

A dynamic view on tourism and rural development: A tale of two villages in Yunnan Province, China

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Abstract

Studies on rural development that involves tourism should include any changes over time in agriculture or tourism, the impacts of tourism on agriculture, and the impacts of agriculture on tourism. Among these changes, the impacts of tourism development on rural areas are the most-frequently studied topics; however, very few researchers have considered the impact of agriculture on rural tourism. In order to capture the changes involved, this study traces tourism and agriculture development in two typical villages of contemporary China, where one is tourism-oriented and the other is agriculture-oriented. Through in-depth interviews with 57 villagers, the study presents the complexity of the socio-cultural relationships underpinning agriculture and rural tourism and confirms that these relationships are not static. The comparison sheds light on the villagers' varying attitudes toward rural tourism, their collective management approaches, and the experiences of rural culture they share with visitors. To capture the changing nature of these findings over time, a dynamic model of rural development is generated as a framework for future studies. This study suggests that large-scale villager participation in rural tourism may not be a desirable outcome, as it may contribute to the decline of rurality. It offers a warning against the use of tourism as the sole tool for rural development, even though that has been advocated by the Chinese Central Government as a primary economic strategy for numerous impoverished rural villages.

Keywords: Rural tourism, rural development, agriculture, culture, China

Introduction

China has long been an agricultural country, with a current rural population of about 900 million. The Central Chinese Government pays particular attention to improving the economic income and alleviating poverty in rural regions, issuing 13 consecutive central No. 1 documents on rural-area development between 2004 and 2017 (Yang, 2017). The central No.1 document is the first national document every year to outline the nation's top priority for the coming year.

Over these 13 documents, the government's attention to rural tourism has gradually increased (Yang, 2017). In the No.1 document for 2012, rural tourism was simply mentioned as a by-product of "improving rural ecology". The following year, it was described as one of the major selling points for attracting investment to rural areas and could earn support through tax reduction and special funding. In 2015, the government encouraged rural tourism as one strategy for "promoting first-second-third tier industries" and "alleviating rural poverty". In 2016, "boosting rural tourism" was set as an independent item. In addition to financial support, the development of rural tourism was even entrusted with "land support" whereby the annual land-use planning should purposively set aside areas for recreational farming and rural tourism. In 2017, in addition to being listed as an independent item, rural tourism was also highlighted as a strategy for "cultivating specialty villages and towns" and "exploring the land policy of rural areas".

Clearly, rural tourism is being advocated by the Chinese Central Government as a primary alternative for numerous rural villages, not only for economic consideration,

but also as it resonates with the government's urbanization and land-policy reform. Compared with agriculture and other alternatives, is rural tourism a better choice for rural areas? This paper explores this question by presenting the complex stories of a tourism-oriented versus an agriculture-oriented village in terms of their dynamic, economic and socio-cultural factors.

Agriculture and alternative development

Despite the increasing use of artificial growth factors such as chemical fertilizers and pesticides, agriculture remains a long-standing industry intrinsically connected with nature (Hu, 2012; Van Der Ploeg, 2010). However, agricultural production does not fully occupy farmers' time, due to the natural cycle of plant growth (Hu, 2012). Therefore, farmers are traditionally involved in multiple activities, such as handicraft making. Since the 1950s, various practices derived from and closely related to agriculture, such as agro-tourism, have emerged as important non-agricultural alternatives for farmers (Van Der Ploeg, 2010). In Europe, more than half of the research on professional farmers has focused on the roles and functions of these newly emerged activities in rural areas (Van Der Ploeg, 2010). According to Garcia-Ramon, Canoves, and Valdovinos (1995), such alternatives represent a paradigm shift from "productionism" to "post-productionism" in exploring the non-productive functions of the rural ecosystem.

Such non-productive functions are also noted in Jules Pretty's (2002) account of the original meaning of the word "agriculture," which is "interpreted as two connected

things: agri and culture” (p. xii). Today, however, agriculture is likely to be interpreted only from an “agri” perspective, and viewed simply as the “extraction of biological products and services from an ecosystem” (Sumner, Mair, & Nelson, 2010, p. 55). Agriculture researchers are making increasing efforts to put “the culture back into agriculture” (Pretty, 2002, p. xii) by broadening “understandings of the socio-cultural relationships underpinning agriculture” (Sumner et al., 2010, p. 55). The aim of the current study is to add to this emerging trend, for two reasons. First, tourism can put farmers’ sporadic free time to good use at the local level (Oppermann, 1996). Second, it is important to broaden the examination of tourism by investigating both its economic and socio-cultural impacts. Tourism scholars like Freya Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) have argued that viewing tourism activities purely from an economic perspective may lead to considering tourism only as a means of services production. Such a narrow view is similar to regarding agriculture only as a means of food production. Clearly, a uniting theme in the threads discussed in both agriculture and tourism field is the significance of socio-cultural relationships underpinning services and food production. Therefore, this study includes both economic and socio-cultural factors in its comparison.

Rural tourism and its impacts

Some scholars use the term “rural tourism” interchangeably with “farm tourism” (Fleischer & Tchetchik, 2005). However, Oppermann (1996) recommends broadening the concept of rural tourism to include non-farming tourism in rural communities. Rural

tourism provides a series of farming-related activities for urban tourists, such as sightseeing, farming experience, entertainment, and shopping for rural products, based on the idyllic rural landscape and agricultural resources and culture (Knight, 1996; Oppermann, 1996; Zhou, 2006). Rural tourism is motivated by the differences between urbanity and rurality. References to rural areas elicit nostalgic images of a “natural way of life,” of artlessness, innocence, and simplicity. This image of rurality has been identified as the key selling point of rural tourism (Knight, 1996; Oppermann, 1996; Zhou, 2006).

The positive impact of rural tourism has been investigated with reference to its economic, social, cultural, and environmental attributes (Oppermann, 1996). The attractive economic returns on rural tourism have proved to alleviate the poverty suffered in peripheral areas (Fleischer & Felsenstein, 2000) or to revitalize rural economies (Knight, 1996; Hong, Kim, & Kim, 2003). In a study of visitors’ behaviors in rural Germany, Oppermann (1996) found that the average length of stay was as long as 16 days, and that more than half of the visitors returned to the same regions. Such lengthy periods of stay and such a strong tendency for repeat visits created many economic opportunities for locals. Rural areas highly dependent on tourism tend to experience faster economic growth than non-tourism-dependent rural areas. However, rural tourism and its economic benefits may be merely temporary due to legal or financial barriers (Oppermann, 1996). Although the benefits of tourism may be limited, villagers often show a remarkable willingness to provide tourism services; as Knight (1996) vividly outlined, “[T]here continues to be a hunger for tourism development

locally” (p. 168). Researchers have also noted the positive impact of rural tourism beyond its economic benefits, such as its potential to empower women (Garcia-Ramon et al., 1995), encourage protection of the rural heritage and environment, and promote an agrarian lifestyle at risk of abandonment (Hong et al., 2003; Knight, 1996).

To benefit from the abovementioned positive potential of rural tourism, rural communities should seek to retain their rurality and so ensure their continued attractiveness to tourists. Accordingly, locally owned enterprises, broad community participation, and the protection of culture and the environment play important roles in rural tourism. Studies have summarized the positive effects of community participation on rural tourism as follows: maintaining rurality, increasing farmers’ direct income, and strengthening villagers’ sense of ownership and awareness of the importance of protecting the local culture and social environment (Knight, 1996; Peng & Fu, 2007; Wang, 2006; Zheng & Zhong, 2004). First, rural tourism would be an empty concept without the involvement of villagers. Greater intimacy with villagers is a central attraction for rural tourists, who have the opportunity to really get to know local families (Knight, 1996; Peng & Fu, 2007; Wang, 2006; Zheng & Zhong, 2004). Second, in the absence of community participation, the possible profits of rural tourism would be reaped by external investors. Researchers have called on locals to extend the benefits of tourism by increasing the number of locally operated tourism businesses and the proportion of locally supplied goods used in the tourism sector (Knight, 1996; Peng & Fu, 2007; Wang, 2006; Zheng & Zhong, 2004). Third, rural tourism relies on villages’ natural and idyllic environment. Villagers may not recognize the importance of

protecting these resources if they are unable to participate in tourism services.

Dynamic view of rural tourism

Resistance to change is not conducive to rural tourism, and to avoid portraying static “frozen-in-time” situations that are quickly dated, researchers should adopt a more-inclusive dynamic view that captures the changes in agriculture, tourism, the impact of tourism on agriculture, and the impact of agriculture on tourism. For example, the emphasis of rural tourism is shifting from “seeing” to “doing” (Knight, 1996). Nowadays, many farms offer tourists the opportunity to engage in farming labor, such as picking tea leaves or planting fields. Only a few studies of rural tourism have adopted a dynamic perspective through longitudinal research, thus limiting the conclusions they have drawn. As noted in the previous section on the impact of rural tourism, many studies have addressed the impact of tourism on agriculture with the aim of promoting tourism in rural areas, but few have explored the impact of agriculture on tourism.

Among these few studies, Fleischer and Tchetchik (2005) and Vanslebrouck, Huylenbroeck, and Meensel (2005) suggest conflicting results in two countries. Both are based on the rural accommodation sector and employed the same approach--the Hedonic Pricing Method (HPM), which is based on potential consumers’ estimated valuation of different environmental and economic characteristics of a product. Vanslebrouck et al.’s (2005) study in Belgium found that rural tourists were willing to pay more for rural landscape with animal grazing in meadows rather than landscape

with fodder crops, green houses, and intensive livestock. Fleischer and Tchetchik's (2005) study in Israel concluded that agriculture activities involved in rural accommodation enterprises do not influence visitors' perceptions of price. However, the findings in both studies, being limited to the accommodation sector, might not be applicable to other rural tourism activities, and to societies such as China. In addition, this paper argues that studies on the influence of agriculture on rural tourism should move beyond merely assessing physical factors such as the effect of animals grazing in meadows, and extend to determining social-cultural factors, such as villagers' attitudes to tourism and tourists.

Local residents' involvement and attitudes to tourism tend to evolve dynamically. The "destination life cycle" (Butler, 1980) outlines potential changes in locals' involvement in tourism--from initial scattered participation in the involvement stage, to notable increase in the exploration stage, and to declining involvement because of their replacement by external companies in the development stage. Doxey's (1976) "Index of Tourist Irritation" model identified residents' changing attitudes as the local tourism industry grows--from levels of euphoria, apathy, irritation, antagonism, to the final level. In the euphoria stage, local residents are passionate about tourism development as it brings income and employment opportunities. Visitors are greeted happily and warmly. As the industry grows, residents might take tourism income for granted and be influenced by negative impacts, such as inflation; thus, they interact with tourists only formally. Deteriorating local attitudes can lead to vocal conflicts in the antagonism stage. Clearly, villagers' involvement in and attitudes to rural tourism will change as

the industry grows. Although developing theoretical models like the “destination life cycle” and “Index of Tourist Irritation” is demanding, studies on rural development and rural tourism would benefit by embedding similar dynamic views to capture changes over time, a view which has not been emphasized in the existing literature.

China’s opening-up policy of economic reform has been in effect for 30 years, and rural areas have experienced rapid cultural and social changes during this period (Yan, 2005). Villagers may migrate to urban areas, particularly coastal regions, or work in non-agricultural industries such as tourism. Some farmers abandon agriculture altogether. In response to such challenges, the question arises of how to maintain the attractiveness of rural tourism. Widespread community participation in rural tourism is believed to promote the sustainable development of tourism. However, this paper argues that widespread community participation is not only insufficient to achieve the goal of maintaining rurality for rural tourism, but may even create obstacles to the process. The logic is easy to understand: authentic rurality may decline if too many villagers become occupied with tourism at the expense of agriculture. Indeed, some danger signs have become evident since the widespread adoption of rural tourism in Chinese rural villages.

The paper opens with the emerging trend of China’s Central Government advocating rural tourism as a primary alternative for rural areas, which inspires our curiosity: is tourism a better choice than agriculture and other alternatives? We then locate this question in three related academic themes: agriculture and alternative development, rural tourism and its impacts, and dynamic views of rural tourism. The

first theme has provided two implications for the current study: 1) the adoption of non-agriculture alternatives, such as tourism, has a long history in rural communities; and 2) the social-cultural relationships underpinning tourism services and food production are too important to be ignored, as stressed in Pretty's (2002) calls for putting "the culture back into agri-culture" (p. xii). The second theme highlights the necessity of maintaining rurality to keep the attractiveness of a rural destination and the importance of widespread community participation in tourism efforts, so as to promote their sustainability. In particular, tourism is presented as having a promising role in poverty alleviation because of the frequently discussed economic impacts that are too tempting to refuse. The third theme identifies the need for researchers to take a dynamic view of changes in agriculture, tourism, the impact of tourism on agriculture, and the impact of agriculture on tourism. This last item has seldom been discussed in the literature. Two studies among the scarce literature examine the influence of rural landscape and activities on the rural accommodation sector, but only in a very limited way, as they were confined to observing only the physical phenomena, in two specific countries.

The position of this paper is that such studies should be country specific and should be expanded to cover the determining social-cultural factors such as villagers' attitudes to tourism and tourists. Two dynamic tourism theories, the "destination life cycle" and the "Index of Tourist Irritation" are briefly discussed to present recognized patterns of changes in local residents' involvement in and attitudes towards tourism as it develops. Changes in Chinese rural areas are also described. Therefore, the aim of this study is to embrace the dynamic view in our report of the complexity of rural

tourism and agriculture development in two Chinese villages: one is tourism-oriented and the other is agriculture-oriented. Both economic and social-cultural factors are considered.

Methodology

Economic benefits have been cited as the major argument for promoting tourism in rural areas (Fleischer & Felsenstein, 2000; Hong et al., 2003; Knight, 1996). To fulfill the research purpose, two financially deprived villages in Yunnan Province, Jade Village (tourism-oriented) and Red River Village (agriculture-oriented), were selected for investigation. Such poor and remote villages normally rely heavily on tourism, which can generate conspicuous benefits for villagers. However, a newfound dedication to tourism development may shift residents' focus from agriculture to tourism. In addition, few alternative industries are available to enable them to escape poverty. Tourism and agriculture have become the major determinants of villagers' behaviors and attitudes. Therefore, comparing these two previously poor villages provides a simplified means of achieving the study's purpose: to present the impacts of agriculture and tourism development in Chinese rural villages.

Yunnan Province was selected as the research target due to its well-established tourism services. The province is home to the largest number of poor counties and ethnic groups in China, along with 12 percent of China's "aid the poor" counties as defined by the government (Liao, 2008; Ning, 2000). Yunnan Province is trapped in poverty, with 5.4 million residents still living without sufficient clean water, electricity,

healthcare, or employment. At the end of 2009, 1.5 million people in the province were living in extreme poverty, with a per capita annual income of less than RMB785 (about US\$100) (Yunnan Provincial Government, 2010). This income indicator, suggested by Krishna (2007), was used to select the study sites. Poverty being a major problem in Yunnan, particular in ethnic minority dominated areas (Ning, 2000), tourism seemed to be a promising solution, due to the resources offered by the natural scenery and rich ethnic culture (Ning, 2000). Most ethnic groups make a living by wood-cutting, hunting, and herding. Considerable numbers of tourists visiting China's remote mountain areas have shown great interest in experiencing such a unique culture. As a result, tourism has quickly developed as a pillar industry in certain impoverished regions. The residents of some regions, such as Lijiang, have already gained useful experience in tourism management to accompany the regions' natural tourism resources. Accordingly, Jade Village in Lijiang City and Red River Village in the Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture were selected as study cases. Additional background information on both villages is provided in the findings section, offering important insights into the process of their development.

The study was exploratory due to the limited existing research that has adopted the dynamic view of rural tourism. Qualitative methods were used to develop a preliminary understanding of the topic. In order to present changes over times, informants must be local villagers who know their village's past and present well, and who represent different genders and ages. Both villagers and leaders were invited for semi-structured interviews based on their willingness to participate. Field studies were

conducted in August and December, 2011, respectively, and included 50 informants from Jade Village and seven from Red River Village. Of the 50 villagers from Jade, five were former leaders of the village's tourism cooperatives. Of the seven Red River participants, two were leaders of their cooperatives. The number of participants from the two villages is uneven because the rural population in Jade is five times more than that of Red River, and the former was the major study case of the first author's Master's thesis on poverty alleviation and tourism cooperatives. The exploration of the research questions was supplemented by collecting secondary data on Red River. In addition, the two interviews conducted in Red River, one with a leader and another with a villager, lasted for nearly two hours, yielding rich in-depth information on the village.

Findings

This section first provides an overview of each community, delineating features of their tourism and agriculture development and changes over time. Next, it highlights the differences between the two villages in villagers' attitudes toward tourism, collective village management practices, and the types of agricultural culture presented to tourists.

Development of agriculture and tourism

Jade Village

Jade Village, located at the foot of Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, 15 km from downtown

Lijiang, has been recognized as the original home of the Naxi ethnic group (Horst, Fredrich, and Su, 2006). In 2011, according to village statistics, Jade was home to 358 households, comprising 1,340 villagers (data collected during fieldwork). Due to the village's location on the periphery of the Lijiang Basin, traditional Naxi culture, with its distinct "monkey head"-like stone houses, has been completely preserved. In the early 20th century, the Austrian-American ethnologist Joseph Rock visited the village to learn about Naxi culture, and stayed for 21 years (China Discovery, 2012). Since the beginning of the 21st century, the area's rich tourism resources, namely Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, stone houses, Naxi culture, and Rock's previous residence, have brought many international and domestic tourists to this isolated village.

Based on the participants' accounts, the organization of tourism activities took three main forms of operation: Stage 1) individual operation (1990 to 2004); Stage 2) operation of tourism cooperative (May 2004 to October 2009); Stage 3) renting to a private company (October 2009 to present). This paper is organized chronologically, highlighting the nature of tourism operation, participation in the provision of tourism services, and attitudes toward tourism during the three consecutive stages.

At first, the majority of tourists visiting Jade Village were domestic. Food and guidance were supplied by the villagers to fulfill tourists' specific requests. A number of domestic excursionists from the Lijiang region visited the village to pray at a local well for love, pregnancy, and fortune. The increased domestic visitors afforded Jade Village great tourism business opportunities; tourists were particularly eager to lease horses from the villagers to visit Jade Dragon Snow Mountain. Some villagers sought

to interest any tourists they met in visiting their village and employed other villagers to lead horses for tourists. The spontaneous tourism business arising before the establishment of Jade's tourism cooperative is categorized here as Stage 1 of the village's tourism activities (individual operation).

In 2004, a new village leader, Zhao, was elected democratically by the villagers for his strong business network and knowledge. Zhao established the Jade Tourism Cooperative to regulate tourism services and create equal opportunities for the villagers. "Pooling resources, sharing benefits equally; everyone participates; every household benefits" was the slogan of the tourism cooperative, familiar to all of its members. The majority of Jade's residents had expressed a strong desire to share the profits of tourism. This drove them to jointly establish a tourism cooperative. The cooperative's management board comprised three village heads and nine group heads elected by the villagers. Three visitor routes, ranging from short to long distances and offered at different rates, were designed after discussion with the villagers. The cooperative was in charge of all of the village's horse-riding activities, and the profits were pooled as collective funds. Every villager had an equal opportunity to provide services for tourists, in a service "circle." The whole village was involved in and profited from the village's tourism business. This collective form of organization, which lasted from May 2004 to October 2009, is categorized here as Stage 2 of the village's tourism activities.

During Stage 3, the villagers rented their collective business to a private company under a 5-year contract, beginning in October 2009. The private company was responsible for marketing and internal management, and paid the village committee

RMB250,000 per year. Two additional itineraries, simply taking tourists around the village rather than climbing the mountain, were created to provide lower-cost options. Although the villagers complained that the private company had profited unfairly from the village's resources, they were clearly aware that the company provided what they had lacked: in addition to assuming responsibility for operating risk, the company had marketing skills, a strong business and government network, considerable experience, and strong financial resources. The private company bore the risk of failure if the number of tourists did not increase. Accordingly, no villagers would be accountable in the event of failure. After renting out the business, the village leaders were also subject to less pressure from villagers, as they no longer needed to concern themselves with tourism management. The company ran other tourism operations in the center of Lijiang, such as hotels, travel agencies, and scenic attractions. It collaborated closely with other travel agencies and various local government bodies. During the first 2 years of Stage 3, the company put more effort into marketing in metropolitan areas such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Kunming, increasing the number of package tourists, who normally chose only the two new shorter routes. The company also considered scaling up its package-tourism business to ensure that every villager could work on the short routes twice a day. The managerial staff appreciated the company's success, saying that "our boss has led our village to another spring-like boom."

Farming conditions in Jade Village are not good. The fields are barren, sandy, and rocky. In addition, the weather is cold due to the village's proximity to Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, which makes farming even more difficult. Therefore, the villagers

established a tradition of adopting alternative activities, such as basket and broom making, snow-herb collecting, illegal timber cutting, illegal mineral exploitation, and sand digging. Only cold-resistant species such as wheat, corn, and potatoes can be grown. The annual yield of most agricultural products is sufficient only to feed the village's households, along with their pigs and horses. Barely any extra grain is available to sell. Rice cannot be grown due to the cold. The villagers normally sell some of their wheat and buy rice. Almost all participants reported low returns from farming.

Participating in tourism generated a supplementary income for the villagers. However, the expansion of tourism also changed farming conditions in three main ways. First, more than half of the village's fields were rented to one company to grow two local specialized agricultural products, namely walnuts and peaches. Neither product had previously been grown in the village. However, the demand for localized products grew with the dramatic increase in tourists. Land was rented for RMB350 per acre per year. Several villagers who did not wish to rent their land had to follow this collective decision, as it was enforced by the city. Second, additional clean water was needed with the expansion of downtown Lijiang, a touristic city. Water from the river adjacent to the village was distributed for use in the urban environment. In return, the villagers received compensation from the city. They became less likely to grow crops over a large area due to low water availability. Third, further labor was required for tourism services. Therefore, an increasing number of young villagers participated in tourism, while elderly people continued to pursue farming.

These changes to farming conditions were widely acknowledged in the village.

For instance, one middle-aged participant, Wei, offered the following account.

Our six-person family had around 20 acres of field. At present, we are renting out 15 acres, with 5 left on which to grow potatoes, corn, and wheat. Agriculture yields less income in the cold weather. Farming barely provides enough to support us. Since renting our land to the boss, we have to buy more food, which represents a large proportion of our living costs, especially as food prices may sharply increase.

Several participants expressed similar concerns about their low income from farming and increasing food expenses. Members of the older generation, over 40 years old, were accustomed to ensuring that their families remained self-sufficient in terms of food. As farmers, they were also worried about buying more food from the market, as it was associated with a higher risk of price change. One of the villagers also complained about the poor quality of food bought from the market. For instance, she found that pork bought from the market tasted different from home-raised pork. The villagers had less farmland to till and less grain to feed to their pigs so they had to purchase grain from the market. Although they had calculated that raising pigs was more expensive than purchasing pork directly from markets, some still raised pigs for family consumption. Arguably, agriculture was not merely a source of income for villagers, but also closely connected to their traditional livelihoods and lifestyle.

Red River Village

Red River Village in Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture is one of China's National Civilization Villages, a designation based on the villagers' tradition of collaborating to make a living, and the resulting close relationships. The village is

located 25 km from the city center and consists of 56 households, comprising 236 villagers. The villagers belong to the Yi ethnic group, although only a few Yi ethnic traditions have been retained. No scenic attractions are close to the village, which is the major barrier to attracting long-distance tourists. Before the 1990s, similar to other villages in the mountains, Red River was fairly poor due to the difficulty of farming in mountainous areas. The majority of its fields were small and irregularly shaped, following the slope of the mountain. Notably, one family had more than twenty small fields to till, which made farming difficult.

Two initiatives changed the living conditions of the impoverished villagers. In 1997, an innovation resulted in a fundamental improvement of the villagers' lifestyles. The village leader sought assistance from an agricultural-technology center to introduce a new rice species: Yunhui 290. This new rice, which was sold at prices twice those of ordinary rice, began to be cultivated by the Red River villagers. In 2009, the village leader implemented an initiative to unify the village's scattered fields and used machines to level hilly ground. After this extensive redevelopment and leveling, the fields were more suitable for farming. Each family had a large area of field, making it easier to build greenhouses and thereby extend the farming season to winter. The greenhouses were used to grow vegetables, such as tomatoes, sweet peppers, and eggplants, which could be sold for high prices. One village leader commented on the greenhouses as follows: "We have the same amount of land, but since the redevelopment of our fields, the number of farming seasons has increased from one to three. Therefore, our production has notably risen." As these words highlight, better

rice species and field conditions have improved farming output and generated a stable income for Red River villagers. The villagers also called their collaborative set-up a farming cooperative.

Meanwhile, collaboration among the 56 households enhanced the farming activities of this small community. The unification of scattered fields could not be realized without the consent of every villager. Collective decisions were achieved through four drivers: good relationships within the village, good leadership, collaboration in rice planting, and financial support from the local government. One locally born participant remembered that when she was a child, villagers had borrowed meat or grain from each other in times of need. She believed that such acts were made possible by the small size of their village. This tradition of collaboration has been passed down. At the time of the study, the village leader, Rong, had held his position for 16 years by a nearly unanimous voter decision. The villagers listened to and respected his suggestions due to his reputation and personal charm. Rong and another villager grew the new rice, Yunhui 290, before promoting it to the whole village. Once the whole village had started to grow the same rice, the villagers bought the seeds and pesticides as a group. Therefore, they had stronger bargaining power than individual farmers. They also closely collaborated in rice planting, which facilitated further cooperation on unifying the fields. Lastly, Rong applied for RMB300,000 financial support from local government for his redevelopment initiative as it could benefit the entire village. After the villagers' land had been redeveloped, their collaboration extended to tilling, using pesticides, and harvesting.

In addition to collective rice tilling, the villagers' alliances extended to their housing. Red River Village is also known as the "villa village" now because every family has a two- or three-storey home. The farmers were not particularly rich but achieved this status by helping each other to build new houses. By pooling their labor and financial resources, every family could afford a new house. Although the villagers lacked knowledge of construction and had to pay a contractor to build their houses, they helped each other with low-skilled tasks such as delivering materials and tearing down old houses. In short, helping each other made the villagers' daily lives smoother.

Due to their cooperative culture, it was easy for the village leaders to gain considerable support from the villagers for the construction of public spaces for tourism. Red River attracted many leaders, scholars, and farmers to provide tourism services, which became their major part-time activity. The villagers were confident in the potential value of farming tourism and were willing to present their farms as tourist attractions. Their collective culture was also implemented in their organization of tourism services. A collective canteen was built to meet tourists' food needs and was also used for village celebrations. The village's service group comprised one woman from each family, all of whom took turns serving tourists. If visitors required accommodation, they were directed to different families, following a set order. A collective entertainment center was built to be used for performances to the visitors, and also to be used by the villagers themselves for dancing and singing practice.

In 2010, to make their tourism services more attractive, the village leaders initiated several ideas for tourism planning and discussed them with the villagers. The

leaders then solicited assistance from the local government to formulate a tourism-development plan. Construction began in the planning stage, with activities such as cleaning the village, establishing recreation activities along the river in front of the village, partially paving farm-activity display areas, and building a concentrated stock-feeding area. Women also began cleaning the entire village twice a week. Certain fields were allocated for tourism to give visitors experience of farming and paved to accommodate visitors' sanitation preferences. Fourteen acres of collective land were used to build a dining area for visitors and a clean environment for the whole village. In January 2012, a study group from Japan also visited Red River Village to learn about the villagers' collective culture. Therefore, agricultural collaboration brought big changes to the village. Despite this influx of tourists, however, farming remained the village's primary source of income.

The villages' respective trajectories of tourism and agricultural development, as described above, are also briefly outlined in Table 1.

Table 1. Similarities and differences between Jade and Red River

Items	Jade	Red River
Location	15 km to city center	25 km to city center
	Nearby scenic attractions	Far from scenic attractions
Size	358 households (1,340 villagers)	56 households (236 villagers)
Farming condition	Barren, sandy, and rocky fields; cold weather	Hilly, scattered fields
	Tradition of adopting alternative activities	Hilly areas tilled to give even fields
Changes in farming	Only cold-resistant species could be grown in the past	New rice species and various vegetable species introduced

	and present	
	Low returns from farming	Profitable farming activities
	No difference in management	Collective farming management
	Reduced field area: 50% of land rented to tourism company to facilitate expansion of tourism consumption	Extended farming season from one to three through greenhouses with improved farming conditions
	Farmers' access to water restricted to accommodate sharp growth in region's tourists numbers	No changes in water accessibility
	Only the elderly farm; the young prefer to work in tourism	Villagers of all age groups continue to farm
Tourism	Collectively owned due to the desire for equality	Collectively owned due to collective farming management
	Since 1990	Since 2009
	Many visitors	Few visitors
	High expectations of tourism	Tourism is considered a part-time occupation

Different attitudes toward tourism

The majority of visitors to Red River expected to learn about the village's cooperative farming culture. Most of the early visitors were leaders and farmers from other villages. Typically, the village culture was introduced by local tourism service groups, which also generated a sense of pride among the locals. As the village's collective culture and methods of resource dissemination were well known by every Red River villager, the villagers were the best tour guides to their own village. Due to their voluntary participation in the tourism industry and the small number of visitors, villagers did not

consider leading tours a burden, but rather the best use of their time when not farming.

Farming continued to be the village's primary source of income. The number of tourists was not large, and tourism revenue was equally distributed among the villagers. Therefore, although the Red River villagers understood the economic benefits of tourism, they considered it less important than the Jade villagers did. One female informant, Xihong (in pseudonym), regarded her limited earnings from tourism as merely a casual form of income, of which she had low expectations. The villagers' farming income was also variable. Xihong cited the price drop in sweet papers in 2010 as an example of farming risk. However, she remained satisfied with the corresponding income from agriculture, because putting more effort into farming generally yielded more income. Her major motivation for volunteering to clean the village was to ensure that visitors retained a positive image of it, rather than seeking purely to cater to tourists. As a result of their low income from tourism and their low expectations of tourism, the Red River villagers held a neutral position on the industry.

This neutral position was evident from the following remarks made by the village leader, Rong (in pseudonym).

Tourism relying on competition between individual farmers would be meaningless. Individual farmers could compete with each other by lowering prices or cheating visitors. Such behavior is not conducive to sustainable tourism development. Therefore, we in Red River Village understand that we must develop tourism based not on competition but on close cooperation. If tourism were to damage our current close relationships, we would rather not engage in it at all.

Rong's words reflected the villagers' emphasis on close relationships and prioritization of village culture over tourism. Similarly, three villagers interviewed

separately expressed appreciation for their village's cooperative culture, as indicated in the following comment of Ren (pseudonym):

Compared with other villages, whether encountered in stories or in person, I strongly feel that our Red River Village is special. For example, Leader Rong and 10 of us visited another famous tourism destination, Xishuangbanna. The scenery was beautiful; however, there seemed to be a large gap between rich and poor in the village. I strongly appreciate the equality and close relationships in our village. I have never encountered our village's level of equality elsewhere.

In Jade, local residents' attitudes toward tourism changed from positive after receiving sudden benefits from tourism to negative after becoming dissatisfied with the limited benefits of participation. All of the villagers interviewed reported that tourism had ameliorated their living conditions. Their income from tourism, however, had not significantly changed their lives. Most of the villagers explained that tourism was just one of their part-time jobs, in addition to farming. Having participated in the industry for several years, they had little confidence that tourism would significantly improve their lives in the future. For instance, one participant, Mei (pseudonym), reported that several members of her family had experienced repeated illness, including her father, whose disease had made him unable to work. Due to their financial difficulties, they were still using a 14-inch television and furniture in a very poor condition as late as 2011. Mei's grandfather offered the following account of the family's financial situation.

We received only 20 yuan in payment from one tourist. That covered only a 10-yuan pack of tobacco and lunch. Where was the extra money for my breakfast, dinner, wine, tea, clothes, shoes, salt, and oil? I had to do other work to earn enough money to cover our cost of living.

Spending a large proportion of one's income on tobacco and eating out contradicts

the traditional image of poor people, who are often believed to reduce their cost of living by purchasing nothing but necessities. However, like Mei's grandpa, most of the male informants reported that their income from tourism did not cover the cost of wine or tobacco.

One informant noted that the villagers' enthusiasm for tourism was not as strong as it had been during the early stages of the tourism cooperative. Villagers who had experienced the benefits of the tourism cooperative had higher expectations of the economic benefits of tourism, as they had been involved in tourism provision for longer. Therefore, they were understandably dissatisfied with their unchanged income from tourism. According to one cooperative leader, the villagers commonly used their income from tourism to buy wine and tobacco. However, one local government official presented a different view, highlighting the importance of wine and tobacco in Naxi culture. Wine and tobacco were highly valued for their roles in forging and maintaining social relationships. According to one 100-year-old tradition, any individual returning from the center of Lijiang was required to bring back wine and tobacco for everyone they knew. Regardless of how they used their earnings from tourism, the villagers' growing dissatisfaction with their tourism income was problematic.

Dissatisfaction was not the only attitude expressed by informants. One young man expressed his preference for involvement in tourism services over agriculture.

I like leading horses for tourists. Leading horses is easy if I can chat at the same time. Interestingly, many tourists were originally from rural areas; they feel as if they're returning to their hometowns when they visit our village. Compared with leading horses, farming requires much more hard work in the strong sun. Therefore, we young people dislike farm work. I prefer leading horses to farming.

Compared with the older generation, who raised concerns about their potential inability to ensure self-sufficiency in agricultural products, members of the younger generation tended to prefer tourism to farming, as in Jade. Overall, most of the people in Jade were dissatisfied with their income from tourism. One grandfather in Jade who was over 80 years old identified external investment as a potential reason for the villagers' limited income from tourism.

Lijiang City relies heavily on tourism. Many foreign businessmen invest in Lijiang. The local government has also set up a special administration to attract more investment. As a result, Lijiang City is full of businessmen from northern China, Taiwan, and even the U.S.A., which is a nationwide concern. All of the benefits [of tourism] have been extracted by these capitalists.

With such skepticism about the external investment in tourism, the villagers had little hope that tourism activities would dramatically change their lives.

Different attitudes toward collective management

Jade's cooperative was in place for only 5 years and was disbanded amid anger and mutual distrust between the villagers and their leaders. In contrast, the Red River villagers cooperated closely for almost 20 years, and their leader Rong retained his role for more than 16 years. One Red River villager offered the following explanation of the local people's ability to cooperate for such a long time.

It works because of the equality among villagers. The gains of farming are equal to the input of hard work. Red River Village focuses consistently on farming, ensuring that villagers are equal in status. This makes it easier to manage and coordinate our efforts. Tourism is just an alternative business activity for us. If our village relied heavily on

tourism, we would become unequal and our work would be difficult to manage.

Several other villagers expressed similar opinions on their equality. The first author was also impressed by the frequency of collective meetings and the organization of the villagers' collective trips. Red River villagers held a collective meeting every two weeks to discuss the village's management and ways of implementing government policy. To accommodate farmers' work schedules, the meetings were normally held in the evening. Almost every villager spoke passionately about attending the meetings. Some even attended with two or three family members. The village also supported group trips to other tourism destinations or famous farming villages. On returning, the participants shared their experience with the other villagers.

In Jade Village, visible improvements were made in the wake of the establishment of the tourism cooperative. The poverty experienced by many villagers was alleviated in terms of both resources and power, and the cooperative made use of democratically expressed public opinion to expand and strengthen the positive effects of tourism. The non-monetary benefits of the tourism cooperative were obvious. Due to its public nature, the growing tourism industry benefited the whole village. The communal funds raised for education, services for elders in the village, and improvements to basic and tourism infrastructure supported the further development of the tourism cooperative.

However, the number of tourists visiting Jade dropped dramatically in 2008 as a result of fierce external competition and internal management problems. Villagers were only able to earn money from tourism once a week. Fierce competition from other local

villages, financial depression, and the Wenchuan earthquake were identified as the major external reasons for the decline. Jade Village was the first village to offer horse riding for tourists, demonstrating to other villages a lucrative direction for tourism business. Within 2 years, many villages in Lijiang, such as Yulong Village and Lashihai Village, had started to explore the horse-riding business.

Meanwhile, tourism was affected by internal management problems, such as a general lack of confidence in management, bad attitudes, the poor management style of a new leader, and the ineffective implementation of rules. The former head of the village had promoted work in the township government. The new head did not have enough business experience and skills to do the same, and due to the resulting uncertainty, previously determined rules were poorly implemented. Criticism from villagers further destabilized the village's management. Frequent complaints were made about mistakes made by managerial staff, along with a general refusal to obey their orders. The villagers did not trust their leaders, and the leaders performed poorly due to internal institutional collapse. They believed the villagers would receive more equal opportunities if they rented their tourism business to a private company.

Differences in village culture presented to tourists

Jade villagers visited the center of Lijiang City to invite potential tourists to visit their village, seeking to earn commission from horse-riding tickets. Professional dancing staff dressed in native clothing were employed to perform for visitors at the village

tourist center. In Jade itself, one villager was assigned to each visitor to provide services such as horse transportation. Three visiting routes were clearly delineated over the years of tourism development, with the most expensive most frequently offered. All of the products and services provided by the Jade villagers were treated as goods on the market. The villagers used various techniques to simplify their work: for example, they avoided holding the reins of the horses, regardless tourists' safety, or turned back before reaching the destination to which tourists had paid to travel. Consequently, the private management company had to recruit more staff to monitor the quality of service.

Initially, the Jade villagers considered tourism a professional business, and valued the opportunities it offered to earn additional income. The perception of equality within their village and sense of ownership resulted in fulfillment and satisfaction. However, as their income from tourism was still the same, the quality of their service decreased, which was considered an expression of their dissatisfaction with their collectively owned tourism cooperative. The local agricultural heritage was passed over in favor of tourism, and local people's thinking became dominated by expectations of the benefits of tourism.

Red River's most recent tourism experience with only a limited number of tourists was very similar to the early stages of tourism development in Jade Village. Red River villagers' attitudes toward tourists were relatively friendly. For instance, one Red River villager invited me to have dinner at her house. While there, I suddenly recalled a story I had heard about Jade Village: in keeping with the generous nature of the Naxi people, a young woman, Lily, and her mother prepared a delicious chicken soup boiled with

Cordyceps sinensis from Jade Garden Snow Mountain for some early tourists to express their hospitality and friendship, impressing the guests, who willingly paid an additional 500 yuan as an appreciation. In 2012, however, this was no longer a typical way of treating tourists, as the sharp increase in visitors had disturbed the Jade villagers' regular lives.

During this developmental period, visitors were able to ask the village committee for information on local agriculture. Local leaders or service groups showed tourists around the village, familiarizing them with the setting. The visitors informed their hosts of places in which they were particularly interested, freely arranging their own stays in the village. As mentioned in the previous section, Red River is also known as the “villa village” because the villagers helped each other to build their own two- or three-floor buildings. As these houses were considered the result of the villagers' joint efforts, they were appealing to tourists. Visitors were welcome to visit the homes of the villagers, who offered hospitality or invited them to experience farming activities. The villagers' goal was to promote open communication with the tourists, not to cater to their every whim. During this study, the Red River villagers seemed to communicate normally, rather than try their best to please visitors. The first author was impressed by the frankness and friendliness of the hosts. The village practices represented authentic rural life without touristic decoration.

Discussion and conclusion

In response to the calls made by Pretty (2002) and Sumner et al. (2010) to put “the culture back into agriculture”, and by Freya Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) to revive “the power of tourism as a social force”, this paper reports on the complexity of the socio-cultural relationships underpinning agriculture and rural tourism in two formerly impoverished villages for over 20 years: Jade and Red River, in Yunnan Province, China. Both cases are evidence of the shift in profit driven effort described in the agriculture literature, as farmers have allotted more of their free time to participating in local non-agriculture alternatives (Hu, 2012; Oppermann, 1996; van Der Ploeg, 2010) such as rural tourism. The Red River villagers reported more free time under collective agriculture management. For example, only 10 people were responsible for pesticide control for the entire village, a collective initiative that gave individual farmers more free time. Obviously, having alternatives for development or livelihood is necessary, but while evaluating the impacts of alternatives, social-culture factors must be considered.

Rurality, including both natural and cultural elements, is the major driver of rural tourism (Knight, 1996; Oppermann, 1996; Zhou, 2006). Through intentionally engaging social-cultural factors in our analysis, we are able to see many valuable highlights beyond food and service production, such as cooperative culture and equal status. For the Red River villagers, agriculture was not only a means of living, but also a means of building harmonious relationships with each other. They thus valued their village culture more than tourism. Therefore, socio-cultural factors cannot be ignored

when investigating ways of maintaining rurality and analyzing rural development, a view that contradicts those in previous literature that has promoted tourism in rural areas by highlighting its overwhelming economic benefits (Fleischer & Felsenstein, 2000; Hong et al., 2003; Knight, 1996).

Tourism and agriculture have become the major determinants of villagers' behaviors and attitudes in Jade and Red River villages. Although we were not able to be physically there to observe both cases over the years, we have extended our period of field research and our inquiry questions to cover more than 20 years' of villagers' oral history. Such an extended timeframe has not only provided us with an overall picture of tourism and agriculture development, but has also highlighted the significance of involving a dynamic view in the analysis of rural development. Specifically, the dynamic view should consider changes in agriculture, tourism, the impacts of tourism on agriculture, and the impacts of agriculture on tourism, under the categories summarized in Figure 1. The findings are mainly organized in chronological sequence so as to avoid fractural and decontextualized information. Thus, our dynamic view of tourism and rural development is organized in the following model, summing up of our empirical findings.

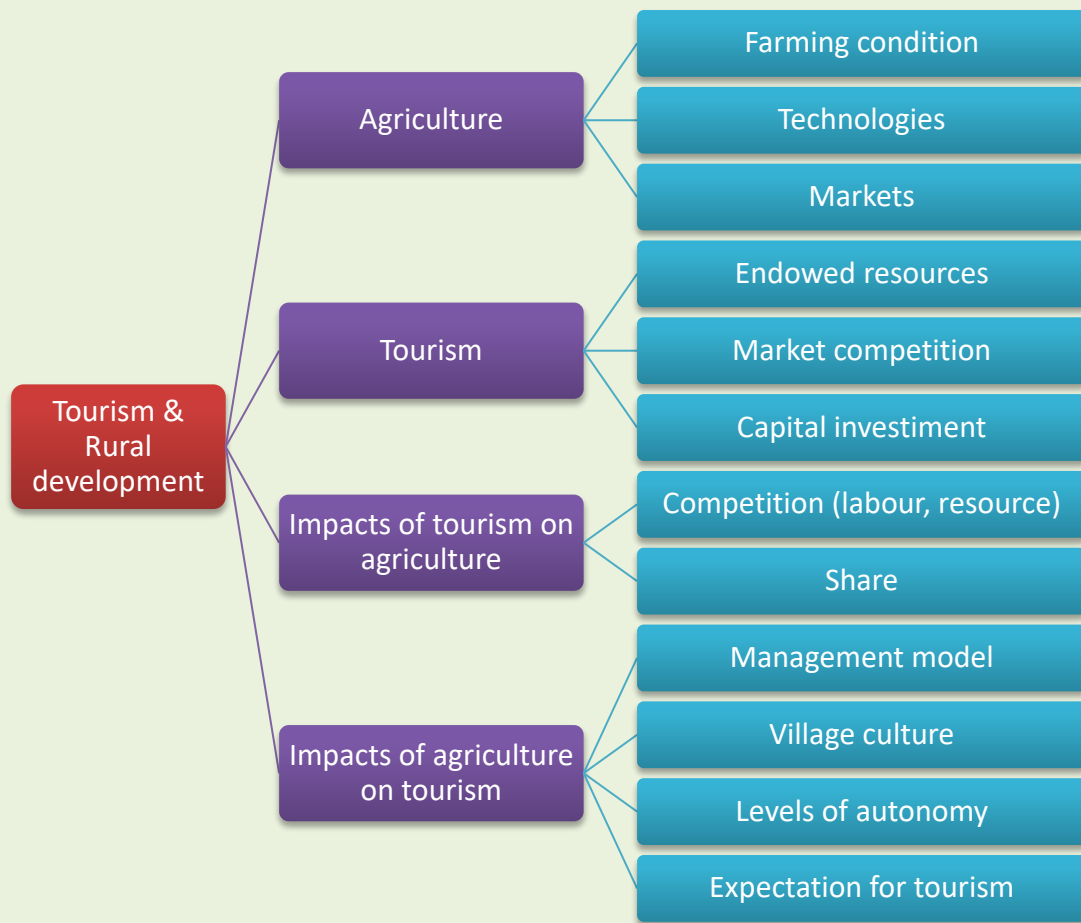


Figure 1. A dynamic view of tourism and rural development

First, the changes in agriculture include farming condition, technologies, and markets. Farming condition is not interchangeable with natural condition, as villagers in both communities previously reported unfavorable farming conditions, but the Red River village overcame its disadvantages through redeveloping its farm lands, whereas Jade village was not able to change its major farming barriers--cold weather and infertile land. The technologies involved in Red River include green houses and new crop species. Without doubt, changes in market prices for agricultural products directly affect villagers' income.

Second, changes in tourism include endowed resources, market competition, and capital investments. Jade Village's location at the foot of a nationally famous snow

mountain has been a favorable condition for tourism development, whereas Red River is far away from famous attractions and so mainly targets at short-haul visitors. Fierce market competition expelled the Jade tourism cooperative from the market. The new external capital investment has rebooted its tourism development but also changed the nature of the village's contribution to tourist activities. It now acts primarily as a scenic backdrop for guided pony-trekking tours.

Third, tourism is both competing and sharing with agriculture. It competes with farming for labor and resources. As evidenced in Jade, the young now prefer to work in tourism rather than traditional farming. Farmers' access to water has been restricted to accommodating sharp growth in regional tourist numbers, and by government order, half of farmland has been rented out to a tourism company to facilitate the expansion of "souvenir" crops. However, rural tourism can also share with and complement agriculture. The collective canteen and entertainment center in Red River are used by both visitors and villagers.

Fourth, agriculture can influence tourism in terms of its expectations, levels of autonomy, village culture, and management model. These influences have seldom been discussed in the literature, so our coverage of them is intentionally longer than that on the other three items in the dynamic model.

1) Expectations for tourism: Jade and Red River villagers perceive the role of tourism in their villages as, respectively, a means of economic gain and a means of communication and exchange. Considering tourism as a purely economic activity, as Jade does, can easily result in an over-commercialized atmosphere for visitors.

Moreover, high expectations of tourism as the primary source of income are associated with high levels of dissatisfaction with tourism, like those seen in Jade. In contrast, Red River villagers held a neutral position on tourism due to their low income from it, along with their low expectations of tourism.

2) Level of autonomy: The nature of farming significantly differs from that of tourism. In the words of one Red River villager, “the gains of farming are equal to the input of hard work”; farming activities give the villagers more control and higher levels of autonomy in improving their lives.

3) Village culture: As indicated in the comparisons of different rural cultures presented to visitors, villagers in Jade engaged with tourists formally and considered their services as work primarily for financial pursuits. The “cultural performance” presented to tourists was danced by outsiders who were hired by the private boss and only needed to dress up in traditional Naxi garb. The Red River villagers aimed to promote open communication with tourists, not to cater to their every whim. The cooperative culture actually became one appealing and selling point to visitors; their village’s frankness and friendliness were authentic rural culture without touristic decoration.

4) Management model: Fleischer and Tchetchik (2005) highlighted that their contribution to the literature was to consider agriculture and tourism activities as two products within the same frame because previous literature normally considered the two separately. Our research advances the view to further incorporate management models. One village is highly likely to employ the same management style for its

various economic activities, for instance, tourism and agriculture. Since agriculture has existed in villages longer than tourism, the agriculture management model might well be used for tourism. The Red River village had developed its equal and closely collaborative management style with agriculture production for over 20 years. They were then able to smoothly extend this collaboration to their daily lives, such as by building houses together, and to the organization of village tourism activities. Each household had a similar area of farmland, so annual family incomes were similar. Thus, their comparable financial statuses contributed to equality among villagers, a feature identified by their leader as the key in maintaining collective management. Twenty years ago, Jade villagers worked on agriculture individually. Although their collective management was able to set up for tourism, it lasted only five years, because villagers were out of control in many aspects of its operations, and the business was hit by external forces such as decreased visitor numbers and capital investment from the private boss. Ultimately, Jade villagers' tourism involvement was reverted to individual participation, a form aligned with their agriculture activities. Clearly, each village's style of agriculture management influenced its subsequent tourism organization.

Unlike other studies of rural tourism that mainly focus on tourism activities and their impacts on rural areas (Garcia-Ramon, et al., 1995; Hong et al., 2003; Knight, 1996; Oppermann, 1996), this study also includes changes in agriculture and its impacts on tourism. This dynamic perspective on tourism and rural development makes theoretical contributions in two ways. First, it challenges the majority of previous rural tourism studies that consider tourism and agriculture as two independent sectors or

entities (Fleischer & Tchetchik, 2005). In fact, the two are closely interconnected, as is particularly evidenced by our observations of agriculture's impacts on tourism. The ideal outcome of the dynamic rural development model, as presented in Figure 1, facilitates dialogue between the two entities or sectors.

Second, in contrast with a snapshot view of rural development, the current dynamic view has enabled us to focus on long-term and gradual changes such as the interrelationships among villagers and their expectations of tourism. By extending the studied period to cover more than 20 years' of villagers' oral history, our study challenges the dominant idea that widespread community participation in tourism sustains rurality and thereby promotes rural tourism development (Knight, 1996; Peng & Fu, 2007; Wang, 2006; Zheng & Zhong, 2004). If younger villagers are preoccupied with tourism, few will be available to sustain the agricultural side of the economy. In Jade, older residents were concerned about their inability to maintain self-sufficiency in cultivating agricultural products, whereas the younger generation preferred tourism services to farming. Therefore, at some point, the nature of widespread participation in tourism may cause communities to cross a boundary wherein rural tourism shifts from being the alternative to being the primary work of the farmers.

The practical contribution of this study relates to the Chinese Central Government's increasing emphasis on the role of tourism in rural development. The paper's primary purpose has been to provide a preliminary step toward inclusive and interconnected discussions on tourism and rural development in the two villages, our in-depth interviews suggest that rural tourism may not always be a better choice for

poor villages than agriculture. On one hand, rural tourism competes with agriculture for labor and resources. Although some Jade villagers wished to maintain their agricultural traditions while providing tourism services, they had no choice but to rent out some of their land to tourism companies. On the other hand, rural tourism may degrade village culture and its interrelationships, particularly because tourism involves many factors that are often beyond the villagers' control. The economic impacts of tourism are too tempting to refuse and are frequently employed by the government to promote tourism for poverty alleviation. Such income may increase temporary satisfaction. However, they may eventually become dissatisfied with the limited benefits of their participation. This situation is evidenced in Jade. The Red River villagers were unwilling to give up their equal relationships for tourism development.

In addition, contemporary rural tourism policies tend to encourage externalized development, as evidenced from the financial and land support for external investments (Yang, 2017). Yan (2018) warns that these rural policies are “opening” the road for capitals to erode rural areas. Yang (2017) analyzed how rural lands and villagers were completely replaced by retirement resorts for urban residents in a remote region that was initially known for its good rural ecology. The current study resonates with these critiques on externalized rural tourism development, as is evident by Jade village, which now acts primarily as a scenic backdrop for pony-trekking guided tours after 20 years of tourism development. Therefore, the review of rural development should adopt a long-term and inclusive view proposed in Figure 1. Such an inclusive/dynamic view confirms that those seeking to promote rural tourism should strive to maintain its

agricultural roots. This study cautions against considering tourism the only antidote to poverty in rural areas and offers a warning for China's numerous rural villages against "the prevalent hunger for tourism development". It offers insights on the impacts of both tourism and agriculture on rural community development.

Although Red River and Jade share common features, some fundamental differences in their institutional structures have resulted in different behaviors and attitudes among the locals towards tourism development. First, village size may in part explain the different degree or level of collective management achieved. The small size of Red River may also have facilitated the achievement of collective agreement on village-related issues. Second, the personal characteristics of the village leaders are different. In Red River, the village leader, Rong (pseudonym) , had been in charge for 16 years by the time this study was conducted, and has showed strong leadership skills, whereas Jade had been under the charge of several leaders. It was easier for the Red River villagers to coordinate their efforts. Third, the two villages are significantly different in their number of years in dealing with tourism. The Jade village has had more than 20 years of involvement with tourism whereas in the Red River rural tourism has only started since 2010.

In summary, this study offers insights into the dynamic, inclusive and interconnected scenarios of tourism and rural development, which often includes changes in agriculture, tourism, the impacts of tourism on agriculture, and the impacts of agriculture on tourism. However, the research has its limitations. Future studies could advance the proposed framework in three directions. First, the model could be modified

in accordance with specific contexts, and items in the framework are also subject to change or adjustments. Second, quantitative studies could be further conducted based on the proposed framework. Third, longitudinal endeavours through long-term ethnographic field work could enhance the explanatory capacity of a conception on tourism and gradual changes in a rural community.

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