

The Influence of World Heritage Tourism to the Local Rural Area: The Case of Horse-Riding Sightseeing in the Villages around Lashihai Lake, Lijiang

DU, Guoqing*
 杜 国慶

要約：中国雲南省北西部に位置する麗江旧市街地「麗江古城」は1997年に世界遺産に登録されて以来、観光客が著しく増加して、周辺村落にも大きな影響を与えた。麗江古城の近郊に位置する拉市海にも、乗馬などのレジャー活動を求める観光客が訪れるようになり、麗江古城の日帰り観光地としての位置付けが確立した。本研究は、拉市海周辺に位置する村落を自然村単位で、納西族村民の共同経営による乗馬観光運営の形成プロセスと経営実態を解明し、村民による自律的な観光経営が地域社会に与える影響を明らかにするうえで、世界遺産観光が地域に与える影響を探る。

Keywords: horse-riding sightseeing (乗馬観光), world heritage (世界遺産),
 Lashihai Lake (拉市海), Lijiang (麗江)

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I Preface

With the enforcement of economic reform and open policy since 1978, the Chinese economy developed at a rapid rate after 1990 with national living standards improving remarkably. The spare time of urban residents increased and domestic tourism demand grew significantly with the enforcement of the 40 hours work week (eight hours per day and five days per week) in 1994 and the increase of consecutive holidays in 1999 (Wang 2001; Du, Mizoo & Zhang, 2003). An opportunity arose when the International Horticultural Exhibition was held in its provincial capital city Kunming in 1990. Tourism also grew in Yunnan Province, which

*立教大学観光学部・教授

is located in southwestern China. As a result, many cities became open to foreign tourists, infrastructure developed, and the tourism industry grew significantly around the entire provincial area (Kunimatsu & Suzuki 2006; Matsumura 2001).

Located in northwestern Yunnan Province, the Old Town of Lijiang was recognized as a “National Historical and Cultural Town” with its traditional buildings and streets which occupy an area of 3.5 km², transforming it into one of the most popular and representative tourist destinations in China. According to statistics, the number of tourists increased markedly since its registration as a World Heritage (Figure 1). For example, the number of tourists were only 160 thousand persons (including 10 thousand overseas tourists) in 1992. This number increased to 3,600 thousand persons (including 200 thousand overseas tourists) in 2004, and then increased rapidly to 7,581 thousand persons (including 526 thousand overseas tourists) in 2009 (Du 2005). With the influence of the rapid increase of tourism, tourists visited not only the Old Town but also the suburban area around it and the area around Lashihai Lake became a one-day-trip destination of horse-riding, boat, and bird-watching as famous as Mt. Yulong (Mt. Jade

Dragon).

Lashi-Xiang is an administrative rural township with an area of 159.7 km² around Lashihai Lake, and spreads in the basin and mountainous areas with heights from 2,400 m to 3,860 m. The flat-ground area is 49.8 km² (about 1/3 of the whole area of the township). The population reached 15,565 persons, most of which are Naxi ethnic (Department of Agriculture 2011). The cultivated acreage is 23,226 mu¹⁾ (about 1,548 ha) and 96% of it is planted with wheat, corn, broad bean, fruits (such as apple and peach) and vegetables (red pepper and Chinese yam). There are 6 administrative villages (Nanyao, Junliang, Meiquan, Hainan, Haidong and Jiyu) which have jurisdiction over 28 villages.

The altitude of Lashihai Lake is 2,437 m. The ethnic people in the plateau area of western China always call lakes “Hai”, which means “sea” in Chinese, and Lashihai Lake is no exception. Because wetlands spread around the lake and as many as 30 thousand birds come here to pass their winter, this area was designated as a Wetland Conservation Area in June, 1998 and registered as an Internationally Important Wetland in 2005. There are more than 60 kinds of birds, which include 23 kinds of Chinese national preserved birds. The abundant natu-

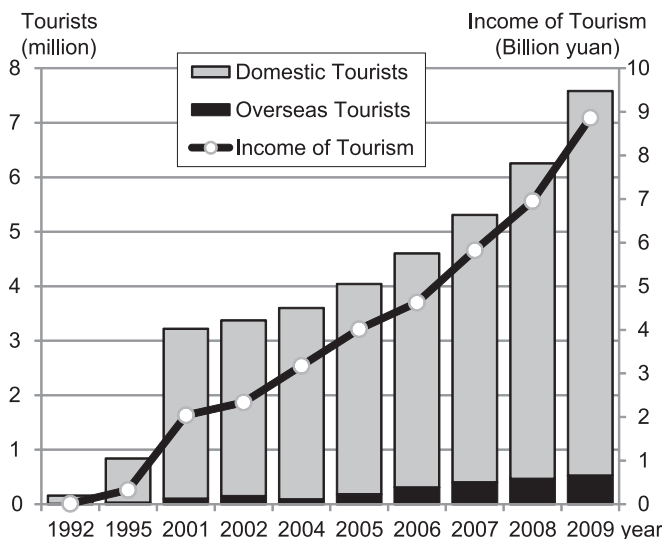


Figure 1 Development of Tourism and in Lijiang (Du 2005; Lijiang Statistics Bureau 2010)

ral environment is maintained in this area (Hou 2006). The huge lake is also the habitat of freshwater fish (such as crucian carp) and has supplied fish to the Old Town of Lijiang.

The local and national government recognized the importance of the wetland resource and developed a series of conservation activities. Yet, the peasants can hardly get any direct profits from these activities. As a consequence, the peasants appear reluctant to participate in these activities positively. Regardless, horse-riding became an efficient way for the peasants to improve their economic situation. The peasants developed horse-riding sightseeing on their own in a direction different to the government. Such differences in understanding of the wetland and economy between the government and peasants can also be certified with the research on Lashihai Lake. For example, research can be found as early as the beginning of 2000's, Dai, Bai & Shi (2006), Jian & Zhou (2008), Zhen, Zuo, Lu & Jin (2009) and Ma, Cao & Li (2011) did research on the interfering elements of wetland, changes in wetland, and the ecological evaluation of Lashihai Lake. Additionally, Peng (2005), Liu, Peng & Huang (2005), Zhang, Liu & Liu (2008), Li, Yang, Yang, Jiang & Peng (2008) did studies on the number and kinds, protection policy, and the behavior of birds passing winter. But, all the research above placed emphasis on the wetland characteristics and inhabitant environments of birds rather than the peasants around villages. Even Zheng (2008) and Zhang (2005) researched on tourism development which produced economic profit to the peasants. Here, the authors are concerned with wetland eco-tourism and natural conservation.

However, local peasants' positive participation is indispensable to carry out the vision of wetland conservation held by the government. In other words, the point is whether local peasants can profit from wetland conservation activities. Zhang, Peng, Yang, Li & Yang (2008) did field studies which indicate that a contradiction exists between bird protection and peasants' production activities. Birds search for foods from the crop planted by peasants, which brings a loss as much as 1,440 thousand JMB Yuan each year to the Lashihai

Lake area. But, the local peasants receive refund less than 1/10 of their loss from the government.

Therefore, we did fieldwork and interviewed peasants in the villages around Lashihai Lake, and investigated the development process and actual management situation of each horse-riding site established by the local peasants, and finally, tried to clarify the influence of the World Heritage tourism to the peasants in rural area through this paper.

II Development of Horse-Riding Sightseeing and Distribution of Horse-Riding Sites

Horse-riding sites were introduced to Lashihai Lake area first by Anzhong Village in Haidong Administrative Village. In the villages around Lashihai Lake, peasants traditionally breed 1 or 2 female horses in order to sell the baby horses to gain income. One day in 1998, a peasant was requested by tourists for horse-riding when he left his horse to graze around the lake and got 10 JMB Yuan for payment. Additionally, peasants also owned wood boats for fishing in the lake. 14 households organized and began boat sightseeing, and almost at the same time, the tourists coming for boats also requested to ride horses. In such a situation, recognizing the needs and profit of horse-riding, peasants of 7 or 8 households began their horse-riding business and business increased rapidly. As a result, it was necessary to organize more peasants to satisfy the needs of increasing tourists, and in 2003, 20 households collaborated in Anzhong Village with a system of 1 horse from each household, which is said to be the beginning of horse-riding sightseeing in Lashihai Lake area. Subsequently, horse-riding sites were built up and spread continuously around the lake, and the Lashihai Lake area was transformed into a famous horse-riding sightseeing spot.

As a result, horse-riding sites increased to as many as 20 in 2010, with 804 households participating with 3,023 horses. Shown in Figure 2, change in the number of horses is correlated with that of participating peasant households. As far as the changes in the number of horses, the increase rate ranks its highest value of 245.2% in 2004, and then keeps decreasing from 77.3%

in 2005 to the lowest value of 2.0% in 2009, indicating that even if the total number of horses increases, the saturation of horse-riding sites was apparent. However, the increase rate recovers to 28.4% in 2010 where we can say that a new growth phase appears in tourists' horse-riding needs. Managing horse-riding sites as a side business, the peasants add or reduce horses according to the needs of tourists. Therefore, the changes in the number of horses show us the needs of tourists visiting Lijiang or the changes in tourism development of Lijiang.

The reasons why horse-riding sightseeing was popularized in World Heritage tourism destinations can be summarized in the following three points:

First, regarding the subject of tourism, most of the domestic tourists in China are urban residents. Recently, livestock decreased with the popularization of farm machines in rural areas, and urban residents had little or no opportunity to partake in this business. Rural life styles and countryside scenery became a burning curiosity and unusual dream for urban residents, and horse-riding acted as a fusion of recreation and rural experience that satisfied the needs of these tourists perfectly.

Secondly, regarding the object of tourism, there were sufficient conditions for local culture and tourism resources to satisfy the tourists' needs in Lashihai Lake area. Naxi ethnic living in Lijiang is situated between the nomadic culture of the Tibetan plateau and farm culture of Bai ethnic on the plains. In ancient times,

Lijiang was called “*Huama Guo*” (Land of Flower Horse) because of its excellent tradition of horse-breeding, and in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), horses from Lijiang were selected as tribute to the Court. In the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912), ancient Tea Routes were developed and Lijiang became an important point on the route. A great number of transport groups using horses appeared here with the development of the commercial transportation business. Especially in the basins of Old Town of Lijiang and Lashihai Lake, many villages were located and acted as the bases for horse-breeding (Lijiang Naxi Autonomous County Compilation Committee 2001). The traditional horse-breeding culture can be thought as the foundation of the Old Town of Lijiang and also satisfied the needs of tourists in present day.

Thirdly, a special system of interest distribution motivates participation of peasants and travel participants. The best way for the peasants to promote horse-riding sites and attract visitors is to collaborate with guides of tour groups; however, the peasants have to pay commissions as high as half of their income to the guides. If we know that paying half of profits to the bus drivers or guides as promotion is the usual way for most tourism facilities in China, we can say that such special interest distribution systems are just a factor rather than definitive condition to the formation of horse-riding sites.

The distribution of 20 horse-riding sites around

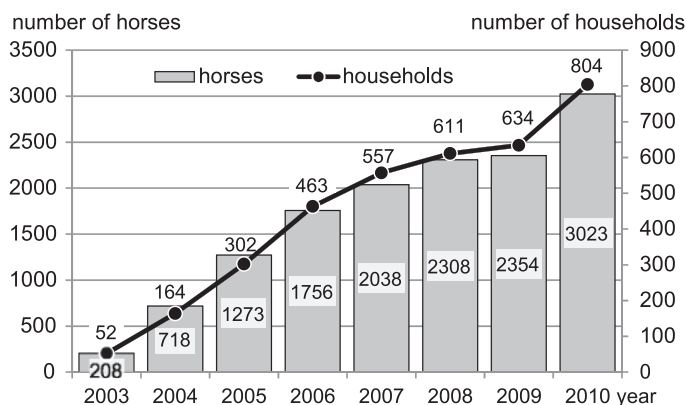


Figure 2 The development of horse-riding sites around Lashihai Lake (2003–10)
(According to interview and fieldwork in August, 2009 and October, 2010)

Lashihai Lake is shown by Figure 3. The sites concentrate on the east and north bank. Especially in Meiquan Village on the east bank, there are 10 sites (B1–B10), which is more than half of the total, and the scale of each site is relatively large. Compared with the earlier set, 10 sites in Meiquan Village and 3 sites in Haidong Village (A1–A3) on the southeast bank, the 7 sites in Junliang Village (C1–C7) were almost all opened recently since 2008. Furthermore, participants of each site in Meiquan Village are all above 50 households and the number of horses of each household is so much more that we can say this is the core area of horse-riding sightseeing. On the other hand, located far away from the main road, Junliang Village can hardly attract as many tourists as Meiquan Village, and as a result, the scales of horse-riding sites are all relatively small.

Since the opening of “Anzhong Horse-Riding Site” (A1) in 2003, 20 horse-riding sites have been set up, the development process of which can be divided into 3 periods. First, 7 sites were set up in the initial period of 2003–05, except Handan Wudui site (B4). The number of horses each household owned at the 6 sites (A1, A2,

B1–B3, C1) are each as many as 4 or 5 horses. Horses that each household owned can be thought as an index of the economic level of peasants. Moreover, we can conclude that economically capable peasants participated in horse-riding sightseeing from the initial period. In the second period of 2006–07, all 6 sites (A3, B5–B7, C2, c3) have the same number of horses per household at 3 horses, and were middle scale sites rather than large scale sites. Among the 7 sites established in the third period of 2008–10, numbers of horses per household of the 3 sites in Junliang Village (C4, C6, and C7) are all as few as 2 horses. The remaining 4 sites (B8, B9, B10, C5) all succeeded from sites set up until 2005, such as B8 from B3, B9 and B10 from B2, and C5 from C1, and the numbers of horses per household all exceed 4 horses, more than the 3 sites newly established. Therefore, we can find two trends in this new period, one is the intense competition and the other is the development of brands of horse-riding sites.

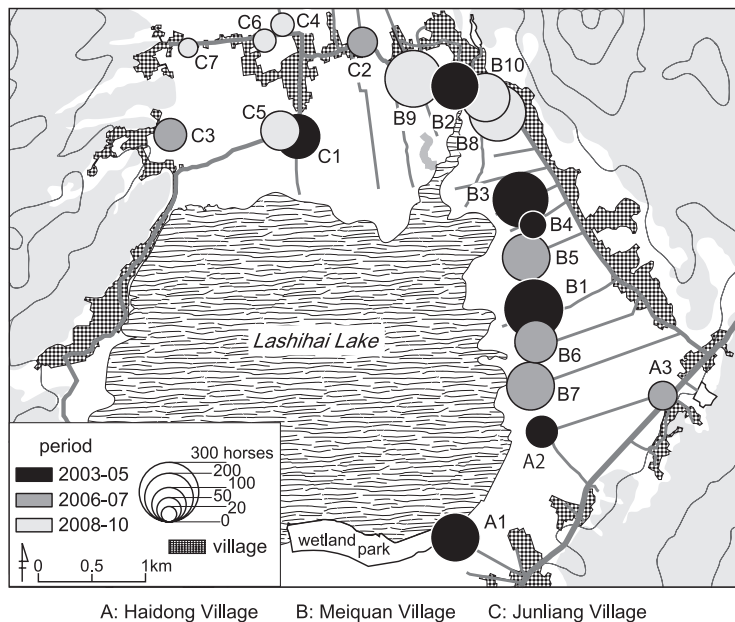


Figure 3 Development and distribution of horse-riding sites around Lashihai Lake (2003–10)

III Management of Horse-Riding Sites

i Allotted Task and Parts of Operation

It is necessary to prepare initial investments to build the reception office, rest tent, dining room, road and parking area to open a horses-riding site. For example, the Haibei Sandui Horse-Riding Site (B1 in Figure 3) was set up in 2004, where all participant households were requested to prepare 1 boat and 1 horse, and pay 50 yuan for road building. Another case is the Anshang Horse-Riding Site (A2 in Figure 3), 40,000 yuan was collected from 10 participant households to build parking space on reclaimed land as a first step in 2005, and 2 years later, each household paid 10,000 yuan from their income to improve its road. Similarly, each participant household shared 700 yuan for the construction of the reception office and rest area in Enzong Erdui Horse-Riding Site (B6 in Figure 3) for its open in 2006.

However, located far away from the Old Town of Lijiang, Qianli Zoudanqi Horse-riding Site (C2 in Figure 3) can only pay 80 yuan per month to each participant household for income even if each household paid 1,500 yuan for its open in 2006. The time to recoup initial investment is quite different from each site, and it is an important factor in peasants' participation.

Although initial investments are different from each site mentioned above, all the participant households shared initial investment and management cost equally, so we can say that autonomous management has been established and has been the foundation of the sites' operation. That is why all the sites request participants to pay the sum of initial investment and accumulated management costs. In the case of Anzhong Horse-Riding Site (A1 in Figure 3), which was set up as the first site in 2003, households that participated in 2007 had to pay more than 20,000 yuan for its membership.

Besides 2 to 5 horses, each participant household has to provide 1 person or 2 persons in high season to work on the site. The number of horses provided by each household is different from each site. In the sites where more tourists visited, each household has to provide as many as 5 horses. On the other hand, 2 horses can only be provided on the sites with fewer visitors even if the

peasants have more horses bred.

As for the operation of the sites, duties are divided into manager (team leader, *Duizhang*), course commentator, liaison (*Wailian*), catering, and guide and leader for riding. Business hours are 8:30 to 17:30 in winter and 7:30 to 19:00 in other seasons. When the tourists arrive by bus or taxi, the course commentator explains contents, routes and price, and tourists can select the course they prefer. Normally, there are dining rooms inside sites, and persons in charge of catering (mainly women) cook and lay the tables in rotation.

ii Contents of Horse-Riding Sightseeing

When tourists decide which course they want to take, a horse will be allocated to each tourist. Normally, 1 peasant takes charge of 2 or 3 horses, and in the high-seasons, such as during the traditional Chinese New Year (Spring Festival) in February, summer vacation of July and August, National Day consecutive holidays in October, a great number of tourists rush to the tourist sites and horses are insufficient in number, forcing peasants to walk on their feet holding reins. However, there are horses to spare in the off-season and peasants can ride horses with tourists and run at higher speeds, allowing the tourists to enjoy real horse-riding. The courses are always designed to be finished within the area of each administrative village and extended from lakeside up to the hills around so that tourists can overlook the wonderful lake and rural view.

The horses used in the sites are almost all local species called Lijiang Stunted-Foot Horse (*Lijiang Aijiaoma*). Beginners can also enjoy horse riding without worry. There are comparatively few accidents for example, there were only 4 or 5 light accidents reported in Anzhong Horse-Riding Site (A1 in Figure 3) since its opening in 2003. Moreover, in preparation for these accidents, most sites have joined medical insurance. The premium is 500 yuan per person per year, and 80% will be paid if medical expenses exceed 200 yuan. However, the medical insurance does not cover the cancellation fee of aviation because of injury, so the peasants save money every day in preparation for such a situation, and some sites are considering purchasing

helmets in order to prevent injury.

On the other hand, courses including picnics have been designed in recent years in the 3 sites of Meiquan Laomadui (B2 in Figure 3), Xin Meiquan (B9 in Figure 3) and Meiquan (B10 in Figure 3) and have acquired popularity from tourists. Furthermore, some sites have begun a new service to satisfy bridal photography on the lakeside, like Haibei Sandui (B1 in Figure 3), which built an accommodation facility in 2007. But, there is only 1 accommodation facility around the lake, and almost all the tourists stay in the hotels in the Old Town and travel here for horse-riding within one day.

iii Organization and Profit Dividing

In many cases, the earning of a horse-riding site is distributed to participating peasants within the same day, where a significant feature is that the income is divided equally regardless of allotted task and parts such as manager, course commentator, liaison, catering, or guide.

Furthermore, positions requiring special abilities, such as manager and liaison, are all elected and decided by all participating peasants democratically. Therefore, we can say that all the horse-riding sites are all managed by local Naxi ethnic minority peasants with an autonomous and democratic operation system.

In many sites, the photography service allows tourists to buy the pictures which they prefer with several sizes to choose from when they finish riding. However, local peasants do not have such photography equipment or special techniques, therefore, in most cases, such photography services are entrusted to external contractors. The peasants then collect the charge of tenant from contractors. In addition, small-scale business such as kiosks selling souvenirs, beverages, snacks or hats are also operated by external traders after paying 1,500 yuan per month as a lease cost to the peasants.

Besides the services mentioned above, in the case of Anzhong Horse-Riding Site, buildings are leased to a canoe company and restaurant to increase income and try to attract more tourists with service varieties.

IV Influence of Horse-Riding Sightseeing

i Income Increase for Peasants

The first influence of horse-riding sightseeing is the significant increase of annual income of peasants.

For example, before the open of horse-riding sites, peasants planted fruit trees (apple, peach), wheat, barley, oil-seed rape, broad bean, and Chinese yam to earn an income of 4,000 to 5,000 yuan annually per household in Qiancun village (a village in Junliang Administrative Village). However, the annual income stayed at a low level of 1,200 yuan in Meiquan Administrative Village, or just 800 yuan in Haidong Administrative Village with less fruit trees planted. Therefore, peasants had to go to the Old Town of Lijiang to do side businesses, such as construction, to earn income during the agricultural off-season. However, annual income per household in Meiquan Administrative Village was less than 4,000 yuan since the daily allowance of construction labor was only 25 to 30 yuan, and earning stable cash income became an important task.

However, since the first horse-riding site was established in 2003, middle class households could earn an annual income as large as 40,000 to 50,000 yuan, including 20,000 Yuan from fruit planting & pig breeding and 20,000 to 30,000 Yuan from the horse-riding business. In the case of Enzong Village (a village in Meiquan Administrative Village), the annual income per household from construction labor and side businesses were less than 4,000 Yuan before the horse-riding site was established in 2006, however, the annual income increased to 10,000 to 20,000 Yuan at present day.

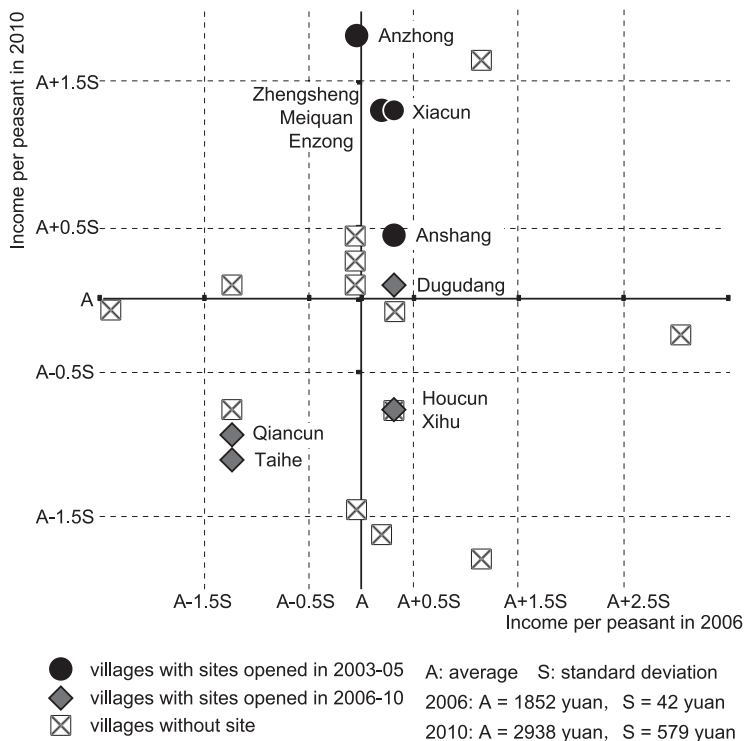
Here is a concrete example of a peasant household of Mr. A in Anzhong Village, in which the first horse-riding site was created. There are 6 persons in A's family: A (35 years old), mother (62), wife (36), son (12), daughter (8). They owned 10 mu farmland and after the establishment of the horse-riding site, they planted apples (2 mu), pears (2 mu), peaches (3 mu), corn (3 mu) and bred 4 horses, 1 cow (for farming), 20 pigs and about 10 hens. Since planting fruit trees produced higher income but needed more labor, they had to employ 60 person*days²⁾ every year (40 Yuan

for 1 person*days) and earned income of 30,000 Yuan including 10,000 Yuan from fruit, and 20,000 Yuan from pigs each year. On the other hand, the income they gained from horse-riding site increased to as much as 20,000 to 30,000 Yuan, which is almost the same as the income from agriculture.

Thus, although there are inequalities among the incomes of the 20 horse-riding sites, the income of 1 household increased to 8,000 Yuan even in the sites of Junliang Administrative Village, where the location is not so good and difficult to access. The operation of horse-riding sites still contributed to the increase of income greatly to peasants. An especially remarkable change can be found when peasants do not need to go for construction labor or side business and they can pay to employ labor if they need. However, with the competition among horse-riding sites becoming intense, profits from each site are decreasing. For example, 1

household earned about 50,000 Yuan in Enzong Erdui Horse-Riding Site in 2006 when it opened, but the income fell to 10,000 from 20,000 Yuan recently. Even though the income of the peasants here depend greatly on the horse-riding sites and horse-riding sightseeing is indispensable to the villagers.

The jump in income of peasants can also be confirmed with statistical data (Figure 4), which shows how high the dependence of households to horse-riding sites had become. Annual income per person in villages with horse-riding sites established by 2005 is on a level relatively near to the average in 2006, however, it increases and exceeds 0.5 times standard deviations higher than average in 2010 (excluding Anshang Village). Especially in the case of Anzhong Village, where the first site was established, the income ranks the highest in 2010, similarly, significant jumps can also be found in the 5 villages of Zhengsheng, Meiquan, Enzong and



Note: 1. Calculated with data from Yunnan Digital Rural Network
 2. Excluding Shangnanyao Dongcun and Shangnanyao Xicun.

Figure 4 Changes in income per peasant of 28 villages (2006, 2010)

Xiacun. However, not all the villages move in the same direction, for example, income of Houcun Village, Xihu Village, Qiancun Village and Taihe Village, where horse-riding sites were opened after 2006, dropped or remained stagnant.

ii Labor Absorption and Changes in Living Style

Although horse-riding sightseeing is now performed in villages such as Haidong on the southeast bank, Meiquan on the east bank and Junliang on the north bank, areas around Lashihai Lake had been an agricultural space and villagers earned their income mainly from cultivation and livestock breeding until tourism development began in the end of the 1990s. After the Production Contract System (*Shengchan Zeren Zhi*) was introduced at the beginning of the 1980s, farmland of 1.5–2.8 mu was allotted to each villager. Peasants commonly combined their occupation with agriculture (crop cultivation and fruit planting), livestock breeding (horse and cow), small-scale fishery, and side businesses in towns in the off-season.

In particular, crop-farming is quite popular in the north and east bank, where peasants can get plenty of water from the river. In the south bank, peasants plant fruits besides crops to increase their income. However, since water for irrigation was chronically insufficient, peasants had to reduce or give up rice planting and depend highly on other crops such as corn and wheat. As a result of advancing deforestation for firewood and house building, the water amount from springs and rivers decreased. Peasants had to change their paddy fields to plant crops such as wheat, broad bean, rape, and also began vegetable planting to supply red-pepper or Chinese yams to the town. Since 2007, ammunition shooting has been used by the county government to hasten snow falling in order to guarantee glacier sightseeing of Mt. Yulong (Mt. Jade Dragon), which is one of the most popular tourist spots in Lijiang. As a result, production of paddy fields and rice decreased.

On the other hand, in the southeast bank the drainage water management collapsed with the dissolution of the People's Commune (*Renmin Gongshe*) and water short-

ages became a serious problem since 1992. Peasants changed their planting from crops to fruit trees such as apple, pear and peach since 1995. The core of agriculture changed from crop farming to fruit planting in this area, and a combination of crop farming and fruit planting became quite common in this area.

With the opening of horse-riding sites, folk restaurants were opened by peasants. Currently, there are also large scale restaurants which can host as many as 100 guests. Such new service facilities became an effective way to absorb excess rural labor.

Also, with the development of horse-riding sightseeing, most peasant households changed their breeding horses from female to male because male horses are much stronger and suitable to horse-riding. Horse-Trading Convention (*Luoma Jiaoliuhui*) is now held twice a year (April and August) in Dugudang Village here, and this has become an essential opportunity for the peasants to purchase horses for their horse-riding operations. This convention has a long history in Lijiang and had been held near the Old Town of Lijiang but changed its site in 2002. Such changes of the convention site also show us the significant jump in the needs of horses in the Lashi Lake area. Both April and August convention periods are 10 days long, and traders from local areas of Lijiang or the neighboring county of Dali, or even traders from as far as Shandong Province, Shanxi Province and Henan Province gather for business. Peasants here purchase their horses for horse-riding sites not only from such conventions, but also from traders visiting their villages. When the horses get old or weak and cannot be used for horse-riding, they can also be sold to other traders to be used as carriers or transport. Therefore, the convention is also a chance for peasants to sell horses and get new horses in hand. Additionally, most of the horses sold at the convention are those between 5–8 years old, which are most suitable to horse-riding. The price is normally 4,000–5,000 yuan for one average horse and 7,000–8,000 yuan for a fine horse.

Although peasants plant corn, broad bean and grass to feed their horses, they do not have sufficient farmland to afford all the feed, and most households have to

purchase feed grains or grass. For example, one horse needs to be fed as much as 100 kg of green grass (April and May) or 25 kg of dried grass with 20 kg of rice bran, 2 kg of corn flour, and 3 kg of broad bean per day. In total, it costs 2,000–3,000 yuan to buy enough broad bean or corn to feed one horse per year, which is a burden to relatively poor households or households with insufficient labor. That is the reason why not all households participate in horse-riding sites. We should also mention that there are lots of restrictions on the horse-riding business for peasants as well.

Table 1 shows remarkable changes in the living style of households participating in horse-riding sites. First, households of horse-riding sites own as many as 3–4 horses, which is more than the number of horses (one to two horses) needed for agricultural farm work. Secondly, each household needs to employ 70 person*days per year for labor; it is quite different from farming households of the past who covered all the farm work by their own domestic labor force. Thirdly, in respect to the land use of the farmland, each household has to scrape up 1 mu of plant grass to feed the horses. And finally, for all the 7 households, income from horse-riding sites

increased to as much as 10,000–30,000 yuan, which is more than that from fruit and pig-breeding.

iii Realization of Democratic Management

Another result of horse-riding sightseeing is the realization of democratic management by the peasants themselves. As mentioned above, in all the 20 horse-riding sites around Lashihai Lake, earnings are divided equally and elections are conducted by the participating peasants. Such democratic operations and methods were realized first in the Anzhong Horse-Riding Site, which is the first site in this area. Horse-riding sightseeing began by individual peasants in 1998, but, organization management was required in correspondence to the rapid increase of tourist needs. It is in 2003 that the association was initially organized with 20 households and 20 horses, where the system of equal division of income and democratic elections were introduced as the principle operating philosophy.

However, tourists didn't increase as expected, to the contrary, participating households increased because more peasants wanted to improve their income. In 2005, one leader was contracted with a salary of 850

Table 1 Living standard of households participating in horse-riding sites (2010)

Case	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)			(5)		
Village	Anzhong			Dugudang			Enzong			Anshang			Qiancun		
Age	30			25			39			42			42		
Sex	male			male			male			male			male		
Duty on site	liaison			leader			member			member			member		
Family members	5			4			5			4			4		
Horses	4			3			3			4			3		
Labor employed (person*days)	70			—			—			70			—		
Farmland (mu)	10			12			9			17			7		
Land use (mu)	F	C	G	F	C	G	F	C	G	F	C	G	F	C	G
	6	3	1	8	4	0	0	8	1	2	13	2	0	6	1
Income (10,000 yuan)	F	P	H	F	P	H	F	P	H	F	P	H	F	P	H
	1	2	3	3	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	3	0	1	1

Note: F: fruit C: crops G: grass P: pig H: horse

yuan per month, requiring each household to provide 2 horses and 1 boat. As a result, participants increased to 40 households and 80 horses. However, such a system of fixed salary didn't give an incentive to motivate the participants to work hard and attract tourists proactively, leading to this leader's failed operation.

It was then that the present leader adopted the operation method employed in 2007 to get the horse-riding site's management moving in a good direction. Most of all, the leader discussed with participating peasants and found out that a liaison is a necessary duty to attract more tourists and that an equal division of earnings is an effective method to promote the employees' motivation. As a result of the introduction of equal division and democratic election, both tourists and participating households increased. Thus, the present operation system was established after trial and error in Anzhong Village, and the other horse-riding sites set up lately all imitated this successful example. Eventually, such management systems have become a common method in Lashihai Lake area.

However, such a democratic and efficient management system is not a common or successful practice in the rest of China. For example, there are also horse-riding sites in Ganhaizi, which is located in the north suburban area of the Old Town of Lijiang. A corporate style of management by the owner towards the employees was employed which centered on the dominant key person of that village. The earnings were divided so 1/3 went to the owner and 2/3 went to employee peasants. As a result, peasants received less income than those of Lashihai Lake area, and finally, their motivation to be proactive decreased, resulting in less tourists.

There are numerous horse-riding sites in China, but it should be noted that such sites in the Lashihai Lake area are rare examples of success of democratic collaboration. Maybe we can presume that the strength of Naxi ethnic minority serves as a determinant factor for the realization of such joint management.

In the tourist region of Yunnan Province, almost all the tourism projects are developed with government or external investors, and local residents, especially ethnic minorities, can hardly participate in or get profit from

tourism development even in their local areas (Ama-mori, 2007).

iv Improvement in Peasants' Capability and Enrichment of Tourism Contents

As a result of the increase in horse-riding sites and competition, each site strives to improve its service quality. For example, Meiquan Horse-Riding Site posts all member photos so that tourists can voice their complaints easily if they are not satisfied with the service. Furthermore, a penalty will be strictly enforced if any member does not provide good service. For example, a penalty of 300 yuan for illustration omissions and 600 yuan for quarreling with the guests are charged. Moreover, this site requires all the members to dress in the same uniform and use the same saddles in order to provide better service than other sites to attract more tourists. Therefore, we can say the development process of horse-riding sightseeing around Lashihai Lake has entered into a period of serious competition over quality of service.

Up to now, the contents of tourism in the World Heritage of Old Town of Lijiang have been limited to street sightseeing in the old town and glacier watching in Mt. Yulong. However, horse-riding sightseeing around Lashihai Lake has enriched tourism content with elements of experience tourism and green tourism, consequently enlarging the area of world heritage tourism in Lijiang.

v Improvement in Peasants' Mutual-Aid Consciousness

Another influence of horse-riding sightseeing is that peasants' mutual-aid consciousness has been strengthened through the setting up of horse-riding sites. In the case of Anzhong Horse-Riding Site, they employ old peasants who don't own horses to do relatively easy jobs such as water boiling and tea preparing with a salary of 500 yuan per month, or donate to high-aged households. Moreover, they are known to give loans to poor households to purchase and breed horses to help such households participate in site management. Thus, an insurance system has been produced to support poor

or old people if they are not able to breed horses in Anzhong Village.

Such consideration and care to poor or old people can also be found in other villages due to the income increase from horse-riding sites. So we can say that collaboration management of horse-riding sites has contributed to the establishment of mutual-aid of local communities.

Moreover, as mentioned above, Anzhong Horse-Riding Site also used its earnings from tenant lease fees for public-benefit projects such as road building, etc. so that households which didn't participate in horse-riding site also indirectly benefit from the profit.

In many cases, horse-riding sites are established by a village unit or group within the same village. Even such establishments can be thought as a reflection or result of the individual village's society or community, profit of horse-riding sites also contributes to the whole local area.

V Conclusion: Influence of World Heritage Tourism and Problems in Horse-Riding Sightseeing

The most serious problem in the horse-riding sightseeing in Lashihai Lake area is that peasants have to pay superfluous commission to guides and drivers of buses or taxi in order to attract tourists. The further the horse-riding site is located from the Old Town of Liji-ang, the more expensive the commission paid by the peasants becomes. Each site considers offering commission as a necessary condition to attract stable numbers of tourists, however, the rise of the commission rate always causes an erosion of profit, thus earnings of participating household decreases, and the management and operation of the horse-riding sites become operationally strained. In addition, the rise of the commission rate also will spoil the profits of tourist who pay fees to the horse-riding sites, and influence the tourists supply to world heritage destination as well as to the destination's image.

Another problem is that the increase of visiting tourists places a burden on the infrastructure of the villages in the area. The road going north from the national

road S308 near Anshang Village, is the only exit for Meiquan, Junliang and Nanyao administrative villages (including 13 villages). However, as many as 17 horse-riding sites are located along this road, whose width is only 6 m, and consequently, traffic congestion happens often. Therefore, both sightseeing behaviors by tourists using buses and the daily life of peasants are influenced with such incidents. But, infrastructure maintenance cannot be developed by the individual village. The government's support is indispensable to solve such problems.

The horse-riding sightseeing performed autonomously by peasants is approaching the threshold of peasants' competence, and the cooperation of villagers and governments will be an important point in the development and future of horse-riding sightseeing.

Collaborative management and operation of horse-riding sites with local Naxi ethnic minorities developed rapidly in the area around Lashihai Lake. And the operation methods such as equal division of earnings and election of leaders by all the participants are fair and democratic. Moreover, the introduction of horse-riding sightseeing has increased the income of peasants and has given benefits to the households which can or do not participate in sites as well, contributing to the development of the whole local community greatly.

It is significant that the horse-riding sightseeing by the autonomous operations of the peasants around Lashihai Lake is not only a success of this local area, but also a desirable method of tourism management in China.

However, there are several tasks and problems that should be solved. The most serious problem is the superfluous commission offered by the peasants to the drivers of taxis or buses to attract more tourists. For example, more than 50% of the payment, paid by tourists to peasants for horse-riding, is offered to drivers as commission by peasants. Necessarily, drivers will take their guests to the sites where higher commissions are offered, and it is said that there are some sites which offer commissions as high as 80% of the horse-riding price. As a result, an increase in commission leads to the decrease of the peasants' earnings and the manage-

ment of horse-riding sites will be quite difficult.

Although the local government of Lashi Township instructed peasants not to offer commissions higher than 50%, how many tourists each site can attract is a matter of life or death, and the reality is that the government's instruction is not working.

Anyway, the payment of excessive commission is a burden to the management of horse-riding sites, and it cannot be a sustainable method for attracting tourists. Contrarily, securing the security of horse-riding and improving services would be a good and effective way to increase repeaters. Most of all, negotiation and communication on unification of commission rate and coexistence among all the horse-riding sites is a necessary and indispensable task.

As shown in Figure 5, the horse-riding sightseeing in Lashihai Lake area came to existence because of the great number of tourists visiting Lijiang for the World Heritage, where tourists can experience the natural scenery, cultural assets, agricultural landscapes and ethnic minority's culture by horse-riding sightseeing. Benefit acts as the motivation to get guides, drivers, external business traders, horse-riding sites and tourists

cooperate together, and strengthens the relation between tourists and horse-riding sites.

The government considers Lashihai Lake area only as a natural wetland conservation area. However, villagers can get little benefit from wetland conservation and seldom take part in such protection activities positively. So, peasants developed horse-riding sightseeing tours in order to get economic benefits as soon as possible. Established on the base of World Heritage tourism, horse-riding sightseeing came into existence because of the flow of profit and investment, as well as tourists. The government has gained profits from World Heritage spots and tourists, and invested mainly in the maintenance of World Heritage and tourism facilities. However, the government invested or participated little in protection which government desired or instructed. Peasants invested in horse-riding sites independently and gained benefit by offering expensive commission, and such mechanism now works well in a good cycle. However, we can hardly say that the principle of horse-riding sites' management is consistent with that of the conservation of wetland. Collaboration and cooperation between government and local villagers will impede

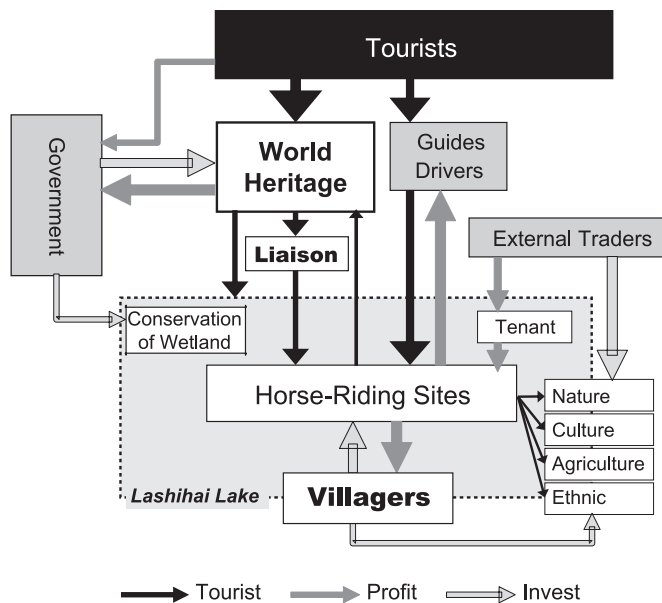


Figure 5 Model of Relation and Mechanism of Horse-Riding Sightseeing and World Heritage Tourism

both wetland conservation and tourism development. Therefore, we can conclude that the future of Lashihai Lake area will be decided with the relationship between the government and villagers.

Notes

- 1) A Chinese unit of area equal to 614.4 square meters.
- 2) Person*days means the result of the number of persons times the number of days the persons worked. For example, 60 person*days = 15 persons × 4 days, or, 60 person*days = 20 persons × 3 days.

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