing form or modified form as well as changes.	Observation; Short interviews; Photographic survey.	July - August 2016 (41 days)
Second stage	Mosuo habitants involved in their dwellings, professionals and tourists	To understand the expression of culture in the architecture, what is important, what is retained and how it is expressed in modern form.	Photo elicit interviews; Professional interviews; Questionnaire.	April - May 2017 (17 days)

Table 4.1 Research objects and objectives in two stages of fieldwork

As the research objects and objectives varied in the two stages of fieldwork, the questions which guided the interviews also varied. As a result, the data collected through interviews in the two stages of fieldwork varied. The specific questions that guided each stage of interviews and the content of data collected through the interviews in each stage of

fieldwork will be explained in the discussion following this chapter. The interviews were recorded by hand in a notebook, and at the same time, a digital voice recorder was an important tool to supplement data recording during the interviews.

4.3 Stage 1 – Pilot study

A pilot study was carried out in this research to give a preliminary picture of the place during the first-stage fieldwork. Rapoport and Hardie (1991, p.53) explain that a pre-observation supports the researcher by providing a sense of place and the chance to become familiar with the research context. It consisted of familiarisation of the location, initial short interviews, selection of villages and dwelling cases for the detailed study and consolidating contacts for the interviews. Through the pilot study, I was able to establish contacts with local Mosuo people and map out the area of my research. Selection methods, data collection and analysis of pilot studies are discussed in detail below.

4.3.1 Selection of study area

The geographical boundary of the study is limited to Mosuo villages in the Yongning basin area, in Yunnan Province of southwest China. These areas are geographically and historically significant to the Mosuo people. Geographically, the Yongning basin area was chosen because the majority of ethnic villages around this region of Yunnan Province are dominated by the Mosuo people. As indicated in the Introduction, the Yongning region is the cultural centre of the Mosuo. Most local residents are Mosuo, making up 50% of the local population in the Yongning region (Statistics Bureau of Ninglang County, 1981–2003).

The second reason for selecting this area is that, historically, Yongning was a communications hub and a commodity distribution centre for tea transportation in Yunnan, Sichuan and Tibet – part of a route taken by horse caravans, known as the Tea and Horse Caravan Trail. Because of the historical connection, the distinctive ethnic culture and beauty of the Lugu Lake, ethnic villages around the Lugu Lake were positioned on a popular tourist site. Another reason for selecting this area lies in the fact that ethnic tourism in the Lugu Lake area was explored in the 1990s in

the wake of the opening and reform policy (Walsh, 2005). After that, the tourism development in the Lugu Lake area became a landmark in Yunnan Province, especially the villages of Luoshui and Lige. Although the degree of tourism development varies among these Mosuo villages, within the last two decades, the villages in the Yongning region have started to become more involved in modernisation and tourism, and have become targets for further development. This study focusses on those ethnic Mosuo villages which are to be developed in the Yongning region.

To understand the current status of the built environment and the changes occurring, nine villages in the Yongning area were chosen as the site for the pilot study. The reason for selecting nine different villages with varied geographical scope was in order to maintain a certain degree of generality and diversity in the collection of data, so that the theory concluded from the analysis of the data could provide an explanation of the phenomena from a considerably more general geographical perspective.



Figure 4.3 Location of nine villages in Yongning area and Lugu Lake (Source from Google map, 2016)

It started in the Zhashi village of Lijiang, Yunnan Province; from there I went to Zhongshi village, Chenjiawan village, Lige village, Dapo village,

Zhudi village, Zhebo village, Wenquan village and Lijiazui village in Sichuan Province – a total of nine villages (Figure 4.3). Zhashi village, Zhongshi village, Chenjiawan village and Lige village were surveyed as complete villages; the remaining villages in the location were sample surveyed.

4.3.2 Observation

Observation method was used to collect data relevant to visual information. This study is about a range of dimensions of the social world, not just verbal responses to an interview or written texts, including daily routines and ways of living. It focusses on the ways in which these social phenomena are performed in the context of a ‘setting’ because the results are observed in a dwelling rather than contrived in an experiment or reported or constructed in an interview. As Mason (2002, p.84) notes,

‘the term ‘observation’ usually refers to methods of generating data which entail the researcher immersing herself or himself in a research ‘setting’ so that they can experience and observe at first hand a range of dimensions in and of that setting.’

This study is to build explanations through some form of interpretive data analysis, with little emphasis on enumeration. Observation method is likely to lay some considerable emphasis on the claim that the data were ‘naturally’ occurring, or at least generated through a contextual setting, rather than clearly artificially manufactured or reconstructed (Mason, 2002). Observational data is also very useful in overcoming discrepancies between what people say and what they actually do, and might help uncover behaviour of which the participants themselves may not be aware (Patton and Cochran, 2002). I lived in the Zhashi village for over one month, during which I was able to observe Mosuo inhabitants’ daily activities. Local residents helped me to understand the beliefs and culture of the Mosuo people under study. Every day had its pattern; the simple, ritualistic behaviours of conducting daily life illustrated how people used their space and time, and how they determined what is precious, sacred and profane.

As well as providing useful contextual information about the setting, observation data is also vital for designing good interviews (Patton, 2002) and for suggesting who might be an appropriate person to conduct the interviews with. In addition, the physical architectural features and usage of space in a dwelling could be gathered through physical observations, for instance, the house plan, room size, the use of domestic space and the changing, habitable space, the domestic lives of the occupants, and so on. These observations were also used in order to investigate the processes and effects of transformation and cultural settings.

As an outsider with limited resources, I conducted the first-stage fieldwork in a touristic way of seeing and attended as many domestic activities as possible in the local community, such as the bonfire dance and funeral. According to Facero (2007), 'touristic ways of seeing' are 'addressing through such term the contemporary practices for representing (and consuming) cultural otherness in the 'habitats' of the world, and particular strategies for exploring the world.' Rather than a matter of 'seeing things' while physically 'touring', I approached the touristic ways of seeing deployed in activities belonging to the everyday life of the Mosuo inhabitants. Travelling around the Mosuo villages and participating in their everyday lives gradually facilitated an understanding of the different cultural contexts, which is an adjustment process.

According to the emphasis of the investigation, the observations in the study focus on the following actions of inhabitants:

- What daily routines are there in the Mosuo dwellings?
- How do the locals interact with their own space? When do people eat? When do they sleep? Is there a pattern to the week?
- What is the spatial arrangement of Mosuo dwellings, the function of each space and the decoration of each dwelling?
- How have changes happened to the original Mosuo dwellings?
- How do these changes influence the lifestyle of residents of the dwellings?

4.3.3 Short interviews

Short interviews were carried out in this stage to collect data relevant to the general information. In terms of participants, any people located at the site could be potential participants. Most of interviewees were chosen because they were engaged in social development and were changing dwellings for the purpose of modernisation or tourism development; these included local residents, the heads of villages, developers, local government leaders and staff. An informal style of interviewing was used to allow villagers the freedom to speak naturally and relax. A suitable time was arranged to meet them for interviews and measurements.

During the first phase of fieldwork, household censuses of every family claiming local residence and adherence to Mosuo traditions were conducted through short interviews. One adult representative from each selected household was asked to provide demographic information, including age, gender, occupation, marital status, family members, family structure, migration and educational history, dwelling area, etc., for each person born in the household. Some informants were further interviewed about household characteristics, such as family income and the presence of valuable goods (e.g. cars). Through short interviews with owner of dwellings, some data were found by asking questions, such as how and why did Mosuo dwellings change? What was the impact of these changes on Mosuo people in their daily life? What were the changes upon the living habits of local people of the vernacular architecture? Such information can provide an indirect accessibility to local customs and practices as observed through the eyes of local people. While conducting interviews and taking measurements, the researcher observed the environments and situations inside and outside the houses. The length of time for each interview was about half an hour each case, but this was flexible.

4.3.4 Photographic survey

Visual methods can provide an alternative angle on the research questions (Mason, 2002). A photograph approach in this study means ‘a precise machine-made record of a scene or subject, and primary concern is the accuracy in which case the subject is the ‘source’” (Byers, 1964; Sekula, 1975). To generate some visual data, a digital camera was used to record

the physical architectural features, daily activities, usage of space in a dwelling, and other relevant information. In addition, data relevant to how changes occurred to the original Mosuo dwellings, and the influence these changes had upon the ways of living of inhabitants of their dwellings, were also collected through photographs.

Most of the architectural changes were recorded photographically, however some records were painted freehand; these photographic records and the sketches of the house plans supported the in-depth interviews to provide a foundation for analysing the evolution of dwellings. Moreover, these photos served as a basis for the interviews in the latter stage of the fieldwork.

The initial stage of fieldwork lasted 41 days, from 19th July 2016 to 27th August 2016, and examined the diversity of Mosuo dwellings in evolution through:

- Photographic surveys: in total over 6,000 photos were taken of the nine villages and over 230 households;
- Interviews with 26 persons were conducted, including local residents, the head of villages, developers, painters, planning officers, local government leaders and staff;
- Categorised mapping of building layout/accommodation according to building type to identify the range of building forms (four villages and 180 families);
- 70,000 words were written in field diaries (in Chinese) during this time, such as observation of the three-day traditional Mosuo funeral ceremony (see Appendix G), the construction process of the Dingya family's house and the Mountain-Circling Festival.

4.4 Stage 2 – Fieldwork

It was clear that the collection of data in this stage of fieldwork was much more intensive and more explicit in its purpose through focussing on data relevant to the research rationale. To understand different perspectives, the research objects for this stage were those individuals involved in the dwellings: Mosuo people, professionals and tourists; however, inhabitants of the dwellings in the Mosuo region were the main

interviewees in this stage. To achieve the research objective²³, three methods were conducted: photo elicit interviews with a small sample of local Mosuo families, taking into consideration their perceptions of their living environment and buildings; walking interviews with professionals, with regard to the textual data; and a questionnaire for the tourists in the field.

4.4.1 Selection of case study village

The reason for selecting Zhashi village as a case study village is that it is a typical Mosuo village. Zhashi village as the core fieldwork site, is located five kilometres away from Lugu Lake and six kilometres away from Yongning Township government in Ninglang County, northern Lijiang Prefecture in Yunnan Province. According to the data in 2012, there are 72 households with a population of 352, including 348 of the Mosuo. 98% of the existing population in the village is a resident of Mosuo villages, retaining the most primitive ethnic customs. Information from the head of Zhashi village identifies that 93% of the population (i.e. the majority) of the village is comprised of Mosuo people; in 2016, the remaining 7% (of 401) consists of Han, Pumi, Naxi and Tibetans.

Another reason is that Zhashi village has the best representative dwellings of Mosuo cultural vernacular architecture. Unlike the villages around the Lugu Lake that are already highly developed, most of the houses from Zhashi village still retain the traditional house form and Mosuo culture. There are several well preserved Mosuo dwellings which are over 100-years-old, these historical buildings can be studied to enable learning from the Mosuo traditions. In addition, Zhashi village has been influenced by modernisation and tourism and it can be seen that local villagers are changing their dwellings. The village has not been systematically developed but villagers have started to spontaneously build guesthouses: three guesthouses are already open to the tourists and three more are being built. Therefore, there are three types of dwellings in the Zhashi village: traditional, hybrid and new construction dwellings.

General data of Zhashi village

²³ As mentioned above, the objective of the second stage of fieldwork is to understand the expression of culture in the architecture, what is important, what is retained and how it is expressed in the modern form.

Zhashi village is the first village in the Yongning basin area. The total area of the Zhashi village is 3.97 square kilometres, with an average elevation of 2,645 metres, cultivated land of 910 mu (a unit of area=0.0667 hectares) and woodland totalling 15189.1 mu. The forest coverage rate of the Zhashi village is nearly 70%, which preserves the most intact mountain ecological environment. Hence, Zhashi village is classified as an ecological, ethnic culture and tourism village. According to the overall requirements of the Socialist New Countryside, the provincial party committee and government placed an emphasis on ‘production development, well-off life, civilised rural areas, clean and tidy villages and democratic management’. In 2011, Zhashi village was also the key demonstration village of the new rural areas (CPC Committee of Ninglang County, People’s Government of Ninglang County, 2012). In 2007, the per capita income of the village was 1,700 RMB; in 2011 this increased to 3,036 RMB, higher than the average county level of 2962 RMB. However, tourism-rich households, such as the Dingya family, may earn an annual income of up to 250,000 RMB.

Figure 4.4 shows a map of the village and location. Zhashi village is open plan, no massive walls or clay fences mark its territoriality and it has only one entrance through which to enter. Surrounding it are cultivated and agricultural lands that act as natural resources in supporting the inhabitants. More than 85% of the Mosuo residential courtyards are built on the hill and fully reflect the ecological ethnic cultural tourism village of the Mosuo matriarchal family and the agrarian lifestyle of the Yongning basin area.



Figure 4.4 Zhashi village map. (Google Maps, 2016)

4.4.2 Selection of samples

This section will discuss how and why certain Mosuo dwellings were chosen as appropriate research cases. In order to reach the research objective, this study used purposive sampling. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p.202) point out, many qualitative researchers purposively employ particular sampling methods, then they seek out groups, settings and individuals where the processes to be studied are most likely to occur. This sampling technique allows the selections of cases which show some interesting processes, through exploring numerous areas of rich information (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002). The sample cases then need to fulfil the selected criteria. Several basic considerations were used to select the samples used in this research, based upon the research questions and objectives.

The most important selection criterion was that cases (dwellings) should show evidence of a dynamic evolution process yet still retain the traditional culture. This required the identification of physical, behavioural and spatial settings; those cases would then be considered as representative samples. In the pilot study, it was possible to recognise the house forms and roughly classify the degree of transformation in order to assess the potential of these houses as a research sample.

Thus, five Mosuo courtyard dwellings were chosen as the cases to be investigated for the following reasons:

- They are the most representative and typical Mosuo families in the Zhashi village; they cover three generations, keep Mosuo culture and daily life, and live in the typical Mosuo dwellings.
- The five courtyard dwellings are all hybrid dwellings of the most representative style.
- These five dwellings have a variety of changes, in order to keep a certain degree of diversity in the data collection.

To preserve the interviewees' anonymity, a nomenclature was established as a representation of each individual (Saunders, Kitzinger and Kitzinger, 2015). A code comprises two parts: letters and numbers. The first letter signifies the family (F); the numbers signifies interviewee

number according to their sequences of interviews. For example, F101 refers to an interviewee no.1 in family 1 in Zhashi village; F203 refers to an interviewee no.3 in family 2.

4.4.3 Photo elicitation interviews

In the second-stage fieldwork, in order to discover how the Mosuo people understand their living cultural background and dwelling changes, photo elicitation interviews (Harper, 2002) guided by the photographs from first-stage analysis, concentrated on five families and their dwellings. Photo elicitation is a research method of using photographs in interviews (Clark-Ibanez, 2004; Harper, 2002; Thomas, 2009); the main purpose of photo elicitation interviews was to record how the Mosuo family members responded to the meanings and emotions of the photographs. Photographs evoke information, feelings and memories in ways different from or supplemented by those obtained through verbal inquiry (Harper, 2002). John Collier noted that photo interviewing involved: *'a more subtle function of graphic imagery. This was its compelling effect upon the informant, its ability to prod latent memory, to stimulate and release emotional statements about the informant's life'* (1957, p.858). The interviewees helped me to obtain in-depth data about the changes and the valuable parts of the Mosuo dwellings.

The primary reason for selecting families interviews instead of individual interviews were family is important to the Mosuo people. According to Shih (1993), Mosuo matriarchal society was based on a household-oriented, the household was both the core and ultimate source of cultural values. Thus, their courtyard dwellings were built based on their cultural values. Secondly, as known from the first-stage fieldwork²⁴, a Mosuo family usually consists of three or four generations who are related matrilineally. The participants were all from Zhashi village, and included three generations of different ages, ranging from 18 to 80 years old, for

²⁴ There are 72 families in Zhashi village in 2016. In the first-stage fieldwork, I collected data of family general information about family composition, family relationships, age, marital status, etc. and the photographs of their living spaces, the survey covered all of the families in Zhashi village. The purpose is to gain a comprehensive understanding of the cultural environment in which the Mosuo live. More importantly, I was trying to build the connection with the locals for the next stage depth investigation.

example, the eldest grandmother, Dabu,²⁵ an uncle and an individual from the younger generation. The reason for choosing three generations was because this could potentially reveal changes in the understanding of Mosuo culture through the Mosuo extended matriarchal family.

The photo elicitation interviews (see Appendix A) were conducted individually with selected family members, and were divided into three parts: 1) warm-up interviews, to ascertain descriptions that the participant felt to be the most important; 2) a participatory activity, to select the photos in the booklet; 3) short interviews, to discuss the ideal house for the Mosuo. The time allocated for each interview was one-hour, during which historical stories and visual data were collected. It took two or three days in total to conduct the interviews for each family. The entire proceedings were recorded via a handheld device. The audio interviews were edited into transcripts in Chinese (See appendix D) and then analysed by thematic analysis.

In order to better understand the context and find out what is meaningful to Mosuo locals, taking into consideration that each generation may have different memories about their inhabited space, every family member was interviewed individually. To get to know the participant, a short conversation about their personal background was first conducted. Then the participant was given a booklet (see Appendix F) with selected photos showing traditional and modern Mosuo houses, as well as additional details, to browse. Using photo elicitation interviews is to present participants with photographs, asking them to use the photos as a starting point for their reactions and reflections (Collier, 1957). Most of the photos in this booklet were taken during my visit to the Mosuo village the previous year, but some were from history books. The participant was asked to select photos, then answer questions and relate stories linked to those photos they selected; they may have also been asked the reasons why they didn't choose other photos. The benefits of this approach include not relying on participants to comply with the requirement to bring their own photos which adhered to assigned categories, and having

²⁵ If there are several sisters in a family, one of them will be elected as the 'Dabu', the matriarch, the woman who is the smartest, most capable and impartial of them all.

control over being able to generalise the study's results (Hatten, Forin and Adams, 2013). Finally, participants were asked to describe or draw images of the buildings that they considered as the ideal future house for the Mosuo. This interview was conducted in order to gain some visual data of the village in the contemporary context, which might then help to provide guidance for future design.

4.4.4 Walking interviews

Walking interviews are a relatively innovative qualitative method with roots in ethnography and anthropology; they entail researchers and participants conducting an interview while walking together (Ingold and Lee, 2008; Kusenbach, 2003; King and Woodroffe, 2017). Unlike traditional sit-down interviews, walking interviews are a flexible, adaptive and dynamic research method for deepening understandings of lived experiences in particular places (Evans and Jones, 2011; Kusenbach, 2012). In order to gain more rich and detailed data regarding the changes of Mosuo dwellings and villages in the contemporary context, walking interviews with professionals – a local planner, a policy maker, a head of the village, a developer and a craftsman – were undertaken (see Appendix B).

The interviewer and the professionals walked for about half an hour to an hour, from the entrance of the village to the end of the village (Figure 4.5), during which time they made brief field trips to various sites, describing and discussing them on the spot – a recorder was used along the way. The route concerned is the main route through village, and most of the houses can be seen along this road. The interviewees were asked to pick two Mosuo courtyards, the dwellings with the biggest and smallest changes in the village, and then lead the discussion to point out which Mosuo architectural features had been retained. Each Mosuo courtyard was visited for around 30 minutes. The purpose of this interview was to understand the attitudes of professionals towards their dwellings and culture. Walking interviews enabled me to directly share experiences and perceptions with my interviewee and textual data were analysed. The walking interviews were edited into transcripts in Chinese (See appendix E).



Figure 4.5 Zhashi village. It shows the route of mobile interview were conducted. (Source: Google Maps, 2016)

4.4.5 Questionnaire

To get sense of how outsiders/tourists understand Mosuo architecture and culture, a study was made of the answers that tourists gave when answering a questionnaire in the field. Tourists opinions are important because of the government's efforts over the last two decades in developing these cultural villages around the Lugu Lake area to bring in more tourists to develop the local economy. Fetterman (2009, p.55) pointed out that a questionnaire is an effective means of large-scale data collection in ethnographic research; thus to collect information cheaply and quickly from a relatively large number of tourists, a questionnaire was formulated.

This research demands the collection of primary data from tourists; the tourists were asked questions such as: Why did you choose ethnic settlements as a tourism destination? What did you want to gain from the tourist experience? Have your expectations been met? Fifty tourist questionnaires were distributed in both Zhashi village and Lige village to gather information and views from respondents. Questionnaires (see

Appendix C) were prepared and printed it out in advanced before the second-stage fieldwork. In total 96 valid questionnaires for tourists were collected. Tourists' perceptions are important because they enable not only the outside world's perception of architecture and culture to be understood but also the influence of tourism on the development and protection of Mosuo villages and their dwellings, and the experience of outside tourists to reflect the real world of Mosuo. Moreover, the analysis of the questionnaires helped to provide some detailed assessments of local Mosuo people, planners and developers from the tourists' point of view.

The second-stage fieldwork was carried out over 17 days, from 15th April 2017 to 1st May 2017, during which over 1,000 photographs were taken and 28 interviews were conducted. Naturally, items such as relevant books, maps and government plans were again collected. In addition, more detailed data regarding the results of the transformation were collected, such as the layout of space, the function of each room, and interiors, including the facilities, equipment, furniture and decoration of main room, as well as the change of lifestyle of its inhabitants. The layouts of five dwellings were measured and drawn in the sketch book; materials, facilities and decoration were recorded by camera. With the help of measurement drawings, any changes to the dwelling's plans, structures, materials and decoration were recorded. The voice of the professionals and tourists can be heard through the investigation.

4.5 Ethical considerations

This study followed the Birmingham City University Ethical Principles and Practice Policy Statement. Because this research involves human data (e.g. interviews on issues such as ways of living and dwellings), ethical approval has been granted by the Faculty Ethics Committee on 14th July 2016 previous to the commencement of the fieldwork.

Confidentiality

Considering the location of fieldwork was in remote villages in Yunnan Province, China, my parents accompanied me on the fieldwork to ensure my safety. During the fieldwork, most of the interviewees were

households of dwellings. When first establishing trust, I introduced the purpose of my research and then showed my student card to prove my identity. Moreover, the research to be conducted and how the information would be collected, had to be explained to all interviewees (see Appendix H) (Kara, 2018). For example, the importance of using anonymous ways to collect personal information and the names of the Mosuo dwellings, was explained.

Consent

The ethical guidelines published by Birmingham City University emphasise the importance of gaining the informed consent of all research participants. In this case, the participants were clearly identifiable and were asked whether or not they gave their consent before the interviews began (Mason, 2002). If the candidate agreed to be an interviewee, the actual consent form was signed by the participant (See Appendix I). In addition, at the end of each interview, permission for all the details to be used in the dissertation was obtained from the participants through informed consent.

Photography and audio are extremely valuable research tools. Some people are happy to be photographed and recorded, but others do not desire to be captured in this way, for whatever reason (Lucas, 2016). Considering this, I got permission for certain types of photographs – close portraits, or shots of the interiors of private buildings. Images of children were not taken.

4.6 Reflection

Two key issues need to be considered in the research design: validity and reliability (Creswell, 2014; Cypress, 2017).

Validity

Qualitative validity means that the researcher checks the accuracy of the findings through certain procedures (Creswell and Miller, 2000; Gibbs, 2007). The use of multiple approaches has been proposed by Creswell to ‘*enhance the researcher’s ability to assess the accuracy of findings as well as to convince readers of such accuracy*’ (2014, p.251). In order to

enhance the validity of the research findings, three strategies are adopted in this study: data triangulation; rich and thick description of the findings; and prolonged involvement.

Triangulation of data with different methods and perspectives helps produce a more comprehensive set of findings (Long and Johnson, 2000; Noble and Smith, 2015). In this research, these include interviews with a range of stakeholders (Mosuo inhabitants, professionals in the region and tourists who are travelling there), observation of changes in dwelling form and ways of living, and visual materials (e.g. photos and drawings). These data sources are examined and incorporated into data analysis to *'build a coherent justification for themes'* (Creswell, 2014, p.251).

The second strategy is to use rich and thick descriptions of data to support findings (Slevin and Sines, 1999), which can add to the validity of the study. The interview data used in this study are quoted directly to clarify the themes of the qualitative research and give the reader a sense of direct-viewing, rather than presenting their ideas through the lens of researchers (Gruber and Wallace, 1999; Mayer, 1999). This description brings the reader into the setting and provides many perspectives on related themes, resulting in richer and more realistic findings.

By staying in that setting for a long period of time, a trust-relationship was built with the subjects, something which is also considered as an important strategy of increasing validity of research (Brink, 1993; Robson, 2002). As Creswell (2014, p.251) noted, *'The more experience that a researcher has with participants in their settings, the more accurate or valid will be the findings.'* Through the first stage of more than 40 days of fieldwork, I had an in-depth understanding of the subjects and could convey details about the Mosuo family and their dwellings, thus providing credibility for the narrative.

Reliability

Qualitative reliability refers to the consistency of research results (Golafshani, 2003). According to Brink (1993, p.35), reliability is concerned with *'the ability of a research method to yield consistently the same results over repeated testing periods.'* In other words, a particular

measure is considered to be reliable if it is applied to the same measurement object many times and produces the same result. This study was involved supervisor team to increase reliability, by asking researchers to read through the transcripts and then discuss the theme content to see if there were any discrepancies.

There are multiple approaches to understanding reliability in qualitative research. For instance, Le Compte and Goetz (1982, p.32) argued that the reliability in ethnographic research is dependent on the solution of both external and internal reliability. Brink (1991, cited in Long and Johnson, 2000) considered the reliability for qualitative work in terms of stability, consistency and equivalence, each one applies to a particular study. While Morgan and Drury (2003) suggested that in order to attain reliability in research, a series of steps through the stages of data generation, analysis and interpretation need to be documented. In this study, the suggestions of Morgan and Drury (2003) were adopted to consider the issues of reliability by providing a rich and detailed description of each stage of the study. Based on the objectives and research questions, this study decided to code inductive coding (data driven) instead of deductive coding (theory driven) in the coding process. Moreover, in order to help the reader ascertain for which context the research findings might be applicable, the context of the research (Chapter 1), the theoretical (Chapter 4) and methodological (Chapter 5) underpinnings of the research has been adequately described. The reasons for choosing participants (inhabitants, professionals and tourists) to participate in the study have been also explained in Section 5.4. The author attempts to avoid subjective thinking as a researcher in the field investigation and objectively present the participants' ideas.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has explained the methodological framework and research design for how this study was approached. To be specific, this study was structured as an ethnographical qualitative approach. This approach was adopted because it provides an insight into the way between ways of living, architectural form and the culture of the Mosuo in the evolution process. It then looked at the two stages of fieldwork, including sampling

strategy, data collection and analysis. Ethical consideration as well as reflection on validity and reliability of this thesis were elaborated upon in the end.

In the next three chapters, research findings and interpretation from the fieldwork investigation will be reported. Chapter 5 examines the changes and continuity of Mosuo dwellings and its culture, while Chapter 6 discusses the drivers of change, drawn from the view of professionals. Chapter 7 focuses on the development of Cultural Architecture Assets (CAA) framework to study changes and continuity of vernacular architecture in transitions, and provides some insight of future development and conservation of Mosuo dwellings and villages. Following the discussion and arguments within these three chapters, the findings of the investigation will answer the research question regarding the interrelationships between the built form, ways of living and culture of the Mosuo people in the evolution process.

5 Changes and continuity identified in Mosuo dwellings

5.1 Introduction

Given the considerable modernisation and tourism development that has occurred in the Mosuo area since the 1990s, dwellings in the Mosuo area have gradually changed from traditional to modern. This change has resulted in dwellings in a particular locality having a variety of features and architectural details. Drawn on the theoretical framework of Chapter 3, this chapter presents an analysis of Mosuo dwellings over the last 30 years (since the beginning of tourism development) to gain a perspective on the changes and continuity that has occurred. Through observation and photographic surveys from the pilot study, and interviews, this chapter examines the changes and continuity of Mosuo dwellings in the evolution process, presenting an analysis from three aspects of living culture, building culture and values and beliefs. The purpose of the analysis is to understand how the Mosuo dwellings evolved during this period.

5.2 Changes in the Mosuo dwellings

5.2.1 Changes of living culture in the Mosuo dwellings

According to the definition of living culture²⁶ in the theoretical framework of Chapter 3, this section examines the changes of living culture in the Mosuo dwellings. Such changes are mainly reflected in the ways of life of inhabitants' from different age ranges. The traditional ways of living in the Mosuo region, which were related to life in an agrarian society, are changing into heterogeneous ways of living. Table 5.1 summarises the changes in ways of living of different age ranges, based on the data from the observation and interviews in the fieldwork.

²⁶ Ways of living, family structure and kinship are considered as the component of living culture within the scope of this study.

Age range	Past ways of living	Current ways of living	Changes
Under 18 years old	Light farming work; playing on the ground in the yard	Go to school to learn knowledge, some studying in cities and some studying in nearby villages' school	More access to official education; influence of outside areas, such as language
18-30 years old	Traditional farming work and housework maintenance; traditional rites and festivals	Some starting to work in nearby villages, and some running their businesses, some working in cities; a few performing farming activities; watching TV for entertainment in the living room	Not many traditional farming activities performed; modern entertainment involved in watching TV; the variety of work increased
30-60 years old	Traditional farming work and housework maintenance; traditional rites and festivals	Some starting to work in nearby villages, and some running their businesses, some working in cities, performing farming activities; traditional rites and festivals; watching TV for entertainment in the living room	Few farming activities performed; modern entertainment involved in watching TV; the variety of work increased
over 60 years old	Less physically active, light farming work and housework maintenance; religious pray	Less physically active, light farming work and housework maintenance; religious pray	No change

Table 5.1 The current changes of ways of living of different age ranges

With the exception of the old people, most Mosuo have more or less changed their ways of living. The school-aged children (6-17 years old) now receive a standard national education at school, instead of helping adults with farm work at home. In the fieldwork, some mothers expressed concern that their children are more likely to be exposed to the dominant Han culture (through studying Han culture at school and watching Chinese cartoons on TV when they come back home) and have less opportunities to learn their own traditional culture and language.

From the investigation, it is obvious that the daily work of the adults has expanded from agriculture only to a variety of work in the Mosuo region. A number of young and middle-aged people have started to change their daily routine and spend most of the day working outside the village as a builder, waiter, cook or businessman, etc. At present, they have multiple occupational choices, such as a builder on a construction site (F204), a saleswoman in the supermarket (F405), a restaurant chef (F406), owner of an auto parts shop (F304), owner of a barbeque shop (F306), owner of a guesthouse (F502 and F503). For example, in the Zhashi family, the 32-year-old youngest daughter's partner (F204) goes to work at the construction site regularly every day, he goes out early and comes back late, and receives a salary from the construction site. He said,

'I am a builder. I get up at 7.30am in the summer time. I go to the Yongning construction site to work from 8.00am, eating lunch at the site. Then I go back home around 6.30pm. I sleep at 9.30pm or 10.00pm.'

Influenced by the popularisation of modern transportation, the 37-year-old eldest brother (F304) from the Saba2 family, is a businessman who has set up a store in the Yongning Township to sell auto spare parts; at the same time, he is also building new houses for the household. This increasing move to working outside of the village has caused some changes, but hasn't had a strong impact on their daily and life routines.

5.2.2 Changes of building culture in the Mosuo dwellings

As present, building culture in the Mosuo region have changed in terms of site, spatial organisation, architectural structure and materials, and interior decoration. The photographic surveys provide information regarding the development and change in function and structure of the dwellings. The analysis of semi-structured interviews supports the presentation of the photographic surveys.

Selection of site

In terms of the choice of site, traditional Mosuo dwellings were on the hillside, and mainly built at the foot of the mountain (Figure 5.1), near the lake or by the river and not occupying the flat arable land. The reason why the Mosuo choose to live near the mountains is because there are many conveniences for production and daily life. One side is basin area, which is used for agricultural production and livestock grazing; on the other side is a mountainous area that provides wood for cooking and heating, timber and stone for construction, as well as edible delicacies, such as mushrooms. Furthermore, in the Mosuo culture, the mountain occupies an important role. The god of the mountain is one of the main worship objects in Mosuo primitive worship. By building their house in such a location, this behaviour reflects the Mosuo people's worship and love of the mountains, it could also be understood to be indicative of their remembrance and respect for the ancestral way of life of traditional Mosuo culture.

However, the majority of newly built Mosuo dwellings are located either side of a road (Figure 5.2). Gong, the manager of Lijiang Lugu Lake Development Co. Ltd, who has lived here for many years, criticised:

'It is a bad habit for local Mosuo people to build the house now, which they try to build the house on the side of the road. From Fengshui theory, building a house on the edge of a road is not good. One is insecure and noisy, and another is no transition space to buffer. Han people generally avoid passing by the side of the road when building houses and leave enough space in front of their own doors.'



Figure 5.1 Traditional Mosuo dwellings built at the foot of the mountain, Lijiazui village. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.2 Example of modern Mosuo dwellings built on both sides of the road in Zhashi village. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Spatial organisation of buildings

With changes in living culture, the spatial organisation of Mosuo dwellings has also changed. This change is not only closely related to the spontaneous choice of the villagers but also related to the government's policies. Instead of following traditional norms and behaviour taboos, the spatial layout of modern Mosuo dwellings is more about hygiene and efficient space utilisation, as reflected in the courtyard layout, the elevation of the houses and Flower house.

- Courtyard layout

Compared to the traditional Mosuo dwellings, the courtyard layout of today's Mosuo dwellings has changed, mostly to a two-entrance courtyard arrangement (Figure 5.3). While continuing the basic form of

courtyard plan or ‘U-shaped plan’, the contemporary method is to move the Grass house, for domestic animals, out of the original courtyard and to build another enclosed space nearby. As a result, the original courtyard becomes a relatively independent and closed living space, whilst the new space is purely for production. This transformation realises the separation of living and production space, which not only improves hygiene but also increases the number of rooms in the home and improves living conditions and quality of life for local villagers. This sort of feature being new to Mosuo courtyard house, which is a comparatively common development now. This is a positive improvement for the traditional courtyard arrangement of the Mosuo. From the description of grandmother’s eldest son (F202) on the courtyard rearrangement, he commented, ‘*The old Grass house was moved to the back yard because of its strong smell. Later, this new building was built at the position of the Grass house.*’



Figure 5.3 An example of the layout of two-entrance courtyard. (Drawn by author)

- Elevation of houses

Another change is the elevation of houses. Previously, it was unusual for the traditional house to be more than a two-storey construction, this being necessitated by the fact that construction methods were not sufficiently

strong to support multiple storeys. Modern technology has enabled the construction of multi-level houses with the introduction of foundations strong enough to support floors. Additionally, in the past, elderly family members and young children all lived together in the Grandmother's house in poor living conditions. With the growth of economy and tourism, the demand for more rooms in the household or the ability to accommodate large number of visitors has led to the emergence of multi-storey houses, such as three or even four stories (Figure 5.4-5.5).



*Figure 5.4 One example of a multi-level building - three stories house.
(Photo taken by author, 2016)*



*Figure 5.5 Another example of a multi-level building - three stories house.
(Photo taken by author, 2016)*

- Flower house

The function of current Flower house becomes bedroom for sleeping instead of female private space. The Flower house in the traditional Mosuo dwelling is separated into a number of small rooms, adapted to the special arrangement of its marriage customs. The entrance of a traditional Flower house has to be independent from the activity area of other family members, therefore it usually occupies one side of the courtyard and has some rooms with direct exits to outside of the courtyard (Figure 5.6). But now the function of the Flower house is gradually weakening, and these rooms have now become a bedroom or a guest room (Figure 5.7), they are no longer separate from other buildings in the courtyard and have no direct entrance or exit. In addition to the involvement of tourism, these changes also reflect an increase in a desire for modern ways of living. These reflect the changes in ways of living have created a need for different spaces. For some dwellings (e.g. Zhashi family, Acimi family), they changed Flower house from two storey into one storey building with higher interior space, concrete foundation and delicate carved wooden doors and windows. In addition, the current Flower house not only accommodates family members, but also adds a modern living room.

The interviewees prefer the traditional Flower house to the modern ones in the investigation. Those interviewees who chose the traditional flower house are due to tradition and habit. They claimed flower house as a part of Mosuo architectural culture should be preserved and developed from a traditional perspective. From a habitual point of view, they considered the old style and primitive flower house as good-looking. Some even excitedly pointed out that photo No. 48 (Figure 5.6) in the booklet was the flower house of Mosuo looked like, which is the same as before, nothing has changed.



Figure 5.6 Old Flower house (No.48 photo in the booklet). (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.7 Modern Flower house with modern facilities as a guesthouse. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Architectural structure and materials

In addition to the changes of site and spatial organisation, architectural structure and materials have also undergone great changes. Log houses are the most typical traditional Mosuo dwellings, but it is now being transformed into different forms, such as concrete and brick houses. There are introduced forms from outside which are very variable (Figure 5.8-5.11).



Figure 5.8 Concrete wall in a modern way. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.9 Brick wall. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.10 Use of a concrete wall to create sense of 'tradition'. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.11 Copying Western style. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Rapid transformation of Mosuo dwellings was witnessed in these villages during the pilot study. From the photographic survey, Mosuo dwellings in the Yongning area now can be categorised into two types – hybrid and new construction dwellings – both very different according to their architectural forms²⁷. Hybrid dwellings²⁸ of Mosuo today are a combination of traditional and contemporary elements. Swinging between tradition and modernity, their built forms can be described as being ‘hybrid’ which possess characteristics of both the vernacular and modern. Hybrid dwellings still reflect the local Mosuo people’s values and tastes about living space and house form. Since such houses are built for the Mosuo people themselves, they are adapted to both traditional and modern ways of living. Two types of hybrid dwellings are distinguished: Hybrid 1 – old dwellings but dressed in some modern elements (Figure 5.12); Hybrid 2 – new dwellings but dressed in some traditional elements (Figure 5.13). Both types of hybrids are derived from the traditional Mosuo dwellings but have been developed from a different basis.

Another types, a new construction dwelling is *‘the erection of an entirely new structure, whether or not the site on which it was built was previously occupied’* (Directorate, 2001) as well as newly constructed with more recent techniques and materials. New construction dwellings are the product of the modern age and the accompanying social changes, which is a new development that can indicate the trend of the vernacular dwellings. This is reflected in the disappearance of the Flower house, ‘vertical’ expansion (Figure 5.14), with stainless steel railings and aluminium windows (Figure 5.15).

²⁷ Traditional Mosuo dwelling with traditional ways of living is used as an archetype to identify the changes of Mosuo dwellings.

²⁸ Typically, ‘hybrid’ means anything that is created from two or more disparate elements. The architecture of hybrid dwellings is a fusion of the old and new, local and foreign.



Figure 5.12 Hybrid 1 – An old dwelling but dressed in some modern elements. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.13 Hybrid 2 – A new dwelling but dressed in some traditional elements. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.14 Examples of new construction dwellings – three-story constructions. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.15 New construction dwellings with stainless steel railings and aluminium windows. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

This transformation is mainly due to the development of building materials and transportation. At present, with paved roads and better transportation, it is easier to access the Mosuo region than ever before. The improvement of road construction has allowed for the easy transport of modern building materials from outside the region at low cost, allowing locals more access to conveniences and technology that were previously unavailable. Building materials have gradually changed as availability of timber has decreased, while the feasibility of choosing other materials has increased.

In addition, the increase of household incomes has also given residents more personalised choices in the spontaneous construction. Moreover, a series of government policies have also had a great influence on the architectural forms of Mosuo dwellings, especially in the change of building materials, such as the renovation of paving of the inner courtyard. In the Mosuo area, the changes of architectural structure and materials are mainly reflected in roof, courtyard paving, walls as well as doors and windows.

- Roof

There are several changes in terms of roofing, as far as materials and construction are concerned. Firstly, in terms of roof construction, pitched roofs are being replaced by flat roofs. It was common for the traditional Mosuo house to have a pitched roof, reflecting climate, material availability and aesthetic concerns. The Mosuo people's earliest roof pattern was two-sided, low-pitched and covered by Chinese fir board (Wang, 2016). From the traditional house in Figure 5.16, the basic components of the traditional roof are composed of rafters, ridge boards, tie beams and king posts. A gable roof slopes downward in two directions, like two right triangles joined together at the vertical line.



Figure 5.16 Traditional pitched roof. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

In contrast, influenced by the aesthetics of surrounding Han and Bai minorities, flat roofs (Figure 5.17) have gradually appeared in the modern Mosuo dwellings. An additional factor which has influenced the proliferation of the flat roof is the materials available for its structural design and outer covering. As wood is expensive and prone to rotting, the use of a concrete-made flat roof is becoming popular in the local. Table 5.2 shows the roof structure details of a pitch roof and a flat roof. Also, The main reasons cited by local inhabitants for the preference to roof structures can be seen in Table 5.3.



Figure 5.17 Modern flat roof. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

	Detailed photo	Description/Size
Pitched roof		Timber structure/gable form, slope with straight rafter. Size of section: flat tie beam about 5×20cm, rafter about 5×24cm and king post about 5×20cm.
Flat roof		Flat roof/ cement filling of light-gauge steel. Thickness: 10-12.5cm.

Table 5.2 Details of the roof structure on a pitched roof and a flat roof

	Pitched roof	Flat roof
Advantage	Strong ethnic characteristics; Aesthetically pleasing; Traditional option	Durability; Cheap; Less repair demands; Popular with modern; Contemporary designs
Disadvantage	High cost	No characteristics

Table 5.3 Comparison on two different roofing constructions

Secondly, roof materials are changing from wood shingles²⁹ to tiles, as shown in Figure 5.18 and Figure 5.19. With the exception of a few Grandmother's houses which still use the original roofing materials, current houses – including new construction and hybrid dwellings – have replaced traditional wooden shingles with tiles. The change in roofing materials has also affected the house forms, as the roof slope is considerably less for wood shingles as compared to tiles; almost all of the new construction buildings carry a relatively squat roof.

²⁹As described in Chapter 2 (p.59), wooden shingles were traditionally staggered and overlapped each other on the rafter to form the shape of the roof, nails were not used, and appropriately sized stones were laid on it to prevent the roof from being blown away in the wind (Shih, 1993; Wang, 2016).



Figure 5.18 Wooden shingles. Source: (Terheijne, 2007)



Figure 5.19 Clay tiles. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

According to the interviews, wooden shingles were used previously mainly due to the low cost of sourcing materials; 50 or 60 years ago,

common people were unable to afford tiles because of their high price. But since the Cultural Revolution, tiles have sprung up throughout the village and within the past 20 years, roofs of all new-style houses have been built with tiles. The cheap availability of tiles is due primarily to the spread of tile technology. The effect of economy on the vernacular dwelling is significant. For more detailed information about wood shingles and clay tiles see Table 5.4.

	Drawing	Description/Size
Wood shingles		Wood shingles Thickness: 1.25cm, Length: 130cm.
Tiles		Clay tiles Thickness: 0.5-0.8 cm, Length: 10-20cm.

Table 5.4 Drawings of the roof materials: wooden shingles and tiles

	Wood shingles	Clay tiles
Advantage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional materials, strong feelings • Good looking and strong ethnic characteristics • Usability • Rituals-related 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No rain penetration • Durability • Cheap • Less repair demands
Disadvantage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scarcity • High cost 	No characteristics

Table 5.5 Comparison on two different roofing materials

From the policy point of view, the government regulations are not allowed to cut down trees, it is difficult to purchase the wood shingles now. Despite this, many locals many locals indicated that they would use it if they have traditional materials. One interviewee claimed:

'If the wood shingles can be purchased next year, I will switch to it. My Grandmother's house has been passed down from

generation to generation, and it has been passed down for nine generations. The previous eight generations were all covered with wood shingles, and I can't cover clay tiles for my generation. Since it is not allowed to cut down the wood now, and the new wood shingles cannot be bought, Dingya family is buying the old ones.'

The interviews revealed that the vast majority of respondents prefer traditional wood shingles as roofing materials. The main reasons cited by local inhabitants for the preference to roof materials can be seen in Table 5.5. Firstly, wood shingles are Mosuo traditions and has strong feelings for it. The roof materials were made of wood shingles in the past, and some old houses even had wood shingles for hundreds of years and it can be used for a long time. Secondly, from the aesthetic point of view, the wood shingles looks better than tiles, and it is also very characteristic to dry the corn on the wood shingles. Thirdly, in terms of usability, the wood shingles is an ideal material, which does not smoke people, and it is warm in winter and cool in summer. Fourth, rituals-related, the wood shingles would be turned over and be added new every year around August (Figure 5.20). Gong explained in detail:

'The advantages of wood shingle are good air permeability, long-term smoke, carbonization, no deformation and no cracking. Therefore, no matter how the fire is burned, it doesn't choke in the fireplace in the Grandmother's house. The wood shingle must be split with an axe and naturally cracked. It cannot be sawed with a saw. Because the wood with the saw is flat, there is no wood grain on the surface, it cannot conduct water and the water is scattered.'

(Interview with Gong, April 2017)

On contrast, using tiles instead of wooden shingles is because shingles need to be replaced or repaired yearly, each July or August. Additionally, given the lack of appropriate raw materials – every year large diameter *Cyclobalanopsis* trees are required to enable sufficiently wide cuts of wood – this has led to excessive consumption of materials. And the cost of tiles is less than that of wooden shingles, hence locals tend to use cheaper materials to build their houses.



Figure 5.20 The wood shingles of Dingya family's Grandmother's house are being turned over and added new one in August 2016. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

- Courtyard paving

The courtyard paving of traditional and modern houses also show clear differences. Traditionally, the inner yard of a courtyard was paved with rammed earth and sparsely decorated with plants (Figure 5.21). According to one respondent, who remembered that *'Because of the plan policy, the government organised and implemented the project, forcing to transform the land into concrete.'* Therefore, in the modern dwellings, courtyards are covered with concrete and there several flower beds in the centre or around the edges (Figure 5.22). These flower beds are enclosed by a frame generally made of concrete blocks and planted with some fruit trees (e.g. pears, apples, plums) and flowers (e.g. Chinese flowering crab-apple) (Yang, 2013, p.72). The surrounding house is one step higher than the ground level of the inner yard. It seems that Mosuo people have accepted that the pavement of inner courtyard is concrete. One of the locals said, *'Concrete paving is very common in our village now. Because we think it is convenient to clean and sweep the courtyard.'*



Figure 5.21 Pavement materials with rammed earth. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.22 Pavement materials with cast-in-place concrete. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

- Walls

There is also a marked difference in the wall materials and colour used in the traditional and current dwellings. Traditional log and rammed earth walls are disappearing as one or two-storied modern brick and concrete block structures take their place. As described in detail earlier in Chapter 2, traditional Mosuo dwellings mainly use timber and rammed earth as wall materials (Figure 5.23). The Mosuo region has its own soil resources and soil environment, and the direct use of soil as building materials

shows the local people's perception and recognition of the soil, using rammed earth walls from local clay to build their houses. However, with the introduction of Han advanced technology, the use of brick and concrete (Figure 5.24) were later promoted, mostly in the Mosuo region. Moreover, the influence of the earthquake directly accelerates the material change. The Lama (F202) said, '*mud walls were washed out in the 2012 earthquake, so now using steel, concrete and brick that makes building solid and quakeproof.*' Due to the large amounts of timber required for traditional building construction, the use of wood was limited by government in order to protect forest resources. Thus, a new construction dwelling house has started to emerge.



Figure 5.23 Log and rammed earth wall. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.24 Brick and concrete wall. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.25 The walls are yellow brown. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.26 A year later, the walls changed yellow brown into grey pink. (Photo taken by author, 2017)

In terms of the colour of the wall, it changed from yellow brown and white walls into grey pink, the left picture was taken in 2016 and the right one in 2017 (Figure 5.25-5.26). From the fieldwork, the change is due to the fact that painting the walls in a uniform colour of grey pink is one of the government's requirements for 'Key Conservation of Mosuo Traditional House'³⁰. The family followed the government's instructions to be listed as a 'Key Conservation of Mosuo Traditional House.'

³⁰ In government's perspective, they believed that the colour of walls changed into grey-pink colour is to match the colour of the local red land.

- Doors and windows



Figure 5.27 Wooden door. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.28 Iron gate. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Another marked difference would be in the form and materials of doors and windows. Historically, two-storey Mosuo dwellings had no external facing windows and a single entrance located in the middle of ground floor, but the locals have now started to change this (e.g. having external windows). From my observation, the inside of the house is extremely dark due to insufficient lighting – the only available light comes through the open door or from the fire in the hearth. But from my observation, the locals do not necessarily need internal lighting because their main activities take place outside, they come into the house only when they

need to sleep. But more recently, in order to allow light and air to enter the living accommodation, multiple doors and windows are accepted and installed in the modern Mosuo dwellings. The courtyard gate is changing from a traditional wooden door to a modern iron door (Figure 5.27-5.28), and windows are changing from traditional wooden frames into aluminium casings (Figure 5.29-5.30).



Figure 5.29 Wooden-framed window with traditional pattern. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.30 Wooden-framed glazed window. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Table 5.6 illustrates how, generally speaking, new building materials and construction methods are used in the various building components of the Mosuo dwellings. The use of these new materials is not only a symbol of modernity and a trend followed by most Mosuo young people; it is also a symbol of wealth. Because of its novel appearance and modern materials, these new construction houses are more conspicuous than the traditional log wall dwellings, which is interpreted as a new aesthetic. In terms of construction cost, the price of brick-concrete dwellings is much lower. Taking into considering the comprehensive use function, service life, maintenance cost, etc., the brick-concrete dwellings are now more common in the new construction buildings in the Mosuo.

Building components	Before change	After change
Roofs	Pitched roof/wooden shingles	Flat roof/clay tiles
Courtyard paving	Rammed earth or slabs of rock	Cast-in-place concrete
Walls	Log wall or rammed earth wall	Brick or concrete block wall
Courtyard gates	Wooden door	Iron gate
Windows	No window or wooden-framed window	Wooden-framed glazed window/Aluminium windows

Table 5.6 Comparison table of building materials and construction before and after change

Broadly speaking, modern construction techniques and materials have greatly contributed to the evolution of the Mosuo dwellings. This has accelerated production, reduced the time of building construction, produced uniform buildings and built environment, and accelerated the problem of change with the new scale of architecture. However, it has also led to the loss of the identity of the traditional Mosuo village and of traditional craft skills. Furthermore, because of the loss of craftsmen, local people now tend to use mass-produced products.

Interior spatial organization and decoration

In the evolution of Mosuo dwellings, their interior space and function have partly changed on the basis of continuing the Mosuo traditional culture. The main changes are in the interior spatial organization and

interior decoration of the Grandmother's house (including room settings) and sacred chamber.

- Interior decoration of the Grandmother's house

Firstly, the space use and interior decoration of the today's Grandmother's house has changed. The interior decoration of the main room is brighter, more exquisitely carved and colourful (Figure 5.32), cupboards are often decorative and display complex patterns. The traditional decoration of the Mosuo dwelling is simple and utilises the texture and colour of the wood itself. During the fieldwork, one of interviewees described the interior of their house as unadorned, dark, even dingy. Indeed, the interior of traditional Grandmother's house could be described as dark, due to the chronic smoke and lack of light – given that the only source of light comes from the hearth (Figure 5.31). Cai and Hustvedt (2001, p.134) also write, *'Since there are no chimney and the fire are kept going almost all of the time, the interior of the house is blackened...'* Compared with tradition, the aesthetics of Mosuo people have changed due to the influence of modern decorative materials and improved economic conditions.

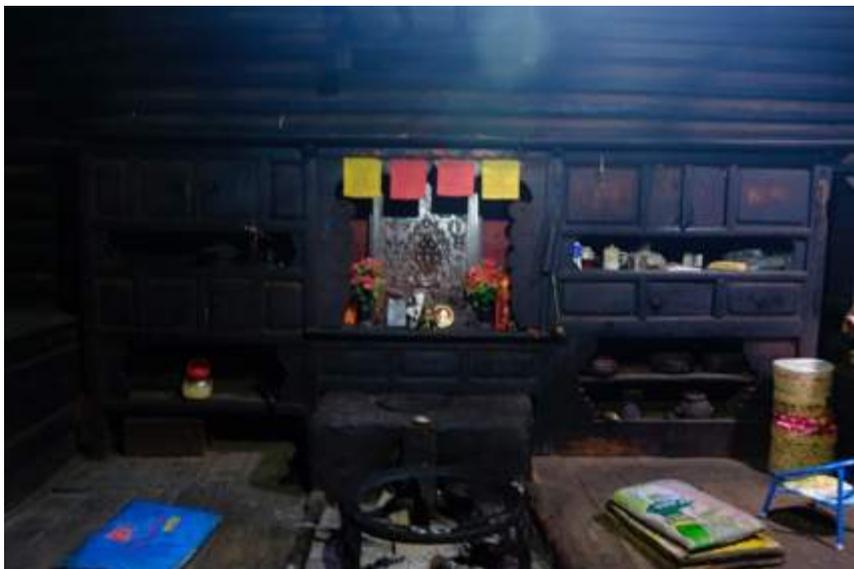


Figure 5.31 Interior decoration of main room of old Grandmother's house. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.32 Interior decoration of the main room of today's Grandmother's house. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

In terms of the space use, due to the influence of modernisation (Western ideas), there are two different forms. The first is the Grandmother's house as a living room, still maintaining the cultural space³¹ (Figure 5.33) – this space is multi-functional with modern facilities, including a television. Another form has both a Grandmother's house and an individual Western-style living room with the two spaces separated (Figure 5.34). The appearance of the living room is a reminder that by this time the television has become widespread and a symbol of modern and a more affluent life in the Mosuo area. Grandmother's eldest son (F202) explained having a modern living room is considered a fashion trend and also a local symbol of wealth,

'In order to serve Han or other minorities friends, it is necessary to have a living room in the house, sofa, television as well as modern equipment in the present day. Other villagers would judge it's out of fashion if we don't have a living room. If economically possible, we could have it to improve the quality of life. The guests could choose seat in the Grandmother's house or living room at will. Nowadays, all kinds of facilities should be in the family.'

³¹ Traditionally the Grandmother's house was not only a space for relaxing and socialising, but also a cultural space that was a physical manifestation of Mosuo customs and etiquette.

For the Grandmother's house and modern living room options, most respondents chose to retain the Grandmother's house. They made clear it is not necessary to have a living room, and the television can be placed in the Grandmother's room.



Figure 5.33 Grandmother's house as a living room. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.34 Modern living room in the main room of modern Grandmother's house. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.35 As the Grandmother's house was rented, the family had to eat by the narrow makeshift fireplace. (Photo taken by author, 2017)

Meantime, the interior decoration of the main room in some Grandmother's house has deeply affected by tourism development, has lost its original daily function (Figure 5.35), and its new function is to show the Mosuo culture to the tourists. For example, the Grandmother's house in Acimi family was rented to a tourism company and sell silverware to tourists. The 96-year-old grand grandmother (F401) used to live and sleep in the Grandmother's house; but now, elderly grand grandmother cannot even use and rest in her room during the particular time. Because this space rented a silverware company for 800RMB a month to sell silver ornaments to tourists in the main room from 8:00 to 10:00 am every day.

Additionally, the upper room has gradually changed its function and almost all living functions in the Grandmother's house are now shifted to other buildings in the courtyard; even the elderly members of the household do not live in the Grandmother's house.

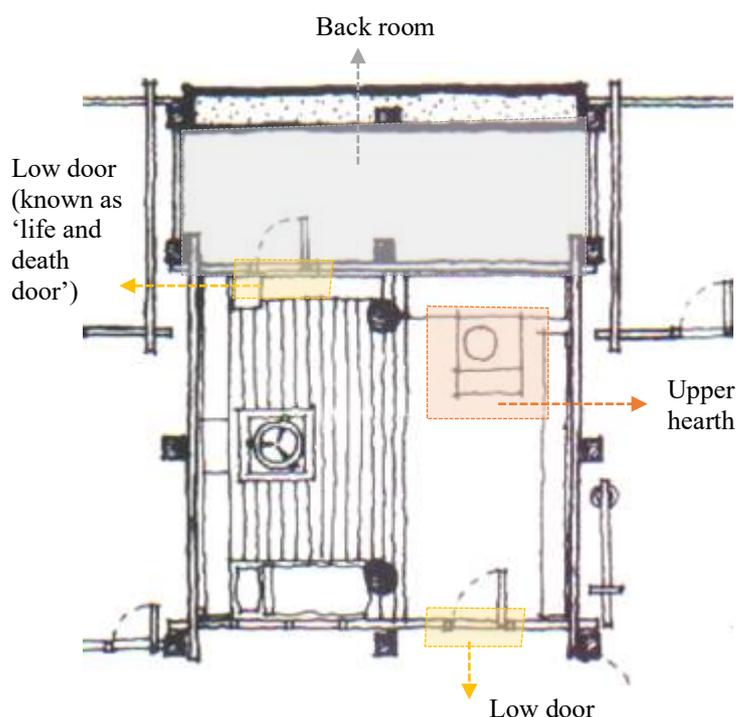


Figure 5.36 Changes in room settings of the Grandmother's house. Adapted from Ma (2001, p.94)

Secondly, some of the room settings in the Grandmother's house have changed, such as back room, upper hearth and low doors (marked in Figure 5.36). As described in Chapter 2, the traditional Grandmother's house consists of five rooms, the main room (Yimi), the upper room (Gepan), the lower room (Mupan), the front room (Cuoke) and the back room (Dupan)³². At present, most of the Grandmother's houses have only four spaces; the back room (a small space behind the main room) has been removed from the Grandmother's house in some Mosuo household. Taking Acimi family as an example, there was the back room in the Grandmother's house, later affected by the 2012 earthquake, the back room was torn down without reconstruction (Figure 5.37). This might be because the function of the back room is weakened, and storage space and traditional burial functions have been moved to other spaces. For example, in the funeral I attended in 2016, there was no back room in the deceased's house, so his family buried him in the upper room instead. In the interview, most respondents indicated they prefer traditional back

³² The back room was used as a storeroom for grains, preserved pork, potatoes and other kinds of food, and as a temporary mortuary during the funeral.

room. The reason is that they are aware of the traditional values of the back room. Guolin's father (F403) strongly expressed that this back room would be restored in the future.



Figure 5.37 The 'disappearance' of the back room. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Besides, the cooking stove of upper hearth in the main room has been replaced to the lower room as an independent kitchen in the most of dwellings today (Figure 5.38-5.39). From the interviews, there are more respondents who like the traditional upper hearth than the new one. These respondents who preferred traditional upper hearth explained one reason as a daily habit and the other as a ritual purpose. They stated that the daily functions of hearths are cooking, heating and lighting; specifically, the upper and lower hearth have their own functions, the upper hearth is mainly used for stewing (fat meat and pork ribs), while the lower hearth is mainly used for stir-frying, especially during festivals. Traditionally, two hearths were used because the Mosuo family is an extended family and only one stove was not enough. For ritual purpose, the temporary mourning hall was arranged in the upper hearth in the funeral. Moreover, they realized that new style things are available all the time, but old ones are gone. An interviewee said: *'No.29 photo of the booklet (Figure 5.38) is the primitive upper hearth in the Grandmother's house, this tradition needs to be preserved.'*



Figure 5.38 Traditional upper hearth. Source from (Terheijne, 2007)



Figure 5.39 Current upper hearth. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

In addition, the low door in the most of new construction Grandmother's house does not retain the traditions, only has one tree trunk below it or normal size door (Figure 5.41). Some of respondents mentioned there is a design principle of the two low doors in the Grandmother's house. One of low door that connects to the front door, has a high doorsill, about 700mm high, two trunks below (Figure 5.40); another low door is connected to the back room, approximately 940mm, three trunks below.

In the fieldwork, most respondents said they preferred low wooden door in the Grandmother's house rather than normal size door. Two reasons on selecting low traditional wooden door can be summarized into habit and tradition values. Firstly, most Mosuo people get used to a knee-high threshold so they do not feel high. Secondly, low doors have traditional meaning that need to be preserved, on the contrary, the present modern door has no meaning of it. These respondents noted: *'Bowling through the low door means respecting the elderly people, ancestors and gods. Because Grandmother's house is a sacred place where the God of Wealth, the God of Fire and ancestors are there.'*



Figure 5.40 (Left) Traditional low door. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Figure 5.41 (Right) Current door in the Grandmother's house. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

- Interior decoration of Sacred chamber

The sacred chamber has some slightly changes on the size and decoration of the space. Nowadays, the Mosuo people increasingly tend to build a larger sacred chamber. Traditionally there is only one room for the sacred chamber, but now it takes up three or four rooms. Moreover, influenced by the introduction of Lamaism, the traditional interior of the sacred chamber was mainly coloured with patterns and carved wood; the present sacred chamber is more exquisitely carved and colourful (Figure 5.42-5.43).



Figure 5.42 Interior decoration of traditional sacred chamber. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.43 Interior decoration of modern sacred chamber. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

In the interviews, few respondents preferred the modern sacred chamber. They mentioned the reason is good-looking and fashion, to be specific, there are wood carvings with rich colours in the present sacred chamber, and also rich interior decorations. One comment made by the interview respondent: *'Although the structure of the sacred chamber remains unchanged today, there is colourful bright interior, and this followed the fashion.'*

5.2.3 Changes of values and beliefs in the Mosuo dwellings

Religious belief

Religion is an inseparable spiritual factor that affects Mosuo dwellings, in particular the traditional sacred chamber. Having a sacred chamber in a Mosuo traditional dwelling is deeply influenced by Tibetan Buddhism (as discussed in Chapter 1) and, as such, the chamber's interior is decorated with religious paintings, statues of the Buddha, etc. However, at present, this factor has also deeply influenced the exterior decoration of new buildings and the interiors of the Grandmother's house. For example, some Mosuo dwellings decorate the architectural exteriors with Tibetan religious symbols, such as Tibetan-style windows (Figure 5.44); and instead an iron trivet, a Tibetan-style stove is installed on the major hearth in the main room of the Grandmother's house (Figure 5.45). Most of respondents strongly stressed that Tibetan stove should not be in the Grandmother's house of the Mosuo. An interviewee said, '*Tibetan stove belongs to Tibetan culture rather than a Mosuo custom and settings. It should use its own culture in the Mosuo dwellings.*'



Figure 5.44 Tibetan-style windows installed in the current Mosuo dwellings. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



*Figure 5.45 A Tibetan-style stove appeared in the Mosuo dwellings.
(Photo taken by author, 2016)*

Household Economics³³

In terms of the economic structure, Mosuo families traditionally made a living in agriculture with domestic animals, such as horses, water buffaloes and cows, therefore it was necessary to have a Grass house in which to keep them. In contrast, a modern family involved in tourism, running a guesthouse, would have to consider the sanitary conditions and also have extra accommodation for receiving tourists at home. For example, in order to have more space to build the guesthouse, one local family moved the less functional Flower house and Grass house in order to cater for the accommodation requirements of the tourists.

The compact layouts of traditional Mosuo dwellings meant that there was far less demand on land for housing, with a consequent knock-on effect to the costs of architectural construction (Figure 5.46). In addition, although there were slight differences in size and quality of the traditional dwellings, the form of each dwelling was almost identical to each another. From architectural materials to the layout of the courtyard, from the

³³ According to Shih (1993, 2010), Mosuo society in traditional times is a household-oriented. Household is a basic social unit, such as production, consumption, property ownership, land tenure, etc.

furnishings and their placement, to the function of each building, each dwelling followed the same principle (Shih, 1993, p.135-136). This was because there was no large economic gap within traditional Mosuo society, the ‘rich house’ which cost a lot to build was a rarity.



Figure 5.46 A compact traditional courtyard in the Lijiazui village. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.47 A spacious modern courtyard in the Zhashi village. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

In contrast, the spacious layout of modern Mosuo dwellings has placed considerable demand on land. Also, the larger the plot, the higher the cost of building a house, for example, the spacious courtyard (Figure 5.47),

and as a result of the larger gap between rich and poor, a variety of house forms with modern architectural materials and exquisite interiors has emerged.

This section has shown the changes of Mosuo dwellings from living culture, building culture as well as value and beliefs. These changes are important to this study since they raise important issues as regards present dwellings in the Mosuo area and the extent to which this is compatible with Mosuo cultural traditions and is in keeping with Mosuo values.

5.3 Continuity in the Mosuo dwellings

Even though the previous analysis reflects the changes of the Mosuo dwellings in the modern era, Mosuo dwellings appear to retain characteristics that are unique and meaningful to Mosuo people. Accordingly, this section identifies what these characteristics are and how they are manifest in traditional and current built forms in terms of the perspective of living culture, building culture and values and beliefs, through fieldwork and photo elicit interviews.

5.3.1 Continuity of living culture in the Mosuo dwellings

Following the definition of the living culture, this section discusses the continuity of living culture in the Mosuo dwellings. Two major findings regarding the continuity of living culture in the investigation are:

- Although the ways of living of some under 60 years old people have changed, the rural ways of living from the past are still retained and centred on agricultural production;
- Traditional matrilineal family structures and kinship relationships remain in place.

As discussed above, a small number of people under 60 years old people have begun to change their daily routine, but the majority of Mosuo people in the Yongning basin still practise traditional agrarian ways of living. As part of the daily routine of Mosuo families, over 60 years old and 30-60 years old Mosuo people still live and do farming work in the village. For example, members of the Saba Family are still earning their living mainly by working on the farm in the village. Every morning, in

the Grandmother's house, the mother's eldest daughter (F103) gets up early, she rekindles the fire at the major hearth and starts to boil tea for the family. Later on, she cooks breakfast at the major hearth and prepares pig feed. In the busy agricultural seasons, in particular the planting and harvesting times, the mother (F101) and her partner (F102) go to work in the field, planting corn and grain. During the day, the mother's partner (F102) might go out to herd pigs, sheep and cows on the grassland near the village. F103 might take care of a variety of chores and prepare for the next meal. Additionally, religious men still practice their spiritual activities. For example, the grandmother's eldest son (F202), who is a Lama, described, *'I usually get up at 8.00am. I consecrate the water in the sacred chamber, practice Buddhism and do religious homework.'*³⁴

This shows that, even though the adjustments of rural ways of living in the Mosuo region have responded to local social and economic changes, they still partially retain the intrinsic agrarian lifestyles and matrilineal living patterns of the past.

5.3.2 Continuity of building culture in the Mosuo dwellings

Building culture in the Mosuo dwellings has been retained in terms of spatial organisation, architectural structure and materials, and interior decoration. Specially, it mainly reflected in the courtyard form and the Grandmother's house (architectural form and some room settings).

Spatial organisation of buildings

- **Courtyard form**

The courtyard mediates all domestic (including living and farming), religious and social activities of Mosuo families. The courtyard form³⁵ organises buildings in a Mosuo house in an enclosed form that provides privacy and security, symbolising harmony (Figure 5.48).

³⁴ Note that the Lama is separate from daily production practices, while the Daba is involved. This might explain why the Daba is becoming less and less popular, and why most of the Mosuo people prefer the role of a Lama. Religion, divorced from daily life, seems more sacred and convincing.

³⁵ As described in the Chapter 3, the traditional Mosuo courtyard dwelling is enclosed by four buildings – the Yimi (Grandmother's house), the Galayi (Sacred chamber), the Nizhayi (Flower house) and Zuowo (Grass house) – which, in turn, is surrounded by vegetable gardens and green space planted with fruit trees and stacked with firewood.



Figure 5.48 Traditional courtyard form. (Photo provided by F502)



Figure 5.49 Present courtyard form. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

The spatial form of the courtyard house is preserved in the today's Mosuo dwellings. Despite the appearance of multiple courtyards, the courtyard form still exists in Mosuo architecture as an enclosed form – even if there are newly constructed buildings, it still maintains the courtyard form. It can be seen in Figure 5.49, the Flower house and Grass house have been removed and replaced by two new concrete buildings, but it still retains the courtyard form, enclosed by four buildings – old Grandmother's house, the sacred chamber and the two new buildings.

In the interview investigation, most respondents believed that the courtyard form is one of the most distinctive architectural features of their inhabited space, and they claimed to be keen on this traditional courtyard form. The primary reason is living habit; the majority of inhabitants are used to living in a traditional courtyard house and have strong emotions towards it. They were of the opinion that the courtyard form had not altered much in the villages of the Yongning basin area, but that it had changed a lot in those villages around the Lugu Lake.

Architectural structure and materials

With the exception of the Grandmother's house, the changes to the exterior architectural forms, structures and materials of the other buildings are more varied. Perhaps is because Grandmother's house has a strong tradition.

- Grandmother's house



Figure 5.50 A Grandmother's house that has existed for hundreds of years. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Although other buildings may be lately refurbished and reconstructed, the exterior architectural form of most of the Grandmother's houses – with their traditional wooden structure, wooden roof shingles, and female and male columns – are still preserved. Figure 5.50 shows the Dingya Family's Grandmother's house that has existed for two or three hundred years, and which still maintains its traditional appearance.

In terms of the female and male columns, there is no significant change. As described previously, these are a pair of cylindrical columns erected in

the centre of the main room, supporting the Grandmother's house. Female and male columns symbolise the female and male members of the family and are the most significant architectural elements of Mosuo houses (Weng, 1993, p. 51). The two columns must be taken from the same trunk. The female column, close to the bed, is taken from the root part of the trunk, while the male column, close to the lower hearth, is from the top part. This is metaphorically associated with the idea that all male and female members are derived from one root (Chen, 2012, p.74-77) and are inseparable, like the root and the top part of a tree (Wu and Haaland, 2008, p.7). The meanings spun into the architectural elements of the Grandmother's house express and foster values connected with gender relations among the Mosuo people. The gender symbolic meanings of the female and male columns are mainly reflected in Mosuo ritual, and during the fieldwork, most informants mentioned the ritual involving the female and male columns:

'In the Coming of Age ceremony (celebration 13 years old), Mosuo girls are wearing skirts near the female column, and Mosuo boys are wearing trousers near the male column. Their one-foot stands on preserved pig carcass, one-foot stand on the rice bag.'

In today's Grandmother's houses, female and male columns are retained in their form and ritual meanings. However, some forms have slightly changed – mainly reflected in the size and crafting of the columns. Unlike the traditional female and male columns (Figure 5.51), they are now thicker (Figure 5.52). This is because some Mosuo people (e.g. F202) consider that the thicker columns used in the new construction Mosuo dwellings express increased wealth. In addition, some of the columns have delicately carved decorative patterns (Figure 5.53) and are highly polished (Figure 5.54) in order to be aesthetically pleasing.



Figure 5.51 Traditional thin female and male columns. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.52 Today's thicker female and male columns. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



*Figure 5.53 Columns decorative pattern delicate carved by machine.
(Photo taken by author, 2016)*



Figure 5.54 Polished Columns. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

From the photo elicit interviews, more respondents preferred the traditional female and male columns than the new ones – reflecting an awareness of traditional values and habits. Firstly, the inhabitants who were interviewed commonly claimed that female and male columns are one of the Mosuo traditions and are an indispensable part of the architectural features of Mosuo dwellings. One respondent (F202) made a comparison between Mosuo dwellings and Pumi dwellings and pointed out the difference: *‘There is only one column in the Pumi minority’s house, but the Mosuo dwelling has two columns, female and male columns.’* Secondly, they claimed to be fond of traditional thin columns because they were used to the old decoration, rather than the present thicker columns.

Interior decoration

- Interior decoration of the Grandmother’s house

Most of the interior settings of the Grandmother’s house remain meaningful, including the major (lower hearth), Zambala, Guozhuang stone and Situo (Figure 5.55). When compared with the traditional Grandmother’s house (Figure 5.56), it can be seen that current interior settings continue the tradition in some parts. Even if a new house is built, there will still be some symbolic cultural elements in the interior (Figure 5.57).

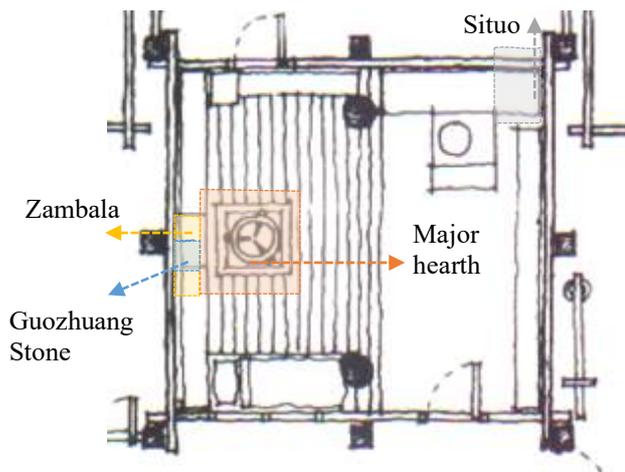


Figure 5.55 Continuity in room settings of the main room of the Grandmother’s house. Adapted from Ma (2001, p.94)



Figure 5.56 Interior settings of the old Grandmother's house. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.57 Interior settings of the new construction building associated with some traditional cultural elements. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

The most central item in the main room is the major hearth, which is still retained nowadays. The major hearth is in the middle of the platform, toward the wall; it is built with stones beneath a square clearing on the wooden platform, an iron trivet is placed in this pit and supports a cooking pot. The major hearth is vital to the Mosuo people because it not only provides a feeling of safety and warmth, but is also a symbol of the family, the medium of communication between human and god (Ma et al., 2009). Fire is regarded by the Mosuo as a symbol of light and

prosperity (Wang and Chiou, 2007); the fire in the hearth is not extinguished – reflecting the continued family form – meaning that the family, the clan and even the entire nation can continue to survive and be strong (Li, 2012).



Figure 5.58 Traditional major hearth. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 5.59 Present major hearth. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

The major hearth is unchanged in its form, daily function and meaning in today's Mosuo houses. The form of the major hearth is no different from the traditional one (Figure 5.58-5.59). As for the function, the Mosuo people still use the major hearth for cooking three meals a day and sit around it for heat – the presence of the kitchen does not prevent the Mosuo from using it. Whether past or present, the daily life of the Mosuo people is inseparable from the hearth.

The results of photo elicit interviews shows that a large number of interviewees prefer the traditional major hearth over the present one. The reason can be explained as habit (hearth habit) and awareness of traditional values. Firstly, local inhabitants used to sit by the major hearth because the fire made them feel warm and comfortable. One interviewee (F101) expressed,

'I like to warm myself near the major hearth in the Grandmother's house. Even though my daughter asked me to live outside, I was not used to it and I preferred to stay at the major hearth in the main room. It has become a habit to make a fire in the major hearth and make it three times a day.'

These interviewees then indicated an iron trivet in the major hearth which has hundreds of years history, as is the Mosuo tradition.

Zambala³⁶ – the kitchen god of every Mosuo family – has retained the traditional pattern form, daily function, ritual and meaning in today's Grandmother's houses. The kitchen god is the domestic god (ancestor) (Wu and Haaland, 2008, p.6) and the symbol of household prosperity (Weng, 1993, p.55). Zambala is represented by a bas-relief made of clay, paper or wood, and is decorated with various symbolic patterns. It has a decorative and ritual function. According to a local informant, in order to show respect and honour to Zambala, any money earned (including money from working outside the village, doing business or selling domestic animals) need be placed in front of Zambala before being used.

³⁶ In the niche of the closet leaning against the wall in the middle of its platform, Zambala, the kitchen god, is enshrined in the main room of the Grandmother's house.

With the exception of improved crafting, Zambala has not basically changed. Compared to the traditional manual bas-relief of clay (Figure 5.60), the Zambala is now made of wood and carved by machine (Figure 5.61). It is aesthetically attractive with exquisite workmanship and some examples are even colourfully painted (Figure 5.62).



Figure 5.60 (Left) Traditional manual Zambala made from clay, photo by Mathilde Ter Heijne. Source: (Terheijne, 2007)

Figure 5.61 (Middle) Today's Zambala made of machine-carved wood. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Figure 5.62 (Right) Today's colourful Zambala (No.32 photo in the booklet). (Photo taken by author, 2016)

According to the interview investigation, a large portion of respondents stated Zambala is essential in the Grandmother's house because of its meaning as the god of kitchen and its symbolism to the Mosuo family. Speaking specifically of their favourite type, most of respondents preferred the traditional Zambala style, i.e. Zambala made from rammed earth, rather than the modern version made from wood. Past habit is the main reason that these respondents chose the traditional Zambala as their preferences – they are used to the clay Zambala. Their reasons for preferring the traditional instead of modern include:

'I don't like the colour of Zambala in the No.32 photo (Figure 4.3) that is bright and colourful.' (F103)

'Now the Zambala in my house was broken during the Cultural Revolution, and it used to be made of clay. The colour of Zambala in the booklet is beautiful but not as good as before.' (F403)

Another view held by the interviewees was that Zambala can be made of any type of materials (clay, stone or wood). A respondent commented:

'The traditional Zambala made with clay is the easiest way because it is easy to repair, but it is not suitable now because it does not last long. Good materials would replace the bad ones. If it is conducive to the current development, it will be retained, and if is not, it will be abandoned.' (F504)

The Guozhuang stone is one of the most basic elements of the Mosuo dwellings, which remains unchanged today. Between the major hearth and Zambala, there is a cubic piece of stone – the Guozhuang stone (altar). This piece of stone is a memorial post to the ancestors (Weng, 1993, p.50) and is a small platform built of clay for worship offerings (in addition to Zambala). One respondent (F504) narrated the story of the origin of the Guozhuang stone in the interview:

'This is true story about worship Guozhuang stone (altar) to the ancestors before every meal. It happened a long time ago, there was a mother and a son living in a house. The son was in charge of farming the land. His mother cooked for him and brought food to the field every day. If his meal was late, he was always short-tempered and annoyed with his mother. Then one day, his mother was late bringing food because something happened to delay her. She ran quickly, and she was worried that her son would blame her today. Because of the uneven surface dug by pigs, she tripped carelessly and died eventually. Afterwards, the son worked in the field as usual but missed his mother so much. The son remembered how busy or tired his mother was, she always prepared hot meals to send to him from a distance. He wanted to shout at someone because his mother was gone. He felt so regretful because he was a naïve boy that didn't understand his mother. So, the son set up a stone in the place that his mother died and cooked hot food to send

to this place every day as his mother did before, in memory of his mother. He ate meals there in a grateful attitude. After a while, he dreamed that his mother told him: you could build a Guozhuang stone (altar) to worship me at every meal at home, and don't need to come here to see me every day. You can eat the meal and honour me at home. That's why honour ancestors and aged people are emphasized in Mosuo culture. This story has influenced every generation of Mosuo. Until now, before Mosuo people eat or drink, they must first make an offering of a portion of their food or drink to their ancestors at the Guozhuang (altar).'

To the Mosuo, it is of special significance. It serves as the border between this world, where the current household members live, and the other world, where their ancestors of the household reside (Shih, 1993, p.139-140). It is necessary to place this piece of stone in every Mosuo household because it invites the ancestors to share the meal with the family. Before family members start eating, a small piece of food is ritually served on the top of the Guozhuang stone as an offering for their ancestors. Up to this day, this brief ritual has been faithfully performed at every meal, three times a day, in every Mosuo household.



*Figure 5.63 Traditional Guozhuang stone made of rammed earth by hand.
(Photo taken by author, 2016)*



Figure 5.64 Present Guozhuang stone made of stone and carved by machine. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

At present, the Guozhuang stone continues the tradition in terms of form, daily function and ritual, as well as meaning, although there have been changes in materials and craftsmanship. As can be seen from Figure 5.63, the traditional Guozhuang stone is made of clay by hand; while Figure 5.64 shows the present Guozhuang stone made of stone and carved by machine.

In the photo elicit interviews, most respondents mentioned that the Guozhuang stone is an indispensable feature of the Mosuo dwellings. As for the preference for a traditional or modern Guozhuang stone, more respondents preferred the traditional style. There are two main reasons for this: habits and awareness of traditional values. First of all, these respondents perceived strong and deep feelings for the Guozhuang stone because it related to a vital meal-time ritual in every Mosuo house. Secondly, in their opinion, traditional Guozhuang stones have ethnic features, but the new ones do not. Moreover, influenced by the Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo Village (2009) and 'Key Conservation of Mosuo Traditional House' project, part respondents realised that old Guozhuang stones made of rammed earth should be retained. One respondent (F303) explained:

'I used ceramic tiles on the Guozhuang stone before, but I don't like it now. And in order to select for 'Key Conservation of Mosuo Traditional House' (for more information see Chapter 6, p.238), ACLLTRL asked my house to remove the ceramic tiles.'

In contrast, relatively few respondents preferred the new Guozhuang stone carvings. They indicated that they thought that the new Guozhuang stone is good-looking and has better durability and fewer repair demands, meaning that it does not need to be repaired every year. Traditionally, prior to the annual Spring Festival (on the 24th of the twelfth month of the Chinese lunar calendar) the old Guozhuang stone needed to be re-beautified with rammed earth and have any gaps filled. The perception change might also be because the improvement in living standards has led to a shift in aesthetics.

Situo is another of the most important interior elements of the Grandmother's house, which has been retained for a long time. In the corner, on the side of the male column, there is a wooden cabinet – called Situo – over the upper hearth. It is a wooden altar and the repository for the valuables of the household, on which is placed an incense burner, a vase of flowers, candles and worship offerings for the emperor and their ancestors. Situo has strong meanings to the Mosuo people and is considered the heart of the Grandmother's house. More importantly, Situo is the god's cabinet and forms the home of the domestic god. Whenever a household builds a new Grandmother's house, the new house is only considered alive once the domestic god has been welcomed into Situo (Chen, 2012).

Nowadays, Situo still maintains the traditional form, function and ritualistic meaning, although there are some changes in the crafting process. Compared to the traditional Situo which is handmade (Figure 5.65), the new Situo is crafted by machine making it more delicate and attractive (Figure 5.66).



Figure 5.65 Traditional Situo over the upper hearth in the Grandmother's house (No.25 photo in the booklet). Source from (Liu, 2005, p.80)



Figure 5.66 Present Situo. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

During the photo elicit interviews, many interviewees believed that Situo is significant to the Mosuo and they preferred a traditional Situo to modern ones. This is due to habit and awareness of traditional values. Primarily, these interviewees talked about how they are used to the old style, and how it is the same as what they remembered in their childhood, so they think it is good-looking. Several comments made by the respondents include: *'The new style Situo is too fancy to match our old houses'* (F101); *'The image in the No.25 photo (Figure 6.60) is what I saw Situo look like when I was little'* (F405); *'The Situo in the No. 25 photo is the same as my memory when I was 18, but Situo changed when I was 21 or 22, this photo exactly showed the furnishings and layout of the traditional Grandmother's house'* (F403).

More importantly, these interviewees perceived a strong sense of tradition. They mentioned that Situo is the heart of the Grandmother's house, which has strong meanings to the Mosuo people, *'During the festival, Situo and Zambala should be worshiped before kowtowing to elders in the family'* (F103).

5.3.3 Continuity of values and belief in the Mosuo dwellings

Traditions

The continuity of matriarchal values is embodied in the continuity of the exterior form and interior decoration of the Grandmother's house, as well as the function and meanings. The Grandmother's house is irreplaceable; its importance in the life of Mosuo people firmly establishes it as the core cultural centre of the Mosuo family. Every Mosuo household has their own Grandmother's house. According to the pilot study, some families today may not have a two-storied building, or even a sacred chamber, but it is rare to find a courtyard without a Grandmother's house. The Grandmother's house is the central place where the daily life of the household takes place, where they gather, cook, eat, drink, discuss family matters, receive guests and worship their ancestors, as well as where family members experience major life events and hold significant ceremonies. It is also a sleeping area for the elderly family members (the old grandmother) at night. More importantly, the Grandmother's house is where gods, ancestors and humans live together – it is the most crucial and sacred cultural place.

According to Wu and Haaland (2008), the symbolism of the Grandmother's house expresses a contrast between female and male, between ancestral gods and outside gods, between domestic and public, and between guests and Mosuo family members. The important thing is that the features of the rooms not only express cultural values that emphasise the importance of matrilineal descent and sibling solidarity, but that they also foster these values among the people who participate daily in the activities that take part in the rooms (Wu and Haaland, 2008).

The interviews signified that the Grandmother's house is the most distinctive architectural feature in the Mosuo dwellings. With regard to the preference between the traditional and modern Grandmother's house, more interviewees liked the traditional one. They mainly expressed two reasons, one is traditional value, the other is habit. Firstly, these interviewees indicated that there must be a Grandmother's house in the Mosuo courtyard house because it has profound significance to the Mosuo. The following quotations are typical of views expressed by inhabitants:

'The Grandmother's house is of great significance because the traces of a lifetime are related to the Grandmother's house, including life, death and the 13-year-old Coming-of-age.' (F204)

'The meaning of the Grandmother's house is to give birth to me, to raise me, to educate me and to give me life. The Grandmother's house is a fusion of multiculturalism, the businessman, the farmer, the elderly, monks, infants and the sick coexist in harmony. The cultural roots of the Mosuo are the Grandmother's house.' (F504)

Moreover, these interviewees showed a sense of preserving cultural traditions. Some respondents commented:

'This Grandmother's house is the legacy of an old ancestor; it has three hundred years old history and has been passed down from generation to generation.' (F203)

'Compared with Yi minority's house, there is no Grandmother's house, no hearth, no Zambala. The Grandmother's house at home would not change in the future, because it has two or three hundred years old, but other buildings are only thirty years old at most.' (F403)

'No matter how the Mosuo house change, the Grandmother's house would never change.' (F502)

Secondly, these interviewees expressed they preferred the traditional Grandmother's house because they were used to living in it. They pointed out that it felt warm and comfortable to live in the Grandmother's house when they were young, with all the cooking, heating and entertaining guests that took place in it. An elderly Mosuo grandmother, who was over 90 years old, said she was not accustomed to living in a new construction building, and preferred to sleep in the Grandmother's house. It can be noted that the house's dark interior was mentioned many times in the interviews. There are two reasons for the dark interior: firstly, a lack of sufficient light as there is no window, and secondly, years of fire smoke. However, it seems the dark interior is of symbolic significance in the Mosuo society – the dark interior is full of memories and traces of history. One respondent mentioned:

'Modern houses cannot be compared to smoked, black Grandmother's house. Modern houses are all high-rise buildings and concrete houses, while the Mosuo houses are natural, no painted and full of history of cooking and firing.' (F504)

Respondents also gave reasons why they did not like the new Grandmother's house – they thought it is too elaborately carved, too fancy, too bright in colour and not even good-looking. What's more, there is no fire in a newly constructed Grandmother's house, for fear of blackening the interior, suggesting that this kind of space has lost its meaning. One interviewee said:

'There was no fussy carving in the traditional Grandmother's house, only in the sacred chamber. Now getting rich, people want

to decorate the complex carvings in the Grandmother's house, this is no rule.' (F202)

Religious belief

As the core spiritual/religious space to the Mosuo, the sacred chamber has still retained its religious function and meaning in the present Mosuo dwellings. Because Mosuo practise Tibetan Buddhism, the sacred chamber had great functional and religious significance to the Mosuo household. It is the place for the gods to live, where the Lama of the household practices his religious routine and where the family members worship the gods. The spatial organisation of the sacred chamber is a manifestation of Mosuo religious belief and spiritual world. As the Mosuo people highly value the spiritual world, the sacred chamber is ornate and magnificent (compared to the interiors of other Mosuo buildings, which are relatively plain and simple). Earthen, gold-plated statutes of the Buddha and various ritual objects are set out for worship, and thangkas and murals decorate the walls. The sacred chamber has a great significance for a Mosuo household because the presence of a sacred chamber represents the family's prosperity. Therefore, the sacred chamber is the best furnished and the cleanest corner of the courtyard house.

The interviews revealed that the majority of interviewees believed that sacred chamber is one of the unique architectural features of the inhabited space of the Mosuo people. One interviewee (F504), a Lama from Zhashi village, talked about,

'The significance of the sacred chamber lies in the cultivation of enlightenment and the benefit of all living beings. Unlike the flat-roofed sacred chamber or temples in Tibet, the sacred chamber in the Mosuo area is a gabled roof.'

As regards the preference towards a traditional or modern sacred chamber, the interviews showed that significantly more interviewees preferred the traditional sacred chamber. There are three main reasons: habit, awareness of traditional values, and memorial significance. Firstly, some of the interviewees enjoyed the dark interior and simple space from a

perceptual perspective. Secondly, some regarded the old sacred chamber as their tradition and had deep feelings towards it. One interviewee commented, *'No.46 photo (Figure 5.67) is a new style sacred chamber, and interior carved by machine with bright colours, there is no sense of solemnity.'* Thirdly, some indicated that the old sacred chambers are valuable and have traces of history, such as the old carved murals on the walls, which are of memorial significance.



*Figure 5.67 New style sacred chamber (No.46 photo in the booklet).
(Photo taken by author, 2016)*

Values of living

This part sought the views of the inhabitants about what, in their view, would be an ideal life and house. Most respondents said they are satisfied with their present life. The older generation (F101, F102, F201, F301, F401, F402 and F501) expressed satisfaction because the old days were hard: *'life has changed a lot that there was no money and no food before, and now it is all settled (F102)'; 'unlike the past, the life is getting better now and has enough food and cloth (F301).'*

Most of the younger generations (F103, F202, F304, F305, F306, F502, F503 and F504) thought an ideal life is a simple, comfortable and worry-free life. Answers made by the respondents to describe their ideal life included:

'I am practising walking marriage. I hope two old people in the family, me and my walking marriage partner, my children, five people will live together, and living a simple life.' (F103)

'I hope to live an ordinary and no sick life. Live in the present, rather live in the tomorrow.' (F202)

'This is my ideal life now, including the guesthouse is being built, take my family to travel, have my own faith, and live comfortable life.' (F502)

A small number of the younger generations were looking forward to an affluent life, such as F406. He expected:

'I have an idea life but need to be based on economy... If I have enough money, I would build a villa to accommodate tourists. Nothing is ideal work in the city. I want to go home after Zhashi village is developed, because it is impossible to work for others for a whole life.'

In relation to their ideal house, a large number of inhabitants expressed satisfaction with their traditional courtyard house. One of the Saba Family members strongly expressed:

'... The old Mosuo people like to stay in the courtyard and the Grandmother's house. If have money in the future, it can build high-rise buildings with flat roof in the courtyard because young Mosuo people like it, but the Grandmother's house and sacred chamber should be preserved.' (F101)

Additionally, some of the respondents said that they had a strong attachment to their traditional dwellings because they had lived in it for a long time and it had become a habit. A small number of local people (F202, F204, F304 and F403) commented that they would like to live in the traditional Mosuo dwellings. They stated that they would rather live in log-walled houses because modern houses can be seen in everywhere. One interviewee answered that, in the future, when he could afford it, he

would build two timber structure houses on vacant lots, and the roof tiles of the Grandmother's house would be turned back into wooden shingles. Another interviewee (F204) commented that the ideal house to live in is the traditional courtyard dwelling, and indicated to the photo of the traditional house (Figure 5.68). He felt that traditional house is more beautiful – with timber structure houses, an inner courtyard paved with slate and Mosuo people wearing traditional costumes.



Figure 5.68 One interviewee's ideal courtyard – old and traditional. (Photo provided by F204)

However, several young Mosuo people (F306, F403, F405 and F406) have different opinions, and they indicated that there is a gap between current housing and their ideal home, and that they anticipated living in a new construction house in the future. They felt there are some shortages within the traditional Mosuo dwellings, and emphasised the fact that these could be improved by taking into account modern requirements. For example, F405 expressed a desire to live in a multi-story house with a balcony, because it would have a good view, fresh air and bright light. The following quotation is typical of views expressed by inhabitants:

'I would like to build two or three story new large-scaled houses with ethnic features. The demand for more space and rooms is because there are few rooms now. The Mosuo are extended family with so many family members in the household,

especially when there are other members coming back home for festivals. I want them to live at home, and also want to have flowers and plants in the yard and keep the old trees and build a bathroom in the back yard.’ (F405)



Figure 5.69 F406’s ideal house, Silver Lake Island Hotel. (Photo provided by F406)



Figure 5.70 View of Silver Lake Island Hotel. (Photo provided by F406)

'My ideal house is like the Silver Lake Island Hotel (Figure 5.69-5.70), it is because the exterior is traditional wood and the interior is concrete, modern house, it also retains the ethnic characteristics. Moreover, trees and houses live in harmony.' (F406)

'Dingya Tree House under construction is my ideal house. I would like to live in the comfortable place with a bedroom, a bathroom and a place to drink tea. The new construction house is more comfortable. Wooden house has disadvantages of sound insulation and poor fire protection, but new construction houses are fireproof, soundproof, windproof in the winter and rainproof.' (F502)

These ideas reflect a strong sense of desire on the part of inhabitants in relation to what they expect the ideal house to be. To sum up, they are suggesting the need to adapt to modern life whilst also preserving ethnic culture and features.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has examined changes and continuity to Mosuo dwellings in the past 30 years, in reference to the traditional forms identified in the Chapter 3. The analysis has shown how the Mosuo dwellings evolved over this period in terms of living culture, building culture and values and beliefs. Although traditional ways of living and dwellings have been influenced by modernisation and tourism development, the overall pattern does not change, mostly keeping its original in terms of both its physical features and a traditional way of living continuing in it.

In summary, the existing Mosuo dwellings have retained largely in their original conditions although there are modifications and additions for the changes needs of inhabitants. Meanwhile, maintenance and sanitation issues remain to be solved in the future development.

6 Fieldwork findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the findings from the second stage fieldwork conducted for the present study. Following the documentation on the transformation of Mosuo dwellings in Chapter 5, this chapter discusses the meanings of Mosuo dwellings to the inhabitants and their perceptions on the preference of traditional and new forms of dwellings. In total five families and their houses were chosen to study to understand how Mosuo dwellings continued its features and values. The conversations and analysis of spatial layout are based on inhabitants' daily routines and the family structure.

The chapter starts with an overview of each family, including family structure, marriage status, dwelling form and function as well as daily routine within the inhabited space, examining its continuity in the current built forms and its culture. Then a discussion on perceptions on the inhabited space from inhabitants' perspective. The analysis presented in this chapter offers more insights into the transitions and the relationships between the dwellings, inhabitants and the Mosuo culture/traditions.

6.2 Findings of the Mosuo families' interviews

This section shows that even though the rural ways of living adjustments in the Mosuo village have responded to the locality's social and economic changes, they still partially retain the intrinsic agrarian lifestyles and matriarchal living patterns of the past. Further discussions of the following five family cases that are used to specify current Mosuo dwellings in detail in relation to daily routine and inhabitants' perceptions are now considered.

Dwelling Case No. 1 – the Saba Family

(1) Family structure and marriage status

There are five people in the Saba family (Figure 4.9): mother (64), mother's walking-marriage partner (57), eldest daughter (41), eldest daughter's daughter (age not known) and eldest daughter's son (18).

Although the mother's walking-marriage partner now lives in his partner's home, when they were younger, they chose walking marriage. It is evident that this family has been affected by modern society, all the daughters work outside of the village and have set up their own families, however, the eldest daughter continues to inherit the matriarchal culture.

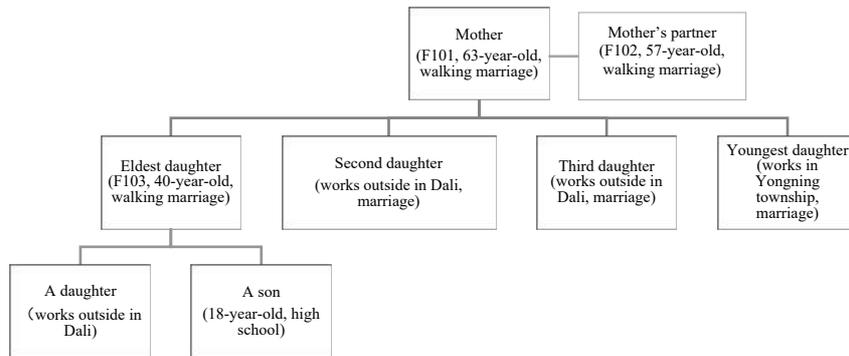


Figure 6.1 Family structure and marriage status of Saba family. (Drawn by author)

Because the eldest daughter's daughter works outside the village, in Dali, Yunnan, and her son studies at a high school that is far from the Yongning area, the younger generation were not at home and only three people were interviewed during this fieldwork (Table 6.1), mother (F101), mother's walking-marriage partner (F102) and the eldest daughter (F103).

	F101	F102	F103
Gender	Female	Male	Female
Age	63	57	41
Role in the family	Mother	Mother's partner	Mother's eldest daughter
Education level	Illiterate	Primary school	Primary school
Occupation	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer
Interview length	15: 30	28: 25	34: 24

Table 6.1 General information of interviews of Saba family

(2) Dwelling form and function

This dwelling (Figure 4.10) is located on the hillside of the mountain. The independent, enclosed, four-sided courtyard house of the Saba family is surrounded by a garden, which is itself surrounded by a clay wall approximately 1.5 metres high. The Saba family's home still retains the same spatial arrangement and storey height as the traditional courtyard house (Figure 4.11). The courtyard plan consists of four

buildings as a quadrangle: the Grandmother's house, the sacred chamber, the Flower house and the Grass house. Specifically, there are five rooms in the Grandmother's house, and each of the other buildings have three rooms upstairs and downstairs – a total of 23 rooms.



Figure 6.2 Case of courtyard dwelling of the Saba family. (Source from Google Maps; photos taken by author, 2017)

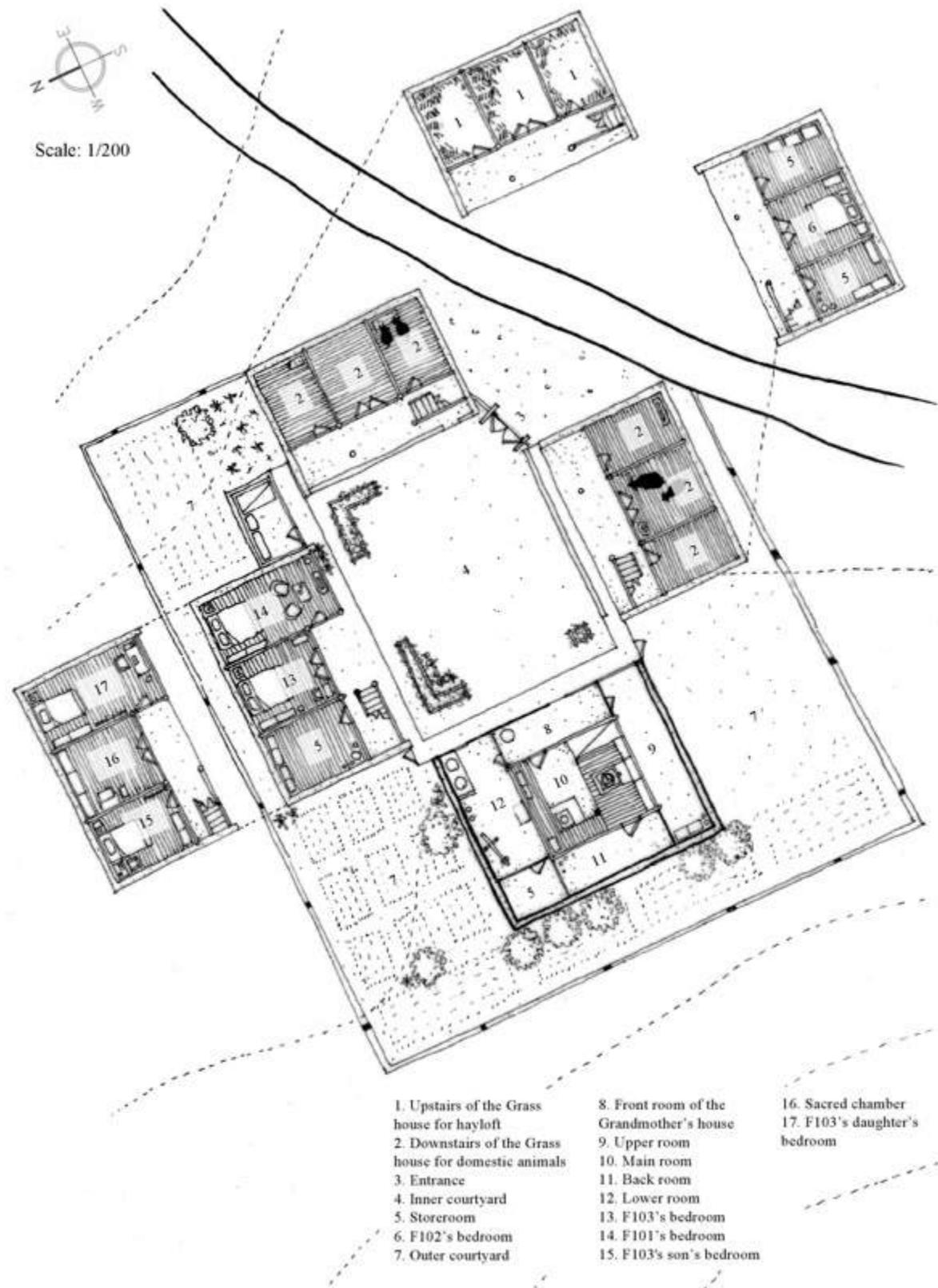


Figure 6.3 Plan of the courtyard dwelling of Saba family. (Drawn by author)

With the exception of the Grandmother's house, which is a one-storey building, all the other buildings are two stories tall. This courtyard house has only one entrance but three gates: the main gate leads into the entrance and inner courtyard, while the other two connect the inner courtyard and the backyard. The spacious inner courtyard provides living accommodation and room for activities such as hay-making.

On the right side of the main entrance is the Grass house. The Grass house is a wooden structure used to house horses and pigs downstairs, as well as to store hay upstairs – very much in the traditional style. Next to the Grass house is the sacred chamber. The sacred chamber is not an independent building at the Saba family's home, instead the chamber is surrounded by living accommodation. It is arranged in the middle of the room on the upstairs of this building and is the best furnished and the cleanest corner in the courtyard. There is no lama in residence at the Saba's home, hence this place is for the family members to pray every day. The children of the mother's eldest daughter live separately on either side of the sacred chamber, however, since they work or study outside the village, they only come back to visit during festivals or holidays. The mother (F101) and her eldest daughter (F103) live downstairs and the rest of rooms of this building are used for storage.

The Grandmother's house is built to the side of the sacred chamber. The Grandmother's house of the Saba family is furnished in the uniform traditional style, with a simple and dark interior, and maintains its original functions. It is still used as the family common space for meetings and leisure, where the family members eat, drink, receive guests and convene to make decisions. However, no one sleeps in this room anymore; as mentioned previously, the mother (F101) has her bedroom next to the Grandmother's house, downstairs in the sacred chamber. Her bedroom is more spacious and has some modern interior decorations, such as a television. She expressed her opinions about not living in the Grandmother's house at the moment:

'When I am getting older, about 70 years old, I will move into the Grandmother's House. It means I am in the centre of the

household need to be taking care and one step closer to the rank of ancestress.'

On the opposite side of the sacred chamber is the Flower house, which, traditionally was used for the walking marriage of the adult women. Now, however, the eldest daughter (F103) lives in the Sacred chamber, which has a better building environment, and the mother's partner (F102) lives in the middle room on the upstairs floor of the Flower house, above the cows which live downstairs; the rest of the rooms are for storage. Although there have been some changes in the use of the Flower house, its hierarchical layout, according gender and maternal blood, can be seen to directly reflect on the spatial arrangement.

(3) Daily routine

The daily routine in the courtyard house of the Saba family (Table 4.3) is as follows:

	7: 00-8:00	8:00	8:00-12:00	12:00	12:00-19:00	19:00-20:00	20:00-23:00
F101	Sleep in the sacred chamber	Get up, breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Do farm work in the farmland	Lunch at home	Do farm work in the farmland	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Watch TV, sleep in the sacred chamber at 22:00
F102	Sleep in the Flower house	Get up, breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Herd sheep and cattle in the grassland	Lunch at grassland	Herd sheep and cattle in the grassland	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Flower house
F103	Get up, feed the pig in the Grass house, make fire and tea in the Grandmother's house, burn incense in the back yard	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Do farm work in the farmland (plant corn and potatoes)	Lunch at farmland	Do farm work in the farmland	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Watch TV, sleep in the sacred chamber at 23:00

Table 6.2 The daily routine of Saba family

The daily routine of Saba family still remains the same as the traditional way of life. Every member of this family is involved in farming. It can be seen from their daily activities that the family's economic sources are mainly agricultural production.

Dwelling Case No. 2 – the Zhashi Family

(1) Family structure and marriage status

There are three generations living together and in total there are nine members of the Zhashi family (Figure 4.12), grandmother's second eldest

sister (82), grandmother (70), eldest daughter (N/K) (married into outside family but household at home), eldest son (48), youngest daughter (37), youngest daughter's eldest son (22), youngest daughter's second son (20), youngest daughter's youngest son (2), and grandmother's eldest sister's son (age not known). Grandmother is the manager of the family.

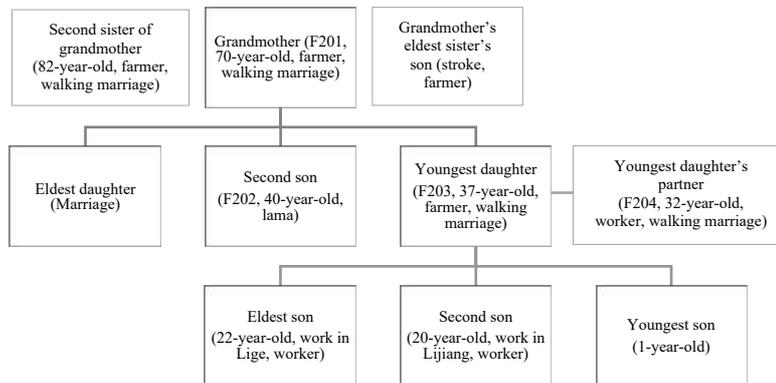


Figure 6.4 Family structure and marriage status of Zhashi family

Only four Mosuo people were interviewed (Table 5.4): grandmother (F201), grandmother's eldest son (F202), grandmother's youngest daughter (F203) and grandmother's youngest daughter's partner (F204). The grandmother's second eldest sister has Alzheimer's disease, which meant that it was not possible to communicate with her; the eldest daughter moved out to live with her husband at marriage; the youngest daughter's two sons are working outside the village (one is in the nearby village and another is in the city), and the youngest daughter's youngest son is too young to participate. Additionally, the grandmother's eldest sister's son had a stroke at home. F204 is from Nahawa village, near Yongning Township, but the rest of interviewees were born in the Zhashi village. F204 started to conduct walking marriage with grandmother's youngest daughter five years ago.

	F201	F202	F203	F204
Gender	Female	Male	Female	Male
Age	70	48	37	32
Role in the family	Grandmother	Grandmother's eldest son	Grandmother's youngest daughter	Grandmother's youngest daughter's partner
Education level	Illiterate	Primary school	Primary school	Middle school
Occupation	Farmer	Lama	Farmer	Builder
Interview length	15: 44	45: 39	16: 05	05: 20

Table 6.3 General information of interviews of Zhashi family

(2) Dwelling form and function

The courtyard house of the Zhashi family is divided into two courtyards, one for living and the other for production (Figure 4.13). The living courtyard consists of the Grandmother's house, the sacred chamber, the Flower house and one additional building. The production courtyard included a Grass house, two livestock sheds, a simple store house and a toilet without a flushing system. There are four rooms in the Grandmother's house, one room in the sacred chamber, five rooms in the Flower house, six rooms in the additional building, three rooms upstairs and downstairs in the Grass house, with a total of 22 rooms (Figure 4.14).

This courtyard house has one entrance but two gates. The main gate has an entrance leading first into production courtyard, the other gate connects the living and production courtyards. Similar to *Dwelling Case No. 1*, the main gate is at the southeast corner. The whole Grass house has been moved into the production courtyard, but its original function has been retained, that is, hay stored upstairs and domestic animals' downstairs. The rest of the livestock sheds and store house were subsequently built according to need.

With regards to the living courtyard, on the right side of the secondary gates are the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber, which are 200 years old. These two old buildings are on one side of the courtyard that has maintained the traditional spatial arrangement, functions and architectural forms. In terms of the Grandmother's house, grandmother's eldest son (F202) said that this house existed when his mother (F201) held her Coming of Age ceremony to celebrate her thirteenth birthday;

he commented *'I was born here, as well as my mother born.'* As for usage, although the main room of the bed is not occupied, the 70-year-old grandmother sleeps in the front room. According to the interview, the grandmother's second eldest sister used to live in the main room, but the grandmother's bed was too high to roll under the bed; so for convenience she moved into the new house. The sacred chamber is an independent building in the courtyard, and the interior is decorated with many old murals and wood carvings. F202 is a lama in the Zhashi family and he manages the sacred chamber, in addition to his daily religious routine, the sacred chamber is also used by other family members for worship.

Next to the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber is a transformed wooden building which contains three rooms downstairs, two for storage and one for the grandmother's eldest sister's son. The Lama's (F202) room is arranged centrally upstairs, the rooms to the left and right sides are vacant as guest rooms. On the opposite side of the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber is the Flower house. This Flower house is not just for the adult women (F203) of the household who are sexually active, the grandmother's second eldest sister also lives there. There are three rooms remaining: two rooms for the living area and one guest room. This building was built later than the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber, and there are noticeable differences in their architectural forms and the materials used, more details are given below.

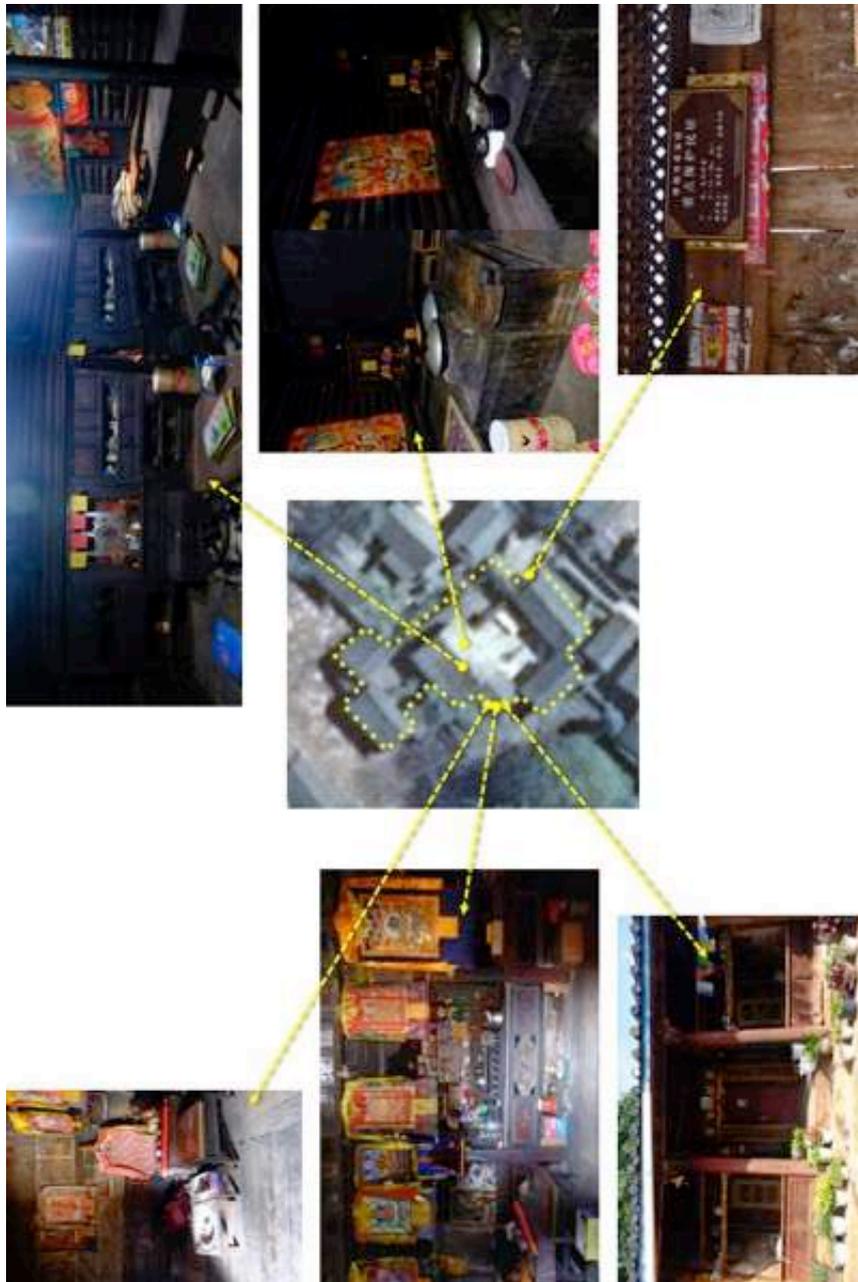


Figure 6.5 Case of courtyard dwelling of the Zhashi family. (Source from Google Maps; photos taken by author, 2017)

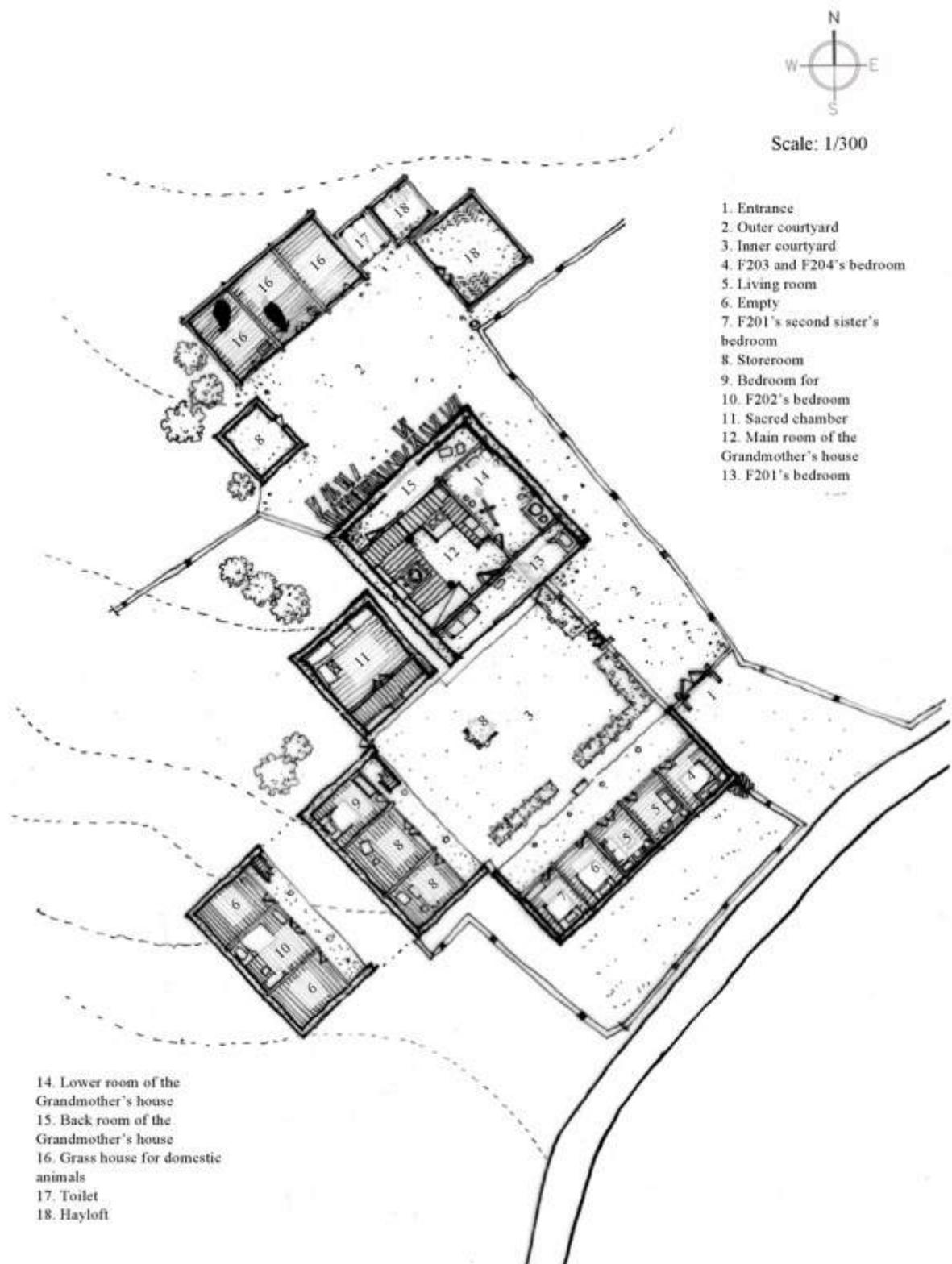


Figure 6.6 Plan of the courtyard dwelling of Zhashi Family. (Drawn by author)

(3) Daily routine

The daily routine of Zhashi family (Table 4.5) is as follows:

	7:00-8:00	8:00	8:00-12:00	12:00	12:00-19:00	19:00-20:00	20:00-23:00
F201	Get up at 7:00, make a fire in the Grandmother's house then worship the Buddha	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Physically less active (e.g. Sit in the sun outside Grandmother's house, sometimes take care of children at home)	Lunch at the Grandmother's house	Physically less active (e.g. Sit in the sun outside Grandmother's house, sometimes take care of children at home)	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Grandmother's house
F202	Sleep in a transformed wooden building	Get up and worship water in the sacred chamber	Pray or chant scripture and do religious homework	Lunch at the Grandmother's house	Pray or chant scripture and do religious homework in the sacred chamber	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in a transformed wooden building
F203	Get up at 7:00, cook breakfast in the Grandmother's house, feed the pig in the Grass house	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Do farm work in the farmland and take care of children at home	Lunch at the Grandmother's house	Do farm work in the farmland and take care of children at home	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Flower house at 22:00
F204	Get up at 7:30 and eat breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Start work at the construction site	Construction work	Lunch at the site	Construction work and go back home at 18:30	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Flower house at 21:30 or 22:00

Table 6.4 The daily routine of Zhashi family

Similar to the Saba family, the daily routine of the Zhashi family also remains traditional. It can be seen that the grandmother's eldest son (F202) is a Lama and has to perform religious daily activities. A slight change in the traditional way of life is reflected in the way that youngest daughter's partner (F204) works on the construction site, but this does not affect the daily life and economic structure of the Zhashi family, which is still a women-centre household and reliant upon a small-scale agrarian economy. In Mosuo culture, both men and women in walking marriages do not share properties, instead they continue to live with and be responsible to their respective families (Mattison, 2014). It can be said that the youngest daughter's partner (F204) does not belong to the Zhashi family, in other words, he does not have to share his own property, meaning that the Zhashi family's economy is not influenced by him.

Dwelling Case No. 3 – the Saba2 Family

(1) Family structure and marriage status

There are four generations under one roof and nine people in the Saba2 family (Figure 4.15): grandmother (83), grandmother's eldest son (62),

eldest son's wife (56) and their eldest son (37), second son (33), third daughter (29) and her son (3) and her baby, and youngest son (27). Grandmother's son (F302) is married, but apart from him, the rest of family members all still practice traditional walking marriages, continuing the Mosuo culture. Grandmother (F301) came from Zhongshi village and joined the Saba2 family when she was 20 years old because the great grandmother has no daughter. She lived in Zhongshi village in the year 1957 and 1958; and then was forced to have a marriage due to the policy³⁷. But later, due to a difficult relationship with her husband's mother, she resumed walking marriage. This is another example of a characteristic of Mosuo 'marriage' – because the grandmother has four sons and no daughter, the grandmother's son's companion (F303), from Dapo village, came into the Saba2 family more than 40 years ago through marriage. Marriage for the Saba2 family was a means of household perpetuation, or an adaptive measure (Shih, 1993, 2010). The Saba2 family's structure shows that when structural adjustment was not needed, later generations of such households would resume walking marriage.

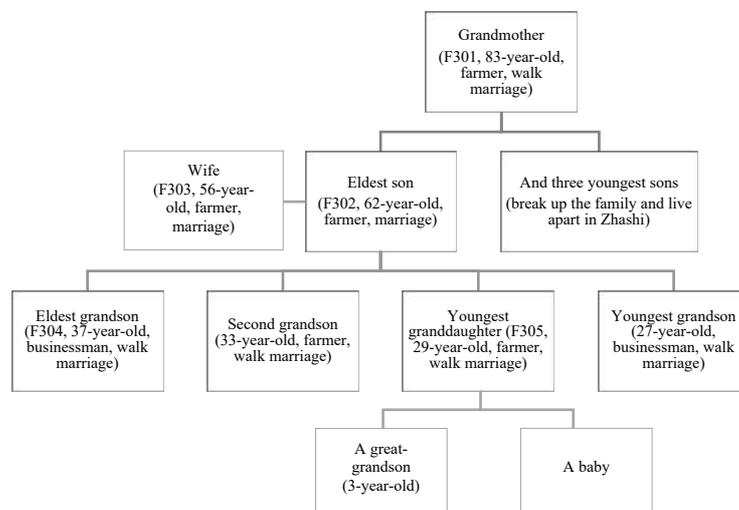


Figure 6.7 Family structure and marriage status of Saba2 family

In the second phase of fieldwork, six people were interviewed (see Table 4.6), grandmother (F301), grandmother's eldest son (F302) and eldest

³⁷ By the end of the Cultural Revolution, the government launched a so-called 'one-wife-one-husband Movement' which culminated the efforts by the Han Chinese to convert Mosuo society into a monogamous civilization. Two partners had to live under one roof or stop their relationship.

son's wife (F303), their eldest grandson (F304), third granddaughter (F305) and youngest grandson's walking marriage partner (F306).

	F301	F302	F303	F304	F305	F306
Gender	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Female
Age	83	62	56	37	29	Not known
Role in the family	Grandmother	Grandmother's Eldest son	Eldest son's wife	Eldest grandson	Youngest granddaughter	Youngest grandson's walking partner
Education level	Illiterate	Illiterate	Illiterate	Primary school	Primary school	Middle school
Occupation	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer	Businessman	Farmer	Businesswoman
Interview length	21: 56	10:54	8: 05	12: 47	11:53	05:13

Table 6.5 General information of interviews of Saba2 family

(2) Dwelling form and function

Like *Dwelling Case No. 1*, the spatial arrangement of the Saba2 family's dwelling was also built around a single courtyard (Figure 4.16). The courtyard plan was very much in keeping with the traditional style. There are four rooms in the Grandmother's house, eight rooms in the sacred chamber, four rooms in the Flower house, six rooms in the Grass house, with a total of 22 rooms (Figure 4.17).

The Grandmother's house and the Flower house are one-storey high, and the other two buildings are two-stories. There are two entrances in this dwelling, one is across the Zhashi river and the other is connected to the main street of the Zhashi village; as with the previous cases, the gate is at the southeast corner. On the northeast (right) side of the gate is a wooden Grass house that, like the Saba family's Grass house, is used for domestic animals downstairs and storage of hay upstairs.

Next to the Grass house is the Grandmother's house. Unlike the traditional Grandmother's house, this structure has only four rooms instead of five because they changed the front room into a corridor. In terms of the main room in the Grandmother's house, although overall it maintains the traditional furnishings, cabinets and beds as well as other furniture, it has decorative carvings and bright colours. The eldest son (F302) mentioned that this Grandmother's house is 200 years old, hence

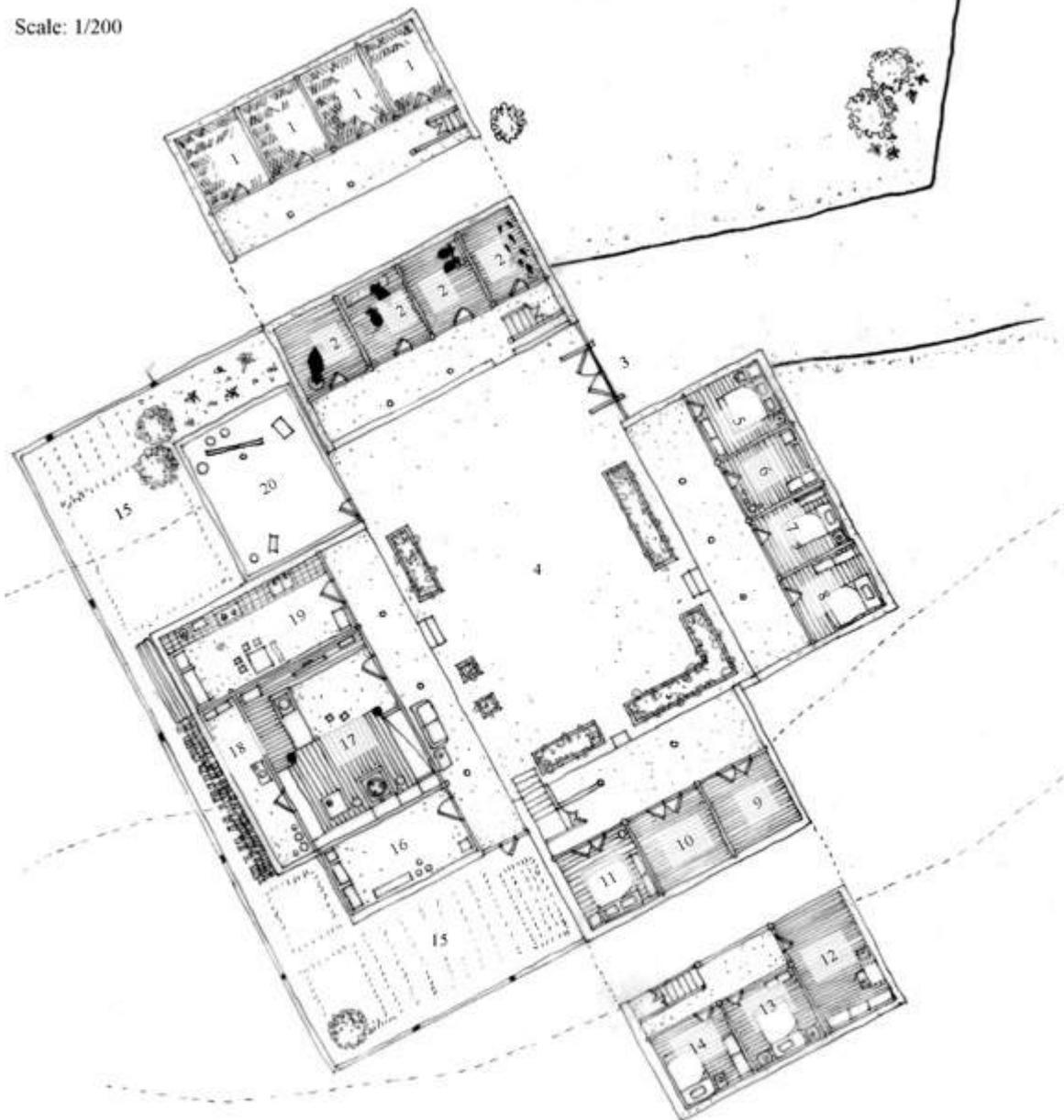
it is old and black, however, since the 2012 earthquake, the interior has been renovated with new wood carvings. The usage of space is the same as in *Dwelling Case No. 1*, i.e. grandmother does not sleep in the Grandmother's house. F301 explained that *'I was living in the Grandmother's house until recently. I moved to another room because it's too loud (chatting) and bright to sleep. The light makes my eyes uncomfortable.'*



Figure 6.8 Case of courtyard dwelling of the Saba2 family. (Source from Google Maps; photos taken by author, 2017)



Scale: 1/200



- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Upstairs of the Grass house for hayloft | 8. Bedroom for second grandson | 15. Outer courtyard |
| 2. Downstairs of the Grass house for domestic animals | 9. Empty | 16. Upper room of the Grandmother's house |
| 3. Entrance | 10. Rent | 17. Main room |
| 4. Inner courtyard | 11. F302 and F303's bedroom | 18. Back room |
| 5. F305's bedroom | 12. Sacred chamber | 19. Kitchen |
| 6. Living room | 13. F304's bedroom | 20. Storeroom |
| 7. F301's bedroom | 14. Bedroom for youngest grandson | |

Figure 6.9 The plan of the courtyard house of the Saba2 family. (Drawn by author)

The sacred chamber is on the southwest side of the Grandmother's house. It is not an independent building, but is instead arranged at the side of the upstairs room. In addition to the sacred chamber, the other two upstairs rooms are lived in by the eldest grandson (F304) and the youngest brother. The eldest son (F302), his wife (F303) and their great-grandson live downstairs. There are two other rooms downstairs, one for rent and the other vacant. On the opposite side of the Grandmother's house is the Flower house. As seen elsewhere, this one-storey Flower house is also no longer just for adult women in the household who are sexually active; in addition to the third granddaughter (F305), the grandmother (F301) and the second brother also live here. There is also a storage room.

(3) Daily routine

The daily routine in the courtyard house of the Saba2 family (Table 4.7) is as follows:

	7: 00-8:00	8:00	8:00-12:00	12:00	12:00-19:00	19:00-20:00	20:00-23:00
F301	Get up in the Flower house	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Physically less active (sometimes take care of baby at home)	Lunch in the Grandmother's house	Go to a neighbour's house for a chat (17:00-18:00 go to the sacred chamber to lighting and blessing)	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Flower house at 20:00
F302	Get up in the Sacred chamber	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Do farm work in the farmland and herd cattle in the grassland	Lunch in the Grandmother's house or farmland	Do farm work in the farmland and herd cattle in the grassland	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Sacred chamber
F303	Get up, make fire and tea, burn incense, feed the pig, chicken and duck	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Do farm work in the farmland	Lunch in the Grandmother's house, feed the pig, chicken and duck	Do farm work in the farmland	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Sacred chamber
F304	Get up in his partner's home	Breakfast in his partner's home	Operate auto spare parts store in the Yongning town, build house at home	Lunch in the Grandmother's house or at store	Operate auto spare parts store in the Yongning town, build house at home	Dinner in his partner's home	Sleep in his partner's home
F305	Get up in the Flower house	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Take care the children, do household maintenance (Laundry, cooking and cleaning), e.g. cook tea and potatoes to craftsman during the construction	Lunch in the Grandmother's house	Take care the children, do household maintenance (Laundry, cooking and cleaning)	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Flower house
F306	Sleep in her own home	Get up in her own home	Do housework maintenance at her own home	Lunch at her own home	Sells barbecues in the Lige village	Sells barbecues in the Lige village	Sells barbecues in the Lige village (until 22:00) and Sleep in her own home

Table 6.6 The daily routine of Saba2 family

Compared to the late 1980s³⁸, the daily life routine remains almost unchanged. The only difference is what individuals do for a living, which has expanded from purely agriculture to business as a result of modernisation and tourism, for example, F304 started a business selling auto spare parts, F306 is the owner of barbeque shop. According to the interview, F306 used to sell fashion clothes in Yongning Township but was only able to maintain a basic life, now she is managing barbecue stalls in Lige village she has a better lifestyle. This changed because of the development of tourism and the increased number of tourists.

Dwellings Case No. 4 – the Acimi Family

(1) Family structure and marriage status

There are five generations under one roof and seven people in the Acimi family (Figure 4.18), elderly grandmother (96), grandmother's third son (age not known), Guolin's father (age not known), and mother (age not known), Guolin (23) and Guojie (age not known) and their one-year-old son. The older generations (grandmother and her eldest daughter) practiced walking marriage. For different purposes, the third and fourth generations have all chosen marriage as a means of household perpetuation. The third generation of Acimi family only included Guolin's father (F403), so to continue the household, the eldest daughter's youngest grandson (F403) got married to his wife (F404). They then gave birth to a single great-granddaughter (F405) – the fourth generation in the family. Again, to continue the household, the great-granddaughter's husband (F406) married into, and lives with, the Acimi Family. It is assumed that future generations of this family will continue the Mosuo tradition of practicing walking marriage.

³⁸ Shih (1993, 2010) observed traditional Mosuo daily routine as it happened in the late 1980s; daily life of the Mosuo had followed more or less the same pattern for hundreds of years until the end of the 20th century.

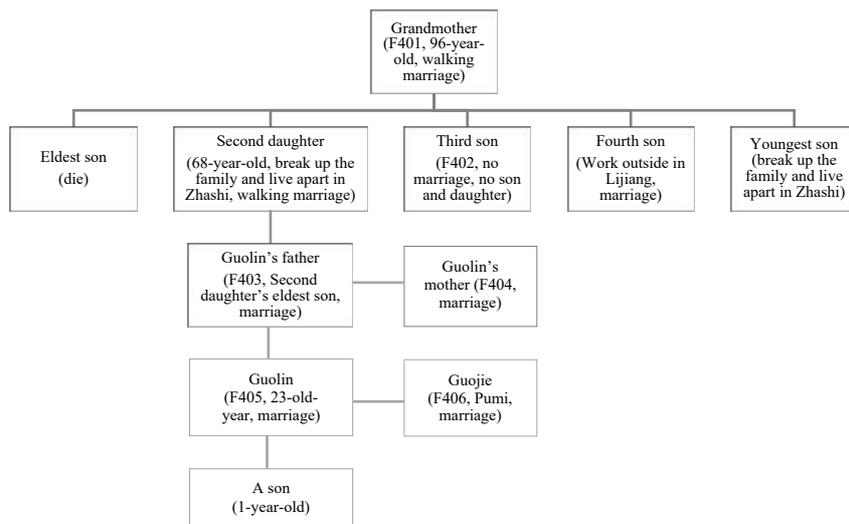


Figure 6.10 Family structure and marriage status of Acimi family

In the second-stage fieldwork, six people were interviewed (Table 4.8): elderly grandmother (F401), grandmother's third son (F402), Guolin's father (F403), Guolin's mother (F404), Guolin (F405) and Guojie (F406).

	F401	F402	F403	F404	F405	F406
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Female	Female	Male
Age	96	N/K	N/K	N/K	23	N/K
Role in the family	Great Grandmother	Great Grandmother's Third son	Guolin's father	Guolin's mother	Guolin	Guolin's husband
Education level	Illiterate	Illiterate	Primary school	Illiterate	Middle school	Middle school
Occupation	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer	Worker	Chef
Interview length	7: 33	5:30	37: 46	8: 13	54:32	25:25

Table 6.7 General information of interviews of Acimi family

(2) Dwelling form and function

Like *Dwelling Case No. 2*, the spatial arrangement of the Acimi family is also separated into two courtyards: one for living and another for production (Figure 4.19). The living courtyard consists of the Grandmother's house, the sacred chamber, the Flower house, one building and a shed. The production courtyard includes a Grass house and two livestock sheds. There are four rooms in the Grandmother's house, one room in the sacred chamber, three rooms in the Flower house,

four rooms in one building, and three rooms upstairs and downstairs in the Grass house, giving a total of 18 rooms (Figure 4.20).

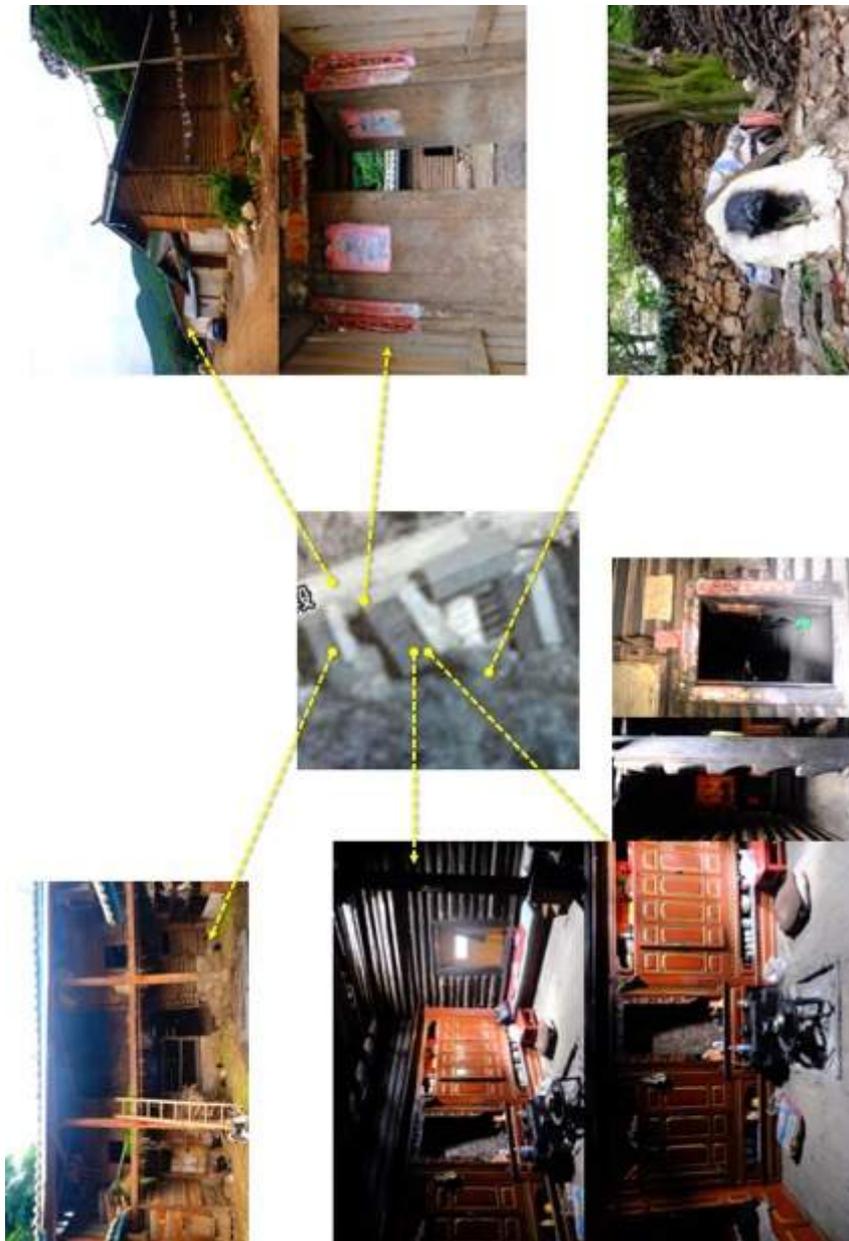


Figure 6.11 Case of courtyard dwelling in the Acimi family. (Source from Google Maps; photos taken by author, 2017)

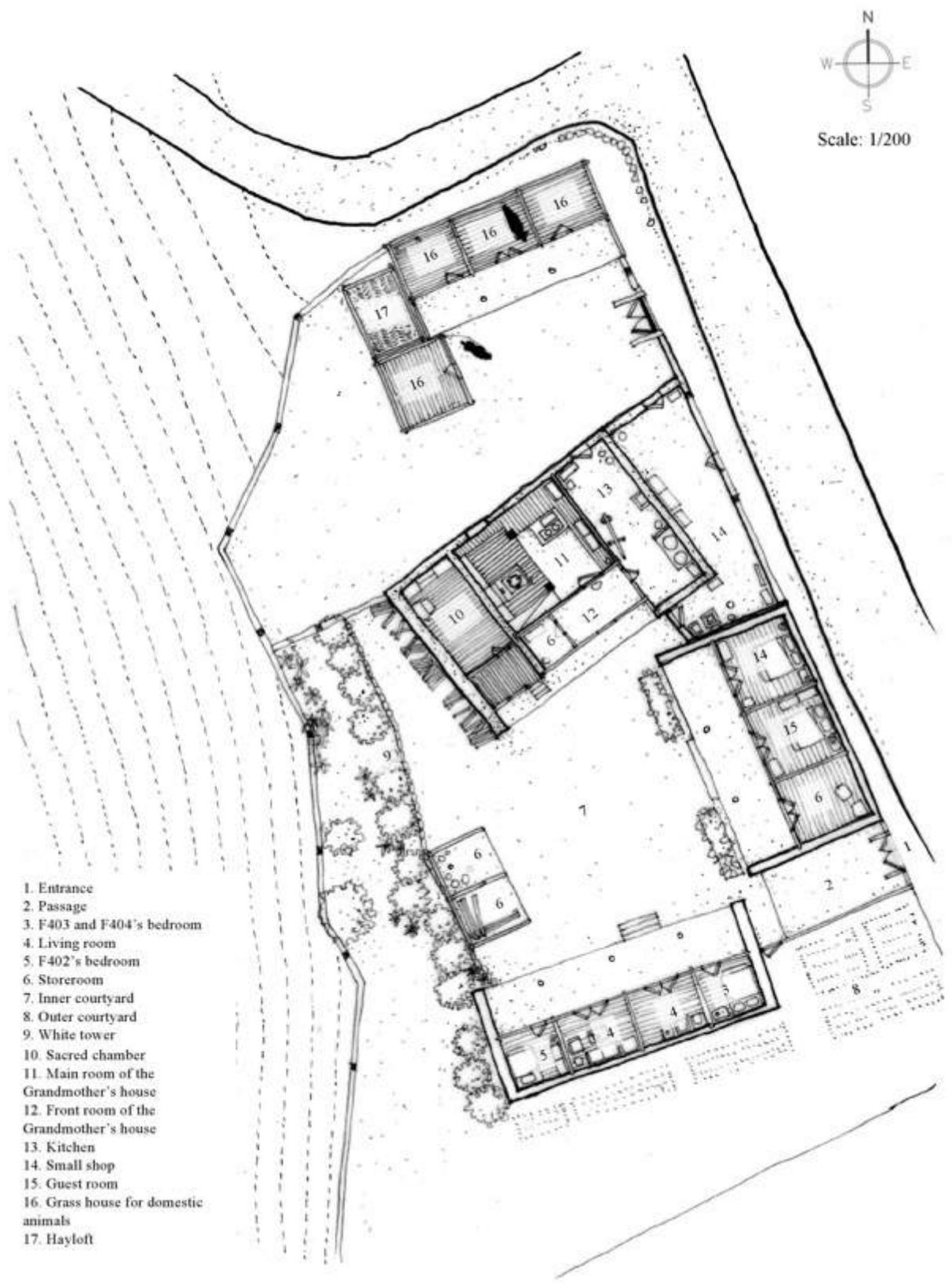


Figure 6.12 Plan of the courtyard house of the Acimi family. (Drawn by author)

There are two entrances with two enclosed courtyards. One entrance, the old gate, leads into the production courtyard and the other, the new gate, leads into the living courtyard. The two courtyards are connected by the Grandmother's house. As with the previous cases, the new gate is at the southeast corner. Within the production courtyard, the Grass house has retained original functions and architectural form; two livestock sheds were subsequently built.

In the living courtyard, on the right-hand side of the new gate is the newly built one-storey Flower house. In addition to being used by the great-granddaughter and her husband (F405 and F406), the Flower house has two other rooms: a guest room and a storage room. On the left-hand side of the new gate is also a newly built one-storey building, comprising of four rooms: two rooms for the living space, one for the grandmother's third son (F402), and one for eldest daughter's youngest grandson and his wife (F403 and F404). As discovered through the interview with F403, the Acimi family used to have an old and traditional Flower house, but it was torn down because it was rotten; it is almost 20 years since these two new houses were built and family members moved in.

On the opposite side of the one-storey building is the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber, which are both very old. Similar to *Dwelling Case No. 2*, the two old buildings were located on one side of the courtyard. Additionally, there was no upper room in the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber was an independent small building next to the Grandmother's house. The reason for the independent sacred chamber is that there used to be a very powerful Lama in the family when the great-grandmother (F401) was very young (not sure of the exact age). The Grandmother's house shows variable changes in function, architectural materials and spatial arrangement. It has only three parts, the main room, the front room and the lower room, instead of the traditional five rooms.

(3) Daily routine

The daily routine in the courtyard house of Acimi family (Table 4.9) is as follows (summer time):

	6:00-7: 00	7:30	8:00-12:00	12:00	12:00-19:00	19:30	20:00-23:00
F401	Get up in the Grandmother's house at 7:00	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Physically less active (e.g. Sit in the sun outside the sacred chamber and pray)	Lunch at the Grandmother's house	Physically less active (e.g. Sit in the sun outside the sacred chamber and pray)	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Grandmother's house at 20:00
F402	Get up in the new construction building at 7:00	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Herd sheep and cattle in the grassland	Bring their own food in the field	Herd sheep and cattle in the grassland, back home at 18:00 or 19:00	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the new construction building
F403	Get up in the new construction building at 7:00, light the lamp in the sacred chamber	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Do farm work in the farmland and grow crops, sometimes build house in nearby village	Offer tea and burn incense in the sacred chamber, lunch at home	Do farm work and grow crops, sometimes build house in nearby village, back home at 18: 00 or 19:00	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Lit the lamp and burned incense in the sacred chamber, and sleep in the new construction building
F404	Get up in the new construction building at 6:00, make fire and tea in the Grandmother's house, burn incense in the white tower, and then feed the pig, chicken and duck in the Grass house	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Do farm work in the farmland (plant corn, potatoes, green beans in the spring, and pick a ragweed at summer) and sometimes take care of children	Lunch at the Grandmother's house	Do farm work (plant corn, potatoes, green beans in the spring, and pick a ragweed at summer) and sometimes take care of children, back home at 18: 00 or 19:00	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the new construction building
F405	Get up in the Flower house at 7:00	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Work at Yongning town supermarket	Lunch at work	Work at Yongning town supermarket	Dinner at work	Work until 21:00 and sleep in the Flower house at 22:00
F406	Get up in the Flower house at 7:00 and cook breakfast	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Work in the Silver Lake Island Hotel started at 11:00	Lunch at work	Back at home until 18:00, cook the dinner	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Flower house at 22:00

Table 6.8 The daily routine of Acimi family

Like *Dwelling Case No. 3*, the household retains a traditional daily routine, the only change being what the Acimi family do for a living, which has expanded from purely agricultural work to employment outside the village, for example, working in the supermarket (F405) or the hotel (F406). From the interview, it was established that the great-granddaughter (F405) works in the supermarket in the Yongning Township from 8am until 9pm, and the great-granddaughter's husband (F406) works as a chef cooking staff meals at the Silver Lake Island Hotel from 11am to 6pm.

Dwelling Case No. 5 – the Dingya family

(1) Family structure and marriage status

There are three generations, in total four people, in the Dingya family (Figure 4.21), the grandmother (71) and her three sons (40, 38 and N/K). The older generation (grandmother) practiced walking marriage, as has one son (F502), while F503 has not. The youngest son (F504) is a Lama so marriage is not allowed.

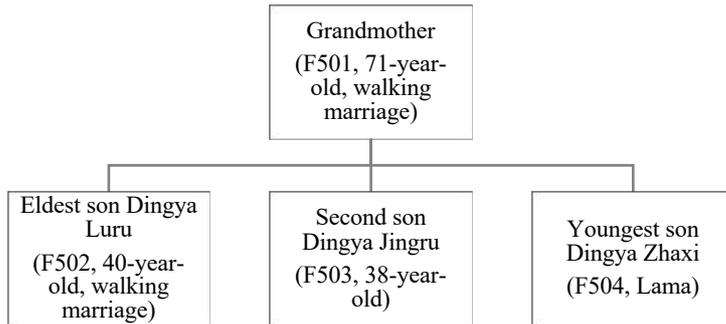


Figure 6.13 Family structure and marriage status of Dingya family

All members are interviewed (Table 4.10), grandmother (F501), Grandmother’s eldest son (F502), Grandmother’s second son (F503) and Grandmother’s youngest son (F504).

	F501	F502	F503	F504
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Male
Age	71	40	38	Not known
Role in the family	Grandmother	Grandmother’s elderly son	Grandmother’s secondly son	Grandmother’s little son
Education level	Primary school	College	Primary school	College
Occupation	Farmer	Businessman	Businessman	Lama
Interview length	01:26:20	15:00	35:42	54:10

Table 6.9 General information of interviews of Dingya family

(2) Dwelling form and function

The spatial arrangement of the Dingya household was built around a single courtyard, but it is becoming a complex construction, as can be seen in Figure 4.22. It consists of the Grandmother's house, the sacred

chamber, two new buildings which are under construction, two brick and timber buildings, a tree house for tourists, a few simple sheds and a toilet without a flushing system. The Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber are one-storey buildings, and the rest are multi-storey. There are five rooms in the Grandmother's house, one room in the sacred chamber, 14 rooms in the three-storey building, eight rooms in the other two buildings and one room in the tree house, giving a total of 29 rooms (Figure 4.23).

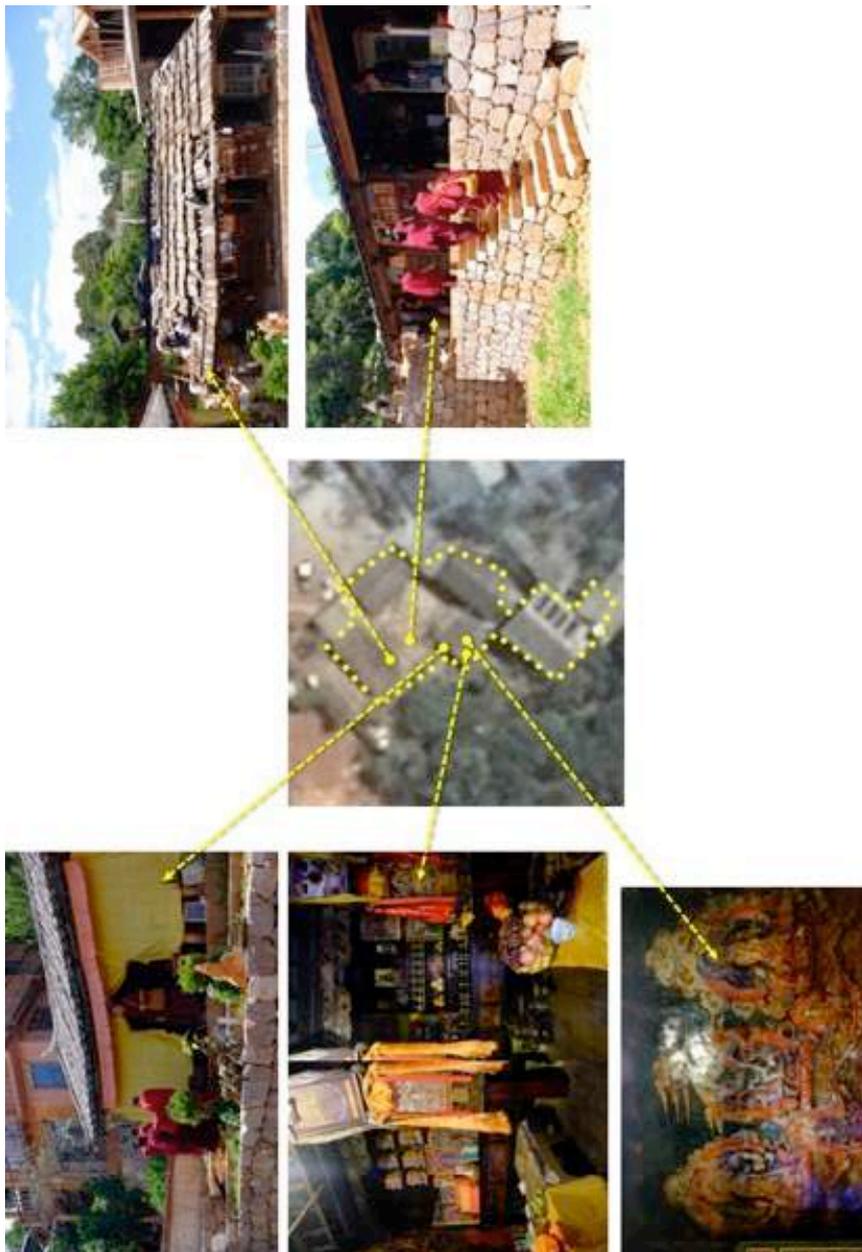


Figure 6.14 Case of the courtyard dwelling of the Dingya family. (Source from Google Maps; photos taken by author, 2017)

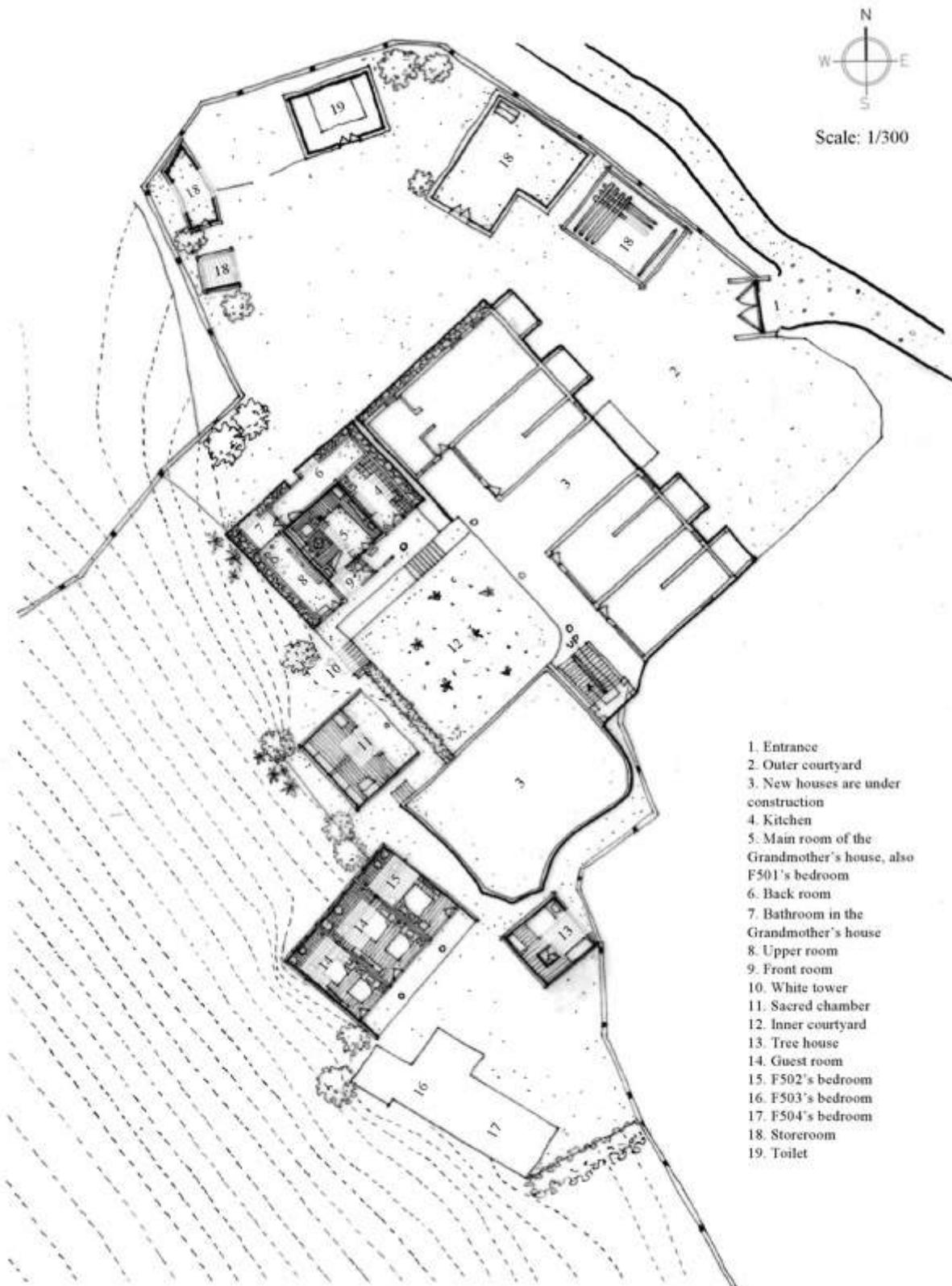


Figure 6.15 Plan of the courtyard house of the Dingya family. (Drawn by author)

Unlike the previous cases, the entrance to the Dingya family's dwelling was previously located in the southeast corner, but a new door was built on the ground floor in the centre of the new building, which seems to restore the original entry tradition. The building which is entered via the new entrance is still under construction; it is a three-storey build, which is a new form for Mosuo dwellings, in terms of it being multi-storey. On the left-hand side of this new building is another two-storey building, which is also under construction. This will serve as a ground-floor bar and reception desk and a first-floor terrace for the Dingya Tree House (guesthouse). According to the grandmother (F501), it is known that the old Flower house and Grass house used to be located in these two new buildings, however, they are now being moved down the hill. The eldest son (F502) is of the opinion that the old Flower house and Grass house might be occupied by the waiters in the future, and barbecues would happen there because of the heavy oil smoke. Unlike the previous cases, these two new buildings reflect the use of modern building techniques, the foundations and structure being strong enough to support a multi-storey floor, unlike that of the old traditional houses.

Opposite to the two new buildings are the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber, which are 200 years old. They still retain the same spatial arrangement as the traditional Grandmother's house and sacred chamber. The Grandmother's house is furnished in the uniform traditional style and the grandmother (F501) lives in the main room. The eldest son (F502) stated two reasons for not changing the Grandmother's house:

'One is that the most fundamental thing for protecting culture is to protect the tradition. The only thing left in our household was the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber after the liberation war. If even that changes, it's hard to say it conservation. The second is that we get used to the size, the furnishings, and even the blackness of our grandmother's house, if it's changed, we would lose the feeling of home.'

The Dingya's sacred chamber is an independent building; F502 explained having an independent sacred chamber means that this family has a

certain economic capacity. It was clearly seen during the investigation that some houses do not even have a sacred chamber, and some are placed centrally upstairs or to the side. Here, the interior retains the traditional spatial arrangement, and old religious murals and wood carvings. The second son (F503) recalled that, *'this sacred chamber had been deeply influenced by the cultural revolution in the past, which was almost destroyed. It can be seen that the mural has been cut down.'*

3. Daily routine

The daily routine in the courtyard house of the Dingya family (Figure 4.11) is as follows:

	6: 00-7:00	7:00	8:00-12:00	13:00	13:00-19:00	19:00	20:00-23:00
F501	Get up at 6:00, make fire and tea in the Grandmother's house, burn incense and cook breakfast	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	Physically less active	Lunch in the Grandmother's house	Physically less active but pray around the sacred chamber at 17:00 until 18:00	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the Grandmother's house at 21:00
F502	Get up at 6:00 and do religious homework in the new construction building	Breakfast in the Grandmother's house	build their own house	Lunch in the Grandmother's house	build their own house	Dinner in the Grandmother's house	Do religious homework and sleep in the new construction building at 23:00
F503	Sleep in the new construction building	Sleep	Get up at 8:00 and build their own house	Cook lunch and eat in the Grandmother's house	Build their own house	Cook dinner and eat in the Grandmother's house	Sleep in the new construction building at 23:00
F504	Get up in the village of sacred chamber at 6:30 or 7:00	Breakfast in the village of sacred chamber	Pray or chant scripture and do religious homework in the village of sacred chamber	Lunch in the village of sacred chamber	Build accommodation for the sacred chamber in the Zhashi village	Dinner in the village of sacred chamber	Pray or chant scripture and do religious homework at night, and sleep in the village of sacred chamber at 24:00

Table 6.10 The daily routine of the Dingya family

It can be seen that the Dingya family still practice the traditional daily routine. Like *Dwelling Case No. 3*, the only changes are a movement away from agriculture to business, for example, building and operating the Dingya Tree House (F502 and F503). With the exception of the two older brothers (F502 and F503) who build their own houses in the morning and afternoon, the remaining household members' time allocation is no different from the traditional routine. Now, the Dingya family's economic income comes mainly from the tourism and travel

business (accommodation and home visits), rather than agriculture production.

This section has presented an analysis of five typical cases of Mosuo dwellings in the modern times. The analysis has shown how the five family's cases in the Zhashi village evolved over this period of approaching twenty years. The change of means of livelihood, changes in population, and changes in labour distribution these factors has changed part of function and culture of Mosuo house, which have influenced the evolution of Mosuo house type. Although traditional ways of living and dwellings have been influenced by modernisation and tourism development, the overall pattern does not change, mostly keeping its original in terms of both its physical features and a traditional way of life continuing in it.

6.3 Findings of tourists' questionnaire

This part discusses the overall findings of the tourists' surveys. The results from the four sections – general information about tourists, travel experience, tourists' perception and future expectations – are synthesised. The following part presents the findings from 96 questionnaires completed by tourists in the Zhashi and Lige villages (46 from Zhashi village and 50 from Lige village) who had travelled in the Mosuo area. All respondents were randomly approached. The questionnaires were in Mandarin and all the texts quoted here were translated into English.

- **General information**

As can be seen from Table 4.12, over two-thirds of survey respondents (61.5%) were female, while males made up only 38.5%. With respect to age, a high proportion of respondents ages ranged from 20 to 39 and only 13.54% ranged from 40–59. In terms of monthly personal income, 42.7% respondents' monthly personal income was 3000-10,000 RMB (approximately 340 to 1,120 GBP), followed by 10,000-30,000 RMB (approximately 1,100 to 3,300 GBP) (15.6%) and no income (14.6%), and the lowest (1.04%) were more than 30,000 RMB.

Table 6.11 Selected characteristics of survey respondents (N= 96)

Categories	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Gender		
Male	37	38.5
Female	59	61.5
Age		
Under 19	3	3.13
20-29	53	55.2
30-39	22	22.9
40-49	6	6.25
50-59	7	7.29
Over 60	5	5.21
Monthly personal income (RMB)		
No income	14	14.6
< 3000	12	12.5
3000-5000	20	20.8
5000-10,000	21	21.9
10,000-30,000	15	15.6
Over 30,000	1	1.04
Not known	3	3.13

Source: Author's survey (2017)

- Travel experience

As indicated in Table 4.13, the majority of survey respondents (74%) selected travelling by coach, 24% by car, and only 1.04% by flight. More than half of the respondents (56.3%) selected both experiencing Mosuo culture and nature scenery as travel purpose, and 24% as rest and relaxation. In terms of the frequency of visits, the vast majority of respondents (94.9%) stated that they were first-time visitors and only 3.12% had been to the tourist site two, or more than two, times. All respondents stayed more than one day in the area, most typically (76%) spending two days at the tourist site; the remainder of visitors stayed two, or more than, two nights. With regard to the village stay, most of the respondents (49%) lived at Zhudi village, followed by Lige village (30.2%) and Daluoshui village (15.6%). When asked for what reasons they choose accommodation during their visit, 54.2% named travel agency, on site visit was mentioned by 15.6%, the internet by 14.6%, recommendation from friends or relatives by 12.5%, and organised tour trip by 2.08%. Most of the respondents selected visiting villages around the Lugu Lake, rather than entering villages in the Yongning area.

- Perceptions on Mosuo architecture and culture

Tourists' perceptions of Mosuo villages and dwellings are shown in Table 4.14. 29.2% of survey respondents chose Zhashi village as the most representative Mosuo village, 18.8% were unsure the answer, 13.5% chose Lige village, 11.6% chose Zhudi village, and 9.38% chose all can represent it. A small proportion of respondents (7.29%) chose Lijiazui village and villages in the Yanyuan county in Sichuan province. Respondents' impressions of the Mosuo village and dwelling were deepest for courtyard house, the Grandmother's house, Muleng house (well-structured wooden buildings), the Flower house, dedicated wood carving and lake-view guesthouses. Muleng house was the most impressive part of the Mosuo village, and 35.4% of survey respondents believed that the Muleng house has ethnic characteristics. No impression ranked as the second highest part, and 26% respondents pointed out that Mosuo architecture has no ethnic characteristics because they are losing their authentic forms and are becoming tourist-oriented. Comments made by the survey respondents on Mosuo villages and dwellings include: *'Today's Mosuo dwellings cater to tourists'; 'There is a strong commercial atmosphere and too many buildings are refurbished with concrete'; 'I felt no authentic feelings towards the tourist villages and dwellings, particularly selling silver in the Grandmother's house.'* Two of them even expressed that Mosuo architecture is similar to Tibetan architecture. Following is the Grandmother's house (19.8%), courtyard house (9.38%), dedicated wood carving (2.08%) and the Flower house (1.04%).

Table 6.12 Travel experience of survey respondents (N= 96)

Categories	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Transportation		
Coach	71	74.0
Flight	1	1.04
Car	23	24.0
Not known	2	2.08
Reason for visiting		
Mosuo culture	5	5.21
Natural scenery	9	9.38
Mosuo culture and nature scenery	54	56.3
Rest and relaxation	23	24.0
Other reasons	4	4.17
Not known	1	1.04
Frequency of visits		
1	91	94.9
2	2	2.08
More than 2	3	1.04
Stay for days		
2	76	79.2
3	15	15.6
More than 3 days	4	4.17
Not known	1	1.04
Name of the village staying		
Lige village	29	30.2
Daluoshui village	25	15.6
Zhudi village	47	49.0
Sanjia village	2	2.08
Not known	3	3.13
Reasons for choosing accommodation		
On the recommendation of friends or relatives	12	12.5
Travel agency	52	54.2
The Internet	14	14.6
On site visit	15	15.6
Organised tour group	2	2.08
Not known	1	1.04

Source: Author's survey (2017)

Table 6.13 Tourists' perceptions of Mosuo villages and dwellings (N=96)

Categories	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
The most representative Mosuo village		
Zhashi village	28	29.2
Zhudi village	11	11.6
Lige village	13	13.5
Lijiazui village (Sichuan province)	2	2.08
Yanyuan county (Sichuan province)	5	5.21
Huxin island	2	2.08
All can represent	9	9.38
None	6	6.25
Not known	18	18.8
The most impression part on Mosuo village and dwelling		
Courtyard house	9	9.38
The Grandmother's house	19	19.8
Muleng house	34	35.4
The Flower house	1	1.04
Dedicated wood carving	2	2.08
Lake-view guesthouses	3	3.13
None	25	26.0
Not known	3	3.13

Source: Author's survey (2017)

With regards to the description of the Mosuo dwellings, there are two different perspectives (Table 4.15). More than half of respondents (67.7%) selected positive words to describe the Mosuo dwellings. The most frequent positive words are strong ethnic features/unique, holy/sacred, simple/indigenous, traditional, close to nature, warm/sense of home, mysterious, comfort and shocked. However, 20.8% respondents selected negative words to describe them, which are: no ethnic features, commercial, not attractive, not simple/indigenous and too many modern elements/not traditional/artificial. Only few of respondents (11.5%) didn't respond at all.

- Satisfaction and future expectations on Mosuo architecture and culture

Table 4.16 shows that tourists' satisfaction with Mosuo architecture and culture. One-third of respondents (34.4%) were satisfied with Mosuo architecture and culture, while more than two-thirds of respondents

(40.6%) were dissatisfied with it. For those satisfied tourists, they commented that *'it is interesting to get sense of Mosuo architecture and its culture by visiting Mosuo homes.'* But for those who were not satisfied, they indicated that they could not see uniqueness in this area, too many commercial elements, such as guesthouses, restaurants, bars, etc. An answer from one respondent is as follows: *'I thought it is good place to enjoy views and culture but the whole street is full of bars and restaurants.'* Also, tourist attractions that had been developed were not perfect, for example, inconvenient transportation. Those respondents expected to experience the most eco, primitive and representative Mosuo culture. Only a small number of respondents (18.6%) had a neutral attitude to it. Several tourists reported that rest and relaxation were the main purpose for their visit, rather than an understanding of local culture, and also that they did not hold any hope before they came to this destination.

Table 6.14 Tourists' Attitude towards change on the Mosuo villages and dwellings (N= 96)

Categories	Words	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Positive	Strong Ethnic features/unique;	44	44.8
	Holy/sacred;	4	4.17
	Simple/indigenous;	5	5.21
	Traditional;	4	4.17
	Close to nature;	2	2.08
	Warm/sense of home;	2	2.08
	Mysterious;	2	2.08
	Comfort;	1	1.04
	Shocked;	1	1.04
	Total.	65	67.7
Negative	No ethnic features;	7	7.29
	Commercial;	6	6.25
	Not attractive;	1	1.04
	Not simple/ indigenous;	1	1.04
	Too much modern elements/not traditional/artificial;	5	5.21
	Total.	20	20.8
N/K		11	11.5

Source: Author's survey (2017)

Table 6.15 Tourists' attitude on Mosuo architecture and culture

Categories	Satisfied (%)	Neutral (%)	Dissatisfied (%)	N/K (%)
Satisfied with Mosuo architecture and culture	34.4	18.6	40.6	6.25

Source: Author's survey (2017)

Table 6.16 Tourists' future expectations on Mosuo architecture and culture

Categories	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Future expectations		
Mosuo culture	34	35.4
Natural scenery	32	33.3
Mosuo culture and nature scenery	24	25.0
Relaxation	2	2.08
Not known	4	4.17

Source: Author's survey (2017)

Survey results (Table 4.17) reveal that tourists have the highest expectations of the Mosuo ethnic culture. A number of respondents (35.4%) claimed to be very interested in Mosuo culture, and that they expected to see different sides from the city, and wanted to deeply understand Mosuo culture and see more traditional and older Mosuo dwellings. In addition to experiencing local culture, nature scenery ranked as the second top expectation. Over one-third of survey respondents (68.6%) selected nature scenery, 25% selected both culture and nature, and 2.08% relaxation as the trip expectations.

To sum up, responses given in this investigation indicate that the tourists' perception of the Mosuo architecture and cultural changes is negative; they felt disappointed with the changes to the villages because the dwellings and the minority people are losing their traditional ethnic characteristics and becoming very commercial. Responses indicate a need to protect traditional dwellings and culture.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has set out the findings from family interviews with inhabitants and questionnaires with tourists. These two main sources all

offered views and opinions on the Mosuo dwellings and its culture in the contemporary. It has offered a summary of the findings from the fieldwork and this is followed by a discussion of them in relation to the objectives of the present study and their implications for future house and interior design in the Mosuo area.

It has analysed the inhabitants' perceptions of their inhabited spaces- Mosuo houses- through interviews with five families in Zhashi village. The empirical data collected through observation and interview in the fieldwork that reveals inhabitants' positive attitudes and preferences within the context. The link between past and present has established an understanding of Mosuo dwellings within existing conditions, and that also retains the intrinsic qualities of traditional dwellings. This offers an insight to identify Cultural Architectural Assets of Mosuo dwellings into the contemporary conservation.

It is evident that inhabitants wished to enjoy the benefits of modernity and that what technological progress made possible, and the implications of these on house development. In the meantime, they wanted to maintain their social and cultural habits and traditions. They furthermore continued to attach great importance to female-centre and religious life. The significance of female-centre and religious life is confirmed by the primacy of the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber, which are identified as the favourite and holy space in the house.

However, the results of the questionnaire make clear that the tourists' perception of Mosuo architecture and cultural changes is negative; they felt disappointed with the changes to the villages because the dwellings and the minority people are losing their traditional ethnic characteristics and becoming very commercial. This has shown that there is an issue with the development of Mosuo culture, and local authorities need to think about how to better develop Mosuo culture.

7 Drivers for change in the Mosuo dwellings

7.1 Introduction

As Rapoport (1992) suggests the study of changes in vernacular architecture is important not only in terms of description (so that people know what changes have occurred), but also in understanding why changes occur. As discussed in previous chapter, Mosuo villages and dwellings have been undergoing a transformation, in which traditional and modern architectural elements are combined to form a hybrid. This dynamic process is the result of a close interplay of socio-economic, cultural and political forces in the contemporary era. This chapter reviews the development of the Mosuo area in the past 30 years, as well as how regional and local policies and tourism have influenced the change and conservation of Mosuo villages and houses.

7.2 Policy as a driver for change

7.2.1 Authority on a government level

Planning development in the Mosuo area

In this section, the study analyses the overall planning process, objectives and principles, which will be directed towards an investigation of the nature and characteristics of these plans, and their influence on the locals' dwellings and culture. Five plans and one guide manual (see Appendix J) were produced which contributed to the development of the Mosuo area, these are summarised in Table 7.1.

Document	Issued by	Key features
Master Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area (2002)	Formulated by Yunnan Urban and Rural Planning and Design Institute	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This plan showed how to develop Lugu Lake Scenic Area, focussing on the history of the formation of the Mosuo cultural system and the reasons for its survival; conservation and utilisation of landscape resources; multi-angle analysis and measurement of scenic area capacity; the reflection of the protection, cultivation, sightseeing and facilities construction of scenic area in the layout of land use.
Comprehensive Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area (2006)	Formulated by Fangcheng planning and design firm in Yunnan, authorised by Planning and Construction Committee of Lijiang and the Administrative Council of the Lugu Lake Tourist Region of Lijiang (ACLLTRL)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Comprehensive Plan provided for long-term development with specific program details, forming a normative planning text and reasonable measures for regulation on the basis of Master Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area (2002). The plan affirmed that the previous plan was more comprehensive, and fully excavated the resource characteristics of Lugu Lake, and proposed better resource protection measures, planning structure and planning function layout. The plan emphasised continuous development to display the whole and real Mosuo culture, to enhance the tour level and enrich the content of the tour, under the premise of respecting the authenticity of culture and protecting the natural landscape.
Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo Village (2009)	Formulated by Skyland Urban and Architecture Design Company in Beijing, authorised by ACLLTRL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The plan referred the previous plans: the Master Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic (2002) and the Comprehensive Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic (2006). The plan emphasised protection and development of Mosuo villages and Mosuo culture in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area, including protection of Lugu Lake ecological environment and Mosuo culture, research on settlement pattern in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area, protection and development of residential dwelling of Mosuo villages.
Detailed Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area (2012)	Formulated and authorised by the Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Construction in Yunnan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The plan basically followed the three goals of the Comprehensive Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area (2006) and the principles of Mosuo village planning and construction from the Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo Village (2009). This plan focused on the development and construction of Lugu Lake Scenic Area, clarified the site selection, layout and scale of infrastructure, tourism facilities, cultural facilities and other construction projects, and defined the scope of construction land and planning and design conditions.
Lugu Lake Mosuo Traditional Dwelling Construction Guide Manual (2013)	Formulated by leading group office of ‘Two Violation’ in Lugu Lake and ACLLTRL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This manual referred to the Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo Village (2009). On the basis of carrying out the traditional dwellings’ protection project, the authority has edited this manual as the management technical basis for the protection, improvement and renovation of residential dwellings in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area.
Master Plan of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area Lugu Lake Scenic (zoning) of Yunnan (2016)	Formulated by Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute and Planning Project Group of the Lugu Lake Region of Lijiang in Yunnan.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> After the Detailed Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic (2012) was reviewed, the plan was extended as the main protection, and the development of a secondary planning objectives. The plan aimed to solve a series of problems existing in Lugu Lake Scenic Area, including balance between protection and development, coordination between scenic area and community, and traffic problems in the Scenic Area, etc. The plan focussed on the construction goal and direction of Lugu Lake Scenic Area.

Table 7.1 Related documents of planning development in the Mosuo area

Planning did not exist in the Mosuo area until the **Master Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area** was officially formulated by the Yunnan Urban and Rural Planning and Design Institute in 2002. The scope of plan in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area consists of two parts: the lake area³⁹ and the Yongning basin. The main problems faced by the Scenic Area to be taken into consideration are: the matriarchal culture of Mosuo people is being impacted; Lugu Lake is a beautiful natural landscape but is a fragile ecological environment; the Scenic Area is well known and has a wide market of tourists, but its capacity is limited; visitors have a curiosity mentality, but the local people's customs and life should be respected and not disturbed; the location has advantages, but the two provinces have jurisdiction, therefore coordination and management is difficult (Tang, 2005). The focus of this plan was the history of the formation of the Mosuo cultural system and the reasons for its survival; conservation and utilisation of landscape resources; multi-angle analysis and measurement of the Scenic Area capacity; the reflection of the protection, cultivation, sightseeing and facilities construction of the Scenic Area in the layout of land use. The planning countermeasures were as follows: protect cultural heritage and make limited use of it; carry out natural landscape tour and moderate construction; attach importance to the conservation of the overall landscape and environment to achieve comprehensive benefits; limit the number of tourists, improve service conditions and increase per capita consumption; coordinate the development of the two provinces and highlight their respective features. Specifically, in the Master Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area, the value of the scenic resources of villages and towns was defined, and the requirements for the protection of the scenery of villages and towns, and the way to develop tourism, were put forward, which limited the scale of tourism and further clarified the functions of towns and cities (Tang, 2005).

In response to the growing number of tourists and the enhancement of protection, as well as development of Lugu Lake Scenic Area, the ACLLTRL was created in early 2004 to take responsibility for the function of governments, such as project approval, planning and

³⁹ Lugu Lake in Yunnan Province was listed as a nature reserve in 1983 and was officially listed as an open tourism area by the State Council in 1992. In 1994, Ninglang County set up Lugu Lake as a provincial tourist area.

construction, attractions development, land utilisation, investment promotion, management of state-run assets, culture market management, environmental protection, etc. According to Yang Long, a member of staff in the Planning and Construction Department of ACLLTRL, the main responsibility of the department is to organise the planning and to invite qualified design institutes to make the plan.

The **Comprehensive Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area (2006)** was formulated by Fangcheng planning and design company in Yunnan and authorised by the Planning and Construction Committee of Lijiang, as well as the Administrative Council of the Lugu Lake Tourist Region of Lijiang. The background of the plan was based on the increasing number of tourists in Lugu Lake Scenic Area, and that the existing infrastructure could no longer meet the needs of the tourism market. The Lugu Lake Scenic Area attracted 410,000 tourists in 2004, but the low number of road links between scenic spots and tourist sites had hindered further development of the Scenic Area. Although the facilities, such as accommodation in the Scenic Area, were large scale, they were deficient in the standard of class and service. The water supply and drainage infrastructure in the Scenic Area was unable to meet the needs of tourism development due to low economic input. Besides, as one of the districts in the Scenic Area of Yulong Snow Mountain in Lijiang⁴⁰, the planning and construction in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area needed to be implemented under the relevant regulations to a high standard. The State issued a series of guiding documents and regulations to strengthen the planning, construction and management of scenic areas, such as ‘Environmental Protection Law’, ‘Planning Standard of Scenic Area’, ‘Regulations on the Construction and Management of Scenic Area’, etc., hence the planning and construction of scenic areas was of a higher level and more demanding.

The Comprehensive Plan was to form a normative planning text and reasonable measures for regulation on the basis of Master Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area (2002). The Comprehensive Plan affirmed that the

⁴⁰ In 1988, Lugu Lake was approved by the State Council as a national key scenic spot, as a part of the Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area.

previous plan was more comprehensive, given that the Master Plan fully excavated the resource characteristics of Lugu Lake and proposed better resource protection measures, planning structure and planning function layout. However, the planning did not include the Shangri-La Grand Canyon region. At the same time, there were also some difficulties in the practical operation of construction control and cultural protection measures. Therefore, the plan emphasised continuous development to display the whole and real Mosuo culture, to enhance the level and content of the tour, under the premise of respecting the authenticity of culture and protecting the natural landscape. The scope of this plan was the same as the Master Plan (2002), and goals included the following (refer to the Appendix F for details):

- Resource protection
- Social development
- Tourism development

The **Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo Village (2009)** was formulated by Skyland Urban and Architecture Design Company in Beijing, and authorised by the Administrative Council of the Lugu Lake Tourist Region of Lijiang. The plan referred to the previous plans – the Master Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area (2002) and the Comprehensive Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area (2006). The planning reviewed the fact that Lugu Lake was listed as a key spot for ecological tourism and that the Mosuo culture was of provincial tourist interest since 1994, hence the improvement of traffic conditions and the growing travel boom brought good opportunities to the development of Lugu Lake. However, it cannot be ignored that while tourism brought promotion and prosperity to the local social, economic and cultural aspects, it also caused varying degrees of damage to the natural ecological environment, and brought unavoidable impact on Mosuo culture and folk customs. To a certain extent, this restricted the self-renewal of tourism products and self-escalation of production capacity. The planner realised that tourism environment and tourism resources are the basis for the sustainable development of tourism; the charm of tourism in Lugu Lake is totally rooted in beautiful lakes and mountains, relying on unique matriarchal culture and folk customs. Therefore, the

plan emphasised protection and development of Mosuo villages and Mosuo culture in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area.

It also emphasised the importance of protection of the ecological environment and Mosuo culture in the process of tourism development, and dealt with the relationship between culture, ecology and economic development. In the meantime, under the background of ‘New Socialist Countryside (NSC)’⁴¹, the Mosuo villages in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area were protected, developed and planned to realise the coordinated development and harmonious coexistence of the regional culture, ecology, economy and society.

The scope of the plan in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area included two aspects: 1) the protection of the Mosuo villages, and 2) a focus upon the construction plan of Mosuo villages, including Nise, Xiaoluoshui, Sanjia, Wenquan and Zhashi. The objectives of the plan were firstly based on the protection of the ecological environment and Mosuo village culture in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area; rebuilding the unique style of ethnic villages through the design of the overall settlement pattern, entrance and public space of the Mosuo villages. Secondly, combining the existing characteristics of the Mosuo villages in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area with the new construction would form a multi-level protection system from macro to micro. Thirdly, focussing on accessibility, the plan would implement and promote development and construction of key Mosuo villages and protect Mosuo culture in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area. It mainly focussed on the following three points:

- Protection of Lugu Lake’s ecological environment and Mosuo culture
- Research on settlement patterns in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area
- Protection and development of residential dwellings of Mosuo villages

⁴¹ The Chinese central government prioritized on building a ‘New Socialist Countryside’ reform policy in 2005, as an approach to rural development, trying to address the growing disparities in incomes and living standards between rural and urban populations (Guo et al., 2009). A new socialist countryside means advanced production, improved livelihood, a civilized social atmosphere, clean and tidy villages and efficient management (Chinadaily, 2006).

In the early 2010s, the **Detailed Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area (2012)** was formulated and authorised by the Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Construction in Yunnan. Because the Master Plan of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area (1990-2010) was compiled earlier, it was no longer able to adapt to the protection, development, construction and management requirements of the Lugu Lake Scenic Area. With the improvement of traffic conditions in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area, the number of tourists continued to increase, and the existing infrastructure could no longer meet the needs of the tourism market. On the premise of respecting the authenticity of culture and protecting the natural landscape, it was especially important to launch tourism products that met market demand, improved the scientific utilisation level of landscape resources, and improved the economic efficiency of scenic spots (Zhu, 2012). Therefore, this plan focussed on the development and construction of the Lugu Lake Scenic Area, and clarified the site selection, layout and scale of infrastructure, tourism and cultural facilities and other construction projects, and defined the scope of construction land and planning and design conditions.

Apart from minor changes in detail, this plan basically followed the three goals of the Comprehensive Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area (2006), as well as the principles of Mosuo village planning and construction in the Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo Village (2009). For example, social development goals shifted the priority of the first two positions, which emphasised the importance of protection of Mosuo cultural connotations. In addition, the objectives of tourism development were reduced from four to three points, which deleted the original content of the second point. The guiding principles have not changed since the plan of 2006, and Mosuo village planning and construction principles have followed the plan of 2009.

Lugu Lake Mosuo Traditional Dwelling Construction Guide Manual (2013) was formulated by the leading group office of ‘Two Violation’ in Lugu Lake and Lugu Lake Scenic Administration in Lijiang. This manual referred to the Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo Village (2009). Vernacular dwellings are the manifestation of

regional culture and community culture, hence Mosuo dwellings – as the core resources of Mosuo culture – have great significance in cultural scenic inheritance and development and utilisation of attractions. On the basis of carrying out the traditional dwellings’ protection project, the authority has edited this manual to form the management technical basis for the protection, improvement and renovation of residential dwellings in the Lugu Lake Scenic Area. According to the basic principles of the key protection of Mosuo dwellings and cultural traditions, other types of dwellings referred to the traditional Mosuo residential layout, internal functions and cultural significance in accordance with their actual needs.

Master Plan of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area Lugu Lake Scenic (zoning) of Yunnan (2016) was formulated by the Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute and the Planning Project Group of the Lugu Lake Region of Lijiang in Yunnan. The planning background was based on ecological protection policy and tourism development policy, which referred to the Appendix F for details in this thesis. The 2016 planning evaluated the Master Plan of Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area (2011-2030) which was the previous plan approved by the Ministry of Construction in 2016. However, due to the overall planning for the Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area, there is a lack of in-depth research on the Lugu Lake Scenic Area. The planning reviewed the Detailed Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area (2012), which put forward a clear control index for the development volume of all villages and plots in Lugu Lake. However, it had little consideration for the outward development capacity, and the significance of the development of Yongning Town for the protection of the core scenic area was not mentioned. Therefore, the plan extended – as the main protection – the development of secondary planning objectives, focussed on the Lugu Lake Scenic Area. The plan aimed to solve a series of problems which existed in this scenic area, including: balance between protection and development, coordination between the scenic area and community, and traffic problems in the scenic area, etc. It also focussed on the construction goal and direction of the Lugu Lake Scenic Area:

'Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute acts as the designer, come up with new concepts including controlling lakeside development and protecting the ecological environment. The main tourist centre is planned to build in the Yongning township. 2017 plan focuses on ecological environment and transportation, for instance, a second level road from airport to Yongning township will be built. After that, tourists will first visit Yongning township from the airport and then visit Lugu Lake. And it will only take ten minutes from Zhudi to Zhamei Temple. In the past, it was mainly to develop Lugu Lake; now the development of Lugu Lake mainly focuses on protection and control, extending to Yongning township.'
(Interview with Yang Long, April 2017)

The planning was positioned as 'the Lugu Lake in the cloud, the Mosuo women's country', expressing matrilineal culture as the soul, and lakes and mountains as the root, the national eco-tourism demonstration area. The plan added cultural development as the primary goal on the basis of the three goals of the Detailed Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area (2012), adjusting the position of tourism development to third place and social development as the last priority. As for the cultural development, the plan emphasised the importance of cultural development, as below:

- Taking the Lugu Lake and the surrounding landscape as a carrier, Mosuo culture is protected as a whole by combining the historical events and historical relics in the process of Mosuo cultural heritage with the dual axis of time and space. The whole Mosuo Museum of History and Culture is built throughout the region;
- Organise the outstanding achievements of Mosuo culture research both at home and abroad, objectively recognise the ethnic, unique and cosmopolitan cultural values of Mosuo traditional customs and give full play to their excellent characteristics of world-class cultural heritage. The goals of the resource protection were kept as the original.

Compared to the Detailed Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area (2012), it was suggested that the objectives of tourism development focussed on the growth of tourist numbers should

be strictly controlled, and instead it was proposed to reduce development, rather than promote the growth of tourist numbers (which should be controlled within the allowable environmental capacity). By increasing tourism projects and enriching content the aim is to improve the quality of tourism services, increase the one-time consumption ratio and achieve an increased length of stay by tourists. It added new strict controls to the development and construction of guesthouses in order to protect the ecological and cultural environment of the basin area. And also, through effective guidance, visitors will be diverted away from Luoshui village towards the Yongning area, Zhudi village and the Langfang area, amongst others, in order to reduce conflict. Additionally, within social development, the aim is to promote the sustainable use of scenic area resources.

The 2016 plan is an extension and refinement of the existing master plan (2012), which plays a role as a connecting link between the preceding and the following plans. The plan is divided into a statutory planning section and tourism planning; as a result, the plan is able to guide the construction and implementation of future planning.

The impacts of planning

These planning policies have a positive impact on the development of Mosuo villages. For example, influenced by the Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo Village (2009), the maps of the Zhashi village (Figures 7.1 (2007) and Figure 7.2-7.3 (2017)) show the three main changes to physical dimensions at various stages over ten years – these changes are all due to the planning of 2009. In the Conservation Plan (2009), the aim was to develop Zhashi village as a Model Ecological Culture Village at the provincial level. It was also suggested, on the premise of protecting Mosuo villages, that tourism should be developed in Zhashi village.



Figure 7.1 The map of Zhashi village in 2007. (Source from Google map, 2016)



Figure 7.2 The map of Zhashi village in 2017. (Source from Google map, 2017)



Figure 7.3 The map of Zhashi village in 2017. (drawn by author)

- Public facilities improvement

Public facilities have improved since 2007. A new activity centre, public toilets and green space have been built in the village (Figure 7.6). The newly built activity centre mainly provides places for tourists to participate in folk activities, such as dancing and bonfire parties. In addition, two public toilets (Figure 7.4-7.5) were built to improve the tourist service facilities. However, in the investigation, it was found that these two toilets were locked and not put into use.



Figure 7.4 One public toilet near the entrance of Zhashi village, modern look. (Photo taken by author, 2017)



Figure 7.5 Another public toilet in the Zhashi village with some ethnic features. (Photo taken by author, 2017)



Figure 7.6 Newly built activity centre. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 7.7 No street lighting and muddy road. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

- Transportation improvement

The village road system was also developed and improved. A clear road system was introduced in 2009 at four levels: transit road, main road, branch road and pedestrian road. The more recently built transit road (Figure 7.3) is the main external contact road of Zhashi village, north to Yongning township and south to Lugu Lake. Although the 2009 planning proposed to improve the pavement of all road systems, increased lighting facilities and improvements to the safety of villagers and tourists on rainy days and nights, it has only been partly realised. The newly built transit roads are now paved with cement and some sections of other roads are paved with stone, however, during a field investigation in 2016, there was still no street lighting in Zhashi village

and at night villagers and tourists have to rely on flashlights, additionally, some road sections are still muddy and it is difficult to walk on rainy days (Figure 7.7).

- Sanitary infrastructure

In order to improve the sanitary conditions in the villages, a new drainage and sewage system has been built, as well as a waste management system. The village drainage system – which functions in an east-west direction – has improved the quality of rural drainage and adopts a rainwater and sewage diversion system; the rainwater is collected through drainage branches and is then discharged into the nearby river. However, not all roads are yet equipped with drains and at present only the drain that can be seen is along the main and transit roads of the village.

However, there are still drawbacks in these plans, which need to be improved. As for the vernacular dwellings discussed in this study, the conservation planning is only on the surface and lacks in-depth discussion, without considering the cultural value of vernacular dwellings. For example, in the Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo Village (2009), it was proposed that traditional buildings need be preserved, including Grandmother's house, sacred chamber, Flower house and Grass house; residents' traditional living habits need to be maintained. But is this unaltered preservation really protecting traditions and culture?

Related national policy

National policies have had a profound impact on the evolution of Mosuo dwellings, for example, the '*National Natural Forest Protection Project*'. Ouyang Feiyun, Chairman Assistant of Lijiang Lugu Lake Development Co. Ltd, mentioned the influence of national policy on the Mosuo villages. He stated that the '*National Natural Forest Protection Project*' of 1998 and the '*Return Farmland to Forests Project*' have been carried out in order to protect the ecology. For instance, the '*Natural Forest Protection Project*' has cut off people's direct access to nature for timber, instead they turn to the market for timber; and as it becomes more difficult to obtain wood, people are more likely to choose new materials,

structures and even new building types, and the technology changes accordingly.

7.2.2 Authority on a regional level

As Lugu Lake crosses both Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces, the two provinces manage their own areas and implement regional policies. Gong pointed out that Yunnan Province has developed a tourism economy on the basis of maintaining social stability:

‘As the key work of the Yunnan government is to maintain stability. This is because Yunnan province has a large number of ethnic minorities. Take Lugu Lake as an example, which is surrounded by seven ethnic minorities. The development of the project is intended to maintain social stability, so the progress is slow.’ (Interview with Gong, April 2017)

Yang Long also compared the different development policies for Lugu Lake in Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces; the biggest difference being that the government has invested heavily in Sichuan. The Sichuan government has invested hundreds of millions RMB (Renminbi) in infrastructure, however, the Yunnan government has made less investment because of limited funds. In addition, in recent years, there have been more and more new houses in the Mosuo villages as the locals have separate households. In order to reduce the separation of households and effectively protect the Mosuo extended family, the Sichuan government has introduced a policy to grant subsidies based on the population of each Mosuo household; while the Yunnan government has only prohibited the separation. In comparison, the policies of Sichuan Province are more conducive and effective in protecting Mosuo culture. There are three aspects policies at the regional level which influence the changes of Mosuo villages and dwellings: housing conservation, natural disaster management and land use.

(1) Regional policy on vernacular architecture conservation

- ‘Key Conservation of Mosuo Traditional House’ project

Government guidance has had a great impact on the protection of Mosuo dwellings. Referring to the Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area

on the Mosuo Village (2009), the Management Bureau of the Lugu Lake Scenic Area of Lijiang and the ACLLTRL started the ‘Key Conservation of Mosuo Traditional House (KCMTH)’ project in 2015 (Xinhua net, 2015). If selected as part of the KCMTH, Mosuo families are awarded a title (Figure 7.8) and also receive a subsidy of 5,000 RMB (approximately equal to 560 GBP (British Pound)) per household for renovation, and at the same time sign a protection agreement. After passing the annual inspection and acceptance, they will continue to receive some protection funds. Additionally, the families listed in the KCMTH would be supported by the Management Department of the Lugu Lake Scenic Area and recommended to tourism business operators in the future (Mu, 2016) as an inclusion in the tourists’ guide to attract visitors. If the shortlisted Mosuo family transform the house in such a way that inappropriately decrease the traditional features of their house, their KCMTH title would be revoked and they would not be entitled to government policies.



Figure 7.8 An example of a Mosuo family who has been awarded the title of ‘Key Conservation of Mosuo Traditional House’ by the Management Bureau of the Lugu Lake Scenic Area of Lijiang and the ACLLTRL. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

This project emphasises the protection of authentic and matriarchal characteristics of Mosuo villages and houses, and its purpose is to promote and develop the Mosuo culture, reshape the unique features of

the Mosuo villages, build the brand of extended matriarchy family, and create a good living environment and tourism atmosphere (Mu, 2016). From the interview with Gesang Duoji, this project has developed and expanded to cover the whole Labo area, with support and collaboration from the Ninglang County government. The awarded households have increased from 39 in 2015, to 137 in 2016. The renovation of KCMTH mainly includes the following features:

- The layout of courtyard should be a quadrangle courtyard;
- Restore/repair the 'life and death' door;
- Remove the Tibetan stove and restore the iron trivet;
- The renovation of major and upper hearth of the Grandmother's house including restoring the pit frame;
- Remove ceramic tiles, aluminium alloys and other modern building materials with modern elements;
- Renovate the colour of the white walls inside and outside, and uniformly use the grey-pink colour walls;
- Separate people and domestic animals;
- Beautify the courtyard;
- Build sanitary toilets at home, etc.

There are some positive influences on the conservation of traditional Mosuo houses after the 'renovation'. Firstly, it restored the Mosuo architectural tradition, promoting the protection of traditional Mosuo houses. By restoring the cultural-related facilities (Figure 7.9-7.10 and Figure 7.12-7.13), this aroused the Mosuo people's awareness of protecting their cultural architecture. Secondly, the courtyard environment was improved (Figure 7.11).



Figure 7.9 (Left) Restore the low door (commonly known as the door of life and death) connected with the back room. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Figure 7.10 (Middle) The renovation of lower hearth of the Grandmother's house by recovering pit frame and restore the iron trivet. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Figure 7.11 (Right) Beautify the courtyard by planting varieties of flowers and trees. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 7.12 Details of pit frame



Figure 7.13 Details of iron trivet



Figure 7.14 Paint exterior walls into grey-pink colour

However, there are some small concerns regarding the KCMTH project according to fieldwork carried out in 2016⁴². First of all, in the process of selecting the key conservation dwellings to be protected, the investigation found that the government departments did not have a set of strict assessment standards for the protection of Mosuo dwellings. There are certain old and traditional Mosuo houses that should be protected but have not been selected for the KCMTH. On the contrary, some new construction dwellings are listed as protected dwellings. In the

⁴² During the fieldwork in 2016, I was involved in the inspection of ‘Key Conservation of Mosuo Traditional House’ project with the staff of ACLLTRL.

long run, this is harmful to the conservation and development of Mosuo architecture. Secondly, in terms of the content of renovation, it can be seen that the regional government is not truly protecting the valuable elements of cultural architecture. Some of the renovations are not understood, for example, the exterior wall should be painted a uniform grey-pink colour (Figure 7.14). It is said the grey-pink colour is to match the colour of the local red land. But the local traditional dwellings are wood colour, why should it be transformed? Is it protecting or destroying?

In the meantime, a series of related awards by the regional government are also intended to promote and develop the Mosuo culture and architecture, including the selection of ‘Outstanding Old Grandmother (OOG)’ and ‘Mosuo Folk Craftsmen (MFC)’. The requirement of the OOG award is, firstly, to live in a traditional Mosuo dwelling, and secondly that the Mosuo, aged over 60 years old, is a good example of one who plays a certain role in the inheritance of Mosuo culture, such as coming from a big Mosuo family and being highly respected in the family, as well as having a good reputation in the village. Through investigation and rigorous selection, more than 100 Mosuo old grandmothers are selected and each one awarded a 2,000 RMB and a certificate. Because the Mosuo culture cannot be preserved without craftsmen, another scheme awards the title of ‘Mosuo Folk Craftsmen’ and 2,000 RMB to 100 Mosuo people, led by the County People’s Government. One of the prerequisites is that they must be Mosuo and engaged in carpentry, architecture, Daba religious activity, painting, weaving, folk songs and dances, etc.

Compared to the KCMTH project, these two schemes focus on the intangible culture of Mosuo. These three projects indicate that the regional government attaches importance on both the tangible and intangible culture of Mosuo.

- ‘Two Violations’

‘Two Violations’ included violation of regulations and illegal construction. Previously, this was only on a modest scale, but later the main factor was the involvement of foreign businessmen. As a result, the development of Lugu Lake was disorderly, which was unfavourable to

its protection. According to Gesang Duoji, the government included ACLLTRL but did not initially recommend building a standard room in the Lige village, however, the local people wanted to build it. At that time, they were told that there was a big investment in the construction of a standard hotel, and that the price of an ordinary room could be sold as a standard room if no standard room is available in the whole Lige area, because tourists need accommodation to live. But the local people still insisted on their opinions; Mosuo characteristics would be preserved better if Lige village had not built a standard room.

Yang Long mentioned ‘Two Violations’ in 2016. His department has to carry out and supervise the implementation of the plan, for example, supervising newly built houses to meet planning requirements. He talked about:

‘There are some requirements for materials and for the length, width as well as height of the house in the planning. Now we have established the Comprehensive Law Enforcement Bureau (CLEB). According to the Urban and Rural Planning Law, sections 64, 65 and 66 (which are not very certain) can be enforced if they do not meet the requirements.’ (Interview with Yang Long, April 2017)

CLEB can enforce the law for those who have not obtained a rural planning license, or who have gone through the formalities for construction without requiring approval of authority, or who have not done so in accordance with the rural planning.

(2) Regional policy on natural disaster management

- Yongning earthquake

The earthquakes and subsequent recovery policies have accelerated changes in housing. The earthquake caused serious damage to the Mosuo houses. Through the interview, Cili Pinchu and Ouyang Feiyun both mentioned that the Yongning earthquake was a major cause of house change in recent years. A 5.7-magnitude earthquake struck the border of Yunnan and Sichuan Province at around 16:00 on June 24th, 2012. The epicentre of the quake was in the Yongning area. The Yongning

Township, where many people of the Mosuo ethnic group live, was worst hit; it reported four people dead, over 100 injured and more than 3,500 houses collapsed (Ryan, 2012). This is because Mosuo buildings in the earthquake-stricken area have a simple structure, the walls have large soil cracks and poor seismic performance (as shown in Figure 7.15-7.16) (People's Government of Yunnan Province, 2012). Gesang Duoji also talked about '*... the ant seismic effect of cob wall is relatively poor, for example the collapse of many cob walls during the earthquake.*'



Figure 7.15 Dwellings collapsed badly in the Yongning earthquake. (Photo provided by F502, 2012)



Figure 7.16 It shows that lots of houses have collapsed in the earthquake. (Photo provided by F502, 2012)

- Recovery and reconstruction policy after earthquake

According to Recovery and Reconstruction Planning after ‘6·24’ Earthquake in Ninglang (2012), restoration and reconstruction of residential houses is of primary importance. It is important to: choose a site scientifically; strictly implement the standards of seismic fortification and construction norms; reasonably determine the structure of buildings; and actively promote the application of new materials and technologies for safety, energy conservation and environmental protection; and highlight the characteristics of Mosuo village courtyards. Therefore, in terms of policy implementation, the government subsidised every household according to the price of modern materials. Ouyang Feiyun, Chairman Assistant of Lijiang Lugu Lake Development Co. Ltd, also furtherly explained the impact of policy on the Mosuo houses and villages:

‘‘Yongning earthquake’ caused severe damage to the house, which directly affected the change of architectural materials from wood to brick and concrete. The change in materials is due to the fact that government subsidies are based on current material budgets, not on timber.’ (Interview with Ouyang Feiyun, August 2016)

In addition, because the government’s subsidies are based on households, in order to get more money the phenomenon of Mosuo family separation is increasing. This has led to an increase of new construction houses after the earthquake; for example, the number of households in the Zhashi village have increased from about 30 to over 70 in just a few years. The surrounding ethnic minorities are nuclear families, consisting of two parents and their children (one or more). Unlike them, the Mosuo are matriarchal extended families that include three or four generations related matrilineally, ranging from 20 to 30 members all belonging to one family. Hence, the policy of household subsidies is unfair to the Mosuo.

(3) Regional policy on land use

- Relocation

House change is also closely linked to the regional government policy on land use. One example is the government mandate in 2006 to move all residential buildings in the Lige village at least 80 metres away from the shore, in order to protect the environment and maintain lake water quality. Before this policy was instituted, the shore of the lake was lined with Mosuo dwellings. Such close proximity to the lake allowed easy access to the lake water for drinking, cooking and washing. However, with the increase in tourists, most of whom also wanted to live along the lake, it was noticed that large amounts of garbage and sewage would escape into the lake (Chan, 2007). The reclaimed land has since been constructed as artificial wetlands, which not only optimises the landscape of the Lige village but also plays a role in water conservation and sewage filtration.

According to interview with Gong, another reason for the relocation of Lige village is that it is so small that it has no place for tourists to rest, which will restrict the future development of the Lige village. Gong states, *‘Therefore, I think the policy of Lige village in 2006 had a positive impact, which not only protected the environment, but also enables better development of Lige village.’*

As for the impact of housing, the old traditional buildings largely disappeared after the relocation. However, at that time, the method of relocation was basically to dismantle the old houses and build new ones; since the structure of the log-wall house was easy to reassemble after demolition, all the houses in this stage from 2006 to 2012 were dismantled first and then reassembled. After 2012, due to the impact of the tourism industry and because there were more foreign businessmen involved, a large number of brick-concrete structure houses appeared. It can be concluded that this policy did not fundamentally affect the change of housing, but rather the impact of tourism and modernisation on traditional housing is greater.

- Expropriation of land

Land collection by the government has also had an impact. As the Mosuo dwellings in the Yongning area have preserved the traditional style, it is regarded as a good resource and advantageous for tourism development by the government. In early 2006, the Lijiang Municipal Government of Yunnan Province decided to build a 'Tourism Town in the Country of Women' as a key project for the construction of tourism sites in the province. In 2008, the municipal government and commercial companies signed an investment development framework agreement and with a total investment of 3 billion RMB the 'Construction Project of Tourism Town in the Kingdom of Women' was officially launched (Chinanews, 2008). In order to develop Zhudi village, the government collected land 30,000 RMB per acre. At the beginning, along with other local villagers, the villagers in Zhudi Village adopted a support and cooperation attitude towards tourism development and looked forward to the early implementation of the development plan by the government.

However, the project has not been put into practice due to the conflict of interests with the partner company. In the long term, local villagers have not been able to farm because of land collection, and now Zhudi village has become a wasteland. Moreover, the land money originally subsidised by the government was also consumed. In the face of the government's inaction, the attitude of the villagers gradually turned from the initial hope into disappointment. Therefore, they began to find their own means of livelihood. In order to make money, the villagers spontaneously organised tourism development, bringing tourists from Lige and Luoshui villages for home visits. The government's action has led to the unhealthy tourism and cultural development of Zhudi village. Grandmother could not live in her Grandmother's house, which became a place only for tourism and commercial purposes. For example, Grandmother's house was locked and only those who paid were allowed to visit, or it was used for selling silverware, hand-woven scarves, etc.

7.3 Modernisation as a driver for change

Traditional Mosuo society is related to the closed geographic environment, inconvenient transportation and limited opportunities to

contact the outside world (Shih, 1993). In recent decades, alongside China's rapid economic development, infrastructure has greatly constructed and improved in the Lugu Lake region, including roads, piped water supplies, electricity, sewage disposal and other facilities which enable locals to live in better conditions. In addition, there are more opportunities for the Mosuo to contact the outside world, which affects the local economy and culture. At an architectural level, modern technology provides the majority of the requirements for the construction of new buildings within a short timeframe.

The aspects of modern technology that have most crucially affected the rural fabric of the village are infrastructure construction and building technology. On the one hand, the opening up and change of life brought by modernisation, transportation and information development have weakened the authority of tradition and changed people's ways of thinking. On the other hand, modernisation provides new tools and materials quickly and conveniently and reduces the manpower operation in construction.

7.3.1 Infrastructure

Transportation development

The introduction of transportation affected the whole Mosuo built environment, both physically and socially. Xia Kaijun, a village committee official with a bachelor's degree, talked about how transportation is the primary factor that restricts development and connection to the outside world:

'The most important factor is the restriction of transportation. For example, if tourists have limited time, they cannot choose to visit Lugu Lake. Because of the long distance, the tourists have to take two days on the road and one day to travel, in total three days. Many tourists are unwilling to spend too much time and energy, preferring to choose a convenient place.' (Interview with Xia Kaijun, July 2016)

Physically, transportation requires an adequate road system. According to Xia, Lugu Lake Scenic Area has been developed for more than two

decades. During this period, it has undergone many changes, developing from muddy tracks to Category B roads, an airport, to the highway which will be built soon.

In the past, transportation was extreme difficult, since there was no road in the Yongning. Yan, as an ethnographer, studied Mosuo matrilineal system in the 1960s; she recalled that when she first visited the Mosuo people in the winter of 1963 she could only go on foot from Lijiang onwards, following the horse caravan. It took at least ten days long journey to walk between Yongning and Lijiang (Yan and Li, 2012, p.29). The first road that lead south and connect to the city of Ninglang (Cai and Hustvedt, 2001, p.39-40) was not constructed until 1971. Those predecessors (Shih, Cai and Weng) who did fieldwork in the late 1980s and early 1990s, took a day and a half to arrive the destination, and the bus often stopped in the rainy season. This area was only reachable by road from Lijiang, taking up to eight hours. The author records in the fieldwork diaries during the first fieldwork visit:

I was supposed to take the express bus to Lining (Lijiang to Ninglang) on a second-class road, a new road that only takes two and half hours, but because of heavy rain, it triggered landslide geological hazards, which was followed by car accidents. Heard from the local informants, the line from Lijiang to Ninglang is scheduled to open on 1 July 2016 this year, it closed on 6 July 2016 and expected to be opened in October 2016. So, I spent 8 hours by coach to arrive on 18 July 2016.

At present, with paved roads and better transportation, it is both much more comfortable and convenient to travel and many outside people are finding it easier to access the Mosuo region than ever before. For instance, vehicles have reduced the journey to two and half hours (Yan et al., 2008). Construction of Ninglang Lugu Lake Airport was put into operation in 2017. For the second fieldwork, it took only a one-hour flight from Kunming to reach Ninglang – a greatly shortened time. There is also a bus that runs daily between Yongning town and Ninglang County. In the interview, Gesang Duoji also clarified the development

of transportation in recent years, which is gradually improving. He said that,

‘Airport to Yongning Township’ Category B road will be built at the end of this year. The airport is 45 kilometres from Lugu Lake, which currently takes about 50 minutes, but with the new road from the airport to Yongning town it will be faster in the future. Additionally, the two intersections of the ‘Xichang to Shangri-La’ Expressway will pass through Lugu Lake and Ninglang County. The highway from Lijiang to Lugu lake will also be opened, a journey which will only take three hours.’

Modernisation has led to the increase and improvement of road construction in order to allow better access to the area. According to Chan (2007), these roads have brought considerable advantage to the people who live in Lugu Lake. Transportation is much more convenient and the new roads have allowed many tourists to travel outside of the Lugu Lake region for the first time. The improvement of transportation has also allowed for the easy transport of goods and modern building materials into the region at a low cost, allowing locals more access to food, conveniences and technology that were not available before.

Although transportation has improved the mobility of the population (inhabitants and tourists) and has facilitated the transportation of goods, nevertheless it generates many problems. These include pollution, a shortage of car parking spaces, congestion, and the conflicting situation which arises between the vehicular and pedestrian circulation. As Lugu Lake is surrounded by mountains, the demolition of mountainsides to make way for roads has led to many landslides in the area, especially during the summer rainy season, which destroy forest habitats down-slope. By disturbing the original forest, such road-building indirectly increases nutrient run-off into the lake which leads to greater organic pollution in the water (Chan, 2007).

Socially, there is a shift in ways of thinking. Government staff, Xia points out that one constraint on development in the past was the local people’s ways of thinking. He stated: *‘Yongning is a remote place with*

limited traffic, so limited access to foreign cultures. Mosuo people change their thinking relatively slowly, and they don't think about things as fast or as long as people in cities do.'

But now, influenced by the improvement of transportation, the local inhabitants have more opportunities to communicate with outsiders and as a result the relationship with outside is stronger. Therefore, their ways of thinking are also gradually affected, one of which is reflected in their choice of architectural aesthetics. This shift in thinking goes in two directions. Firstly, to think that the outside world is popular and fashionable, hence some local inhabitants prefer the concrete houses and decorations from the outside world. As the government staff Gesang duoji states:

'One is shift in ways of thinking that is influenced by 'outside' culture. It is universal that a great number of Mosuo young people go out to work and come back in some day, changing their mind and then considered the outside world is much better. They start to prefer new construction dwelling after they are getting in touch with foreign culture, and do not retain their own culture.' (Interview with Gesang Duoji, April 2017)

Another shift in ways of thinking comes from a small group of Mosuo people who, when exposed to the outside world, have a deeper understanding of their own culture and are more aware of the value of Mosuo dwellings, especially the unique culture of the Grandmother's house.

Digitalised living and modern lifestyle

With the impact of digitalised living and modern lifestyle, Mosuo dwellings and villages have been undergoing changes. With this modernisation, electricity was installed in almost all the Mosuo villages between five to ten years ago. Electricity has resulted in a general improvement of the living environment in the Mosuo dwellings. With electricity, many daily chores have become easier for both men and women. For example, many Mosuo homes now use electric rice cookers, while previously, rice used to be cooked over the fire and required

constant attention and repositioning to prevent it from burning. With electricity, construction and other woodwork has become much less gruelling, allowing homes and furniture to be built in less than half the time it used to take (Chan, 2007).

With the free time that many locals are now afforded, electricity also gives them access to entertainment and information. Mobile phones, satellite television and even the internet are now available in Mosuo villages and these are part of the new Mosuo generation's daily life (Yan et al., 2008). Virtually all homes have televisions and when the sun sets, most people gather inside the Grandmother's room, which is also the main living area, to sit by the fireplace and watch television. Television not only provides relaxation but has also brought information about the modern world and an image of a more affluent lifestyle. Cai and Hustvedt (2001, p.39-40) wrote:

The postal service, set up in 1970, barely functions. Stamps are not always available. When you make a telephone call from Yongning to the city of Ninglang, it is almost impossible to hear the person you are calling, who, in turn, understands next to nothing of what you are saying. Communication is even more difficult between Yongning and the town of Kunming, the county seat of Yunnan Province.

Some Mosuo elders worry about the shift of their extended matrilineal families to nuclear families. According to Luo (2008), he thought this is because they are influenced by Han Chinese TV programs. Although the technological appliances have raised the general standards of living and of dwellings, the traditional society and environment have suffered as a result. It is through the media that new ideas, new modes of behaviour, new opinions, new wants are introduced into society. More and more Mosuo people are seeking out new, modern lifestyles. Many traditional solutions based on social and cultural conditions have disappeared in the brightness and cleanliness of the modern technological society. For example, influenced by the modern lifestyle, the Grandmother's house does not hold its original function; although the Grandmother's house is still serving as the living room, the upper hearth is no longer used for

cooking, and has been replaced by a kitchen. The importance of traditional buildings has been lessened and people want progress, which for them means accepting what is new merely because it is new and discarding the old because it is old.

7.3.2 Building technology

Building technology has had a significant effect on the evolution process of the Mosuo dwellings. The change of building technology is mainly reflected in the change of construction techniques, building materials, tools and architectural forms. Modern construction methods and new building materials began to appear in Mosuo villages in the early 1990s. The expansion of tourism and an increase in external developers have had great impact on the use of building technology. Additionally, new construction techniques and materials were used widely after the 2012 earthquake to restore villages and to build new houses.

In the field of construction, the technique utilised is the creation of a reinforced concrete skeleton structure infilled with bricks, which has enabled people to have fireproofing space. Gesang Duoji stated that building technology is a major factor: *‘Instead of traditional wood-and-earth construction buildings, the Mosuo are now constructing brick-and-concrete structure houses because most of craftsman are from outside.’*

In the field of building materials, many modern building materials such as concrete and tiles are available for the construction of these dwellings. These modern materials have played an important role in the changes of the dwellings’ form and size. Concrete blocks – which are very popular because they can be purchased directly, and can be used to quickly and cheaply to build simple constructions – are gradually replacing the traditional, time-consuming and laborious adobe bricks. Although the concrete block is a product of the industrial age, it meets the needs of local construction. It is similar to the adobe brick in size, and is suitable for manual construction, therefore it has been easily accepted by the local Mosuo people, who are accustomed to using adobe bricks. Grey tiles are replacing wooden shingles. Modern firing techniques for the bricks and tiles are used by the locals. In the past, firing techniques were relatively unpopular and it was difficult to obtain materials from the outside world

due to transportation issues, therefore natural wooden shingles were used as roofing materials. Compared to shingles, tiles are more time and energy efficient; getting wood is increasingly difficult, while choosing other materials is increasingly feasible, resulting in a gradual change of building materials.

Building tools such as concrete mixers, electric saws, etc., are widely used in the production of building materials and in the construction process. During the two-stage fieldwork, it could be clearly seen that the new building materials are widely used, which has led to the reduction of traditional building materials. Gesang Duoji mentioned how the prices of building materials have changed:

'Economic is one of the reasons. For instance, the cost of constructing a pitched roof is higher than the flat roof, especially for the reinforced concrete inclined roof. Wood used to be cheap, but now wood is almost impossible to buy.'
(Interview with Gesang Duoji, April 2017)

When Dingya Luru and Gong were interviewed, they both had the same opinion as Gesang Duoji regarding the reasons for change and pointed out the emergence of new cheap materials, such as brick and concrete, and confirmed that wood is scarce so that is hard to buy.

Broadly speaking, modern construction techniques and materials have greatly contributed to the evolution and change in the Mosuo dwellings (see physical changes of Mosuo houses in Chapter 6). This has accelerated production, reduced construction time and produced standardised buildings and built environment. However, it has not only accelerated the problem of change with the new scale of architecture but has also led to the loss of the identity of the traditional Mosuo village and traditional craft skills.

7.4 Tourism as a driver for change

The third major driver influencing the changes in Mosuo dwellings and culture that merits attention is the influx of tourists into certain Mosuo

areas over the last two decades. In order to balance national development, ethnic groups in the Southwest China were encouraged by the Chinese government to articulate and promote their ethnic distinctiveness as means of developing ethnic tourism (Luo, 2008).

According to Chen (2004), tourism development in the region can be divided into three stages:

- 1) **Beginning Stage (1988–1992).** Starting in the 1980s, the Lugu Lake's beautiful scenery and unique culture proved to be a valuable resource for tourism. In 1988, the State Council (State Council, 1988) announced that the Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain region would be a state-level tourist scenic area. The Lugu Lake region is a major part of this area. There were very few visitors, mostly official delegations, scholars and researchers, and they nearly all stayed in Luoshui Village. Because there were no tourist accommodation facilities, they stayed in the homes of the local Mosuo people (Administrative Council of the Lugu Lake Tourist Region, 2004). In 1992, Lugu Lake region was officially opened to tourists as a tourist destination.
- 2) **Development Stage (1993–1999).** In 1994, the government of Yunnan Province inaugurated a policy to give priority to tourism development and decided to develop the Lugu Lake region into a provincial-level tourist destination (Li, 2000). By 1997, the annual number of visitors there had increased to 100,000 (ACLLTR, 2004). At this stage, a style of eco- and ethnic tourism was taking shape in Luoshui Village. The typical accommodation for tourists were two-storied Mosuo-style ethnic guesthouses.
- 3) **Mature Stage (2000–present).** The number of tourists has been growing continuously since 2000 and tourism has become the primary industry in this region. In 2003, the total tourist arrivals to the Lugu Lake region reached 250,000 and the number grew to 2,375,000 in 2014 (Administrative Council of the Lugu Lake Tourist Region, 2014). Furthermore, the Lijiang-Ninglang Highway opened to traffic in 2000, the road runs through Mosuo villages and has greatly boosted tourism there. In order to meet the needs of the large numbers of tourists, villagers began to renovate their houses to accommodate tourists, and other facilities were improved accordingly. At this early stage, most of the guesthouses retain the

local architectural style but include individual bathrooms, televisions and other modern facilities, etc. But recently more diversified architectural forms can be seen.

Tourism development, as a salient driver of Mosuo dwelling and cultural change, may be considered the most rapid way to increase revenue and develop the regional economy while promoting Mosuo culture. Before the development of tourism, the economy of the Mosuo region depended upon on agriculture (farming and breeding livestock), hence it was difficult to eliminate poverty in this isolated area. With the constant improvement of roads and infrastructure, combined with the rapid growth of tourism, the tourism industry in the Mosuo region has developed quickly. The village economy has shifted from an agricultural to a tourism base. Tourism development has greatly promoted economic growth of ethnic minorities and cultural communication, which has proved an effective way to improve the living standards of the Mosuo people (Zhang, 2006).

As a part of ethnic culture, Mosuo dwellings and villages are one of the important Mosuo tourism resources with regional characteristics (Ma and Bai, 2011). On the one hand, they promote the development of local tourism, however, on the other hand, the development of tourism resources has brought great impact to Mosuo dwellings and villages and even changed the original architectural forms of Mosuo dwellings and village patterns.

7.4.1 The vast development of guest houses

Tourism development has led local residents to spontaneously build guesthouses or convert their own houses to guesthouses to meet the commercial needs, something which has brought in new architectural forms and features to Mosuo villages (Figure 7.17). New types of business have also emerged in Mosuo villages in order to serve the large tourist population, such as restaurants, cafes, bars, fashion shops, crafts shops, souvenir shops, etc. Among the newly built guesthouses, very few have been built in the traditional log style, instead they are often multi-level buildings of three or even four stories with some decorative features from traditional Mosuo houses (Figure 7.18).

Furthermore, in the process of development, a variety of new types of guesthouses have arisen, for example, the combination of a guesthouse with a restaurant or with a cultural communication centre. It appears that the guesthouse represents a complex mixture, it must be able to provide not only accommodation for tourists but also the consumer requirements associated with restaurants and cultural centres. The change of the function and the quality of the space in the original dwelling is obvious.

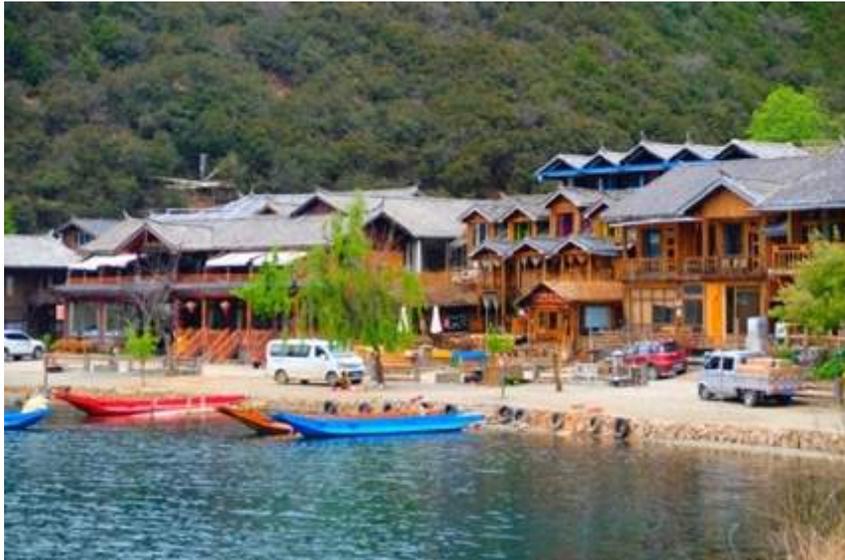


Figure 7.17 A great number of guesthouses of various architectural forms near the Lugu Lake. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 7.18 Multi-level buildings are a local symbol of wealth and status. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

The villagers of the Zhashi village are expecting the development of tourism. In order to prepare for the future and if have enough money, the layout and decoration of newly built dwellings are built basically based on the construction of guesthouses or restaurants, in accordance with future tourism development. As from the first fieldwork, there are three guesthouses in the Zhashi village in 2016: Bowang Luru hotel (in operation), Dingya Tree House (expanding) and Mosuo Buluo (preparing to open). After only six months, during another visit to the Zhashi village in 2017, it can be seen that another four new guesthouses are under construction, of which Gedi Yinxiang has been opened to the public. The guesthouse was built at an alarming rate by the local villagers. As Gong stated his perspective in the interview: *'Due to the impact of tourism, there are several guesthouses being built in the Zhashi village. Besides, it also affected the maternal family structure, marriage pattern and house form, especially those village near the scenic area.'*

7.4.2 Spatial transformation

There is spatial transformation from daily activities to tourism events as a result of tourism development. In the tourist villages, the main room of Grandmother's house has been transformed into a tourist reception for eating, visiting, watching ethnic performances and experiencing the Mosuo culture (Figure 7.19-7.20). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the ordinary function of the Grandmother's house is as a central place where the daily life of the household takes place; where its family members gather, cook, eat, drink, discuss family matters, receive guests and worship their ancestors as well as experience major life events and the taking place of significant ceremonies, such as the Coming of Age ceremony. The function of the Grandmother's house has changed: Grandmother's house had important cultural meaning and was used as a centre to conduct rituals of the life cycle, now it has become a way to attract tourists and earn money for commercial use.



Figure 7.19 Tourists eat in the Grandmother's house. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 7.20 Tourists watch the show at Grandmother's house. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

It also had some negative effects. For example, the Grandmother's house, deeply affected by tourism development, has lost its original daily life function, and its new function is to show the Mosuo culture to the tourists (Figure 7.21). This means that the elderly Grandmother cannot use or sleep in the Grandmother's house, a situation which has seriously affected the daily life of the Mosuo people. Moreover, the

Grandmother's house was unlocked in the past, but now some of the houses are locked due to storage of the silver being sold to tourists (Figure 7.22).



Figure 7.21 The Grandmother's house is elaborately decorated for tourists. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 7.22 The Grandmother's house was locked. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Another example of changes resulted from tourism is the change in site and purpose of the bonfire dance. At night, visitors are encouraged to attend a Guohuowanhui (bonfire party). One person from each Mosuo family participates and the Mosuo all dance around the fire in a line, holding hands or fingers with one another. The line of men is cut in two, with all of the women in between (Figure 7.23). All of performers are dressed in formal Mosuo clothing (Figure 7.24). The dances show traditional Mosuo culture and tourists are encouraged to learn the dances themselves; it is anticipated that this event is entertaining for the people of the village as well as tourists (Woychuk, 2015).



Figure 7.23 (Left) Modern Mosuo bonfire dance performance in the Zhashi village. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

Figure 7.24 (Right) A female Mosuo performer wearing traditional Mosuo cloth. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

From a physical point of view, the location of a bonfire party has been transformed from a relatively open space – an empty grassland area in the village for performing the traditional bonfire dance – into a multifunctional and semi-enclosed performance space with a cement floor as an activity centre to host visitors (Figure 7.25-7.26).



Figure 7.25 A multifunctional activity centre with cement floor in the Zhashi village. (Photo taken by author, 2016)



Figure 7.26 A multifunctional activity centre can be used as both a basketball court and a bonfire dance. (Photo taken by author, 2016)

From a social point of view, the Mosuo people's talent for singing and dancing, which was used in the past at bonfire parties to make friends and to look for a partner, has become another way to make money and attract tourists and has lost its village entertainment function (Zhang, 2006). Although these dance celebrations used to be held only for cultural purposes during major holidays, now they take place every night for tourists to experience (Chan, 2007).

It can be seen from the above that Mosuo dwellings and villages have been undergoing changes under the impact of tourism development. To some extent, the local tourism resources of Mosuo dwellings and villages have been destroyed. It should be noted that, with the development of tourism, the tourism resources of Mosuo dwellings need also to be a healthy and sustainable development.

7.5 Summary

All in all, the remarkable increase of the villages' wealth has led to dramatic changes in the socio-spatial aspects of the village. The official authorities played an important role in dwelling transformation and at the same time enhanced the use of modern architectural techniques and materials which replaced traditional methods. For example, the government subsidised every household according to the price of modern materials after the 2012 earthquake. Modernisation (technology) has played a significant role in changing the built environment of the Mosuo area. A huge number of tourists have travelled to the villages, influencing the traditions and the traditional ways of life of the inhabitants, and leading to the emergence of the new construction dwellings.

8 Cultural Architectural Assets (CAA): a framework to study changes and continuity of vernacular architecture in transitions

8.1 Introduction

The changes and continuity of Mosuo dwellings and Mosuo culture have been discussed in Chapter 5 from three aspects: living culture, building culture and values and beliefs; Chapter 7 discussed how these architectural and cultural changes are influenced by external factors, including policy, modernisation and tourism. In this chapter these three aspects (living culture, building culture and values and beliefs) are examined further through the interpretation of Cultural Architectural Assets (CAA) in the Mosuo dwellings with the intention of setting up a CAA framework. CAA explores the relationships between architectural form, ways of living and culture, and is influenced by internal and external factors under the dynamic context.

8.2 Interpretation of Cultural Architectural Assets in the Mosuo dwellings

This part illustrates the framework through an interpretation of CAA in transition in Mosuo dwellings, focussing on how cultural values and traditions – matriarchal extended families, walking marriage and the centred status of women – relate to architectural form in the Mosuo area, as well as the customs and daily lives of its inhabitants. This study is carried out under the background of change, the discussion therefore relates to the evolved vernacular dwellings rather than the static ones. This results from an initial social, economic, political and religious imperative, and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its built environment. Such dwellings reflect that process of evolution in their physical forms and influential factors. As Lawrence-Zúñiga (2001, p.171) put it, *'Architectural forms have power – they invite human interest and evoke response; they guide behavior, shape values, and act as repositories for meanings that shift and change.'* Due to vernacular dwellings being in a state of continuous change, their conservation necessitates understanding their changing processes.

Consequently, CAA in the Mosuo dwellings in the process of change are interpreted in detail in this section.

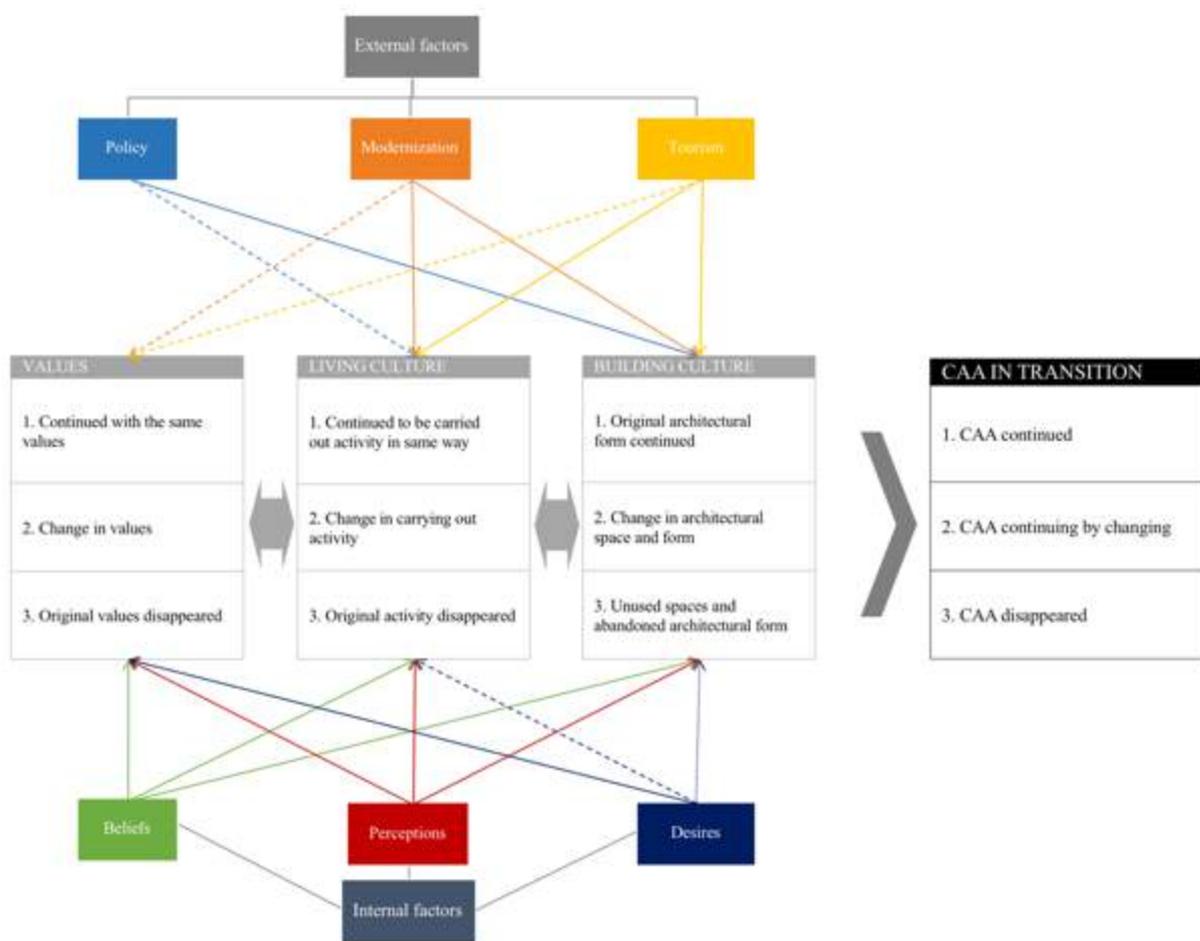


Figure 8.1 Cultural Architectural Assets in transition regarding a series of interactive factors

This study puts forward that changes in values, living culture and building culture are caused by the different external and internal factors, resulting in CAA in transition, which is shown in the Figure 8.1. As indicated in the previous chapter, policy, modernisation and tourism, as external driving forces, have brought about changes in the Mosuo dwellings, villages and culture. These have also been influenced by internal factors, namely, beliefs, perceptions and desires. Through two stages of fieldwork, it was revealed that the evolution process of Mosuo dwellings can clearly be observed in the change of behavioural activities, architectural form and values. The physical and cultural aspects continuously interrelate by affecting and transforming each other. In this

respect, it is concerned with the dynamic interrelationships between aspects of living culture, building culture and values.

In the process of constant change, it is important to discuss the various aspects of changes affecting CAA. To understand the CAA in transition, it is necessary to clearly examine the close interrelations between living culture, building culture and values. These three aspects are subject to some substantial changes. CAA in transition can be divided into three categories: first, the continuity of values, which brings the continuity of living culture and building culture, so that CAA as a whole can continue, namely, continuing CAA; second, when values and living culture begin to change, architectural culture also changes, and CAA is in a state of change; third, when changes in values lead to changes in living culture and building culture, resulting in changing CAA as a whole, and ultimately disappearing. In the following sections, continuing CAA, changing CAA and disappearing CAA are described in detail separately.

8.2.1 Continuing Cultural Architectural Assets

As identified in Chapter 5, CAA of the Mosuo dwellings that continue to this day include the courtyard form, interior settings in the Grandmother's house (comprising major hearth, female and male columns, Situo, Guozhuang stone and Zambala) and the sacred chamber. These assets constitute a 'constant' in the construction of Mosuo dwellings and serve to promote continuity in Mosuo architecture. These CAA are expressed in distinct architectural features, as well as the relationship of the buildings to daily lives of the inhabitants and the cultural values of Mosuo dwellings.

The courtyard still reflects the Mosuo people's cultural values of '*matrilineal descent and sibling solidarity*' (Wu and Haaland, 2008), as such, they live in a large-scale courtyard that consists of four buildings to accommodate several generations of the same matriarchal descendants. Various domestic, religious and social activities of Mosuo families are still carried out in the same way in the courtyard. For example, the worship of gods and ancestors' religious activities still take place in the backyard of the white tower every morning. Due to the influence of technological developments and modernisation, the courtyard has

changed in terms of architectural materials and spatial organisation, such as the pavement is now made of cement instead of rammed earth, and newly constructed buildings have appeared. However, Mosuo dwellings still retain an enclosed courtyard form because it is affected by strong place attachment and subjective desire on the one hand, and the shortage of labour force due to migrant work on the other hand. Gong expressed his opinion,

'Their old courtyard is very distinctive, but this tiny piece of land includes all the necessities. There is a building next to the mountain, one side is rock, and there is a space on the upstairs. For years, I still felt he has a small courtyard, but it is refreshing, and the layout is compact. The courtyard of the old village secretary has not changed much over the years. The reason why their family did not change is that the old Zhashi village secretary was too old to refurnish or rebuild, and her daughter was doing business outside, there was no labour at home.' (Interview with Gong, April 2017)

With regard to today's Grandmother's house, the values of *'the centred status of Mosuo women'* (Shih, 1993, 2010) have continued to be expressed in physical architectural features. One respondent (F403) said the traditional manners of the Mosuo people are almost embodied in the Grandmother's house. For example, the main room in the Grandmother's house is for the elderly grandmother to sleep, which indicates that the elderly grandmother is the core of the family and needs the care of the whole family. The important thing is that the Grandmother's house is a place where gods, ancestors and humans live together, and that hasn't changed. Additionally, one can note that all kinds of daily and ritual activities continue in the same way in the Grandmother's house, such as eating, drinking, sitting, talking, worshiping ancestors and holding ceremonies. As a result of the subjective desire and modernisation, some of the architectural elements (e.g. female and male columns) and interior settings (e.g. Situo, Guozhuang stone, Zambala) have continued in a more decorative way. Such elements are now crafted by modern machines, making them more aesthetically pleasing, yet their settings in the Grandmother's house have not basically changed in form, function and

meaning. This is because the inhabitants have strong place attachment to the Grandmother's house which has strong cultural traditions embedded within it. Several comments made by respondents all expressed a strong emotional attachment to the Grandmother's house:

'It is necessary to have a Grandmother's house. Even if it is smaller, it would be accepted.' (F102)

'I used to work in the Zhejiang province and stayed there for nearly 10 years. Compared with Yongning area, the Grandmother's house is almost the same, nothing special; but compared with the outside, it is distinctive.' (F204)

'No matter where you go, as long as there is the Grandmother's house, you will feel warm when you come back inside to boil tea. Even outsiders feel at home. For example, the owner who built the house from Anhui province with me said that the four generations ate and talked together in the Grandmother's house, which was very intimate.' (F304)

Today, the sacred chamber continues and even strengthens the religious values of Tibetan Buddhism. Daily worship rituals are still continued by the Mosuo people in the sacred chamber in the same way. Although the interior decoration has become more magnificent, influenced by technological developments and modernisation, the interior settings, functions and meanings of the sacred chamber have not changed. The reason for the continuity of this tradition is that the Mosuo people are deeply influenced by Tibetan Buddhism and have formed a strong and enduring belief despite the changes motivated by the rise in economic, social and technological interactions.

These examples – the courtyard, the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber – manifest the matriarchal cultural values, religious beliefs, place attachment and living habits of the inhabitants which have strongly affected physical architectural features.

In conclusion, it has been shown that, in relation to architectural form and spatial organisation, the continuation of traditional values and the carrying out of traditional ways of living brings retains the usability of original architectural spaces. In other words, the continuity of values and living culture brings the continuity of building culture, so that CAA as a whole can continue. These assets can be retained as the result of an interaction between the inhabitants' values (beliefs, desires), ways of living and dwelling form.

8.2.2 Changing Cultural Architectural Assets

From the changes described in Chapter 5, one can see the CAA in the Mosuo dwellings that are in a state of change are the Flower house and the Grass house – where it can be observed that living culture and building culture have considerably altered. This change reflects an increase in a desire for a clean and hygienic living environment and modern ways of living. For instance, most Mosuo families have now moved the Grass house out of the original courtyard and have built another enclosed space nearby, so as to separate people from animals. According to the information obtained from the interviews, the main reason for changing the Grass house location was the poor hygiene caused by mixing human and domesticated animal activities. In the process of change, the perceptions of cleanliness and hygiene have begun to emerge in the values of the inhabitants. However, activities centred on agricultural production continue, therefore even if the ways of living and physical built form change, the Grass house must adapt to the changes accordingly.

This result may be explained by the fact that CAA are in a state of change – that is, values, living culture and architectural culture are starting to transform. As indicated earlier in Figure 8.1, tourism and modernisation have led to changes in living culture. The booming guesthouse business and relevant tourism activities, which are part of the economic developments affecting the Mosuo villages, have led to the increase in the construction of guesthouses within the dwellings. The technological development in the modernisation considerably affects the ways of living in the use of architectural space. The changes in living culture have

created a need for different or new spaces. This means spatial alterations for the reconciliation with changes in ways of living.

8.2.3 Disappearing Cultural Architectural Assets

As previously discussed in Chapter 5, CAA that are disappearing from the Mosuo dwellings can be summed up as: the back room (Dupan) and the upper hearth in the Grandmother's house, as well as the wooden shingle roof. Certain perceptions of 'modernisation' have had a great impact on the values of the inhabitants. Under the effects of social and technological developments, some traditional ways of living have started to disappear from the Mosuo dwellings, such as giving birth at home, or cooking on the upper hearth. The related spaces (e.g. back room) or interior settings (e.g. upper hearth) have begun to be either abandoned or removed. Today, cooking on the upper hearth has noticeably removed with the introduction of cookers operated by liquefied gas. The Dingya family's youngest son (F504) talked about the evolution of the back room and upper hearth in the Grandmother's house,

'There would be other items moving into the Grandmother's house later while there would be other things slowly abandoned, like the back room. It may exist in this generation but will not exist after a few generations. Because mothers go to the hospital to give birth instead of giving birth at home now. Another example, there were upper and lower hearths in the past for the convenience of cooking, but now the upper hearth has been removed because they are rarely used in daily life and take up space.' (Interview with Dingya Zhaxi, April 2017)

Besides the disappearance of some traditional ways of living, characteristic local architectural materials, such as wooden shingles, have also nearly vanished from the building culture of the dwellings. The association with ritual, where the wooden shingles are turned over and new ones added each August, has also begun to disappear from the living culture of the inhabitants. Consequently, disappearing values have created a disappearance of living culture and building culture.

From the investigation, it can be seen that changes in values have led to changes of living culture and building culture, which has caused the disappearance of CAA. As demonstrated in Figure 8.1, internal factors, including cultural traditions and beliefs, perceptions and desires, directly affect values, which are indirectly affected by modernisation and tourism. To be specific, changes in values have produced constant changes in living culture and building culture. This has caused certain traditional ways of living to disappear by creating an interruption in their performance. The disappearing traditional ways of living have brought about unused spaces and interior settings within dwellings and abandoned architectural form.

To sum up, it can be stated that the interrelations between living culture, building culture and values under a changing process affect the change and continuation of CAA. It can be concluded that for CAA in transition, as long as the values continue, the living culture and building culture remain unchanged, and CAA can be continued. Once values start to change, then changes in living culture bring about the change of building culture, and thus CAA are in a state of change. If changes in values lead to changes in the living culture and building culture, this results in the changing of CAA as a whole, and they disappear. Data analysis indicates that CAA are the result of interaction of the living culture, building culture and values in the inhabited space and the visible form constituted by these factors.

The results put forward that if the inhabitants can understand CAA in the Mosuo dwellings and maintain the interrelations between living culture, building culture and values, their inhabited space in the Mosuo dwellings can be naturally preserved, even in the process of dramatic change. Thereby, the continuation of the interrelations between living culture, building culture and values is conducive to the conservation of Mosuo dwellings, which is *'a natural way of conservation, that is, conservation by living'* (Karakul,2011). Nonetheless, if these three relationships are interrupted in the process of change, then changing spaces, unused spaces and abandoned architectural forms emerge in the inhabited space; and CAA may ultimately disappear. Under the changing circumstances, the attitude of the inhabitants with regard to their understanding and the

continuation of CAA is the most critical issue in conservation. Consequently, the study of CAA needs to focus on the continuity of interrelations between living culture, building culture and values, which have changed through time.

8.3 Cultural Architectural Assets

Based on the previous interpretation of CAA in the Mosuo dwellings, this section attempts to propose a CAA framework for the conservation of vernacular architecture. The term ‘Cultural Architectural Assets’ is not simply the result of physical forces or any single causal factor, but is the consequence of a series of interactive factors. These factors include: use of architecture (interaction with inhabited space), physical architectural form (distinctive appearance) and values (cultural, social and use value). In other words, as shown in Figure 8.2, the concept of CAA can be deciphered by understanding the interrelationship between three aspects:

- Living culture – relating to physical interaction and use of architecture, e.g. domestic activities;
- Building culture – physical aspects, including site, spatial organisation of buildings, building structures and constructions, and interior decoration settings;
- Values – relating to human cultural values, beliefs, customs, desires and attachments.

This study shows that the interrelations between living culture, building culture and values are strong. For example, in the sense that an understanding of values, including beliefs, customs, desires and attachments, is essential to the understanding of building culture and living culture. Since built form is the physical embodiment of values, and related behaviour activities are the representation of values, values, once formed, shape the built form and affect ways of living. Additionally, living culture is important to understand building culture, and built form is shaped by living culture. No single aspect can be considered separately, and all aspects must be considered simultaneously. As discussed above, these aspects establish the CAA model, as referred to in Figure 8.2. The establishment of the CAA model widens the relationship theory, instead

of remaining on components; as long as they maintain interrelations with each other, CAA would be conserved.

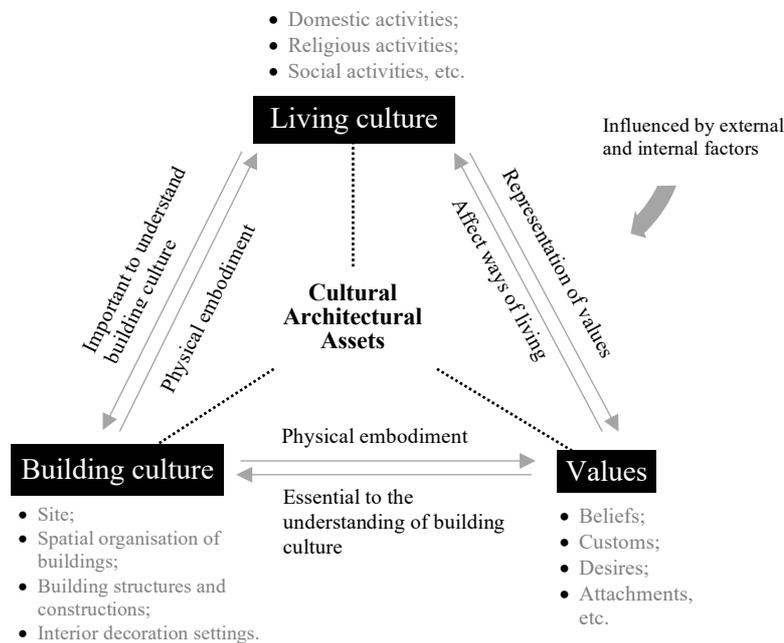


Figure 8.2 CAA model

The passage below cites ‘the Ship of Theseus’ paradox from Plutarch’s (Vita Thesei, p. 22-23, translated by Dryden, 2014):

‘The ship wherein Theseus and the youth of Athens returned had thirty oars, and was preserved by the Athenians down even to the time of Demetrius Phalereus, for they took away the old planks as they decayed, putting in new and stronger timber in their place, insomuch that this ship became a standing example among the philosophers, for the logical question of things that grow; one side holding that the ship remained the same, and the other contending that it was not the same.’

This philosophical question makes one think about what makes an entity’s identity; its physical integrity as a whole or the conservation of its parts’ assemblage. As the principal units making up the world are made up of entities, and as long as they are related to each other, they will conserve the property of the same entity. This is consistent with the CAA model. Accordingly, it does not matter if those aspects are not the original ones, as long as CAA retain the interrelations.

These aspects are inextricably interwoven accumulating layers of history through time. While interpreting CAA, physical features become the important factor, but we should look at CAA in a more comprehensive way, not simply limited to physical appearance, but also to see and understand the internal parts. CAA embrace manifestation of the interrelations between living culture, building culture and values; they should be selected on the basis of three aspects as defined above.

CAA is an approach for conserving significant assets within the inhabited space – those assets that help define the values, beliefs and lifestyles of a particular community. The significance of CAA lies in shaping the cultural identity. These architectural assets are rooted in the community's traditions and are important in maintaining the continuation of its cultural values and meanings (Steinberg, 1996). They are also essential to the identity and continuity of the inhabited space; they are a cultural and social resource for past, present or future generations.

It places emphasis on the dynamism of context as well as association of these assets with both cultural continuity and social significance. Thus, CAA should not be seen as merely safeguarding the past architectural traditions, but more importantly, should be seen as safeguarding the logic of continuity that all communities or social groups regard as their valuable architectural assets.

The CAA analysis is based on the observation of inhabitants' way of living, and the photographic survey of physical forms of the dwelling changes, combined with the interpretation of qualitative data obtained in photo elicited interviews. Through studying the changes and continuity of vernacular dwellings from the aspects of living culture, building culture, values and beliefs, CAA in transitions were identified which helped to provide insights for future conservation and development of vernacular architecture.

As a result, the analysis of the CAA can be categorised as follows:

- Living culture – contextual information (history, socio-economic structure, etc.), demographic information (family structure and marriage status);

- Building culture – photographic surveys of settlement and dwellings, critical review of literature;
- Values – photo elicit interviews with inhabitants, walking interviews with professionals.

As indicated, CAA can be dismantled into three factors – living culture, building culture and values, where the interrelationship between all three factors is continuous but constantly changing. Any change in each factor of the CAA may have mutual effects because factors are linked in complex webs of socio-cultural environment. The idea of this model was refined on the basis of analysing the relationship between the three aspects of CAA, namely, living culture, building culture and values.

Vernacular dwellings basically represent the culture of a community. They possess socio-cultural values resulting from their inhabited space and their correlation with activities that occur in the dwellings, such as domestic, religious and social activities. Over time, these vernacular dwellings with cultural value are undergoing a process of change, which may lead to the loss of culture. Therefore, vernacular dwellings need effective measures to protect them.

Conservation guidance frameworks for vernacular dwellings are one of the proposed resolutions for protecting them. Regardless of whether the vernacular dwellings have been selected as cultural heritage or not, they are protected in accordance with the principles of cultural heritage in China at present. Although the protection and research of cultural and architectural heritages have existed for many years (this will be reviewed later), there are still limitations in the research on vernacular dwellings, especially for those vernacular dwellings with cultural value in the contemporary that are neither cultural heritage nor architectural heritage (e.g. the case study selected in this study is the Mosuo dwellings and its culture). A guidance framework needs to be developed to ensure the protection of those physical properties with cultural features. On this basis, a systematic CAA framework for conserving these properties must be established.

CAA are concerned with the relationships between living culture, building culture and values. The past concern for built form and culture has incompletely included the concept of CAA from the architectural anthropology perspective. In this respect, this study aims to come up with CAA focussing on the interrelations between architecture, people and culture within the inhabited space.

Built architecture should be considered an important cultural ingredient (Leach, 1997, cited by Marina Mihaila, 2014) as the built environment carries important meanings through the generations and serves as a one repository of cultural meanings (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007). For example, Mihaila (2014, p.567) believed that *'seeing city architecture as a whole in a certain place could be identified with specific buildings, paths, or styles of the facades, but also with plazas or main streets.'* Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City* (1960) emphasised the importance of a community's perception of its urban surroundings as 'every citizen has had long connections with some part of city.' It means that for every citizen the first images and understanding of a place are given by the principles learnt in the spaces he/she lives in, and his/her image is soaked in memories and meanings.

Following the opinion of Mihaila (2014), cultural value would be involved in the present or future of every domain in the urban theory, and urban architecture is considered as a cultural component that needs to be sustained and passed on to the next generation. This point of view is also applicable to vernacular dwellings. Tweed and Sutherland (2007) clearly pointed out that architecture conveys different meanings to different groups of people and that these meanings are likely to be important in the future growth of towns and cities. In increasingly cosmopolitan cities and towns it will be important to develop a deeper understanding of how values and meanings are sustained for different groups. Therefore, CAA need to be considered to discover how architecture responds, evolves and maintains balance within the inhabited space as a cultural ingredient.

The purpose of CAA is to provide Mosuo local inhabitants with clearer and better-defined approaches for the conservation of vernacular dwellings. Simultaneously, it aims to assist property owners, planners

and developers to understand the historic character and significance of the Mosuo traditional dwellings and to better appreciate those elements of the building that make up that character. In addition to identifying the valuable cultural resources within the buildings, conservation of CAA provides a future sense of identity and continuity in a changing world. Although some Mosuo dwellings have been altered over time, they have a unique style related to their culture, which retains a high degree of intactness. When adapting and upgrading these houses to accommodate improved contemporary living standards and commercial uses, it is important that their authenticity as a CAA are not lost.

One must recognise that the assessment of CAA is based on an active choice as to which elements are deemed worthy of conservation now and of continuation in the future. Through this, the significance of CAA as symbolic of the culture, and those aspects of it which a society (or group) views as valuable, is recognised.

The assessment processes of CAA depend on two aspects, information collection and criteria assessment. Firstly, the information to be collected includes the following:

- Contextual information (history, socio-economic structure, etc.);
- Demographic information (family structure, marriage status, etc.);
- Original architectural forms of the dwellings and their settings (including exterior fittings, interior fittings, etc.);
- The traditional daily use of the dwellings;
- Analysis of the existing condition of the dwellings (including the current architectural forms and their settings, how the dwelling is being utilised, and the condition of structures and materials, etc.).

The information will assist in understanding what is valuable in the architecture and, therefore, worth conserving. The assessment of CAA needs to be based on a thorough understanding of the value of the buildings and its elements. The architectural changes that have occurred over time must be understood. The significant elements of a building must be identified so that informed decisions can be made about whether an element should be preserved rather than replaced.

Secondly, the assessment criteria of CAA are mainly divided into three categories, namely:

- The most easily identifiable is the **continuing CAA**, which still retain the physical form of the dwelling and the traditional way of living in the contemporary society, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress, such as female and male columns in the Grandmother's house in the Mosuo dwellings;
- The second category is the **changing CAA**, which means the dwelling form and traditional ways of living is in transition, for example, the Flower house in the Mosuo dwellings;
- The third one is the **disappearing CAA**, which refers to an evolutionary process that ends suddenly or over a period of time, like the upper hearth in the Grandmother's house.

8.4 Discussions on Cultural Architectural Assets

In order to establish a framework of CAA, this study reviews relevant heritage conservation studies, cultural heritage and architectural heritage. This is because they all talk about the preservation of vernacular architecture in terms of heritage protection. Based on the previous studies, this study establishes a new concept of CAA for the protection of vernacular architecture through comparative analysis. Cultural heritage, architectural heritage and CAA all provide valuable aspects that donate an identity to the human society. Nevertheless, there are three differences. A comparative analysis of the difference between cultural heritage, architectural heritage and CAA has been demonstrated in Table 8.1.

Category	Cultural heritage	Architectural Heritage	Cultural Architectural Assets
Definition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monuments, groups of buildings and sites (The World Heritage Convention, 1972) • Expanded to tangible and intangible cultural heritage (ICOMOS, 2002; UNESCO, 2003) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monuments, groups of buildings and sites (Granada, 1985) • Expanded to vernacular architecture and 20th century built heritage (Bouchenaki, 2003) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vernacular settlements, dwellings and settings • A series of interactive factors consists of living culture, building culture and values
Value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outstanding universal value (national importance) (The World Heritage Convention, 2005) • Historical, aesthetic and scientific value (The World Heritage Convention, 1972) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conspicuous historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest (Granada, 1985) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local distinctiveness • Cultural, social and use value
Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relatively static • Not that much subject to change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relatively static • Not that much subject to change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the context of changing • Evolves and changes over time
Decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State • Governments/Authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State • Governments/Authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Region • Involvement of the community

Table 8.1 Difference between culture heritage, Architectural heritage and Cultural Architectural Assets

First of all, the definitions are different. The definition of cultural heritage has been expanded from historical monuments, groups of building and sites⁴³ (The World Heritage Convention, 1972) throughout the 20th century to the present definition that includes both tangible and intangible heritage⁴⁴ as well as the close interrelations between the two (ICOMOS,

⁴³ In 1972, the concept of ‘cultural heritage’ was first defined in the ‘Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage’, as follows: ‘1. Monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; 2. Groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; 3. Sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.’ This is a significant point which suggests cultural heritage is resource that should be preserved for future generations in view of their importance on a cultural level (UNESCO, 1972; Blake, 2000).

⁴⁴ The term ‘intangible cultural heritage’ is defined by the ‘Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’ adopted by UNESCO in 2003 as: ‘(a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (b) performing arts; (c) social practices, rituals and festive events; (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (e) traditional

2002; UNESCO, 2003). According to UNESCO (2014), it is defined as the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes that are passed down from generation, for the present generation to maintain and for future generations to get the benefit from. The early understanding of architectural heritage was historical monuments, groups of building and sites⁴⁵ (Granada, 1985); today's definition has expanded to cover groups of buildings, vernacular architecture and 20th century built heritage (Bouchenaki, 2003). In this study, CAA make up the conservation framework proposed for the inhabited spaces with cultural value that are neither cultural heritage nor architectural heritage. CAA consist of a series of interacting factors, which are physical, functional and perceptual.

In addition, cultural heritage refers to tangible and intangible cultural heritage and architectural heritage refers to material assets. On the other hand, CAA refer to a series of interactive factors regarding living culture, building culture and values. Most researches regard architecture as material/physical representation (Mihaila, 2014; Hamdy, 2017; Steinberg, 1996; Silvetti, 2015; Zhao and Tao, 2014), without a comprehensive view of architecture as a series of interactive factors. When considering physical elements of architectural heritage, one usually thinks of '*monuments, group of buildings and sites*' (Granada, 1985), such as archaeological heritage (e.g. ancient ruins, ancient tombs, ancient architectural structures), religious buildings (e.g. churches, shrines, temples), urban and rural settlements (historical towns and villages), symbolic properties and memorials, as well as institutional buildings (e.g. education, science, administration or other social purposes). It can range in scale from single buildings to streetscape and, arguably, townscape. Architecture is a complex system of spaces, volumes, materials, surfaces, constructive aspects, etc., which is the result of a continuous historical

craftsmanship.' This definition can be regarded as the most recent, valid and detailed description of intangible cultural heritage (Karakul, 2007).

⁴⁵ The expression 'architectural heritage' in the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1985) is defined as, '*1. Monuments: all buildings and structures of conspicuous historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest, including their fixtures and fittings; 2. Groups of buildings: homogeneous groups of urban or rural buildings conspicuous for their historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest which are sufficiently coherent to form topographically definable units; 3. Sites: the combined works of man and nature, being areas which are partially built upon and sufficiently distinctive and homogeneous to be topographically definable and are of conspicuous historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest.*'

process of modification and transformation. Stefano Brusaporci (2017) interpreted an architectural heritage as an 'artefact', where its elements are witnesses of constructive cultures and of events which have occurred during the life of the building. Jorge Silvetti, as one of founders in Machado Silvettij (an architecture urban design firm in the United States) discussed cultural heritage from an architectural point of view. Silvetti (2015) pointed out that cultural heritage within the architecture field belongs to material culture, which is created by a group of people that has a certain identity. Material culture must have a physical presence to exist in the world today. He also mentioned,

'It is all the material culture that is associated, somehow, with architectural artefacts or with all of our associated disciplines like urbanism and landscape that define and give identity to a certain human group whom also have a fairly consistent performance and manifestation of their products over a certain time.'

However, CAA in this research encompass not only the physical form and fabric of buildings, structures and spaces, but also the ways in which they are used and understood, and the traditions and the values associations which attach to them. As a result, CAA are the result of a series of interrelations between living culture, building culture and values.

Secondly, the difference lies in the definition and scope of value. Cultural heritage emphasises the outstanding universal value⁴⁶ for all mankind including historical, aesthetic and scientific values from an international perspective (The World Heritage Convention, 2005), and architectural heritage emphasises conspicuous historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest (Granada, 1985). Whereas CAA emphasise local distinctiveness, and consist of social, cultural and use value, that is for a particular group of people or community from a regional perspective. The existing literature emphasises only the protection of the most prominent property from an international perspective, not the protection of all very important or valuable properties.

⁴⁶ Outstanding universal value refers to the significance of culture that transcends national boundaries and is of common importance to the present and future generations of all mankind (The World Heritage Convention, 2005).

Thus, CAA focus on the protection of most of the properties that are important or valuable, although they may not be the most prominent property.

Thirdly, the difference between cultural heritage, architectural heritage and CAA is that cultural heritage and architectural heritage are in a relatively static context, while CAA are dynamic. Cultural heritage and architectural heritage are not much subject to change, but CAA evolve and change over time as a series of interacting factors (physical, functional and perceptual).

Fourthly, the difference is the body who make the decisions. The assessment of cultural heritage and architectural heritage needs to be approved by authoritative institutions, such as governments and responsible authorities. They must recognise these heritages in order to protect through all available legislative, administrative and financial means, and to hand them down to future generations (ICOMOS, 1999). While the identification of CAA needs involvement and recognition at a regional level and within the community.

The idea of cultural heritage, architectural heritage and CAA are all for the conservation of vernacular architecture. These are valuable aspects that donate an identity to humankind. Nevertheless, the main difference between cultural heritage, architectural heritage and CAA is that cultural heritage and architectural heritage are based upon what components are contained, whereas CAA are the result of a series of interrelations between living culture, building culture and values.

8.5 Insights of future development and conservation of Mosuo dwellings and villages

In this section, consideration is given to the main objectives of the study – the question of how to conserve and develop Mosuo dwellings and villages in the future. Interviews with inhabitants and experts were conducted to determine their views on aspects of conservation and development of their dwellings and villages.

The current issue is that, as a result of poverty alleviation or socio-economic development, the newly constructed dwellings being built are very different from the traditional forms. With conservation in mind, it is vital to return to the traditions and completely restore the original forms (Zhu, 2017). Simply put, the question is how to find a balance between conservation and development. Traditions surrounding dwellings and villages need conservation, but it is not pure preservation; development is not the overthrow of reconstruction, but to develop under the premise of sustaining its values. Consequently, the prospective approaches of conservation need to be based on the authenticity of vernacular dwellings and villages.

Authenticity of vernacular architecture

This study emphasizes the importance of authenticity in the conservation process of vernacular architecture. The consideration of authenticity in conservation practice is to judge the values attributed to vernacular dwellings and villages. The *Venice charter* (1964) was the first international document that referred to the idea of authenticity of cultural heritage, pointing out historic values as the concept of authenticity. Subsequently, the Nara Conference on Authenticity verified the significance of socio-cultural values as a main criterion to explain authenticity and the process of conservation (ICOMOS, 1994). In the 2005 World Heritage Convention, criteria for assess the measure of authenticity are introduced: *'form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors* (UNESCO, 2005: paragraph 82). From these reviews, it indicates that authenticity has been little considered as a dynamic system in the conservation of vernacular architecture (Garcia-Esparza, 2018). The character that if used with fixed standards instead of dynamic ones, the authenticity of vernacular architecture may be threatened and even interrupted in the constant changing process. So far, the concept of authenticity is to recognise and assess authenticity within a certain period of time (Nezhad, Eshrati and Eshrati, 2015).

As vernacular dwellings are the buildings where common people live, they cannot, as such, be static, instead they are constantly developing and

evolving with the advancement of the times. The Dingya family's youngest son (F504) stated that the culture embodied in the Grandmother's house has evolved slowly through social changes; for example, the Guozhuang stone and Situo were gradually moved to the Grandmother's house, and gradually formed the current Mosuo culture. He also talked about the future of the Grandmother's house,

'There would be other items moving into the Grandmother's house later while there would be other things slowly abandoned, such as the back room. It may exist in this generation but will not exist after a few generations. Because mothers go to the hospital to give birth instead of giving birth in the back room. Another example, there were upper and lower hearths in the past for the convenience of cooking, but now the upper hearth has been removed because they are rarely used in daily life and take up space.' (Interview with Dingya Zhaxi, April 2017)

Therefore, authenticity in this study is considered as dynamic and as a result it can change over time.

As discussed in previous sections of this chapter, it establishes a CAA model for the vernacular conservation. The idea of CAA framework is to maintain the cultural significance of the Mosuo dwellings and their context, and to preserve the authenticity in the development of vernacular dwellings. What matters most in conservation of vernacular architecture is the properties that are preserved can truly reflect the values. Huang (2012) argued the conservation of vernacular dwellings should be based on the preservation of its value. The values mean the special level of meaning that elevates, above the ordinary, a thing that people want to keep and pass on to future generations (Idilfitri, 2016). In this study, the values refer to living, building and socio-cultural values. For example, the Grandmother's house not only has the function of living values, but also embodies the unique matriarchal values of the Mosuo people. Although the Mosuo have no written record of their culture, they represent their ethnic values through house form. What we expect is that these values in the dwellings can be continued alongside evolution,

instead of copying foreign buildings and letting the architectural traditions disappear (Zhu, 2011).

Based on the CAA model, it emphasises the authenticity of the dynamic – not only the need to identify the relatively stable values, but also the dynamic values. In this paper, matriarchal cultural values, religious values and living values in the Mosuo dwellings are relatively stable, while building values is dynamic. So, the embodiment of socio-cultural, religious and living values should be emphasised and continued.

When asked what features should be retained in future development, the answer from both inhabitants and experts is the Grandmother's house, without exception. One respondent (F201) firmly believed that even if the village is being developed, the Grandmother's house would remain, whether it is newly built or an old structure. Another (F405) said she would preserve the Grandmother's house for her son; she also expressed that even if a long time had passed, she would repair it, for example, replacing leaking clay tiles. F406 also claimed that they would pass on the Grandmother's house from generation to generation and continue to conserve their ethnic culture. In addition, as the deputy head of Zhashi village, Dingya Luru answered that, no matter how the other houses change, the Mosuo always keep their Grandmother's house. The Grandmother's house truly represents the Mosuo culture, which is the real core of the Mosuo people,

'I call it the Huotang (fireplace) Culture ... You have been to many Mosuo houses, there may be no sacred chamber, no flower house, but there's definitely a Grandmother's house. It must have been Grandmother's house before any other building was built.'
(Interview with Dingya Luru, April 2017)

He also proudly gave an example: even if the Mosuo people live in Lijiang or another city, the Grandmother's house would remain, even as a living room within the scope of their economic ability. Taking the house of the head of Zhashi village as an example – after he spent 40,000 RMB to purchase a Flower house from Luoshui village, the first thing he did was to build a Grandmother's house.

Some responses also mentioned that the courtyard form should be retained in future development. Gesang Duoqi said that the Mosuo dwelling was originally a courtyard form, and later developed into a Grandmother's house, a sacred chamber, a Flower house and a Grass house. Whether it is the Grandmother's house or a courtyard form, these physical fabrics are integrated into the Mosuo culture and inseparable from daily ways of living. The development of these forms is the product of the historic combination of practical needs, local building materials and belief in the natural gods of the Mosuo ancestors. The interviews signified that the Mosuo people have a clear understanding of their culture and a strong sense of identity.

It is important to maintain the organic relationship between all relevant factors of dwellings and its setting. Socio-cultural and living values are reflected in the character of Mosuo dwellings, which must be maintained in its conservation. Development is inevitable, what we can do is to preserve vernacular dwellings so that their living and socio-cultural values can continue, rather than stay on the surface of conservation.

Sustainable development in conservation

With the premise of maintaining the authenticity of Mosuo dwellings, sustainable development in conservation should be encouraged, especially to help those vernacular dwellings that are closely related to modern life to adapt to development. Preserving traditions requires sustainable development rather than existing without change. Cannot conservation traditions be changed? The wooden structure has a limited life span and it is difficult to keep the wood in good condition: what happens when it is damaged? Traditional dwellings have strengths and weaknesses; if the weakness is not improved, it is inevitable that locals would build brick and concrete houses. In terms of vernacular dwellings, the most basic value is the living value. If regarded as a museum piece, this is not an attitude towards vernacular dwelling conservation (Liu and Chen, 2012). Architecture is to play its function and make people use it. The process of conservation is to pass on the cultural values and solve the problem through design.

Mosuo dwellings need be preserved to the maximum extent, but are reintegrated into modern life and long-term development needs on the premise of fully considering future utilisation, so as to promote the inheritance of culture. Thus, in addition to continuing matriarchal and religious value, it is necessary to improve the living quality by improving the internal functions of dwellings (such as adding kitchens and toilets, etc.), to improve the quality of the house by solving technical problems, such as sound insulation, heat insulation and moisture proofing.

In order to conserve the sustainability among the Mosuo dwellings in practice, a ‘minimum intervention’ approach⁴⁷ is required, in which the inhabitants undertake as much work as required to maintain and upgrade their dwellings without negatively impacting on its important values (Unesdoc.unesco.org, 2015). In this way, the values that have not yet been recognised can be retained as much as possible. It avoids the possibility of damaging the values due to the one-sided value identification caused by different positions and times (Huang, 2012). Also, adaptive reuse strategy can be adopted in the conservation practice. With the premise of protecting the traditional buildings, adaptive reuse is the sustainable use of the traditional dwellings, such that it can continue their original functions or reuse for new functions (Mısırlısoy and Günçe, 2016). From the interview, Yang Long suggested that the interior space is decorated according to each family’s need, but exterior form of the building needs to be unified and ethnic characteristics should be preserved, such as the gable roof.

As for the modern facilities, Gesang Duoji expressed that, due to the development of society, modern facilities should be included and people’s living conditions should be improved. Dingya Luru said as long as modern facilities meet actual needs, for example, a high-pressure electric rice cooker, then it is acceptable to include it in modern life. As Cili Pinchu put it, it is necessary to build modern facilities, such as toilets and solar energy, but with ethnic features. Thus, guidance notes for living facilities see below (Table 8.2):

⁴⁷ This approach was first outlined in the *Venice Charter* (1964) and is still widely used as a basic principle by conservation professionals.

Recommended	Not Recommended
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Convert the lower room in the Grandmother’s house into a kitchen to meet modern requirements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Install kitchen at inappropriate location and thus affect the feature elements of courtyard.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional toilets without flushing can be renovated and adapted to meet modern needs; • The bedrooms in Flower house or the back room of the Grandmother’s house can be transformed to increase the space for toilets; • Install solar energy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Install bathroom at inappropriate location and thus affect the feature elements of courtyard.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use gas or electricity boilers for heating and gas or electric stoves for cooking, in order to reduce pollution. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use firewood or dried tree branches as fuel for heating and cooking.

Table 8.2 Guidance notes for living facilities of Mosuo courtyard dwellings

As discussed above in Section 8.4, the development of tourism has been a great influence on Mosuo villages and dwellings. There is great potential to promote tourism by relying on unique cultural resources, Mosuo dwellings and beautiful natural scenery. Most of the Mosuo inhabitants expect to improve their economic conditions by being involved in tourism development. Most of them would like to create a business if the village develops, such as building guesthouse or restaurants; some of them considered building more rooms in the new construction houses, not only for improving living conditions for the family members, but also for the tourists. Gesang Duoji believed that the development of tourism should continue the scale, form and function of courtyard house,

‘We strongly recommend Mosuo courtyard houses as part of rural tourism, tourists could live together with Mosuo family and get to know them. The large-scale hotel does not conform to the scale, layout and function of courtyard house as well as ways of living of Mosuo people, which is not a Mosuo dwelling.’ (Interview with Gesang Duoji, April 2017)

Dingya Luru has a positive attitude towards the future development of his village. He said that, although not close to the Lugu Lake, Zhashi village has rare wetlands, ancient trees and a good ecological environment, and he went on to describe in detail his future vision about what direction Zhashi village should go,

'Future commercial is inevitable in the Zhashi village. It is impossible for every family in the Zhashi village to open a guesthouse in the future. What I want is for everyone to play to their strengths. Villagers who are good at planting vegetables and fruits should plant it, who are good at planting flowers and plants should plant it, who are good at raising domestic animals should raise it. Each household has its own strengths, and finally supply them to the guesthouse, forming an industrial chain to achieve a win-win situation for all village. In this way, a virtuous circle can be formed to create a distinctive, green environmental and eco-tourism village. ... I hope Zhashi village become a harmonious coexistence of human and nature and become tourism village with ethnic features or 'Harmony Village'. Instead of building guesthouse, the key is to build the culture. In the future, I will create own brand and build a marketing platform to develop Mosuo culture.' (Interview with Dingya Luru, April 2017)

However, tourism should not be the only goal of development, it should also complement local life; tourists want to see real life, not the culture of performance. Hao (2013) discussed that rural areas should be dominated by agriculture, followed by tourism. He explained that sunflowers planted in a rural area are not for harvest but to attract tourists. Additionally, many farmers in rural areas do not now undertake farm work, instead meat and vegetables are purchased in the county, which also means that tourists are not eating fresh local vegetables.

Excessive tourism would damage resources and limit its long-term development; therefore, we should pay attention to the mode of tourism development, avoid short-term behaviours and realise the sustainability of tourism (Huang, 2018). That is to say, through the development of tourism, the quality of local life in tourist destinations can be improved,

the quality of local environment can be protected, and the high quality of tourist experience can be guaranteed. Meanwhile, it will promote the development and integration of other industries and eventually form a diversified industrial structure, so as to drive the development of the entire region.

To conclude, responses given in the interviews indicate that inhabitants and experts have positive views on the future of Mosuo dwellings and villages and agree that they, personally, would be willing to adapt to the changes of Mosuo dwellings and culture, however, they have varied and numerous concerns with regard to architectural expression.

In the development of vernacular dwellings need to be retained its values, while valueless components in the dwellings can be changed to adapt to modern life, which is a process of constant renewal. Traditions sometimes seem outdated and do not meet the needs of reality, because some of them do not adapt to real life and lose their original value. This part can then be removed and something new added, so that the tradition can still have strong vitality. Whether it is demolition or preservation, we should retain or strengthen its value. In short, we need to maximise the preservation of vernacular dwellings, but at the same time sustain and promote vernacular dwellings and its culture, because this is far more important than the preservation of materialised culture.

Rural development is diverse. Neither government officials, inhabitants or developers have the power to shape rural development independently – the future development of Mosuo villages is the result of interaction of various forces, which is accidental and inevitable. The development of the Mosuo villages should be centred on the villagers; whilst external forces should not be rejected, it does not mean that they can replace villagers altogether – the key is rural life, rural values and rural sustainable development. One point of view is endorsed: '*conservation is not a result of obedience and immutability, but a natural growth based on cultural identity* (Huang, 2017, p.65).'

9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a comprehensive picture of the study and its contribution to wider knowledge. It also clarifies the relationships between architectural forms, ways of living and culture, and their evolution in the face of modern pressures and the impact of cultural and social change. It firstly answers the three research questions raised in the introduction chapter and identifies the main research findings. The next section presents the original contribution of the research to knowledge, theory and practice. This section is then followed by the limitations of the research and concludes with the suggestions for future research in the final section.

9.2 Summary of research findings

9.2.1 Understanding the changes and continuity in the Mosuo dwellings

One finding from this research has indicated how the Mosuo dwellings have evolved over the past 30 years, relating, in particular, to the three aspects of living culture, building culture, and values and beliefs. The discussions in Section 5.2 of Chapter 5 have demonstrated that living culture, building culture and values have changed in the Mosuo dwellings to varying degrees. The investigation of the changes to living culture of Mosuo dwellings has indicated that there is an increase in the variety of work and a relative decline in the performance of traditional activities. In terms of the changes in the building culture of Mosuo dwellings, there are several outcomes, as follows:

- Selection of the site has gradually changed from building at the foot of the mountain, near the lake or by the river, to being built on either side of the main road of the village. This is because of the impact of tourism development – the dwellings built near the main road could facilitate the accommodation of tourists;
- Spatial organisation of Mosuo dwellings has also changed, as reflected in the courtyard form, the elevation of the houses and the Flower house. The spatial layout of current Mosuo dwellings is more

concerned with hygiene and efficient space utilisation. As analysed in Section 5.2.2, the demand for more rooms to accommodate large numbers of family members or tourists has led to the emergence of multi-storey houses. Additionally, toilets are now situated in the courtyard, there is more concern for personal hygiene;

- Exterior architectural form has also undergone great changes, which are mainly reflected in architectural structure and materials (roof, courtyard paving and walls) as well as through varying styles of doors and windows. The log houses of traditional Mosuo dwellings are being transformed into different forms, such as concrete and brick houses. This transformation is mainly due to the development of building materials and transportation. In addition, increased household incomes have also given residents more personalised choices in the spontaneous construction. Traditionally, the Mosuo do not have windows, however they have started to emerge in Mosuo architecture;
- Interior space and function have partly changed on the basis of continuing the Mosuo traditional culture, including interior spatial organisation, and interior decoration of the Grandmother's house (including room settings) and interior of the sacred chamber. This change is due to increased desire for modern ways of living, as well as a demand for a quality of life that has been influenced by economic and social development. The most obvious example is the growing tendency of the Mosuo people to have a larger Grandmother's house and sacred chamber, as well as more exquisitely carved and colourful architectural features.

Regarding the values and beliefs, the main changes are reflected in the strengthening of religious belief, and the increased desire for modern ways of living and making money. For example, Tibetan Buddhism has deeply influenced the exterior decoration of new construction buildings and the interiors of the Grandmother's house. In this respect, a Tibetan-style stove is installed on the major hearth in the main room of the Grandmother's house.

In addition to the changes in Mosuo dwellings, in Section 5.3, this study has also identified the continuity of Mosuo dwellings through the three

aspects of living culture, building culture and values. The discussion on the continuity of living culture of Mosuo dwellings has shown that even though the adjustments to rural ways of living in the Mosuo region have responded to local social and economic changes, they have still partially retained the intrinsic agrarian lifestyles, centred on agricultural production, as well as the matrilineal living patterns of the past.

Additionally, building culture in the Mosuo dwellings has been retained in terms of spatial organisation, architectural structure and materials, and interior decoration, features which are, in particular, reflected in the courtyard form and the Grandmother's house (architectural form and some room settings). For example, despite the appearance of multiple courtyards, the courtyard form still exists in the today's Mosuo dwellings as an enclosed form. The study also found that because of its strong tradition and cultural values, the exterior architectural forms, structures and materials – such as female and male columns, which have been retained in their form and ritualistic meanings – have been preserved in the majority of Grandmother's houses. Similarly, most of the interior settings of the Grandmother's house have been preserved in their form, function and meaning, including the major (lower hearth), Zambala, Guozhuang stone and Situ.

As for the continuity of values within the Mosuo dwellings, matriarchal social values, the centred status of women, religious belief and some traditional values of living are still retained today. In the interviews, the inhabitants revealed that they would like to adapt to modern ways of living whilst also preserving ethnic culture and architectural features.

Through a review of the planning development of the Mosuo area and interviews with local professionals in the fieldwork, this research has revealed that there are a range of influences and pressures driving the changes to Mosuo dwellings and villages, including policy, tourism and modernisation, as identified in Chapter 6. Mosuo dwellings and villages have been undergoing a transformation, in which traditional and modern architectural elements are combined to form a hybrid. This dynamic process is the result of a close interplay of socio-economic, cultural and political forces in the contemporary era.

9.2.2 Interpretation of Cultural Architectural Assets in the Mosuo dwellings

A major finding of this research was to theorise a Cultural Architectural Assets (CAA) model through the interpretation of CAA in the Mosuo dwellings. In order to propose a CAA model, the interrelations between living culture, building culture and values have been examined further by means of the interpretation of CAA firstly in the Mosuo dwellings. This study focussed on how values (e.g. matriarchal culture values) relate to architectural form in the Mosuo area as well as the customs and daily lives of its inhabitants.

As discussed in Section 7.2 of Chapter 7, the changes in values, living culture and building culture are caused by different external and internal factors, resulting in CAA in transition. Policy, modernisation and tourism, as external driving forces, have brought about changes in the Mosuo dwellings, villages and culture. These have also been influenced by internal factors, namely, beliefs, perceptions and desires. In this study, there are three types of CAA in the Mosuo dwellings in transition:

- Continuing CAA, which refers to the continuity of values that brings about the continuity of living culture and building culture, so that CAA as a whole can continue (for example, the female and male columns in the Grandmother's house);
- Changing CAA, which means when values and life culture begin to change, architectural culture also changes (for example, alterations to the Flower house and the Grass house);
- Disappearing CAA, which involves changes in values, which in turn lead to change in living culture and building culture, resulting in CAA that ends suddenly or over a period of time (for example, the upper hearth in the Grandmother's house).

To be more specific, CAA of the Mosuo dwellings that continue to this day include the courtyard form, the sacred chamber, and the exterior architectural form and most interior settings of the Grandmother's house (comprising female and male columns, major hearth, Situo, Guozhuang stone, and Zambala). The continuity of the courtyard form is due to continuation of the matrilineal cultural values of the Mosuo people; the

courtyard form could accommodate the matriarchal extended family with three or even more generations living together. It is also due to the fact that the courtyard form coordinates all the social, living, farming and ritual activities of the Mosuo families, as well as influenced by strong place attachment and subjective desire of the inhabitants. In a similar way, the sacred chamber continues its function and meaning because it embodies the religious belief and spiritual world of the Mosuo people; building a larger and more exquisitely carved and colourful sacred chamber has illustrated its growing importance to the Mosuo people.

It is noted that the Grandmother's house has been retained in the current dwellings because of its cultural importance, not only as a central place for the daily activities of the Mosuo family members, but also as an embodiment of the values of the centred status of Mosuo women. The majority of elderly Mosuo grandmothers still sleep in the main room in the Grandmother's house, which means they are the core of the family and are cared for by the whole family. Still in existence today are some Grandmother's houses which have survived for two or three hundred years old, and which are still maintained in their original state. As a result of the subjective desire and modernisation, some of the architectural elements (e.g. female and male columns) and interior settings (including the major hearth, Situo, Guozhuang stone and Zambala) have continued in a more decorative way. The Grandmother's house has been well preserved in form, function and meaning: in short, this constitutes the continuation of CAA in the Mosuo dwellings.

Also included in the changing CAA of Mosuo dwellings are the Flower house and the Grass house. This is mainly due to people's pursuit of a clean and hygienic living environment and the desire for modern ways of living. The subsequent changes to their values of living and related behaviour activities have led to changes in the architectural forms of the Flower house and the Grass house. For instance, in order to separate people from animals, so as to create a better living environment, the location of the majority of Grass houses has changed, moving them out of the original courtyard.

The study has also shown that the CAA which have gradually disappeared from the Mosuo dwellings are the back room (Dupan) and the upper hearth in the Grandmother's house, as well as the wooden shingle roof. This is because under the strong influence of certain perceptions of 'modernisation', some traditional ways of living have started to disappear from the Mosuo dwellings, and the related spaces or interior settings have begun to be abandoned or removed. One can see that cooking on the upper hearth has noticeably decreased in the dwellings with the introduction of the cookers operated by liquefied gas. The analysis has indicated that CAA in the Mosuo dwellings are the result of interaction between living culture, building culture and values, and the visible form constituted by these factors.

9.2.3 Insights towards the sustainability of vernacular architecture and culture in transition

Another finding drawn from this study was the recommendations for the future on how to sustain Mosuo dwellings and villages as well as its culture. The views and opinions of inhabitants, professionals and tourists raised a number of interesting issues with implications for future development and preservation of Mosuo villages. It is proposed to consider here the implications of their views on the general issues of current Mosuo dwellings, before addressing their views and opinions on future village development.

From the interviews with inhabitants and local professionals, it was apparent that there was no desire among the Mosuo people to turn back the clock and to revert to the old ways of living and ancient dwellings. However, the current issues are how to balance modern ways of living with the Mosuo building culture, and the possibility of harnessing modern technology towards the creation of housing forms that are in keeping with the matriarchal identity of the Mosuo people. Evidence from the investigation confirms that the majority of people would like to combine the two, but only if the Grandmother's house is preserved. For those local professionals, they also pointed out the Grandmother's house and the courtyard form that embodied the core Mosuo values should be preserved in the development.

The results of the questionnaire make clear that the tourists' perception of Mosuo architecture and cultural changes is negative; they felt disappointed with the changes to the villages because the dwellings and the minority people are losing their traditional ethnic characteristics and becoming very commercial. The majority of tourists expected to get a sense of Mosuo culture, but left disappointed with only the feeling of having seen the natural Lugu Lake. This has shown that there is an issue with the development of Mosuo culture, and local authorities need to think about how to better develop Mosuo culture.

Responses given in the interviews have indicated that inhabitants and professionals have positive views on the future of Mosuo dwellings and villages and agree that they, personally, would be willing to adapt to the changes of Mosuo dwellings and culture.

Most of researchers predicted Mosuo culture was going to disappear soon within the context of socio-economic change. For example, Cai's academic work published in France, *'A Society without Fathers or Husbands: The Na of China'*, he last visited Yongning area in 1997 and predicted that the Mosuo tradition would be assimilated in the following 20 years. Chen's (2010) last sentence in his book *'Lijia Zela'* is: *'When the road opens one day, the Lijia Zela village will disappear.'* Shih (2010) also explained one main reason that the Mosuo case has been more or less preserved to date is the Mosuo area is a remote and culturally isolated land. He elaborated today's Yongning is much more accessible than ever before and it has been unavoidably involved in the process of globalization. In the final scenes in the 2012 documentary *'The Mosuo Sisters'*, Director Marlo Poras types: *'It is likely Juma and Latso's children will be the last generation to speak Mosuo and practice walking marriage.'*

However, following Cai's prediction, to this day, almost 20 years later, Mosuo culture and traditions may not be a traditional tradition, still exist in an adaptive way. Among many opinions, I agree with He Zhonghua, the survival and evolution of Mosuo matriarchal culture can be regarded as the result of the ethnic's own historical evolution. From He's (2000) point of view, Under the influence of today's socio-economic change, the

Mosuo matriarchal system is undergoing cultural adjustment and integration. He (2000, p.297) said,

'In a considerable period of time, it will self-adjust with the cultural mentality of maintaining the tradition and adapting to the changes. The matriarchal system will continue to exist in a new form and exert influence on the Mosuo society and culture.'

The impact of foreign cultures (such as Tibetan and Han culture) more or less has caused changes in the matrilineal cultural structure of Mosuo. However, due to the strong cohesiveness of the matrilineal culture, its core remains, and the overall change has not yet occurred. According to the fieldwork investigation, the Mosuo matriarchal system and its culture are in a dynamic system rather than static. For instance, since Tibetan Buddhism became the dominant part of Mosuo culture and the native dabba religion was weakened, the Mosuo community has been strongly influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, including religious thought, life customs, clothing, architecture and sculpture, etc. But the matrilineal system has been preserved in the cultural adaptation, forming the present Mosuo matrilineal system and its culture with its own characteristics and absorbing Tibetan culture. Therefore, in the face of social and economic development, Mosuo culture would continue to undergo new adaptations and would survive.

Based on the findings of the fieldwork, this study ended with the discussion of future conservation approaches based on the authenticity of vernacular dwellings and villages. It emphasises the authenticity of the dynamic – not only the need to identify the relatively stable values, but also the dynamic values. In this paper, matriarchal cultural values, religious values and living values are relatively stable, while building values is dynamic. So, the embodiment of socio-cultural, religious and living values should be emphasised and continued. With the premise of maintaining the authenticity of Mosuo dwellings, sustainable development in conservation should be encouraged, especially to help those vernacular dwellings that are closely related to modern life adapt to development, such as adoption of an adaptive reuse strategy. It also provides some recommendations for the conservation of the living

facilities of the Mosuo dwellings, incorporating reconcilable approaches for modern living while retaining the traditional character of the courtyard dwellings.

9.3 Contributions of this study

9.3.1 Documenting the evolution of Mosuo dwellings

This study has contributed to new knowledge as it is the first time the evolution of dwellings of the Mosuo tribe and its culture in the contemporary context has been more fully documented. This is based mainly on first-hand data which were collected from the region during the first fieldwork. This fieldwork has contributed to our understanding of the changes and continuity in the Mosuo dwellings in the evolution process, in terms of the three aspects of living culture, building culture, and values and beliefs.

Most of the in-depth studies on the Mosuo are from the perspective of anthropology (e.g. Shih, 1993, 2010; Cai and Hustvedt, 2001), with few studies of the Mosuo dwellings. Mosuo vernacular dwellings are worthy of in-depth study because of their unique household structure, social organisation, and historical and cultural background (Yan and Song, 1983, p.151-163). Moreover, it appears that there is insufficient data about the evolution of Mosuo dwellings and how the Mosuo inhabitants perceive this evolution in the contemporary context. Therefore, the results of the study have provided more insights into the transitions and the relationships between the dwellings, inhabitants and the Mosuo culture.

In this study, the traditional Mosuo dwelling is used as a prototype to compare changes and continuity occurring in vernacular dwellings in the studied areas. Through reviewing the existing literature about traditional Mosuo dwellings, in Chapter 2, it is found that the distinctive architectural features of courtyard dwellings and their spatial organisation directly reflect the matriarchal family structure, walking marriage, religious belief and farming production (He, 2000; Shih, 1993, 2010). The traditional Mosuo dwellings are an architectural and cultural expression of the ethnic culture, beliefs and customs that can ensure the Mosuo culture's continuation (Huang and Zhou, 2011). However, given

the considerable modernisation and tourism development that has occurred in the Mosuo area since the 1990s, Mosuo dwellings have gradually changed.

As identified from observation and photographic surveys, there has been a process change for Mosuo architectural form, which can be seen as an evolution of architectural style from a strong tradition to a modern expression; gradually at first and then speedily changing over time under increasing Han and Tibetan influences. This process can be seen in different developments in housing types, which can be divided into hybrid dwellings and new construction dwellings. Present Mosuo dwellings are hybrid or new construction buildings that have evolved from the traditional Mosuo dwellings for ordinary people, and have integrated new materials as well as modern construction methods and technologies.

The results have shown that these changes in the current Mosuo dwellings are based on the preservation of the Grandmother's house and the sacred chamber. The inhabitants have made some dwelling changes mainly from the perspective of function, without denying their own culture. Additionally, they also attempt to improve life and integrate modern living facilities while retaining the characteristics of the courtyard dwelling.

9.3.2 Towards a new understanding of vernacular architecture conservation

The most important outcome of this research is that the concept of CAA was identified for the first time. The concept of CAA is proposed for the vernacular dwellings with cultural values that are neither cultural heritage nor architectural heritage. The value of this research lies in the development of a framework to study changes and continuity of vernacular architecture in transition. The information-rich data obtained from observations, interviews with the inhabitants and professionals, and on-site measurement has been combined to map the CAA framework. Consequently, the concept of CAA was established through the reflection of all the findings and discussion of the data.

Whether the vernacular dwellings are selected as cultural heritage or not, they are protected according to the principles of cultural heritage in China at present. A theoretical framework needs to be developed to ensure the protection of those physical properties with cultural values and social significance that are neither cultural heritage nor architectural heritage. From theoretical perspective, this study establishes a new concept of CAA for the conservation of vernacular architecture through a comparative analysis of the difference between cultural heritage, architectural heritage and CAA.

The main difference is the definition. cultural heritage refers to tangible and intangible cultural heritage and architectural heritage refers to material assets. CAA refer to a series of interactive factors regarding living culture, building culture and values. Most researches regard architecture as material/physical representation (Mihaila, 2014; Hamdy, 2017; Steinberg, 1996; Silveti, 2015; Zhao and Tao, 2014), without a comprehensive view of architecture as a series of interactive factors. The establishment of CAA widens the relationship theory, instead of remaining individual components.

Also, the definition and scope of value is different. Cultural heritage emphasises the outstanding universal value for all mankind including historical, aesthetic and scientific values from an international perspective (The World Heritage Convention, 2005), and architectural heritage emphasises conspicuous historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest (Granada, 1985). Whereas CAA emphasise local distinctiveness, and consist of social, cultural and use value, that is for a particular group of people or community from a regional perspective. The existing literature emphasises only the protection of the most prominent property from an international perspective.

Moreover, cultural heritage and architectural heritage are in a relatively static context, while CAA are dynamic. The last one, the assessment of cultural heritage and architectural heritage needs to be approved by authoritative institutions at a national level. While the identification of

CAA needs involvement and recognition at a regional level and within the community.

From practical perspective, CAA framework proposed in this study provides a new direction for policy. Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic Area on the Mosuo village in 2009 emphasised on protection and development of Mosuo villages and Mosuo culture in the Lugu Lake Scenic area. This planning policy proposed that all traditional buildings need be preserved, including Grandmother's house, sacred chamber, Flower house and Grass house; traditional ways of living of Mosuo people need to be maintained. Is this unaltered preservation really protecting traditions and culture? This conservation planning is only on the surface and lacks in-depth discussion.

Another policy called 'Key Conservation of Traditional Mosuo house', launched by the regional authorities Administrative Council of Lugu Lake Tourist Region in 2015. If selected as 'Key Conservation of Traditional Mosuo house', Mosuo families are awarded a title and also receive a subsidy of 5,000 RMB per household for renovation. Although in the name of protecting dwellings, these selected dwellings, as one of the tourism development projects, would be recommended to tourists in the future. During the fieldwork in 2016, I was involved in the inspection of this project with the staff of relevant authorities. I found that the government departments did not have a set of strict assessment standards for the protection of Mosuo dwellings. There are certain old and traditional Mosuo houses that should be protected but have not been selected for this project.

Regarding these existing problems, CAA framework proposed in this study provides a new direction for policy to protect Mosuo dwellings and culture. Instead of returning to traditions and restoring the original forms, we should have a set of rigorous approach, analysing what is continued CAA, Changing CAA and disappearing CAA.

In Section 7.3, it was discovered that CAA are the result of the triple interrelation between living culture, building culture and values through the interpretation of CAA in the Mosuo dwellings. For example, in the

sense that an understanding of values, including beliefs, customs, desires and attachments, is essential to the understanding of building culture and living culture. No single aspect can be considered separately, and all aspects must be considered simultaneously. CAA place emphasis on the dynamism of context; and it should not be seen as merely safeguarding the past architectural traditions, but more importantly, should be seen as safeguarding the logic of continuity that all communities or social groups regard as their valuable architectural assets. The CAA framework of the study possesses both general and flexible characteristics to be adapted to different cases in conservation studies.

The results of this study, discussed in Chapter 7, have shown that under the influence of policy, modernisation and tourism, Mosuo dwellings would neither return back to the original traditions nor lose their features and culture, but would develop towards a new type of dwelling. This is because it is equally impossible for an ethnic group to completely deviate from the influence of traditional culture or to invariably continue the traditional pattern (Yang, 1997). Living culture, building culture and values aspects in the CAA are changing; and with the improvement of policies, the progress of technology and the development of tourism, such changes will continue, which may also lead to the transformation of values and ways of living.

9.3.3 Implications for policy makers and professionals

Some implications for policy makers and professionals are contributions to practices. As far as the researcher could ascertain, this is the first time that the perspective of Mosuo inhabitants and professionals on matters relating to Mosuo dwellings in the contemporary context has been investigated through photo elicit and walking interviews. Hence, the findings of this field study, it is hoped, will provide a baseline for any subsequent investigations, and the guidelines generated from it may contribute to the debate about the shape of future vernacular dwellings in the Mosuo area.

This study focusses on conserving existing Mosuo dwellings and villages; its detailed discussion and analysis of CAA in the Mosuo dwellings can offer valuable implications for policy makers, planners, developers, and

house owners, who build new construction dwellings in this region. Based on the research data and an understanding of these Mosuo dwellings, this study can propose the following implications:

- The CAA model could be a starting point for the local government and related authority in order to set up guidance for Mosuo dwellings and villages. Since the CAA model has been established according to the data from inhabitants, local professionals and planning policies, it could be used as a guideline in the conservation of Mosuo vernacular architecture;
- This integrative approach covers various disciplines, not only for professionals and the inhabitants but also for the administrative management at local and national levels, wherever applicable. As the Mosuo have a similar context to ethnic minorities elsewhere in China, this framework could be developed a broad model to help in the conservation of vernacular architecture particular to each minority.

Based on the new understanding discussed above, the findings of the study shed light on the appropriate implications for policy makers to propose planning policies, and for developers to participate in tourism development projects in the Mosuo villages and dwellings. This manner would help policy makers and developers contribute to the sustaining of vernacular architecture embodied in Mosuo dwellings during social, economic and tourism development.

9.4 Research limitations

Owing entirely to my limitations and my own disciplinary bias – not interdisciplinary enough as yet – there is, unfortunately, a stronger emphasis on architecture than on anthropology.

There may be some possible limitations in this study, which mainly come from the researcher. Firstly, there were significant communication barriers – the Mosuo people are not well educated and there is a high level of illiteracy, additionally, the local Mosuo language, used particularly by the elderly Mosuo people, can cause difficulties and bring limitations in communicating with them. Language was a communication burden; in some cases, the researcher relied on young villagers as

interpreters, however, it is unavoidable that, through the translation and oral interpretation, some information would be lost. I managed to alleviate some problems with the enormous help of local guides, particularly Guo Lin and Guo Jie, who worked as my guide and interpreter, but I still found it very difficult to communicate directly with elderly Mosuo people.

The second limitation concerns the time constraints. The limitations of time were imposed by having to choose a suitable season, and because of distance, physical geography and funds; this has resulted in the limitations on the data and information gathered in the fieldwork. If time had allowed, more in-depth data could have been generated and some cultural understandings may have deepened. The focus of the study may not have been limited to Mosuo dwellings, further comparative studies may have also been carried out, or details of the interior renovation of the houses may have been further explored. The use of ‘assistants’ (my parents) helped to expand the visits to Mosuo dwellings, which compensates for the time limit on the fieldwork.

9.5 Future research

This study indicates that more research projects are needed in the field of vernacular architecture and traditions conservation in different contexts. There are some on-going researches on the sustainable development of rural villages and vernacular architecture in China, such as Gao and Pitts’ contribution to villages in southwest China (Bai et al., 2019; Gao and Pitts, 2018; Pitts, 2016; Pitts and Gao, 2014, 2017). Meanwhile China adopted a new national strategy of rural revitalisation⁴⁸ in 2018, which means that, in the new context, the Chinese government expects to control changes and develop along the ecological track of economic and social development, so that rural architectural heritage can be adaptively conserved and revitalised. Therefore, a trend topic for future research would be how to deal with the relationship between conservation of

⁴⁸ The rural vitalisation strategy is first proposed in the report to the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), declaring the goal of overall rural revitalisation by 2050 for prosperous agriculture, beautiful countryside, and rich farmers (English.scio.gov.cn, 2018; Long, Zhang and Tu, 2019). The strategy put more emphasis on promoting integrated urban-rural development, which is a vital strategy for the future development of China’s rural areas (Chen, 2017).

vernacular architecture and rural revitalisation, such as the theme of Tongji University International Conference is *'Built Heritage Conservation in Rural Vitalization'* in 2019 (Built-heritage.net, 2019). Research projects could look at how to explore suitable ways for the survival of the rural architectural heritage.

This study only provides local knowledge regarding the evolution of Mosuo dwellings as well as the influence of social, cultural and economic aspects on sustaining the CAA of Mosuo dwellings. The knowledge of CAA has by no means been completed and further research is required. Within the larger spectrum of heritage conservation and vernacular dwellings throughout the world, this study can only be considered as the investigation of one case of the interrelationship between architectural form as inhabited space, ways of living and culture in the changing context. A suggestion for further investigation could be the examination of CAA in a new context, location and/or culture, in other minorities villages in the Southwest or other regions of China. Similar ethnographic approaches could be employed to see how different cultures in different places respond to architectural form, ways of living and culture. Through further investigation, CAA of vernacular dwellings elsewhere in the world could also be explored. After testing the validity of CAA in a specific context, a more comprehensive understanding of the interrelationship between architectural form, peoples' ways of living and culture throughout the world could be achieved.

In addition, the feasibility of housing and village development proposals needs to be tested and examined in future practice. The proposals are based on this study, but the study has not addressed the issues of implementation. Applying these recommendations could lead to a new set of problems, such as specific solutions needed to suit the various conditions among the villages and different inhabitants' preferences among the households.

Overall, this study has deepened our understanding of architectural form as inhabited space, ways of living and culture in the changing context. It provides both theoretical and practical implications by exploring interrelationships and studying them with an interdisciplinary approach

to reflect the complexity. Hopefully, this research has laid a solid foundation for further study of architectural anthropology, vernacular architecture, architectural heritage conservation and rural practice, in the immediate and more distant future.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Photo elicit interviews with Mosuo families

1. 你出生在这个村庄吗? Have you lived in this village since you were born?
2. 平日里都有哪些日常活动? Can you talk about your daily routine?
3. 你认为摩梭民居中的什么元素最有特色? 可以具体描述吗? 这部分对于你来说有什么样的意义? Which elements of the Mosuo house do you think are most distinctive? Would you describe this element for me? Does this mean something to you?
4. 摩梭民居和周围其他少数民族的民居相比有什么特别之处吗? Do you think Mosuo dwellings are distinctive compared to other surrounding minorities' architecture?
5. 用几个词概括自己的房屋, 比如朴实的, 温暖的, 有民族特色的。Use a few words to summarise your dwellings, such as simple, warm, ethnic, etc.
6. 图册中有你喜欢的照片吗? 比如第 X 张, 你喜欢它什么? Are there any photos you like in the booklet? Like photo No. X, what do you like about it?
7. 这些照片有没有唤起记忆或故事? Do these photos evoke memories or stories?
8. 有没有不喜欢的照片?为什么? Any photos you don't like? Why is that?
9. 你认为哪些照片是能够代表摩梭民居特色的? Which photos do you think are representative of Mosuo architecture?
10. 有些图片没有选择, 可以说下原因吗? Some pictures are not selected, can you tell me the reason?

11. 你的理想生活是什么样子的? What would your ideal life look like?

12. 那理想的房屋呢? 可以描述或者画下来吗? What about ideal house?
Can you describe or draw it?

13. 现在居住的房屋和理想中的房屋有差距吗? Is there a gap between the house you live in now and the house you expect?

14. 未来希望自己的村庄发展成什么样子? What do you think of the future develop in your village?

Appendix B: Walking interviews with professionals (including local planner, policy maker, the head of village, developer and craftsman)

沿着村子主干路走半小时，边走边指出村子房屋变化。Walk along the main road of the village for half an hour and pointing out dwelling changes in the village as go.

1. 扎实村/里格近年最大的建筑变化是什么？结构变了？材料变了？能否指出来。What is the biggest change in the Zhashi/Lige village in recent years? Has any structure or materials changed? Can you point it out?
2. 变化的原因有什么？What are the reasons of change?
3. 对于熟悉村子的专家，村子里的建筑有没有变化？什么被保留，为什么保留？For the professionals who are familiar with the village, is there any architectural change in the village? What is retained and why retain it?
4. 政府为保护摩梭村落做了什么？规划人员呢？村长呢？工匠呢？开发者将要做什么？What has the government done to protect the Mosuo villages? What did the planners (the head of village, craftsman) do? What is the developer going to do?
5. 在未来的发展中摩梭民居应该保留哪些特点？需要现代化的设施吗？如果需要请举例说明。What characteristics should be retained in future development? Are modern facilities necessary? Give examples if necessary.
6. 如果从扎实村选两家民居，变化最大的和最小的，你会选择哪两家？If can only choose two houses from Zhashi village, the smallest and biggest architectural change, which one would you choose?
7. 你对摩梭村庄未来的发展有什么看法？What do you think of the future develop in the Mosuo villages?

Appendix C: Questionnaire for tourists

年龄 Age: 男/女 Male/Female

月收入（人民币） Monthly income (RMB): 1). Less than 3,000; 2). 3,000-5,000; 3). 5,000-10,000; 4). 10,000-30,000; 5). More than 30,000.

1. 你是怎么来（交通方式）泸沽湖的？ How did you arrive to Lugu Lake?
2. 你来这里主要旅游的原因是？ What are the main reasons for your visit to this tourist destination?
3. 这是第一次来吗？ Is this first visit to this tourist destination?
4. 打算在这里呆多少天？ How many days are you planning to stay at this tourist destination?
5. 住在哪个旅馆？ 在哪个村庄？ Which hotel are you staying at? In what village?
6. 为什么选择住在那里？ Why did you choose to live there?
7. 去过了哪些村庄？ Which Mosuo villages have you visited already?
8. 觉得哪个村庄最能代表摩梭文化？ Which village is the most representative of Mosuo culture?
9. 对于摩梭民居留下的深刻印象是？ What was the deep impression on the Mosuo house?
10. 可以选一些词来形容摩梭民居吗？ Can you choose some words to describe the Mosuo house?

11. 你觉得你接触的摩梭文化和民居是你所期待的吗? 如果不是, 那你的期待是什么? Do you think the Mosuo culture and architecture that you've seen/experienced is what you expect? If not, what are your expectations?

12. 你希望来这里体验什么? What do you want you to experience here?

Appendix D: A transcript of a family interview with a local inhabitant



Figure 1. Interview with Dingya Zhaxi in Dabei Zunsheng Jingtang (Dabei Zunsheng temple), in Zhashi Village in 20/7/2016, 13: 30pm- 15: 30pm. (Photo taken by Ruijuan Liu, 2016)



Figure 2. Family interview with F502 in Zhashi Village in 16/4/2017 11:00am-12:00am. (Photo taken by Ruijuan Liu, 2017)

1. 介绍自己和课题。您是一出生就生活在这个村子里吗？

一出生就生活在这里。

2. 平日都有哪些日常活动？

早上6点起床，祖母屋生火，在煨桑（小白塔）里烧香祈福（如果阿妈在家，阿妈完成此事，阿妈不在，我就会做这个事情）。烧香的同时，家里的门所有的都要敞开，祖母屋的门也要敞开，火塘里面也要烧香。该烧的茶水烧着，在经堂敬水烧香点灯磕头，倒上7杯水（7的倍数即可，最少7杯）。家里茶水烧开，首先不喝，到佛堂里面，然后在火塘的锅庄上祭。然后再开始一天，准备早餐（人和牲口的），自己该弄得弄，弄完了就是猪啊鸡啊，祭锅庄，喂牲口（这个中间可以统筹安排，同时举

行)。紧接着家人起床后，每个人分工各不同。工人有工人的事情，有种玉米土豆的，每个人每天都不同了。中午11点弄个午茶，去祭祀。晚上，祭祀。一日三餐祭祀，锅庄不可能少，这个是最基本的，永远不变的。现在全身心的在建客栈。白天的日常活动现在以建客栈为主，整体完善家中的建设。

3.你觉得自己生活的房屋有什么特色？哪些或者哪个部分是与众不同的，和其他民族相比较的话？可以具体描述这个部分吗？

与彝族比的话，空间层高来说，摩梭的建筑要高大一些。像祖母屋功能强大的，其他民族还没有。家里面未来每个房间一旦建好后，上面都会有火塘。以前上火塘有的，等家里面弄好后我会恢复。就像我们的储藏室也会有人过世后在那里住，这间家里面跟我母亲同辈的，以前真正传统的摩梭家庭里面，我的舅舅啊，大舅小舅有可能睡这里，家里面人太多不可能都聚在那里的。有些人在这里，有些人在这间，祖母屋前面有一间，旁边也有，但这样的房间，除了家里面，真的没有了。所以为什么家里面保留的这么完整，表面上根本看不出来，像村长很多家里面连生死门都没有了，更不要说前面的屋子，根本就没有，很多家里面只是一个过道。后面那间留着在，现在好多都没了地震之后。因为这间是个储藏室，家里面人不在了就放在那里。祖母屋真的来说不只是祖母屋，就像一个爱的港湾，很重要的东西，所有的黑白喜事全在祖母屋里商议。比方说正常来说，有任何人来找你谈什么，任何事情都会在火塘里面烧点火，完成的。真正的家里面条件好的佛堂是独立的，单独的才是最好的。现在很多人放到花楼的中间或者靠边去了。整体最完整的说肯定是四合院，说到四合院跟很多地方最大的优势是这种四合院最适合人类居住，很舒服，很接地气。这个天井很重要的。像很多修的话，我不用花几百万去做基础，这个平面一弄这个房子一修那个房子一修。很多湖边的房子新的房子一修把传统房子全都改了，像家里面不会影响，而且会适应更好，我这个位置上面根本没建东西，如果在建一层，这边整个光就被挡到了。

4.这部分对于你来说有什么样的意义？

有家的感觉，不像城市的客厅呆不住；经堂是精神的寄托；祭锅庄是感恩，愿世间万物和谐平安；建客栈、村里的经堂，花力气想为摩梭留下些有价值的东西。祖母屋是我们摩梭文化的核心，它是我们家的港湾，家里没有火的时候感觉少了很多，但是家里面有个老人，有堆火的时候

，家的那种感觉一下子很聚啊，凝聚力很强，在城里面，如果客厅都很随随便便弄的一个，呆都呆不住，进到家里面连坐和站的地方都没有。人在世上我们几兄弟很多人讲的那样子，你们花那么多钱在昆明啊，丽江买一栋房子就可以，但是这个东西不是我们的，建了就在那里，几年以后，或者十年二十年后，丢在那里，只是一个开发商的房子而已，但是这个东西我们为什么花大气建造，我们只是为这个村子，这个民族留点有价值的东西，弟弟寺庙那里也是修。我们什么也带不走的。很多人一生都在追求很多的物质和名利，真的能带的走吗？唯一能带走的就是我们的慈悲心而已。这是我们几兄弟这一生在做的事情。所以包括我们火塘里面每天祈福，祭锅庄的，最核心的就是感恩，没有祖先，没有我们。就像我阿妈每天都祈福一样，她说她所听到看到，即使她没听到也没看到的时候，还存在这世上所有万物都和谐平安。这种大爱的祈福方式又有多少人呢。一句话就是融到自己的血液里面，去体会。

5.用几个词概括自己所生活的空间，可以是朴实的，简陋的，有民族特色的等等。

有家的感觉，温暖。很多客人来过家里面，他们走过很多地方，都还会想要再来。所以家里面未来的酒店，开酒店的目的为什么，因为我们家里面的环境，很多人来了一次还想来。来了以后想多呆几天，呆不住，洗澡的没有，还拉他们到永宁洗澡吗。这样最多住2天真的得走，毕竟在城里面生活惯了，他的洗漱卫浴，要适合他的生活才行。每个人对生活理念追求不一样，家里面才会这么建造。但最终我们家里面永远不变的理念是“家的感觉”。你说和民族文化有冲突嘛？不冲突的，就像家追求舒服安逸的生活，是每个人都追求的，所以很多人说你们家酒店都有了，不淳朴了，没有以前的感觉了。我就跟他说，你希望的是过着原始人的生活，觉得是最淳朴的吗？过着最原始的生活的人不一定最淳朴的，世人都要追求温暖舒适的生活。一个人一个家庭最终的目标要明确，核心要准确，我说这个家，要有家的感觉。如果我们几兄弟不是为了追求这种温暖舒适的话，我们为何需要花这个代价去做，年前就花掉370万。这个钱就像熊书记那家，刚修好那个样子，几十万块钱，我修三栋就得了，一两百间房间，我天天接旅游团的，我有这个条件的，我读书的时候就做导游，司机导游我都认识，我给他们一点点的回扣就做。但这不是我要的东西，我要追求一种品质。一种真正每个人想要的东西，宁静温暖，爱的港湾。关键是保住摩梭的灵魂。湖边的村长带着伙伴客人来我们家，阿鲁你这么代价的弄，祖母屋再扩大点，我说我的扩大了干嘛还来我们家，你们家比我们家大，干嘛还来我们家，我就直接跟他讲，

你说做文化，最基本的根根，以前解放后，唯一保留的这两栋，都动掉的话，做保护还怎么做保护，我就给他们讲，再拆再建，毕竟还是一个祖母屋，祖母屋我是觉得这个大小最合适了，就像一个贵宾厅似的。又不是一个餐厅，像他们希望的那样，摆四五桌餐桌，人少的时候，空荡荡的，好像干净了，但是失去了家的温暖的感觉，摆着那么多餐桌，进到这个家里面让你掏钱吃民族餐这样子。祖母屋和经堂家里永远不会动，要动也是修修整整，不会扩大也不会重新装修，再拆再建是没有意义的。祖母屋现在的大小正合适，如果太干净的话，就失去本有家的感觉。

拿出图册，介绍图册，这里面大部分的照片都是去年我来扎实村调研时候拍的，还有一部分是从历史书本中来。可以翻阅一下吗？

6. 这里面有喜欢的图片吗？指图片X，那喜欢它哪里呢？

我比较喜欢这样子的，比较老的这种。现在落水很多家都改成我们家这种，这才是真正最传统的柜子。（但是现在都雕刻成这样。）雕的人都眼花缭乱。（你觉得好看吗？）太花哨了，这样造价也低。不小心哪里磕碰一下也没了。喜欢传统一点的。（为什么新式的不喜欢？）有些太过藏式经堂那样，真实的祖母屋不应该是这样子。当一个地方太过花哨的时候，人是呆不住的。有些雕刻的很夸张。听帮我的师傅说的，落水也有新式的，也有改回这样传统柜子的。就像我们家火塘的锅庄，他们家和我们家（指图册）这两个锅都是很老的。很多人想有这个都恢复不了，以前觉得不好，丢掉。（以前为什么觉得不好，丢掉？）不是不好，他们家这个只是不能生火，你看他们这个是后面安上去的，生火口都没有，只是把这个安上去。我们家是真的可以升火。这些都是现代的做法，不实用，只是个平台而已，但我们家真的可以有用。还有是原来不做，背后就是木头房子，我以前祖母她们说过，家里面没有好房子，担心家里烧火的时候老鼠会把木头啄开一个洞，烧火的时候怕窜到木头房子上去，你看嘛，这个的背后是什么，是木头房子，我们家比较明显。不是我们吹嘘自己家多好，而是事实就是这样的。这个锅的背后本身是泥土，但问题是老鼠在那里钻了洞怕火苗窜到里面去了，不安全。我们摩梭祭祀的时候要用到。但我们家会用碳什么的煮火锅。本来以前就是碳、柴火来煮的。

7. 这些图片有没有唤起回忆或者想起什么故事？

（传统的Zambala是石头还是画的？）以前很多是泥土糊的造型，有的是在石头上刻的，这不一定。以前也有人木雕的，这个的话泥巴是最简单也是最不废材料的，掉了的话第二年再补。（但是现在泥土特别少。）

泥土不实用啊，现在条件那么好了。每个人的追求最简单舒服温暖，但现在有好的材料了，干嘛回到原来的材料。有的东西不能永远停留在以前，社会在发展。以前是洞穴的，我们还是觉得传统好，那我们还是住洞穴嘛？不现实。就像有的人住在树上，所有人都要住在树上嘛？取水都不方便。那现在为什么又在修树屋了，因为现在很多先进的东西可以取代，又可以跟大自然融为一体，享受大自然。有些东西没有绝对的好，绝对的坏，取决于这个东西当下是否存在，有无存在价值，能不能利在当下。就像以前摩梭很多走婚，不愿意去登记，现在整个环境要求去登记。就像我们读书，我们的父母的身份都要登记了，孩子才能上户口。这个评判不好说。一句话，我们所存在的东西，要适合。利于当下的发展和生存就是对的。就像为什么我要这么建，包括现在泸沽湖边审批，我这个还好点，有些实木的批消防都批不了，不给他们办，为什么，确实安全隐患很大啊。这就是我为什么前面的柱子弄成木头，我不想丢掉传统的东西，因为只有这样子，走到这个家里面，看到木头的时候，就可以感受温暖。完全是混凝土的房子，感觉比较冰冷，石头还好，毕竟比较自然，给人感觉不一样。混凝土不一样，我们见的太多了，所以家里面这么建。石头的造价太高了。木头温暖是温暖，但是保质太短，风吹雨淋，远的不说，就看树屋那个外面栏杆，是不是变色很严重黑了，才几年，09年到现在，8年时间不到，那我是不是重新修，我石头砌，混凝土来弄，当然我们的装修还保留了传统的东西，传统的一种符号文字，对传统文化都还保留，我觉得没有丢就可以。说传统的东西不丢就一句话，不丢掉接人待物而已。对待人和事物的态度不要变就可以了。不要说是开发了，像竹地那样，把人拒之门外，这就叫它丢掉了。我是觉得这才是最大的根本，并不是说房子的造型变了，这个民族就不存在了。只要心不要变就可以。就像这次管委会舅舅家，涂得很黑很黑的，难道你把人家的祖母屋，本来很漂亮的，你把它刷得黑黑的，它就保留了传统的东西吗？我是觉得错了。人住着首先是温暖舒心，觉得舒服就可以。教他不要杀人放火，接人待物，然后我们种粮食不要放化肥，打农药，好好的安居乐业生活。这才是我觉得领导应该教当地原住民如何生存的事情。而并不是说在乎这个房子修的什么样子，这个房子修，传统的不保暖不隔音不防火，这才是最大的弊端，这些东西要杜绝，怎么弄呢，砖混的外面再弄木头，在里面的房子装修的时候弄些木头雕刻，自己的东西不要丢就可以了嘛。但是很多人自始至终都没想到这个，他们只是看到这个地方不淳朴了，房子都修成这样了，那你要敢问问真的只要人心没有变，它就没有变。房子不是根本的。外在的东西都不是问题。衣服穿着便装了，难道就不是摩梭人了。你穿了摩梭服装在骗游客

，卖金银首饰，难道他们就是真的保护了摩梭文化吗？反而是那些人在欺骗客人，在毁坏摩梭文化。未来交通越来越方便。走了这半年到一年，永宁有了多少家快递公司，所以未来很多东西只会越来越便利。就像马上西昌到宁蒗丽江通火车，马上香格里拉到泸沽湖要通二级路，整个的交通越来越好。但交通越来越好，人心都变了，那就有问题了。所以无论怎么样，我做好自己就可以了。你说很多家里面这样做不对，我们不用去说，做好自己，慢慢去影响他们就可以了。

8. 有没有不喜欢的空间？为什么？

不喜欢的就是纯混凝土的平顶房。平顶房和外面的房屋太一样，没特色，至少来个人字屋顶吧。就像桂林阳朔我都有去过，山水很美，最大的问题是少数民族太少，结果呢到处都是混凝土，你看那么美的风景里面，房子很煞风景。没有特色也不行。（翘小角的屋顶可以接受吗？）这种不还是平顶屋嘛。家里面有几间可以接受，不能说都建成这样。（那这种拿混凝土做成这种形式？）我是最看不懂，不要还不如不弄。花那么多人工，骗个人工，骗自己，这是绝对不能接受的。这个还好点，人字屋顶，不能接受混凝土直接做成那个。一看就是假的，这里能做，城里面一样能做（这几种都是忠实村的，扎实好像没有太现代的房子。）房屋还是保留得比较好。（厕所是新式还是民族特色一点的？）能建成民族特色的当然好呢。（村子里面有一个公厕，那个还比较民族特色。）对，我说的，墙体弄点颜色，至少看起来，外墙喷点颜色的，直接做成木头的样子，还不如直接喷个颜色好了。而且就这种胶就可以。（你说经堂的那个颜色。）对，这个是原来的泥土就是这个颜色，泥巴的颜色。（搞保护民居都要刷成这种红色。）后面变色也跟这个差不多了吧，家里面这个贵呀，这个是石子，本来石子里面就是有颜色的，矿物质颜料。（祖母房也不会变，对吧？）基本不会变。这个很重要，当家里面有个病人快要不行了，都会直接躺在这里，在火塘边烧着火等他离开这个人世，你看多温暖，他看到家里面的人都在，人都是这个样子，有一天我们的祖母老了，看到儿女子孙在旁边，她安心，所以我是觉得摩梭人的感觉很好。你像城里面一个人冰冷冷的躺在白花花的病床上，举目无亲，那样子离开，眼睛都合不上了。（门呢，小门嘛？）祖母屋还是这样维持。正常以舒适为主。因为祖母屋是代表我们自己的灵魂的东西，就像我们民族的图腾，很多仪式。（男女柱子？以前从一颗树上来，现在很难找到，所以从一个山坡上来。）哪个说的，本来就是应该采自同一颗树的。他们乱编的。但很多人做不到。（新式的现在太粗了，怎么可能那么粗还从一颗树上来。）他自己做不到，就自己编理由，自

己给自己开脱。只是说现在新式房子太大了，柱子要很粗，采自同一棵树很难，就用2颗。但是这个只要知道这个礼节就可以了，这是个很重要的原则，在讲述一个，它的另外一层意思更重要，它代表2兄妹，中间有个梁连着，希望两兄妹携手把这个家撑起来的意思。为了表达这个东西而已。（上火铺，你们家以后会恢复的吧？）有一个的，我们家是活动性的。我不喜欢把上火铺改成客厅的样子。当它特殊的时候，把这个挪回来，直接安上去就可以。现在又占空间，本来房间也有点小，但并不等于它不存在。这个东西存在不要影响别人，存在有它的价值就可以。当它没有价值的时候，没有也可以。（屋顶还是黄板吧？）黄板是理想的，未来树木都不准砍伐，哪里来的黄板。又要说保护，保护金又不给，给吧只给1、2万，那够付吗。（如果能维持，还是偏向黄板？）对，因为你没发现只要黄板用的话，冬暖夏凉，而且它在里面烧火不会熏人，这是最基本的。小高和小菜家里面就是混凝土的房子，他们家里一烧火就熏，烟子排不出去。像城里要买好一点的抽烟烟机。传统的我们在市面上看到的方太那些什么没有用的，他们毕竟专门量身定做大吸力的鼓风机把油烟抽走的。后面家里面我就会用这种，很多人会说我这个是中西结合，中间会有个桌子，旁边人可以行走。中间那个灶有可能放2个，或者1个分成2块来用都有可能。这次的门窗你们过两天可以看到，真的很好，花了十几万，专门防蚊虫，非常高端。（搬下去的那两栋花楼怎么打算的？）那个地方以后下面会做些烧烤什么的，比较大的油烟不在这里了。以后服务员什么的有可能就在下面。

9. 你觉得哪些图片是能够代表摩梭建筑特色的？

其实这样子确实是可以代表，但是又不实用，只是一个造型。这个真的就不是，太现代了，石头直接做的那个。你看他们家这个感觉还挺好的。（刚刚看的上火铺的那张，就是大落水花100万买他们家，搬到展览馆去的，里面恢复了。）这个照得全。家里面整体弄好了，该弄的会弄上去的。

10. 有些图片是没有选择的，可以说下原因吗？

没有选择的图片都是不喜欢的。

11. 你的理想生活是什么样子的？

现在这样子就是我理想的生活。该建的客栈建好了，有点钱带着我的家人去旅游，有自己的信仰，过舒服安逸的生活。

12. 那理想的房屋呢？（具体描述或者画下来）

正在建设的鼎雅客栈就是理想的房屋。

13. 现在居住的房屋和理想中的房屋有差距吗？

没有差距。

14. 未来希望自己生活的村子发展成什么样子？

日后扎实村被开发，不可能家家开酒店。我所希望的是每个人发挥自己的长处，养牲口，种植农作物给我们，相互合作，和谐共处。对于有些家来说，养牲口，种植农作物是他们所擅长的。希望成为人、自然和谐共处的村庄。“特色旅游村”或“和谐村”也许可以做到。不是建造酒店就可以致富，关键还是要打造文化，家里以后会发展摩梭文化，商标，建造营销平台。当下尽我所能，做到我应该做的。

Appendix E: A transcript of a walking interview with a local government staff

扎实村 19/4/2017 10:00-12:00am

沿着村子主干路走半小时，边走边指出村子房屋变化。1.近年扎实或里格村最大的建筑变化是什么？结构变了？材料变了？能否指出来。

1) 首先可能是建筑材料变了；现在肯定可以看得出来的，一个是土坯墙根本不存在了，那现在一个是砖来代替，这个是比较多，有些是瓦，本来的小青瓦，有些像塑料瓦，彩钢瓦都有，对吧，但这边不是很突出，但是还是有的。

2) 建筑的风格也有些差异，很多人出去外边回来，看到外面的东西他是认为最好的，把自己最好的一面丢了，这个也是普遍存在的。还有以前就像他那个建筑一样（新修熊乡长那个），外立面虽然保持黄土的风格，但是那个是雨棚，没有泼水的那种，没有人字那种，这个就是一种变化。至少也有青瓦屋顶，是一个雨棚，连一个屋面都不存在，都是平顶。但是说这个可以改观，但是你要这么做的话，用小的屋顶组合起来的话，它还是看上去还是可以的，但是现在这种根本不行。

2.变化的原因有什么？

1) 一方面是年轻外出打工，接触外来文化，喜欢新式房屋；

2) 另外一方面现在都不修土木，修砖混的，砖混的工匠大部分是外来的，这个是个技术问题；

3) 还有本身主人家的观念还是有些差异的，不然的话他要求这么做，主体建筑可以这么做，但是屋顶的话可能还是要做个斜屋面啊什么的，（我：跟建造人的意愿有关，会和经济挂钩吗，建人字屋顶比平顶房造价高？），人字屋顶可能比这个造价高，钢筋水泥斜屋顶的话造价相对高，但是过去的话，用木头跟瓦片的话是造价低，但现在是不行了，木头根本买不到。

4) 抗震原因，土坯墙抗震效果比较差，包括5.14地震的时候土坯墙倒塌的比较多。

3.针对熟悉村子的村长和工匠：村子里的建筑有没有没有变的？哪些还有所保留？为何保留？

保留的有，但是保留的都相当少了，你都看得出来嘛。首先呢，现在有一些新修的保留了原来的风格的也有一部分。原因一个是对自己民族文

化的一种保护，有这方面的意识，跟这个有大的关系；另外一个是在政府提倡对民族文化的保护，包括建筑，再加上原来去年搞的母系大家庭、摩梭民居重点保护的这个，起到了一定的作用。而且我们这次涉及到137户。

4. 政府做了哪些工作。

“保护摩梭传统民居”从一开始是泸沽湖管理委员会在做，49户，去年的是后来宁蒗县委县政府和泸沽湖管理委员会一起合作，扩大到拉伯乡，137户。摩梭保护民居的后续工作还有在整改的家屋，比如达坡村的一户，由于木材稀缺，家里的经堂用砖混代替，但是做的是斜屋顶，也保留了民族特色。今年3月份泸沽湖管理委员会提出旅游保护重点工作，在保护民居的前提下，发展推动乡村旅游，特色村寨建设。

乡村旅游这块，主要是一湖一坝的联系，扎实村是第一个进入永宁坝的村寨。旅游最根本的是文化，摩梭文化又是世界上独一无二的。2011，2012年调查，自然风光占比例高，游客在景区时间短，无法体验摩梭文化，游客带着某种心理来，最后觉得景观不错，超过人文。阮成发省长今年提出“宁可不做，也不能乱来。”省、市、县都在重视旅游，政府把扎实村定义为“新农村”。里格其实不算什么，是政府花大力整治环境，现在才发展得好，得到政府的支持很重要。老百姓从不理解（整体往后迁移80米，保护湖水）到理解，政府一户户做工作。老百姓只知道眼前利益，向后退，其实是更好地发展。现在里格半岛旺季一间房可以1380元，不少于500元一间客房。阳光会所，一共7间木楞房。里格基本都是外来老板经营，落水村去年自营的摩梭人还有3个，今年就只有2个人。基础设施都是政府投入建设，第三次整治环境，“2违”违章和违规建筑，主要是外商的介入，无序发展，保护不利的地方。规划当中有排污设施，去年改造排污设施。泸沽湖管理委员会最主要保护泸沽湖，“不让一滴污水进入泸沽湖”，工作的职责。

关于交通，“机场——永宁乡”二级公路将在年底开始动工。“西昌——香格里拉”高速公路的2个岔路口会经过泸沽湖，“丽泸公路”现在只要3个小时。2017年，为了更好地保护泸沽湖，“女儿国工程项目”，给水补水，污水净水后，自然供水不够，解决自来水，剩下的水从木底蓄水库补水补给给泸沽湖。

开发可以促进保护，优秀老祖母的评选工作，60岁以上摩梭老人，保护民居的前提下，100余人评选出，2000元补助，发证书。不单单是年纪达到，还要对摩梭文化起到帮助作用的，在大家庭中德高望重，在村中口碑好，做到好的传承，榜样。民间艺人的评选，县授牌，对民族文化有

保护作用的人。评选条件必须是摩梭人，木工，工匠，民间歌舞，彩绘，编织等作出贡献的人，授予“摩梭民间艺人”称号，大概每人2000元资助，报到乡政府颁发，调查做完，在评审阶段。（格桑多吉不能在其中，因为在政府工作，以前被评过市级的“非物质文化遗产传承人”，2年审一批，必须有项目，没项目就做不了传承人。）评选100个摩梭民间艺人，只局限于摩梭艺人，一是得到认可的，再者要有作品，还有一些年纪大，80多岁的摩梭老人，做的事快失传，应该得到迁就性保护。

5. 日后发展，觉得哪些特征应该被保留？现代化的设施应该有？有哪些？祖母屋必须被保留。整体外观，内部设施。整体需要保留。原来的一个要求，你要批建也好，你要审批也好，必须得有一个祖母屋，另外才是客栈，这个是前提。

保留四合院、花楼、经堂。摩梭最初的是四合院，然后是祖母屋，花楼，经堂。经堂跟祖母屋是必须保留的，但是说经堂有独立的，也有不独立的，然后花楼和客房这些它都可以用来经营的嘛。

乡村游推四合院，大规模建筑不符合四合院。但是你说客栈现在经营方式的话，四合院这个可以经营的，你有这个客房，人家也可以体验你的大家庭，这个是最好的，乡村游我们就推这个。并不是建什么大客栈啊，为什么我们之前有些大规模的建筑啊，不符合我们四合院整体布局、功能，保护民居中一些人被取缔，对吧，这个是这个原因嘛，不能说你盖个酒店，我给你挂个牌，那不叫民居对吧。祖母屋相当好的比较多的，但是没有生死房，不可能的列入的。这个被取缔的有5家，原来挂牌的叫他，他不去弄的，我们就取缔了。还有包括那个原来多好的四合院，他自己想怎么弄就怎么弄，然后之前我们也给他做了一些工作，他说我们之前没有说过之类的，那次领导就很不高兴，这个你不能这么说的，因为我们跟你挂牌之前肯定是做了工作的，而且我是一直参与的，你说你之前不知道，这个是不能说的。你当时说我改建，这个是可以同意的，但是你是要在我们的规划允许的前提下，进行改造这个是可以的。但是他认为自己有前瞻性，他自己想怎么弄就怎么弄，那这个肯定是不行的。原来那个主席到过嘛，这个也是政府主导你才有这个前提。现代化的设施应该有，社会发展，人的居住条件应该改善。

6. 扎实村选2家的话，可否带我参观村里变化最小的一家和最大的一家。

变化最大：鼎雅家

变化最小：撒巴和扎实阿翁家，撒巴阿翁（赛诺）家改建得最好，保留摩梭特点典型。

谷：鼎雅家虽然做了一些还原，做的可能是好看的，但是要跟摩梭民族的东西可以看出来还是不一样的。他认为是最好的，但是说你要保留的这些民族文化符号的东西是不能丢的，但是说民族现在靠的不是主体建筑，但是我的符号是不能丢的。

我：那你觉得摩梭符号有哪些呢？

谷：摩梭符号最关键的一个是阳台和花楼的装饰、雕塑，还有一个是木楞的接口。

我：木头现在很难买，这个东西怎么实现呢？

谷：通过符号来实现，去点缀。你可以保留自己的文化，可以用新型的建筑材料。这个都没有的时候，你就不是摩梭民居。这个是我个人的观点。

谷：扎实村如果做好的，从生态的角度，比它好的没有，但是从民族文化建筑的角度，扎实村不算什么，但是你的树、石头、山，这个是没有的，这是我们修路的时候我都叫他们不要取了，你取完了，就什么都不是了。它那个青刺果树，青冈树，长得最慢的，村庄里面能有这个很好，但是你人为造这个造不来的。其他的东西人为都可以造出来的。还有那些石头原来是多好的，它扎实村到了村道里面，多好的大石头，这些是很这个的嘛（竖大拇指），但是现在他们都破坏了。虽然意识上是有一些的，现在就看鲁汝他们怎么带，带得好，可能是好的，带得不好的话，旅游是相当脆弱的，你那个地方也不算什么。人家观光可以，在永宁乡在宁蒍市这个可能性很少，但你做好了这个也可以带动整个村庄，来开发这个民族。资源是有的，就看怎么好好利用，人才是最关键的，人怎么做。任何东西都是死的。

我：文化角度呢？扎实村可能只是永宁坝第一个被开发的村落，以后其他村也会陆续开发。

谷：因为现在八祖村已经都在开发。甚至有些这个他们做的马帮更会吸引人。扎西现在从里格过来，然后中海子-小海子-

八祖村，这个如果搞宗教的游客，他不会到扎实村，他只会去八祖村。关嘉活佛也是那个村的，所以好多宗教、民族、文化的东西都要融在一起，这个东西不是单一的，你认为你的那个好就是好，不是你自己说的。扎实村现在好一点，像鲁汝他们就是篝火晚会啊，这个相对比别人好，超前了一点，但是现在这个东西这样推的话，用不了多长时间都会这样。现在关键的是他们这几个人怎么来带这个村子。但是最怕的是摩梭人，好多时候，你今天来问我，我也不一定是最全面的人，写书的都是写来写去都是那么多东西，但是他们现在认为他们是最大，他认为他是最全面的，但是你说他是不是最全面的，你也不知道。（所以我要听多

方面的观点)我比他更有远视的,我没出去过,我的这个大家庭,对摩梭文化来说,我更有发言权。我现在什么都不是,但是我的这个资源是别人没有的,包括他也没有的。他说他家庭是怎么厉害,但他也毕竟只是我们摩梭人说的八路,分家出来的一个小家庭。从一世大家庭的框架上来讲还不算什么。这个是其一,其二他出去打工过,见过比较多,但是他无法跟我一样,体验摩梭文化的时间,没有,并不是说我有多少优势,我从小到今天都没有真正离开过我的母亲,这个是别人做不到的。跟我一样的有,但是他没有眼光。意思是他不可以像我这样的表达。

Appendix F: Mosuo architecture booklet

摩梭建筑图册
Mosuo architecture booklets

摩梭村庄 Mosuo villages



54

55



56

摩梭房屋 Mosuo houses



1



窗户 Windows



厕所 Toilets



花楼 Flower house – walking marriage



卧室 Rooms



经堂 Sacred chamber – religious and belief



草楼 Grass house – The upstairs are rooms for people and the downstairs are livestock barns for domestic animals.



祖母屋 (议事空间) - 客厅 Yimi



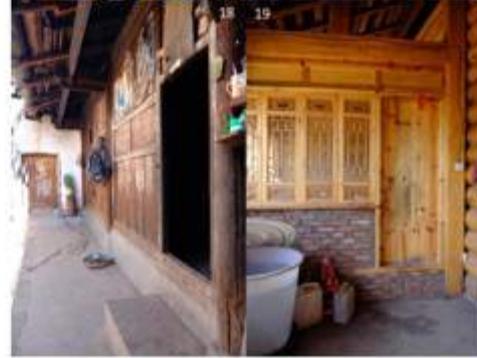
祖母床 Bed for Gandmother



屋顶 Roof



门 Entrance



火塘 Fireplace



锅庄 Guozhuang



藏巴拉 Zambala



31



32

男女柱 Female and male pillars



22



23



24

上火塘 Upper fireplace



29



30

斯图 situ



25



26



27



28

Appendix G: Fieldwork Diary

6/8/2016 雨 周六

参加扎实村斯基尔车的葬礼。从早上8点开始，第一天主要是葬礼的筹备。去河边杀牛，把四只脚拴住，脖子上给一刀，割脖子。在猪圈杀猪，捆住猪嘴巴，放血，刺心脏。与尔青多吉喇嘛（35岁）交谈，了解到他是在康定那边学习藏传佛教，18岁时先学藏语，自愿去学习，信仰佛教，在逝者家每天念，七七四十九天，每天念3-4个小时。超度灵魂，愿灵魂走进天堂。随后有村民告知由于家里经堂太小，于是将祖母屋对面的房屋临时改建成新的经堂，要容纳十几个喇嘛。经堂内最高地位的喇嘛坐在面朝东边的地方（负责主持火葬的人），座位最高，旁边则是高僧助理，其余随之而坐。逝者的亲属这天请来1个达巴，14个喇嘛念经做法。

达巴9点半到达逝者的家，然后开始布置祖母屋，葬礼期间祖母屋的下火塘转变为灵堂。喇嘛的主要仪式在经堂，个别下午和晚上的仪式会移到祖母屋内进行。但是达巴所有的仪式都是在祖母屋内进行。达巴会叫人在男柱向下火塘牵一根绳，挂上新买来的衣服作为贡品，送山那天这些新衣服不会被烧掉。并且用酥油和糌粑捏成一个面偶状，象征死者，放进棺木里。而喇嘛在经堂里用酥油和糌粑做菩萨的贡品，做了三种不同的造型。

上午10点把画好的棺木抬进祖母屋，放响炮三声，棺木的位置要正对祖母屋的门口。祖母房在葬礼期间变身灵堂。祖母房上放有新衣服，棺木，画有凤凰的白纸（为逝者领路），祭祀物品（食物），酒水，小的酥油灯三盏，一盏大的酥油灯，苹果4个，假花2瓶，马鞍，逝去者的拐杖（伤残军人），每餐吃饭前给逝者的食物。一切布置完毕后，达巴就开始念经，亲人这时会到祖母屋进行跪拜，磕三个长头。这几天，扎实村的村民都会争先恐后前来帮忙，准备三餐，家人则沉浸在失去至亲的伤痛中，主人家这些天要做的就是磕头，为逝者磕头，为前来的亲朋好友磕头以表感谢。葬礼期间，每次吃饭前，达巴都要念经，全部人才能动筷子。（中午休息期间，采访达巴，有录音）喇嘛在布置好经堂后就吃中饭。诵经仪式开始

在下午17点到18点，18点喇嘛吃饭。达巴则会在所有人开始吃饭前，饭菜会先为逝者呈上（在扎实村住的这段日子与摩梭人一起吃饭，得知摩梭人添饭都得添2勺，因为死人舀一瓢饭，活人要舀两瓢饭），为逝者念一段“川转”（献饭）。随后大家才能开始吃饭，逝者的亲人这几天吃饭都不能坐着吃，只能蹲着吃，以表示尊敬。

18点40喇嘛又回到经堂开始念经。19点过8分响笛，响笛到12分。13分喇嘛开始唱歌。在场的村民们都要齐来跟唱“哦玛丽贝贝哄”，一直唱到19点30分。之后喇嘛们继续超度念经到19点40。然后从经堂转移到祖母屋内，其余的喇嘛回家，剩下5个喇嘛到祖母屋唱歌，时不时还吹响海螺，高潮处还会摇起法铃（唱3遍？）。亲人此时又会前来向喇嘛和棺木磕三个长头。快唱完时，死者的亲戚会送（不是家人）给每个喇嘛一包茶和一点钱财。这天，会有亲戚朋友前来送礼，主人家也会回礼给客人，一包茶叶和2瓶酒。唱完后，喇嘛吃米线宵夜后就回家，第一天的仪式就全部结束。

在参加葬礼期间，有了解到汉人60岁、80岁、100岁会以大寿庆祝，而摩梭过60岁也一样会请来4个喇嘛念经，念一天的经文。一般费用是1个喇嘛一百块，4个就400块，除此之外，还要好好招待一日三餐。喇嘛的费用就根据自己的心意和能力给，喇嘛不会计较价钱，给50块也行，300-400的也有，主要是心灵的安慰。

7/8/2016 晴 周天 葬礼日 8点—晚上 24点

早上用马去驮柴，驮到山坡上（火葬的地方），用木头建了一个火葬堂，然后里面装的柴火（干柴）、米、松明、铁锅里面装的酥油（一锅）。4个第二天早上要抬棺木小伙子上山捡柴火，下午就要搭好。这4个人必须去，是由村里安排的4个人。会给他们钱，100块也行，50块也行，以表辛苦。搭好棺木回到祖母屋，逝者家人会端茶送水，磕头以表感谢。由于过世的人是退伍军人，一大早宁蒗县武装部、民政局、永宁乡人民政府分别送来三个花圈。摩梭人葬礼不送花圈，送花圈是汉人的习俗。

当天因为各方好友亲戚大批地会前来悼念，送礼，所以一大早就开始办流水席，10点之前吃完饭就都走了。11点半中饭后达巴开始念经，喇嘛这时也开始念经。12点半喇嘛把辫子换成帽子。12点50，12个喇嘛转移到祖母屋念经。念经的同时给喇嘛礼，今天给的120（4个人），第二80（5个人），第三个70元（6个人），给的普洱茶，昨天给的一包普通茶叶。第一区域3个主，1个做辅助工作，第二区域5个人，第3区域6个人。之后念经过程中向空中撒米，家人送上饭菜，点上香烟。主持念一段经后，又开始一起朗诵念经。开始把碗里的饭菜祭祀给逝者，过后服侍的喇嘛准备好线，家人拉着线排着队从喇嘛处依次站开，手里牵着线，象征阴间和阳间，间断白线后，开始磕头。齐念经伴随拍掌后，主持又开始独自念经一段后，由开始齐念，左手铃铛，右手小鼓。主持身披黄色袈裟，带黄色经文哈达？，仪式快结束后取掉。然后2点喇嘛开始吃饭，吃饭前要念经供养。吃饭前放三声响炮。下午与撒达旦都交谈，由村长舅舅翻译，有笔录。还与扎西儿子的女朋友交流，她从美国留学回来，与年轻人交谈一些想法，她向我推荐了四川省的李家咀村传统村落。

喇嘛18点半开始念经。19点10分左右开始家里所有人一起唱歌，“哦玛丽玛丽贝贝哄”唱到7点25分，和昨晚一样。晚上的时候5个喇嘛在祖母屋念诵，也同昨晚一样的方式演唱。21点10，由达巴主持，交代所有的亲人按次序跪坐在地上，大小儿子媳妇跪在第一排，由撒达旦都跟逝者敬酒，并向逝者诉说是哪些人来跪拜并敬酒。敬完酒后，达巴开始念经（述说逝者故事），所有的家人亲属依次跪坐在祖母屋内，低头倾听，即使再伤心也只能小声抽泣，不能大声哭出来。之后在达巴带领下会跳篝火舞，用欢快心情缅怀逝者，还会发糖。跳舞者用的拐杖最后也要烧掉。

晚上23点的时候将遗体从土里挖出来，在把遗体放进棺木。由于是夏季，埋在土里的时间超过半个月，所以尸体有股腐烂的味道。摩梭人存放的遗体的时间通常比较长，不会少于一个星期、十天。待放好遗体后，重新将棺木摆回祖母屋。这时，整个祖母屋会用艾草熏，烟雾缭绕，为的是消毒。刚刚帮忙拿出遗体的村民这时会绕

着艾草转三圈。熏完艾草后，帮忙的人会去漱口洗脸。过后会放响炮三声，以告知妇女和儿童装入棺材完毕，可以回家了。整个过程妇女和儿童不能在场，所有帮忙的人都是村里的男性。因为要守夜整晚，所以之后是夜宵时间。晚上12点半回到住的地方，简单洗漱后就睡了，因为第二天早上5点半就要起床，火葬要赶在太阳升起之前。

在整个葬礼期间，除了达巴和喇嘛外，还有一个不能忘记的人：撒达旦都——摩梭灵堂收复人（文化传承人）。他是逝者与活者的桥梁，中间人，负责转达世上亲人的话语给去世的人，同时也负责逝者的饮食起居。他了解所有摩梭的礼仪风俗。比较可惜的是笔者不会摩梭语，不能很好的和他沟通。在此期间，有幸听到他诉说摩梭传统的几个故事。

摩梭的猪膘文化在葬礼的回礼中也会得到体现。逝者的家人会准备一整块猪膘分来前来念经的喇嘛、达巴。地位最高的喇嘛分给最大块的猪膘肉，整个猪膘分给喇嘛，达巴和灵堂收复人少分一点猪膘肉，以前贫穷会吃猪膘，现在如果不吃的话就喂牲口，猪膘肉吃生的。有些葬礼在第二天晚上会将猪头放在灵堂里面，但是这次没有。回礼方面会考虑扛棺木的4个人，以前是给1块，5块，十块，二十块，五十块，现在是一百块，同时还会送一包饼干，一包茶叶，一瓶酒，这个是必须的，以表感谢。

葬礼期间，有问到村长家表哥对于走婚的看法，作为年轻人看过外面世界后，再来看自己的文化，应该会有不一样的想法。表哥说以后他自己不会选择走婚，因为走婚还是像一夜情，比如自己的弟弟，他现在在走婚，但是每次他赚的钱都是自己花，从来没有想到要给自己正在怀孕的老婆买些什么，弟弟每次和朋友出去喝酒，他的老婆也不会说打电话关心他，老婆那边只有忙的时候打电话叫他帮忙他才会过去，等等一些生活琐事。他认为走婚对自己的子女、家庭都没有尽到责任；对自己的爸爸没有很深的感情，只对舅舅有感情，每年只是过年的时候去看父亲。

8/8/2016 晴转阵雨 周一 早上6点—7点半 出山火葬逝者

天还没亮，早上5点半起床。6点到达逝者的家。斯基尔车家已经围满了村民。清晨祖母屋里传来家属的哭声，马上要出山的缘故，家人最后一次表达心中的伤痛与不舍。葬礼期间，祖母屋的功能会变成灵堂。出山这天清晨，原本布置好的新衣服会被撤掉，祭祀的贡品也被换成一颗树木对着棺木以及摩梭人惯用的背篓（背篓里装满逝者生前的用品？不确定），还包括一副拐杖（逝者生前是越南战场一级伤残军人），棺木上的装饰也会拿掉，白色哈达分发给乡亲们。小达巴（摩梭传承人）则把哈达系在腰间，后面捆绑斧头，并在祖母房火塘里点燃木柴待火葬时使用。在发完白色哈达后，6点半左右，下室所有的物品都被撤掉，换成一缕长长的白布，从棺木一直延伸到家中内院，白色长布与棺木连接的那一侧有黑色图腾（含义？），另一块黑色长布则衔接着白布延伸至院落大门，棺木仍然摆在正对祖母屋门口的地方。家人、亲戚和村民这个时候全部会跪在院落门口，一字型排开，后面人搭在前面人身上。4个送上山的小伙此时在祖母屋火塘旁等候，家人为了表示感谢，会磕头致谢抬棺木上山的年轻小伙。随后长辈会给这4个小伙备酒，为他们暖身践行？。接着干完酒。四个小伙就抬上棺木到内院，正对着祖母屋的方位，由达巴在家门口念一段经文，喇嘛这天早上会早早上山布置好仪式场地。

念完之后，放响炮3声，4个小伙抬起棺木开始上山之路，棺木在经过家门口一段的时候是从家人、亲戚和村民搭成的人桥上方通过。火葬的地点是经过喇嘛推算在家对面的山坡上进行。在棺木上山的过程中，好多村里年轻小伙都会争先恐后帮忙出一份力，以减轻棺木的重量。葬礼队伍由4个举杆子的年轻人、抬花圈的六人、小儿子牵着马匹、抬棺木、亲属和村民组成。摩梭的火葬要在太阳出来之前举行完毕。待抬上山后，小伙子们把遗体从棺木中拿出，放到昨天就已经搭建好的木架里。听昨天上山搭木架的人说，柴火要数着砍，不能多砍，采了40多根碗口粗的树木，做成方木，木架搭建树的根数是基数，通常男的是19或21圈，女的是17圈，树皮也不能丢，火葬的时候要一起烧掉。14个喇嘛中，10个穿戴华丽的服饰、头戴帽子，其余4个喇嘛穿着袈裟，口念经文。与此同时，小达巴会将

食物撒在木架周围，棺木也被拆解放进木架里，等待火葬。达巴不会上山参加火葬，会留在家中，在家中做仪式，将逝者列为祖先，从此家里火塘的锅庄上就会祭祀这位去世的人。很快地，喇嘛念完经后，其中一位身穿袈裟的喇嘛拿起由祖母屋火塘带来的火种走向木架并点燃。点燃之后，乡亲们就开始陆续撤离，不会过多停留观看死者焚烧。焚烧过程中，喇嘛一直在念经祈福。山坡上只会留一个人查看尸体焚烧的痕迹。下山后，家门口会放一桶水，一堆在熏的艾草，送山回来的人需要含一口水，漱口，然后围着艾草边熏熏。逝者的亲人会招呼前来的人吃饭，火葬才算结束。明天早上8点钟家人去山坡上捡骨头，会看到周围有没有动物脚印，就可以推算出来世是什么。如果是鸟的脚印的话，来世会变成鸟；以此类推。其他的骨灰不管，从身体不同部位一样捡一点（2块），用个口袋装着，埋在一个树下，放个炮，葬礼整个结束。摩梭存放遗体的时间都会比较长，不会少于一个星期或十天。

这位逝者7月23日去世，7月24埋在祖母屋侧室的土中，直到8月7号晚遗体从土里挖出，转至到祖母屋下室的棺木中，8月8早火葬。从逝者去世的那天算起，家中会请一个喇嘛在经堂念七七四十九天的经文，作为祈福。清明，转山节，春明去山上埋亲人的树下去祭拜亲人。生前喜欢喝酒的会敬一些酒，喜欢抽烟的会敬一些烟，再祭奠一些食物，去祭拜逝者。有身份（地主）要埋在狮子山上。地位越高，海拔埋的越高。

Appendix H: Participant Information Sheet



Study title: Cultural Architectural Assets: a new framework to study changes and continuity of dwellings of Mosuo tribes in transitions

I would like to invite you to take part in my research study. To take part in this study it is important for you to understand where and why this research is being done. This document tells you about the research project, and the way you ask participants will be contributing to the research. Please take time to read the following information carefully, if anything is not clear and you need more information please ask.

What is the purpose of this study? This research is for Huichao Feng's full-time PhD at Birmingham City University's School of Architecture. This research focuses on the dwellings of the Mosuo in Southwest China, looking at the relationship between inhabited space and architectural form, and its evolution in the face of cultural and social change.

Why have I been invited to take part? You are being asked whether you would like to participate in this study because you are a typical person living in the Mosuo area.

Do I have to take part? Participation is entirely voluntary. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part, you are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What do I have to do if I take part? Based on fieldwork for this research will be conducted about 10-15 villages in two phases between the year of 2016 and 2017, mainly near Lugu Lake and Yongning Township in Yunnan, China, and partly involves observing what happens on the Mosuo village on a daily basis. Potential participants will be situated in the Mosuo area. Native Mosuo people are the most important source of collecting data during the research. Research into villages often involves the researcher doing semi-structured Interviews with Mosuo people.

Are there possible disadvantages and/or risks in taking part? There are no foreseen disadvantages or risks to taking part.



What are the possible benefits of taking part? There will probably be no direct benefit to you. Indirectly. As this study will contribute to the profession's understanding of Mosuo culture.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential? All data will be identified only by a code, with personal details kept in a secure computer with access only by the immediate research team. All information about your participation in this study will be kept confidential, in accordance with the Data Protection Act. Videos or audiotapes will not be used or made available for any purposes other than the research project. These tapes will be destroyed at the end of the study.

What will happen to the results of the research study? Anonymised findings will be used for a final academic paper that will be presented at conferences and written up in journals. Results are normally presented in terms of groups of individuals. If any individual data are presented, the data will be totally anonymous, without any means of identifying the individuals involved. They will not be identified in any report/publication unless they have given their consent.

Who is organising and funding the research? This research is funded by the CSC (Chinese Scholarship Council).

What if there is a problem? If you have any concerns can be addressed through contact Jieling Xiao, Director of my PhD study, School of Architecture, Faculty of Arts, Design and Media, Birmingham City University. Email jieling.xiao@bcu.ac.uk.

Further information and contact details:

Any concerns relating to this study can be addressed to the author:

Name: Huichao Feng Tel: 0121 331 6208

Email: huichao.feng@mail.bcu.ac.uk

Address: Room P104, Faculty of Arts, Design and Media, City Centre Campus, The Parkside Building, Birmingham B4 7BD

Appendix I: Consent form



BIRMINGHAM
CITY
University

Consent form 同意书

I, _____, give consent to my participation in the research project: An examination of the vernacular architecture of the Mosuo people in China - drivers for change in the 21st century.

我, 冯雅普, 同意参与研究课题: 审视中国摩梭人的乡土建筑。

In giving my consent I acknowledge that 我同意:

- I confirm that I have read and understand the Participant Information Sheet 我确认我已经阅读和理解参与者信息表;
- I have had the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researchers 我有机会在这个研究项目中与研究者讨论信息以及我的投入;
- I understand that all personal information will remain confidential and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified 我同意所有的私人信息都将保密以及所有努力都将会确保个人信息不会被识别;
- I agree that data gathered in this study may be stored anonymously and securely, and may be used for future research 我同意研究收集的数据被匿名安全存储, 可能会用于将来的研究;
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving any reasons for why I no longer want to take part 我知道我的参与是自愿的并且我可以在研究的任何阶段没有任何理由自由退出;
- I agree to take part in this study 我同意参与研究。

In addition to entering your name above, please also indicate how you would like us to refer to you if mentioned in the research. 除了上述签名, 还请表明如果研究中涉及你的信息, 你愿意以何种方式被提及。

1. No name used 名字不被使用

2. Your own name used 自己的名字被使用

3. Another name used choose one 选择一个其他的名字被使用: 冯雅普

Contact details 联系方式 13988893365

Sign (if printed) 签名 FS Date 日期 2016年7月20日

If you have any questions about this research, please contact the researcher Huichao Feng: Huichao.feng@mail.bcu.ac.uk or call 0121 331 6208. 如果对于本研究有任何疑问, 请联系冯慧超, 邮件 Huichao.feng@mail.bcu.ac.uk 或电话 0121 331 6208。

Appendix J: Planning in the Mosuo area (Translated by author)

- **Master Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic (2002)**

The scope of this plan is north to Wenquan and Walabie village in Yongning, east to Wenquan river and the provincial boundary, and along the Bashun highway in Yongning to Tuozhi village, and the west and south of the lake are basically ridge boundaries. The enclosed area includes water and mountain area, Zhudi village and Yongning Township, with a total area of 165.6 km². This plan showed how to develop Lugu Lake Scenic Area, focussing on the history of the formation of the Mosuo cultural system and the reasons for its survival; conservation and utilisation of landscape resources; multi-angle analysis and measurement of scenic area capacity; the reflection of the protection, cultivation, sightseeing and facilities construction of scenic area in the layout of land use.

- **Comprehensive Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic (2006)**

Comprehensive Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic (2006) was formulated by Fangcheng planning and design firm in Yunnan, and authorized by Planning and Construction Committee of Lijiang as well as Administrative Council of the Lugu Lake Tourist Region of Lijiang. The goal of resource protection was to guide scenic resources protection plan, including lake, forest, aquatic resources, villages, religious buildings, landscape resources and Mosuo culture and others these non-material resources were planned in detail.

Goals of this plan included the following:

- Resource protection
- Social development
- Tourism development

Resource protection focused on four objectives:

1. To protect the natural ecology and water of Lugu Lake and minimize the impact of human activities on it, and protect its natural, scientific and aesthetic values;

2. To protect the ecology of forest, aquatic organisms and other aspects of the Lugu Lake Scenic, and the biodiversity and value of the Lugu Lake Scenic to ensure the uniqueness and integrity of its natural ecosystem, and take measures to maximize may return to the natural condition on its ecological damage;
3. To protect and display the unique landscape resources of the Lugu Lake Scenic to make sure the authenticity and completeness of the historical and cultural resources of the Lugu Lake Scenic for the next generations, maintaining some temples, ethnic village with unique cultural values and patterns, structures and architectural features of the village;
4. To protect authenticity, continuity and integrity of the Mosuo culture, and research on non-material resources of Mosuo culture such as ethnic customs, traditional festival, languages, music, legends, religions, etc.;
5. To protect Lugu Lake scenery and the surrounding air quality.

Social development included four objectives:

1. To promote the healthy development of the local tourism and enhance the overall social environmental quality in the Lugu Lake area through the construction and development of the Lugu Lake Scenic, combining with the protection and management and the needs tourism development to improve the income of local residents;
2. To pay more attention to the connotation of the Mosuo culture, and strengthen the sense of pride of locals to their culture, informing distinctive Mosuo regional cultural landscape;
3. In the context of protection to conduct the adjustment of agricultural production mode, and to develop eco-efficient agriculture and tourism agriculture, and to enhance the tourism product processing and production, adjusting agricultural economy structure of scenic, and promote local economic development;
4. To improve the living conditions of local communities, including roads and infrastructure conditions, sanitation and social security systems, and the construction of a harmonious society in scenic areas, in combination with the construction and development of scenic.

Tourism development with four objectives, focusing on:

1. On the basis of protecting the landscape resources, further excavating and displaying the connotation of Mosuo culture, and improve the level of scientific utilization of landscape resources, and develop new tourism products, and improve the level of construction and management of the landscape, achieving the requirements of the National 5A-level Scenery Site;
2. The growth of tourist numbers should be controlled within the allowable environmental capacity. The growth of tourism revenue should change from the scale to the benefit. To increase the length of stay time of tourists and promote the tourism consumption achieve it by increasing tourism projects and enriching tourism content;
3. To provide a suitable scale of tourist service system and tourism infrastructure so as to control the number of tourists within a scientific and rational environmental capacity;
4. To provide a variety of advertisings and commentary forms, so that tourists fully appreciate the connotation of Mosuo culture and value of natural landscape of Lugu Lake.

According to "Scenic Area Plan Norms", combined with the national five-year plan stage of development (review), the plan period was set at three stages, which is

- 1) short-term plan 2006 to 2010;
- 2) long-term plan 2011 to 2010;
- 3) future vision term 2021 to 2030.

It suggested four guiding principles and strategies, they were:

(1) Sustainable principle

The natural landscape resources of Lugu Lake Scenic, landscape resources of Mosuo culture, and protection of natural environment in the first place, as the basic conditions of social and economic development of the scenic area, and carry out the "In the Protection of Development" as an aim, maintaining the sustainable development of the scenic area.

(2) Standing out feature principle

Highlight the unique characteristics of Mosuo culture of the Lugu Lake Scenic and the characteristics of the ecological lakes in the Lugu Lake Plateau, combining with these characteristics to develop tourism products that are suitable for the tourist market.

(3) Operative principle

Establishing planning as the concept of management service has become a powerful tool for the protection, construction and management of the Lugu Lake Scenic Administration, and has enabled the management departments and local community residents to form an effective interaction.

(4) Brand strategy principle

In accordance with the requirements of world cultural heritage protection and national scenic spots, the first-class standards in the country and the implementation of scenic boutique development strategy to enhance tourist quality of the natural and cultural landscape of Lugu Lake Scenic, and to build a harmonious development of scenic areas that become a domestic first-class Scenic area.

• **Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic on the Mosuo Village (2009)**

Conservation Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic on the Mosuo Village (2009) was formulated by Skyland Urban and Architecture Design Company in Beijing, and authorized by Administrative Council of the Lugu Lake Tourist Region of Lijiang. The plan emphasized protection and development of Mosuo village and Mosuo culture in the Lugu Lake scenic. It's mainly included the following three points:

- 1、 Protection of Lugu Lake ecological environment and Mosuo culture
- 2、 Research on settlement pattern in the Lugu Lake scenic
- 3、 Protection and development of residential dwelling of Mosuo village

There were five planning principles of the plan, as below:

1) Coordinate with the master plan of scenic;

In the Comprehensive Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic (2006) for the environmental protection, function layout, traffic, and landscape and service facilities arrangements throughout the Lugu Lake were planned. The planning of Mosuo village in Lugu Lake Scenic should be based on the master plan of scenic. In particular, it should be coordinated with the master plan in terms of positioning of scenic, scale of tourist reception, and arrangement of tourist service facilities so as to avoid the small but complete development trend of single village that affect the overall adjustment strategy of the entire scenic area.

2) Three original principles;

3) Develop humanistic eco-tourism;

- a. According to the characteristics of the village to determine the environmental capacity, determination of reasonable environmental capacity and management control.
- b. According to the principle of ecology to conduct product development of ecological tourism.
- c. Eco-tourism.

4) Dislocation competition and coordinated development;

Under the dual background of 'New Socialist Countryside' and ethnic village protection, the planning will break through the inherent ways in which ethnic villages emphasized the static protection in the past, and coordinate the relationship between development and protection, and straighten out the spatial relationship between the mountain, lake and village to embody the integrity and authenticity of ethnic villages. In order to avoid the "one side of the village", the village landscape pattern and the overall scene is strictly controlled, and the principle of "subtraction" is adopted to control the village capacity.

The plan guided dislocation competition and coordinated development of village tourism. The village public facilities would arranged at the entrance to the village, integrating tourism reception service function to create a sense of space of traditional multi-courtyard, and to enhance the cultural connotation and

landscape value of rural tourism in the development of ethnic villages.

5) Sustainable development

The principle of sustainable development should penetrate into every aspect of the development and construction of Mosuo villages in the Lugu Lake Scenic. For example, the lake water should always keep I water quality standard. The capacity of tourism reception should be determined in accordance with the scope of the environment and landscape. In the planning, the development of tourism and the increase of land use caused by the increase of village population should be considered. Adherence to this principle could avoid the disordered, profit-driven development approach that destroys the environment and harms national characteristics.

As for the Mosuo village planning and construction principles, as below:

Spatial organization principle

- 1) Preserve the spatial form between the courtyard, and the integrity of the village texture and structure
- 2) Protect the characteristics of the combination of living and productive courtyards form in the development of villages to ensure the continuity of traditional functions
- 3) Maintain the neighbourhood relationship between the original residents and ensure the stability of the neighbourhood space
- 4) Tourist reception and villager's dwellings are arranged separately to avoid mutual interference
- 5) Increase public activity space and to organise the layout of the courtyard
- 6) Dredge the road and water system to form the visual corridor
- 7) Select the relatively independent vacant land that does not affect the development of the village as a reserve for village development
- 8) Within 80 metres of the lake, it is forbidden to build residential houses except for some small tourist service facilities, and the original residential houses should be moved in principle

Principles for demolition or renovation of dwellings

In line with the concept of organic renewal and small-scale renovation of villages, the following specific transformation ideas are formed by giving full consideration to the dual requirements of improving the living environment conditions of villagers and the protection of ethnic villages:

- 1) Preserve the existing sanheyuan or courtyard with complete spatial form
- 2) Renovate the single building or two buildings to form a complete layout of sanheyuan or courtyard
- 3) Maintain the traditional ways of living
- 4) Preserve the layout of traditional courtyard including Grandmother's house, Sacred chamber and Grass house
- 5) Satisfy the modern ways of living of the inhabitants
- 6) To separate people and animals, living space and place for domestic animals are separated by landscape walls or flower beds
- 7) Add living room, traditional and modern life do not affect each other
- 8) Increase sanitary facilities such as toilets and sinks
- 9) The building structure can be divided into log-wall house, brick and wood structures and brick-concrete structures, which are regulated according to the different classification of buildings. Grandmother's house has strict requirements, must be wooden structure.
- 10) The longest side of each building of the demolition house shall not exceed 20 metres, the height control shall not exceed two floors as a whole, and partially can be three floors.
- 11) The exterior wall of the building adopts wood primary colour, the colour is in harmony with the surrounding environment, and the roof is made of small grey tiles
- 12) Leave a certain firefighting space between the two households
- 13) Reasonable layout of the courtyard garden
- 14) Combine the inner courtyard with a separate small garden

- **Detailed Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area (2012)**

In the early 2010s, Detailed Plan of Lugu Lake Scenic (2012) was formulated and authorized by Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Construction in Yunnan.

Plan objectives

Resource protection objectives

1. To protect the natural ecology and water of Lugu Lake;
2. To protect the ecology of forest, aquatic organisms and other aspects of the Lugu Lake Scenic, and the biodiversity and value of the Lugu Lake Scenic to ensure the uniqueness and integrity of its natural ecosystem;
3. To protect and display the unique cultural and natural landscape resources of the Lugu Lake Scenic area;
4. To protect authenticity, continuity and integrity of the Mosuo culture;
5. To protect Lugu Lake scenery and the surrounding air quality.

Social development objectives

1. To pay more attention to exploring, displaying, protecting and inheriting the connotation of the Mosuo culture;
2. To promote the improvement of the overall quality of economy, society and environment in Lugu Lake area;
3. In the context of protection to conduct the adjustment of agricultural production mode, and promote the development of local economy;
4. Combine the construction and development of scenic spots to build a harmonious society.

Tourism development objectives

1. To meet the management requirements of national scenic spots, and long-term construction for the National 5A-level Scenery Site;
2. To provide a suitable scale of tourist service system and tourism infrastructure so as to control the number of tourists within a scientific and rational environmental capacity;

3. To provide a variety of advertisements and commentary forms, so that tourists fully appreciate the connotation of Mosuo culture and value of natural landscape of Lugu Lake.

Four guiding principles and strategies are:

1. Sustainable principle
2. Standing out feature principle
3. Operative principle
4. Brand strategy principle

- **Lugu Lake Mosuo Traditional Dwelling Construction Guide Manual (2013)**

Lugu Lake Mosuo Traditional Dwelling Construction Guide Manual (2013) was formulated by Leading group office of 'Two Violation' in Lugu Lake and Lugu Lake Scenic Administration in Lijiang.

The objective of manual

Dwelling is the expression of regional and community culture. As the core resources of the scenic area, the Mosuo dwellings are of great significance to the cultural inheritance and development of the scenic area. On the basis of carrying out the traditional dwelling protection project, the administration bureau compiles this manual as the management technical basis for the protection, maintenance, improvement and reconstruction of dwellings in Lugu Lake scenic area.

According to the basic principles of the key protection of Mosuo dwellings and cultural traditions in the scenic area planning, other types of dwellings refer to the traditional layout of Mosuo dwellings, and their internal functions and cultural significance are constructed according to the actual needs of their respective traditions.

The guiding principle

The guidelines of this manual focus on the following three points:

One is to emphasize practicality rather than academics, playing a guiding role in reality. In addition to summary the general principles, academic discussion and elaboration are not carried out in theory, and

the understanding of relevant theoretical knowledge can be referred to other academic works.

Second is to emphasize popularity rather than professionalism. For the majority of local residents in the repair, improvement, renovation and reconstruction of the reference needs, as well as the management of the technical review needs, for non-professionals easy to understand. The third is to emphasize reality rather than systemic. It mainly focuses on the phenomenon of damage to the appearance and damage caused by the maintenance, improvement, renovation and reconstruction of traditional dwellings. This raises the question and the correct way, but does not emphasize system and integrity. Even if it is arranged in a certain order such as plan, structure, facade, decoration, etc. for the convenience of explanation, it does not list all the problems in detail, but only targeted to explain the problem.

This annual is mainly for the traditional dwellings in the Lugu Lake scenic area and the surrounding Mosuo village protection area. The specific requirements for the protection are as follows:

1. Protect the relationship between the local residents and the natural layout of the terrain and river system according to local conditions, and do not change the water system and destroy the terrain at will;
2. Protect the original layout with the courtyard as the core, without any additional temporary buildings or structures in the central courtyard;
3. Protect the original height, depth and space of the dwellings, and do not arbitrarily increase, deepen, or lengthen;
4. Protect the original wooden structure and its construction method. For the walls, boards and columns that need to be partially strengthened, the original appearance will not be changed externally;
5. Protect the exterior forms of the original dwellings, and do not add buildings, structures and erection additions that show the original outline;
6. Protect the appearance of the original facade of dwellings, and do not change the form, style, colour tone or exposure of new materials on walls, roofs, eaves, steps, exterior doors and

Windows, entrances, gates, etc;

7. Protect the interior decoration of the original dwellings, and do not damage the original Grandmother's house, sacred chamber, Flower house, courtyard pavement, door and windows, decorative components, railings and stone pillar foundation, etc., and do not arbitrarily dismantle or smear;
8. Protect the original tall trees and rare flowers inside and outside the courtyard of dwellings, and do not cut down or damage them at will.

- **Master Plan of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area Lugu Lake Scenic (zoning) of Yunnan (2016)**

Master Plan of Lugu Lake scenic (zoning) of Lijiang Yulong Snow Mountain Scenic Area of Yunnan (2016) was formulated by Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute and Planning Project Group of the Lugu Lake Region of Lijiang in Yunnan. The background of planning was ecological protection policy and tourism development policy. Ecological protection policy included (1) The 18th national congress of the CPC put forward the strategic decision of 'vigorously promoting the construction of ecological civilization'; (2) The State Council on agreed to the approval of the new part of the county (city, district, banner) into national key ecological function areas documents, the document stated that part of the county (city, district, banner), including Ninglang Yi autonomous County of Yunnan province will be included in the state's key ecological function area; (3) The decision of Yunnan province to be a leader in ecological civilization. Tourism development policy included (1) National policy about 'Several Suggestions on Promoting the Reform and Development of Tourism Industry'; (2) 'Guidelines on Accelerating the Upgrading of Consumption Structure in the Development of Living Services Industries' (2015) No.85 Issued by General Office of the State Council on November 19, 2015; (3) 'Business, Well-being, Knowledge, Leisure, Fun, Uniqueness' has become the new elements of tourism; (4) Yunnan province accelerate 'Global Tourism New Operations' (全域旅游新行动); (5) The provincial leaders put forward the guiding principle of 'high starting

point, high standard and high level’; (6) Notice of the ‘Two violations’ of Lugu Lake and the project promotion work leading group office stop all construction activities on the Lugu Lake scenic area.

Cultural development objectives

1. Taking the Lugu Lake and the surrounding landscape as a carrier, Mosuo culture is protected as a whole by combining the historical events and historical relics in the process of Mosuo cultural heritage with the dual axis of time and space. The whole Mosuo Museum of History and Culture is built throughout the region.
2. Organize the outstanding achievements of Mosuo culture research both at home and abroad, objectively recognize the ethnic, unique and cosmopolitan cultural values of Mosuo traditional customs and give full play to their excellent characteristics of world-class cultural heritage.

Resource protection objectives

1. To protect the natural ecology and water of Lugu Lake and minimize the impact of human activities on it, and protect its natural, scientific and aesthetic values;
2. To protect the ecology of forest, aquatic organisms and other aspects of the Lugu Lake Scenic, and the biodiversity and value of the Lugu Lake Scenic to ensure the uniqueness and integrity of its natural ecosystem, and take measures to maximize may return to the natural condition on its ecological damage;
3. To protect and display the unique landscape resources of the Lugu Lake Scenic to make sure the authenticity and completeness of the historical and cultural resources of the Lugu Lake Scenic for the next generations, maintaining some temples, ethnic village with unique cultural values and patterns, structures and architectural features of the village;
4. To protect authenticity, continuity and integrity of the Mosuo culture, and research on non-material resources of Mosuo culture such as ethnic customs, traditional festival, languages, music, legends, religions, etc.;
5. To protect Lugu Lake scenery and the surrounding air quality.

Tourism development objectives

1. On the basis of protecting the landscape resources, further excavating and displaying the connotation of Mosuo culture, and improve the level of scientific utilization of landscape resources, and improve the level of construction and management of the landscape;
2. The growth of the number of tourists should be strictly controlled and the reduction of development should be proposed. The growth of tourism revenue should change from the scale to the benefit. It can be realized by improving the level of tourism service and the single consumption ratio;
3. To provide an appropriate scale of tourism service system and tourism infrastructure;
4. To provide various forms of advertisings and commentary forms, so that tourists fully appreciate the connotation of Mosuo culture and value of natural landscape of Lugu Lake;
5. To strictly control the development and construction of guesthouses, and protect the ecological and cultural environment of the basin area in the lake district.
6. Through effective guidance, tourists will be diverted to Yongning area, Zhudi village, Langfang and other areas to weaken Daluoshui village, and reduce its contradictions.

Social development objectives

1. To promote the healthy development of the local tourism and enhance the overall social environmental quality in the Lugu Lake area through the construction and development of the Lugu Lake Scenic, combining with the protection and management and the needs tourism development to improve the income of local residents;
2. To pay more attention to the connotation of the Mosuo culture, and strengthen the sense of pride of locals to their culture, informing distinctive Mosuo regional cultural landscape, and to promote sustainable utilization of scenic resources;
3. In the context of protection to conduct the adjustment of agricultural production mode, and to develop eco-efficient agriculture and tourism agriculture, and to enhance the tourism product processing and production, adjusting agricultural economy structure of scenic, and promote local economic development;

4. To improve the living conditions of local communities, including roads and infrastructure conditions, sanitation and social security systems, and the construction of a harmonious society in scenic areas, in combination with the construction and development of scenic.

In order to achieve the goals, short-term (2016-2020) and long-term (2021-2030) action plans were suggested. As for short-term plan, the objective was:

- (1) Strengthen the management and subsidiary facilities of Lugu lake scenic, establish and improve the protection and management system of scenic area, and take full charge of the protection and development of scenic areas;
- (2) All kinds of natural landscape resources and Mosuo cultural resources according to the appropriate level of protection and protection requirements are protected;
- (3) Mosuo culture declares world heritage;
- (4) Establish and improve the scenic tourist recreation system, change the way of travel and enrich tourism content;
- (5) The development and construction of Langfang, Zhudi and Yongning are carried out in an orderly manner to enhance the status of these areas, and gradually weakening the Luoshui in the long term;
- (6) To study and implement the project construction objectives during the 13th five-year plan period.

Appendix K: Published journal article



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A Funeral as a Festival: Celebrations of Life in the Mosuo Tribe in China

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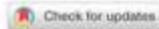
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A Funeral as a Festival: Celebrations of Life in the Mosuo Tribe in China

Huichao Feng and Jieling Xiao

ABSTRACT This article attempts to provoke a discussion concerning the definition and nature of festivals by considering the process of Mosuo funerals in Southwest China as a festival event. The role of women and men in daily life and within the funeral ceremony is discussed – the Mosuo is a matriarchal society – as are the vernacular architectural settings which have evolved for both ritual and everyday activities. The article looks at the religious perception of death in Mosuo culture, which considers funerals as celebrations of a life cycle including birth, growing up and death; through onsite observations, it documents the process of a Mosuo funeral in relation to its physical space. Even though, unlike most other festivals, funerals occur at unpredictable times, it is argued that for the Mosuo the funeral event is also a festival.

Introduction

A festival is an event or social phenomenon encountered in virtually all human cultures.¹ In Latin, there were two terms for festive events: *festum*, for “public joy, merriment, revelry;” and *feria*, meaning an “abstinence from work in honour of the gods.”² A funeral can be seen as a form of festival that celebrates life, taking on either or both of these connotations.

Alessandro Falassi has written that festival is commonly understood as

a periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of a whole community, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview.³

This definition puts a strong emphasis on understanding the festival as a form of expression of community spirit. Jacqueline Thursby suggests that mourning, in most funerary behaviors, sits in line with the festival form. The death of a family member calls for an acknowledgement of a life lived and completed, marked by a temporary withdrawal from normal forms of daily life, whether or not accompanied by revelry.⁴

In the Mosuo communities discussed in this paper, death calls for a reversal of ordinary behavior. Daily social and occupational routines are disrupted and people participate in Falassi's "series of coordinated events," united in a common worldview. The Mosuo believe that both human life and the transmigration of the soul are part of an ongoing life cycle; as a consequence, these events are simultaneously "sacred and profane, private and public."⁵ To relate the realm of the sacred to that of the profane, the Mosuo have devised a series of formalized rites to be performed on occasions such as the rituals of death, rites that are concerned with "sanctioning tradition and introducing innovation, proposing nostalgic revivals."⁶

The Art of Matrilineality in Daily Mosuo Life

The Mosuo people are a small ethnic group living in Yunnan and Sichuan provinces in China. Mosuo are known as the "Kingdom of Women" because they are a matrilineal society. In their prime, women are heads of households; property is passed through the female line and women make the business decisions. In order to preserve social order and the family business, Mosuo women enter into what is called a "walking marriage" instead of a civil marriage as a sexual and reproductive institution; they neither share a residence nor have economic relations with their husbands.⁷

The matrilineal Mosuo ideology is not only demonstrated in the rules of descent but also more fully in the concept that women instead of men are situated at the center of their world.⁸ Women are at the center of power and make decisions for everyday life activities for everyone in Mosuo. As the director, the leading woman in the family takes charge of money and distributes daily tasks to others.⁹ There is clear division of labor between women and men: women are responsible for household duties such as cooking, cleaning and childcare, and men for heavy labor such as agricultural production.

Although the role of women is weakened in the religious activities of the Mosuo, in which they do not directly participate, the power of Mosuo women is still manifested in the local religion. The Mosuo religion is guided by two coexisting beliefs: Daba and Tibetan Buddhism, both of which are male dominated.¹⁰ Once Tibetan Buddhism became prominent in Mosuo culture, it was usual that within almost every Mosuo household that had more than two sons, at least one of them, usually the youngest, would become a professional lama.¹¹ Equally, a daba is usually a role passed down from one generation to the next by men in one family. However, there is a difference: the native daba worship a mother goddess and "the Mosuo are alone among their neighbors to have a guardian mother goddess rather than a patron warrior god."¹²

Mosuo Funerals as Festivals

The funeral ceremony is the most elaborate rite of passage in Mosuo culture. Chuan-Kang Shih argues that "in the household-based Mosuo society, performance of death rituals [... is one of] the most important vehicles to reaffirm and reinforce their unique kinship ideology centered around matrilineal harmony."¹³ It is not only an event of mourning and sorrow but also a time to celebrate life. The Mosuo people believe that death is not the end of life but a life-relief. Because of the inevitability of death and a belief in an active life after death, the Mosuo have developed elaborate rituals to ease the pain of physical separation and to guide the dead into the spiritual world of the ancestors. During the funeral, the families are sad and cry only for a short time. Otherwise, they seem relaxed, even laughing; everybody expects the deceased's spirit to leave the family and meet the ancestors as soon as possible. The Mosuo believe that their wellbeing will be greater in the afterlife, thus funerals become a grand and lively scene for the community to celebrate the freed souls.

The living spaces, including the house, the courtyard, the street and the mountains, become stages for the community to set up ritual activities for a funeral. Drawing on the onsite observation of a three-day Mosuo funeral in August 2016, this paper discusses the spatial transformation from everyday activities to festive and celebratory moments in the Mosuo funeral, considering participants as performers.

The Process

The Mosuo funeral process can be considered in six stages, from the preparation of the corpse in a fetal sitting position in the temporary mourning hall, to religious chants and feasting, which lead to the climax of the bonfire dance and the cremation itself at the final stage. Each stage of the funeral rituals and activities strongly connects with the dwelling space (Figure 1).

Once a person expires, the face of the dead person is turned away from the hearth and an oil lamp is lit to illuminate the way to the other world. In the shortest possible time after death, the deceased's family members are obliged to go out individually to carry the grievous news to



Figure 1
Different stages of Mosuo funeral rituals and activities in the courtyard: (1) preparation of the body, (2) decoration of the temporary mourning hall, (3) religious chants, (4) food celebrations, (5) bonfire dance and (6) cremation. Photomontage: Huichao Feng, 2017.

the other households of the same lineage and to inform the village. During the preparatory period of the funeral, the dead body is first cleansed and wrapped in a white cloth in such a manner that it looks like a fetus, and then put into a pit dug in the grandmother's house for temporary interment (the grandmother's house, called *Yimi* in the Mosuo language, is central to a Mosuo family; it is the place where the daily life of the household, centered on the matriarch, takes place). A temporary "mourning hall" is set up in the grandmother's house, decorated by household members assisted by the villagers. In the early morning of the first day of the funeral ceremony, the coffin is then placed in the temporary mourning hall, accompanied by the sound of three huge cannons. After the funeral preparations are complete, the family of the deceased invites a number of lamas and one daba to chant. These religious chants last throughout the funeral; in fact, the lamas' chants continue from the moment the individual dies until the forty-ninth day after cremation.¹⁴

The high status of Lamaism is reflected in the number of lamas taking part in the rituals and, correspondingly, the cost of the service. The number of lamas invited depends on the wealth of the household and its social network. At the service witnessed in 2016, the deceased's household invited fourteen lamas and one daba to chant in the rituals. Dabaism has never been replaced, and still plays a central role in the funeral process – it is the daba who performs the role of the funeral guide, conducting the "Road Leading Ceremony" which aims to send the soul of the dead back to the ancestral land in Sibuanawa, and thus to restore household harmony in this world.¹⁵ In the ceremony seen in 2016, the daba first briefly recounted the history of the Mosuo and that of the lineage, then reviewed the personal history of the deceased and persuaded the soul to join the ancestors. He pointed the soul to take the road from the deceased's home garden to the

ancestral place of origin, detailing the names of the places on the route – every road, every river and every village.¹⁶ At the same time, the lamas prayed for the sins of the dead, chanting to pacify the soul. Whereas Lamaism appears to treat the deceased as individuals, Dabaiism treats the deceased as members of a social group that includes members both from this world and from the ancestral world.

During the two-day funeral, banquets are held in the courtyard for participants to eat and drink, and a traditional bonfire dance is held after dinner before the cremation ceremony. The dance rite is performed by men who wear armor and hold bells; they shout, sword in hand, for the deceased's open exorcism, in order to remove obstacles – the route back to their ancestral land is thought to be full of danger, evil spirits and demons. Household members, villagers and guests form a line and dance around the bonfire, in a dance known as the Guozhuang dance, and sing the "Funeral Song," as follows:

How can we have the heart to be apart forever / It's human nature to be dead. / How good is life / As good as after death / The tall trees will be blown away by the wind. / He that is old will die. People will die when they are old.¹⁷

The "Funeral Song" fully represents the attitude of the Mosuo people – one of the openness of life to death. The leader of the dancing line plays a short bamboo flute; in the flickering light, tears are turned into laughter. The bonfire dance continues intermittently until after midnight, with relatives handing out sweets to every mourner during this time. At midnight, the body in its white wrapping is removed from the pit in the grandmother's back room and put into the coffin, again accompanied by three cannons.

In the early morning of the second day, the coffin is transported from the village to the cremation site. The pyre is constructed from squares of fresh pine logs with four logs forming a small square house, which represents the mother's house. The reason for this is that the Mosuo believe that the cremated body needs to live in the mother's house before returning to the ancestral land with the Mosuo ancestors. When the fire is lit at the base of the pyre, the coffin is torn into pieces and the personal belongings, including the deceased's clothes, are thrown into the flames to be burnt with the body. One lama adds melted yak butter on top of the pyre. After a while, when the pyre is devoured by smoke and flames, most of the relatives begin to go home, with the exception of the lamas and a few close family. After the cremation site has cooled and the fire goes out, the cremated remains of the deceased are collected. The mourners pick up the remains, starting at the feet and finishing at the head. The ashes are then carried by two lamas to the family gravesite. When at the grave, the ashes are placed under a tree in order to ensure that the deceased can have an early rebirth. From this point, the

deceased is formally considered an ancestor and worshipped accordingly by the remaining household members.

A Collective Practice of Rituals

The rites of passage we call "funerary" meet the defining criteria set out by Arnold van Gennep for both celebration and festival. The funeral is an occasion with "crowds of people" and "for a particular community."¹⁸ As Thursby has suggested, "a funeral is a cultural performance."¹⁹ Differing from other forms of festival, funerals are solemn, ritualistic and ceremonial. Though not always public or formal, they can be both. Despite their solemnity, funerals are a commemoration, and consequently their atmosphere is often one of pleasurable activity. At the wake, or "viewing," there is often vivacity, a sense of ongoing life, expressed by "a crowd of people with shared purposes and common values."²⁰ Understood as a festival, the funeral rites, mourning and feasting can be interpreted as cultural performances. Though it may not be a regular "periodic religious celebration," it occurs in all cultures.²¹ For Mosuo funerary practice, both Latin terms *festum* and *feria* are appropriate. As Thursby mentions, funeral rituals follow ancient patterns and folk customs; they are a time for the celebration of a life "organized by and for a particular community."²² The objects and audience of these rituals include not only the deceased and the surviving immediate relatives but also the whole matrilineage, and indeed the whole local community.

Angus Gillespie states that a festival provides the planners, the participants and the audience with "renewed confidence, enthusiasm, and pride which they take back to their home communities."²³ The Mosuo funeral is a planned event that becomes a reunion of family and friends, and the experience is carried home in the memory of all the participants. It is a homegrown, grassroots festival organized by and for a particular community. As part of the Qingming or "Circle-the-Mountain" festival (Figure 2), Mosuo families assemble yearly at the burial tree where they hang colored prayer-flags in honor of the deceased, then follow with a picnic. The religious idea of the Circle-the-Mountain festival is to worship ancestors as well as the natural gods. Through it, individual funerals, which are one-off events, and individual people now deceased, are given a role within the regular festivities of the community as a whole. The relationship between the Mosuo funeral and the annual Circle-the-Mountain festival makes it clear that these funerary practices constitute aspects of a wider festival practice.

Spatial Transformation

Falassi writes that:

the primary and most general function of the festival is to renounce and then to announce culture. [...] At festival times, people do something they normally do not; they abstain from something they normally do; they carry to the extreme behavior



Figure 2
"Circle-the-Mountain"
festival. Photo: Huichao
Feng, 2016.

that is usually regulated by measure; they invert patterns of daily social life.²⁴

Wayne Davies explains that festivals provide unusual activities and evoke emotions that take people outside their normal behavior in time and space.²⁵ Waldemar Cudny also argues that festivals are spatial phenomena that temporarily transform the space they occupy.²⁶ The transformation and continuity in Mosuo funerals, as Falassi suggests, announces, or affirms, a continuation of the cultural life of the deceased in memory, and perhaps iteratively in a continued form.

The subversive character of the funeral is in the change in use of the grandmother's house, renouncing its usual role. The everyday activities of the grandmother's house are replaced by celebratory or ritual events during the funeral. Most of the time, the grandmother's house is the central place where the daily life of the household takes place. It is where family members gather, cook, eat, drink, discuss family matters, receive guests and worship their ancestors. It is also where they experience major life events and hold significant ceremonies, such as the coming-of-age ceremony. During the funeral, the main room of the grandmother's house is transformed into a temporary mourning hall for the rituals of death. The back room (a small space behind the main room) that ordinarily functions as a storeroom for grains, preserved pork, potatoes and other kinds of food, becomes a mortuary. What remains the same in both funerals and everyday life is the symbolic meaning of the grandmother's house, as a center to conduct rituals of the life cycle.

In contrast to its normal daily appearance, the main room of the grandmother's house is decorated for the funeral with new clothes hung on a rope and fastened horizontally over the coffin. The purpose of the decoration of the temporary mourning hall is to show the deceased's

experience of life. In front of the house-like coffin, a ceremonial table is set up with ritual objects – ceremonial food, wine, flowers, yak butter, lamps and a saddle, as well as white paper with a “Fenghuang” totem to lead the soul of the dead person. The colorful but empty coffin is placed in the upper hearth, opposite the entrance to the main room. The coffin is about one meter high with a herringbone pattern enclosing ink-painted decorations of red–green–blue bottles and lotus leaves, Tibetan elegiac couplets, claw flowers, conch shells, Sun, Moon, stars, birds patterns etc. Every course of the banquet is placed on the table for the deceased to enjoy with all their relatives and guests. Such rites of decorating are a way of displaying the most important symbolic elements of the ceremony in which the community comes together.

During the funeral, the inner courtyard is temporarily transformed from a multifunctional, relatively public space – used variously as a passageway, a working area for crop processing and feeding domestic animals, and a place for social gatherings and children’s play – into a place to receive mourners, conduct ritual ceremonies, feast and perform the traditional bonfire dance. Through the feasting and the ubiquitous presence and importance of food in relation to death and mourning, it is clear that this ritual funeral behavior is a folk expression for the living. As folklorist Susan Kalcik puts it, “eating at such a time is a celebration of life in the face of death.”²⁷ Sumptuous banquets often occur over two days, set out on low tables and stools set up in the courtyard.

Sacralized Spaces and Celebrations

The Mosuo funeral can be regarded as a religious celebration designed to bring about a sacralization of space, involving a number of religious activities that combine indigenous Dabaism and foreign Lamaism. Emile Durkheim was one of the first to discuss the way in which festivals rely on a sacred/secular dichotomy, pointing out that religious festivals have evident secular implications, and secular ones almost invariably resort to metaphysics to gain solemnity and sanction for their events, or for their sponsors.²⁸ Mircea Eliade extended this idea, suggesting that religious events adopt a form of sacralization that modifies the usual daily function and meaning of time and space: “To serve as the theatre of the festive events an area is reclaimed, cleared, delimited, blessed, adorned, forbidden to normal activities.”²⁹

Both the Mosuo’s religious practices are represented in the space of the funeral process. Lama rituals are mainly held in the “sacred chamber,” a room that forms an integral part of every Mosuo household, a place for gods to live and for the lama – equipped with Lamaist icons and various ritual objects – to stay and practice his religious routine. The Daba rituals too are mainly held in the grandmother’s house and inner courtyard.

The final stage of the funeral ceremony, the cremation, takes place on an area of hillside that is again made sacred, transformed into a dramatic stage set by the house-like pyre and other ritual items (Figure 3).



Figure 3
Lamas performing a cremation, showing the positions of the performers and the audience next to the pyre. Photo: Huichao Feng, 2016.

It is reclaimed, delimited and adorned for the festive event. "Performers" chant, wearing religious costumes, while mourners stand quietly by like an "audience." The act of cremation is believed to carry the "evil," the negative, out of both the deceased person and the community that is left behind. In each stage of the funeral celebration – the temporary interment, the mourning through feasting and the cremation – ordinary places are turned into festival places, renewing their own transformative powers.

Conclusions

The Mosuo funeral discussed in the paper reflects the ritual elements that define a festival. It shows that in the funeral festival, the Mosuo fulfill their cultural and religious obligations, not only to the deceased but also to their family and community. For the Mosuo, death is neither merely the end of mortal life nor a simple disruption of domestic order in a single household. The death ritual is a concern of the household of which the deceased used to be a member and also of the lineage and the whole immediate community. The Mosuo funeral has become a cultural phenomenon and a source of local community integration.

Instead of rituals of death, the Mosuo funeral has become a celebration of life, during which loved ones mend torn relationships through sumptuous banquets, heart-warming memories and gregarious laughter. Through the processes of Mosuo funerals, it can be seen that the Mosuo mourn and then celebrate with ongoing, forward-looking confidence in the continued joy of life. More importantly, from discussing the procedures of the funeral, from the preparation of the corpse, through the varied dramatic ritual performances and on to the climax of the cremation, every aspect is aimed at reinforcing matrilineal solidarity and revalidating matrilineal harmony and related cultural values. Rather than a period of time with an emphasis on separation and death, the rituals

surrounding the funeral have become a place for renewal and reaffirmed connectedness between family and friends of the deceased.

Although an individual funeral will not be repeated, funerals as a community event in a society could be argued to have a recurrence, albeit an irregular and unpredictable one. The annual Circle-of-Mountain festival of the Mosuo works as an intermediate layer between funerals and the everyday, to continue the celebration of life.

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Notes

- 1 Alessandro Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," in *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 1–10.
- 2 For the definition of "festival" in Latin, see the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. Glare (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 686, 694–695.
- 3 Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," 2.
- 4 Jacqueline S. Thursby, *Funeral Festivals in America: Rituals for the Living* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 127.
- 5 Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," 2.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 7 "Walking marriage" or "visiting marriage" (*Zouhun* in Chinese) is the term used to describe all ongoing sexual relationships in Mosuo culture; these relationships are based on mutual affection, and are not necessarily permanent. Men do not live with their female partners. They usually meet at night at the woman's house and at dawn the man returns home to his own maternal family. They do not set up a new family and do not share property. Any children resulting from the union of the couple are the women's, while the man helps to raise the children of his sisters; Tami Blumenfeld, *The Na of Southwest China: Debunking the Myths* (Washington, DC: Blumenfeld, 2009), 3. Available online: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110720025007/http://web.pdx.edu/~tblu2/Na/myths.pdf> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- 8 Chuan-Kang Shih, "Mortuary Rituals and Symbols among the Moso," in *Naxi and Moso Ethnography*, ed. Michael Oppitz and Elisabeth Hsu (Zurich: Volkerkundemuseum Zurich, 1998), 103–125.
- 9 Chuan-Kang Shih, *Quest for Harmony: The Moso Traditions of Sexual Union and Family Life* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 219–222.
- 10 The primitive religion of the Mosuo people is called Daba, which is a combination of ancestral worship, spirit worship and nature worship. Dabaism has no written scriptures, systematic creeds, classic books, religious

- organizations or monasteries. All its doctrine is retained in the memory of its practitioners, the Daba, and learned by rote orally from generation to generation. The Mosuo also practice Lamaism, a Tibetan variation of Buddhism, in which a lama is a spiritual leader. Since the mid-sixteenth century, Tibetan Buddhism has gradually become the dominant religion among the Mosuo. Before the 1956 Democratic Reform in the Mosuo area, Tibetan Buddhism was prevalent to the extent that almost every household had at least one member serving as a professional lama; Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association (LLMCDA), *Mosuo Religion* (2006), available online: <http://www.mosuoproject.org> (accessed April 30, 2018). The LLMCDA was an association directed by John Lombard, focused on Mosuo cultural preservation and development.
- 11 Since the mid-sixteenth century, Tibetan Buddhism has gradually become the dominant religion in the Mosuo area; Chuan-Kang Shih, "Mortuary Rituals and Symbols among the Moso," 105.
 - 12 Christine Mathieu, *A History and Anthropological Study of the Ancient Kingdoms of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland - Naxi and Mosuo* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2003), 35.
 - 13 Chuan-Kang Shih, "Mortuary Rituals and Symbols among the Moso," 123.
 - 14 The Mosuo believed that it took forty-nine days for the soul to travel back to the ancestral land. According to Tibetan Buddhism, the cycle of birth, life, death and rebirth takes forty-nine days.
 - 15 Sibuanawa is a mythical place, an ideal kingdom for the Mosuo, a heaven where the souls of their ancestors rest and live. As the legend is told, "in the olden days, the Na emigrated from Sibuanawa, their original village, to the south;" Cai Hua and Asti Hustvedt, *A Society without Fathers or Husbands: The Na of China* (New York: Zone, 2001), 102, 169.
 - 16 Huashan Zhou, *Wu fu Wu fu de Guo du? Zhong nv bu qing nan de mu xi Mosuo* [A Society without Fathers or Husbands? Discrimination against Neither Female nor Male in the Mosuo Family] (Beijing: Guang ming ri bao chu ban she [Guangming Daily Newspaper Publ. House], 2001), 42–44.
 - 17 Prayer song, recorded in Shaoquan He, *Zhongguo Mosuo ren* [The Mosuo People in China] (Yunnan: Yunnan Renmin, 2017), 541.
 - 18 Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of passage* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 10.
 - 19 Thursby, *Funeral Festivals in America*, 16.
 - 20 *ibid.*, 17.
 - 21 *ibid.*, 16.
 - 22 *ibid.*, 17.
 - 23 Angus Gillespie, cited in *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jan Harold Brunvand (New York: Garland, 1996), 230.
 - 24 Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," 3.
 - 25 Wayne K. Davies, "Festive Cities: Multi-dimensional Perspectives," in *Theme Cities: Solutions for Urban Problems*, ed. Wayne K. Davies (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015), 533–561, at 535.
 - 26 Cudry Waldemar, "The Phenomenon of Festivals: Their Origins, Evolution, and Classifications," *Anthropos*, 109, no. 2 (2014): 640–656.
 - 27 Susan Kalckic, "Ethnic Foodways in America: Symbol and the Performance of Identity," in *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*, ed. Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 49.
 - 28 Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, A Study in Religious Sociology* (London: Allen & Unwin and New York: Macmillan, 1915).
 - 29 Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), 20–65.

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