

The Changes and Development Direction of Traditional Chinese Villages after Reform and Opening up —Taking Tunpu, Guizhou as an Example

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Abstract: After the reform and opening up, the speed of changes in China's rural areas is extremely rare in the history of China and even the world. The rapid development of China's economy leads this process of change. During this period, the speed of China's development caused great changes in ethnic identity, physical space, and cultural structure of traditional villages. On the whole, these changes were made passively along with the economic development of the entire country's large-scale system. Such passive village changes are mainly positive, but there are also negative aspects. Excessive reliance on exogenous economic forces can easily lead to lower uniqueness of the village's culture, which is un conducive to the sustainable development of the village. Therefore, traditional Chinese villages should be developed based on the differences between urban and rural areas and the uniqueness of specific villages. This can not only meet the economic development needs of the village, but also achieve cultural diversity inheritance of traditional Chinese villages, thereby avoiding the continuous destruction and damage of the unique culture of specific villages in economic development.

Keywords: Chinese traditional villages; Tunpu; reform and opening up; changes

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Traditional villages, formerly known as ancient villages, specifically refer to villages formed in earlier time with rich cultural and natural resources.

¹In September 2012, in order to highlight the value of cultural inheritance, the Expert Committee on the Protection and Development of Traditional Chinese Villages decided to change "ancient

villages" to "traditional villages". Due to its long history, China has formed a multi-ethnic pattern with the Han as the main body coupled with a large number of ethnic minorities. The diversity of living environment and ethnic groups is the fundamental reason for the cultural diversity of traditional Chinese villages.

Tunpu ethnic group in Guizhou originated more than 600 years ago from the Ming Dynasty garrison in "action to transfer from the north and conquer the south". Over the past 600 years, it has been tenaciously rooted outside the home of Han culture and has stably inherited the Han culture of the Ming and Qing Dynasties.² At the end of the Qing Dynasty, a large amount of later immigrants dominated the tobacco planting industry and tobacco trade on a large scale in Guizhou. As the economic gap between the Tunpu people and the later immigrants widened, the contradictions between the Tunpu people and the post-immigrants gradually intensified. Tobacco planting and tobacco trade objectively expanded the segregation between them, which promoted the formation of Tunpu ethnic group. The prosperous period of tobacco trade in Qing Dynasty and the Chinese market economy era after the reform and opening up were the most important period of the change of Tunpu ethnic group. The villages inhabited by Tunpu people are called Tunpu villages. The Tunpu village is not only unique, but also has the universal characteristics of traditional Chinese villages. This paper takes the Tunpu village in Guizhou as an example to discuss the changes and development directions of traditional Chinese villages.

ORIGIN OF TUNPU VILLAGE

At the end of the Yuan Dynasty, ethnic and class contradictions became increasingly acute. After years of war, Zhu Yuanzhang established the Ming Dynasty in Nanjing in the first year of Hongwu (1368) and began the work of unifying the country. In September of the 14th year of Hongwu (1381), Zhu Yuanzhang ordered Fu Youde as commander in chief, Lan Yu and Mu Ying as deputy commanders, and led 300,000 troops to conquer Yunnan via Guizhou. Subsequently, not only the Guizhou region was incorporated into the rule of the Ming

Dynasty, but also the entire southwest region was also included in the Ming Dynasty's territory. "Yunnan is owned by the Ming Dynasty, and the southwestern region is included in the Ming's territory"³. At a time when the Ming Dynasty regime was not sufficiently stabilized, in order to stabilize Yunnan, the geographic location of Guizhou played a major military strategic role in the entire southwestern region. In the 4th year of Hongwu (1371), Zhu Yuanzhang sent his troops to the post road area of Yunnan and Guizhou province, and these troops cultivated their own crops and produced food to feed themselves. In fact, the garrison allocates 30 percent of its troops or soldiers to complete the garrison mission and 70 percent for farming and planting, forming a number of military settlements along the post roads. In the next six hundred years, due to the continuous integration of military descendants and later immigrants, these military settlements formed the Tunpu village in the modern sense.

The stationing of the Ming Dynasty army in the Tunpu area actually opened the way of struggle between the ancestors of Tunpu and the local people, which also opened the way of the evolution of Tunpu culture in the meantime. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the Tunpu garrison represented the extension of the central dynasty's power in Guizhou. Therefore, they enjoyed much higher political power than the local people, and then had more material control and economic power. When the Ming Dynasty withdrew from the stage of Chinese history and the Qing Dynasty was established, the descendants of Tunpu, as descendants of the former army, lost their unipolar political power. At the same time, after the Qing Dynasty's rule was stabilized, the population entered the peak of reproduction, and the per capita arable land continued to decline. At that time, some officials and gentry took the opportunity to purchase a large amount of land, which worsened the survival predicament of the descendants of Tunpu. "In the early years of Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty, the Qing Dynasty nationalized the wasteland opened up by Ming garrison troops, or changed part of the wasteland into private land, allowing land to be bought and sold. The officials and gentry at that time took the opportunity to purchase a large amount of land."⁴ Faced with the predicament of survival and fierce competition from other ethnic groups, Tunpu people began to

awaken their ethnic consciousness and began to consciously emphasize their differences with other ethnic groups in ethnic identity and culture, and even united at the ethnic level and competed with other ethnic groups. Due to such ethnic psychology, the Tunpu village has always used its tenacious assimilation ability to assimilate later immigrants during the long process of migration and integration, and maintain the uniqueness and cohesion of Tunpu culture. This process not only guarantees the cultural differentiation between the Tunpu ethnic group and other ethnic groups, but also results in the continuous accumulation of cultural differences between Tunpu people and Han people in other regions.

THE CHANGES OF TUNPU VILLAGE UNDER THE OVERALL SITUATION OF CHINA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The changes in China's rural areas have always been accompanied by changes in the global economy and China's local economic environment. In the stage of slow economic development, the flow of material, population, and information in the countryside is relatively slow, and there is relatively little communication with the external environment of the countryside. Anthropologist Fei Xiaotong said when discussing China's rural society: "The rural society is a society where people are attached to one's native land and unwilling to leave, who born in, grew up, and died there. Not only is the population movement very small, but also the land from which people gain resources rarely changes."⁵ After the reform and opening up, the speed of changes in China's rural areas is extremely rare in the history of China and even the world. The development of China's economy led this change. The gradual integration with the world market, the strong allocation of resources by capital, and the selective absorption of foreign political, economic, and cultural elements have enabled China to usher in more than 40 years of rapid development, which also indirectly contributes to the violent change of China's rural areas for 40 years. During this period, Chinese traditional villages complete an irreversible reshaping in both physical and cultural spaces. Take Tunpu Village as an example. The speed of China's development after reform and opening up has

triggered great changes in the physical space, cultural structure, ethnic identity, etc. of the Tunpu Village.

Reshaping of Tunpu Ethnic Identity

Max Weber believes that ethnic group is "a group that has a subjective belief in their common descent due to their physical, cultural similarity, or shared memory in migration, and this belief is quite important in continuation of the relationship between non-relative communities. Such group is called ethnic group."⁶ Ethnic identity is developed on the basis of interaction between ethnic groups. First of all, there must be a difference and contrast, so that people generate a sense of identity that can categorize and delimit oneself. The common historical memory of Tunpu people in migration is the basis of ethnic identity. They migrated from the south of the Yangtze River and brought a series of cultural customs, such as the culture of the south of the Yangtze River, which became the elements of ethnic identity. The differences and contrasts among ethnic groups are the basis for the categorization and demarcation of Tunpu people and other ethnic groups. At the beginning, the name of Tunpu people is the name of the outside world including scholars, that is, "other call them Tunpu people"; Later, in the process of tourism development, Tunpu people gradually accepted the title and concept of "Tunpu people" from the outside world and began to "call themselves" Tunpu people. With the changes of historical society, Tunpu people constantly reshape their identity.⁷ In the Ming Dynasty, Tunpu garrison shared the same ethnic cognition as Han nationality in various regions, and it had a military-civilian relationship with the local ethnic group. After the Qing Dynasty, the Tunpu ethnic group lost the support of the central dynasty and the corresponding unipolar political power. At the same time, it faced the survival suppression of local ethnic minorities and later Han immigrants. It began to adhere to the cultural tradition, and gradually separated from the mainstream Han nationality, slowly forming a unique ethnic rudiment. However, the concept of "Tunpu people" was formed under the background of the great development of China's tourism industry after the reform and opening up. Due to the tourism development potential of Tunpu culture, local

governments and scholars gradually focused on Tunpu villages after the 1980s, which awakened the pride of Tunpu people in ethnic culture.⁸ At the same time, the economic benefits brought about by tourism development are the fundamental reason why the concept of Tunpu people has shifted from “others call them Tunpu people” to “they call themselves Tunpu people” in scholars’ description.

Changes in the Physical Space of the Village

With the progress of reform and opening up, the cultural economy of Tunpu area has made great progress, and the traffic conditions around the village have also developed better and better. However, due to the imbalance of economic development and the limitations in inherent conditions of different villages, the villages present a situation of differentiation in physical space.

Many villages in difficult terrain with weak economic radiation still have poor transportation capacity. Due to the backwardness of resources and information in these villages, population loss has become increasingly serious in recent years, and many villages have shrunk or even become abandoned. In these villages, young people normally go out to work, while the old people stay. The loss of labor is becoming more and more serious, and the villages shrink in different proportions. In fact, in the Anshun area of Guizhou where Tunpu is located, as a whole, Gui-Kun Railway, Shanghai-Kunming Railway, Shanghai-Kunming Expressway, inter-provincial expressways Hurui Expressway, Huixing Expressway, Chiwang Expressway, intra-provincial Gui'an Expressway, Weihui Expressway and other transportation networks are constructed, and there is also a five-vertical and five-horizontal road network. In 2013, the county-to-county expressway network was fully constructed. However, there are still some villages in areas with complex geomorphology, and traffic is very inconvenient. Take Yunshantun as an example, the shrinkage of the village is very obvious. Yunshantun was a typical commercial Tunpu village in the middle and late Qing Dynasty. Its industrial structure was relatively diverse. In addition to agriculture, handicrafts and commerce were also very developed. After the reform and opening up, more and more villagers went out to work as

businessmen, so the economic importance of agriculture in the village gradually weakened. After China joined the WTO and the economy took off, migrant workers continued to export. Judging from the field visits, most houses in Yunshantun are now vacant, the whole village is extremely depressed, and the elderly remaining in the village account for the majority. The cultural activities and traditional belief ceremonies in the village have basically disappeared due to the lack of participation and support of young adults. In addition to migrant workers, villagers in this type of shrinking villages also have another choice, that is, relocating to nearby places with convenient transportation and closer connections with the city. The fundamental reason for such relocation is that traditional economic resources such as land can no longer bind the villagers, and it is easier to find alternative survival resources in places closely connected with the city. In addition, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the domestic ethnic policy has gradually eliminated the barriers of the various ethnic groups in the southwest. Ethnic conflicts are no longer the source of Tunpu people's insecurity, and the Tunpu people's psychological self-defense gradually disappears. The strategic location and protective military buildings of Tunpu Village have lost its appeal to the Tunpu people. As a result, the Tunpu people gradually move down from the mountain, and whether a place is close to the traffic line has become their main criterion for site selection.

In addition, some villages have a good geographical location, superior resources, and a moderate distance from the neighboring urban space, so they can maintain good cohesion under the siphon effect of the city with abundant resources. Such villages can maintain a relatively stable population without size shrinkage, for instance, Zhouguantun in Liuguan Town, Maguantun in Caiguan Town, and Houchang Village in Qiyangqiao Town. These villages usually have deep cultural and historical accumulation, good internal organization system, surplus arable land resources, and some have many historical relics, which are suitable for development as tourism resources. In short, the rich cultural and historical resources and life and production resources of such villages are the main reasons for their relative stability. However, what is relatively stable is the size of the village. The building types

and living space of the villages have also undergone certain evolutions due to the increasingly affluent life of the villagers and the pursuit of high-quality living space. Seen from building materials, construction scale to the construction of village public space, etc., the micro-physical aspects of these villages have undergone extensive changes.

Finally, there are still some very few Tunpu villages. In the context of urbanization, population growth is maintained against the trend, and the village space continues to expand. Such villages have abundant production resources and certain degree of attraction, which can absorb villagers from surrounding villages to relocate here through marriage or work. Such villages often have extremely convenient transportation, fertile arable land, rich water resources, and the villagers have much higher per capita resource occupation than surrounding villages. For example, Baojiatun has vast arable land. The water conservancy facilities that have been repaired over the past generations have been in use today. Irrigation is convenient. Moreover, as the terrain is suitable for large-scale planting and breeding, the village has prosperous agriculture and abundant agricultural products, which are widely sold in the surrounding areas. In addition, Baojiatun has a deep history foundation and the relics of the water irrigation system left over from the Ming Dynasty are very representative and suitable for the development of tourism. Baojiatun has a high per capita resource occupation, and the diverse production modes provide many employment opportunities, resulting in an increase in the population rather than a decline, and the village space radiates out by several times. Tianlong Tunpu has similar case. Due to the unique location advantages of the village and the preservation of abundant village relics, after Tunpu village entered the vision of scholars and local governments, it quickly gathered advantages such as government policy preference and business investment, which experienced relatively successful tourism development and produced many job opportunities. The continuous influx of population has objectively promoted the continuous expansion of the village scale. However, during this period, mixed types of buildings were built in Tianlong Tunpu, modern buildings and pseudo-classic architecture greatly changed the appearance

e of the village.

Decomposition and Reconstruction of Tunpu Cultural Structure

After the reform and opening up, the rapid development of China's economy, the transformation of industrial structure, and the coverage of systematic media networks have greatly promoted the population flow and cultural structure reshaping of the Tunpu area. The original production mode, production relations, and other economic foundations have changed, and the village power structure and governance modes based on clan relations are replaced. In order to adapt to the economic and social development of the village, the cultural structure of the village experienced passive decomposition and reconstruction. For example, in terms of customs and culture, due to ethnic competition, lack of ethnic security, and the superiority of Han immigrants, Tunpu people used to practice intra-ethnic marriages.⁹ After the founding of New China, it focused on eliminating historical traces of ethnic discrimination and protecting the legal rights of each ethnic group. For the first time, the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" stipulates that all ethnic groups are equal, we should oppose narrow nationalism, and prohibit behavior of discriminating, oppressing and splitting the unity of all ethnic groups. The implementation of the ethnic equality policy has eased the relationship between the Tunpu people and other ethnic groups. After the reform and opening up, the power of national economic integration has broken the barriers between ethnic groups. The popularization of technology and the rapid development of the Internet and other media have broadened the horizons of Tunpu people. Nowadays, ethnic relations in Tunpu area are harmonious, and extra-ethnic marriages are becoming more and more popular.¹⁰

Tunpu cultural changes involve not only progress made in marriage and other customs, but also risk of losing abundant unique culture. With the siphon action and coercion of the urban economy against the labor force, many traditional cultures and arts are facing the risk of inheritors' shortage, and some traditional skills and folk arts are constantly dying out. For example, the representative Tunpu

traditional embroidery, the production of Tunpu Di opera masks, and Di opera performances are at risk of being lost. In particular, for Di opera, a world-class intangible cultural heritage, the inheritors have begun to show shortage. The performers are mostly elderly, with an average age of about 78 years old. Young people rarely participate, leading to temporary shortage of youngsters. In addition, due to economic and social development in recent years, many young people want to experience the outside society more, either to go out to study or to go out to work, and many Tunpu villages have gradually experienced "aging" and "empty nesting". As an important carrier for the formation of ethnic cohesion, folk cultural activities have gradually reduced scope and frequency, including Di opera in the first month and July of the lunar calendar, floating river lanterns on the fourteenth day of July in the lunar calendar, occasional lanterns playing, and carrying the statue of Wang Gong, city god welcoming ceremony in the first month of the lunar calendar, as well as the most mysterious event of crossing the river to pay tribute to mother. The village slowly loses its original vitality.

THE DEVELOPMENT DIRECTION FOR TRADITIONAL CHINESE VILLAGES

The narrative of the Tunpu village reflects the general law of change in traditional Chinese villages with the rapid economic development. The development process of traditional villages is passive. Its physical space, cultural structure, ethnic identity, etc. all passively change with the development of the country's economy and society. Such passive development and changes are mainly positive, but there are also negative aspects. Over-reliance on external sources of economy can easily lead to the reduced uniqueness of the village's culture and the continuous outflow of population, which is unfavorable for the sustainable development of the village. Therefore, this paper proposes that traditional Chinese villages should be developed based on the differences between urban and rural areas and the uniqueness of specific villages. This can not only meet the economic development needs of the village, but also achieve the cultural diversity inheritance of traditional Chinese villages, so that cultural inheritance goes hand in

hand with economic development, and the continuous destruction and damage of the unique culture of specific villages can be avoided in economic development.

First, the development of traditional villages should be based on the differences between urban and rural areas, meet the differentiation needs and differentiated functional positioning of respective spiritual fields in the process of national rejuvenation to achieve simultaneous development and prosperity of urban and rural areas. Traditional Chinese villages do not exist in isolation, but their small village systems are interdependent with cities and even large-scale national systems, and there is a functional adsorption relationship. Therefore, in revitalization of traditional villages, we need to clarify the economic and cultural functional complementary relationship between the village and the city, and seek development positioning in the differentiated functional relationship. In the actual development process, villages can be classified according to their location and the original state of interaction with the city, so that we can discover their comparative advantages, and explore new models of interactive development in traditional villages and cities. At the same time, in the development of traditional villages, we need to bridge the economic and cultural gap between urban and rural areas. The elimination of this gap does not mean the superior assimilation of the village by the city. Based on the specific village context system, we should explore the economic capacity and cultural charm of the village, and make the village survival condition, quality of life reach the goal of being "different from the city but with equal value", so that we can accord with the different life and value orientations of villagers and even tourists, and provide a spiritual space that is differentiated from the city.¹¹ The development of traditional villages should be guided towards the divergence and differentiation of village functions, rather than the urbanization of the countryside or the homogenization of urban and rural culture.

Secondly, the diversity of Chinese culture is deposited in traditional villages. Minority culture and abundant intangible cultural heritage are also contained in traditional villages.¹² The development of traditional villages not only requires differentiated functional positioning against urban development, but also requires diversified and differentiated functions and development

positioning based on respective uniqueness, thus presenting diverse ways of village cultural genes expression and nostalgia memory and meeting the diversified supply-side upgrade needs of traditional villages in the process of national modernization. Take Tunpu Village as an example. The diverse ethnic sources, rich types of living environment, and different historical evolution determine the diversity of Tunpu Village instate and cultural structure. The different natural environment texture, cultural and folk customs, historical relics, village layout, etc. of each village form respective unique personality and image. For example, the military relics of Yunshantun with high stone walls and hidden stratagems; the "lanterns dance" in villages such as Zhulinzhai and Benzhai; the "dragon dance activities" held in Zhangjiazhuang during the first lunar month;¹³"Welcome to Wang" activities held annually in Baotun, Jiuxi, Xitun, Gouchangtun, Dongtun, Zhangguantun, Jichangtun, etc.; the commercial history and caravan culture of Yunshantun; the exquisite and unique ancient architecture of Benzhai; the highly civilized Baotun agricultural water conservancy system symbolizing the farming culture height of Tunpu, etc., which will not be elaborated here. This paper believes that Tunpu villages should develop in the manner of "each village should develop its own unique image, one charm for one village" based on the uniqueness of each village, and shape the village image with diverse charm. The different development positioning characteristics of these villages provide an important support for traditional villages to achieve rejuvenation through diversified supply-side upgrades, which is also an important foundation for traditional villages to achieve endogenous protection and sustainable development.

Finally, the revitalization of traditional villages needs us to reshape the internal circulation of the village ecosystem, organically reorganize and integrate the human resources, natural resources, and historical and cultural resources of the village, so that the resource development potential given by the unique ecosystem context of each village can unleash development potential in the appropriate economic structure. The economic development of traditional villages is the focus of village revitalization, but the economic development of villages is not a one-way development of traditional economic

factors. It must be an organic reorganization of villagers, village economic structure, natural resources, and historical and cultural resources. A single perspective of economic factors will inevitably lead to a large-scale waste of the village's overall resources and reduce the village's competitiveness. Take the village agricultural economy as an example. It is classified as the primary industry in the broad context of China. This perspective of splitting the internal circulation system of the village has great limitations, which ignores the multidimensional and complex nature of agricultural economic power in the traditional village. Under this perspective, agricultural economic factors are separated out, while social, cultural, ecological and other functions are neglected. As a result, agriculture as the primary industry is forced to compete with the secondary and tertiary industries for production factors in an unbalanced way. Hence, it struggles under the predicament of investment income and industrialization. The disappearance of the compound value advantage in the village internal circulation system is one of the important reasons for the decline of the traditional village agricultural economy in competition. Therefore, the revitalization of traditional villages cannot bypass the organic integration and reorganization of multi-dimensional resources in the village, as well as the reshaping and adjustment of the internal circulation system in the village. The essence of reshaping the internal circulation of the village ecosystem is to open up the internal circulation of the village as a path, promote the integration of the village industry, and upgrade the village's supply capacity to meet the multi-functional needs of village residents, tourists and other external groups for the village's economy, cultural experience, ecological environment, leisure, and thereby enhance the compound competitiveness of the village.

CONCLUSION

As a typical representative of traditional Chinese villages, Tunpu's changes occurred not only in the feudal period the Ming Dynasty stationed troops, the prosperity of tobacco cultivation and trade in the Qing Dynasty in Guizhou, but also in the magnificent era of modern China. However, the period after the reform and opening up was the most

dramatic era in Tunpu villages. Under the background of reform and opening up, Tunpu village has undergone tremendous changes in ethnic identity, village physical space, cultural structure, etc. These change trajectories not only represent the uniqueness of Tunpu itself, but also display the unified trend of changes in traditional Chinese village.

China has been a great agricultural country since ancient times, and the countryside is the most important root of Chinese culture. The development problem of traditional Chinese villages not only concerns the reshaping of Chinese villages, but also determines whether China can continue its cultural heritage and form a spiritual home with Chinese characteristics in the process of modernization. The preservation of cultural diversity is an important factor deciding whether the development of countries in the world can continue to maintain policy stamina and potential. Culture and national development and governance have extremely subtle, but deep-rooted connections. Retaining the diverse cultural context characteristics in the development process should be a prerequisite for the development of traditional Chinese villages, which is also an objective need for countries around the world to retain cultural uniqueness and diversity in the process of globalization. Therefore, this paper believes that the development of traditional Chinese villages should be based on the differences between urban and rural areas, functional complementarity, as well as the unique resource endowments and cultural context of specific villages. We should support endogenous development, and avoid the decomposition or homogenization of specific cultural contexts of traditional villages during development.

Author Declaration

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