THE EFFECT OF CULTURE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT ON ETHNIC MINORITIES AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE VISITOR EXPERIENCE: CASE STUDY LIJIANG, CHINA

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ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

"I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), no material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or their institution of higher learning."

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ABSTRACT

Cultural heritage is an indispensable attraction for tourism. Heritage tourism can help to achieve poverty alleviation in some areas, but it can also lead to unsustainable situations and even long-term destruction of the cultural resource. The danger of the existence of a vicious development model is that the demand for tourism leads to commercialization, and tourist gentrification – specifically when related to heritage cities and villages. This can lead to a perceived lack of authenticity which will in turn reduce visitor satisfaction to some extent. As a result, continued unmanaged development may lead to alienation of local stakeholders and a diminished tourism experience. Discussions on heritage, its value, and local consequences requires a targeted approach. Balancing the economic benefits and maintaining the core value of cultural heritage is a particularly challenging task. Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to understand the impact of tourism development on heritage cities with ethnic minorities, specifically focusing on the ancient city of Lijiang in China. The main research question was defined as: "What are the effects of tourism development on local culture and the visitor experience within the old town of Lijiang, China."

Because of the increase in urbanization and tourism, excessive commercialization and gentrification have affected the sustainable resource management of heritage sites. Legacy is not a renewable resource; it should be effectively preserved. However, because of its management complexity, there is no unified method. This study uses a qualitative method of inductive inference. The research phase begins with a secondary data collection based on the research questions. Through identifying the stages of tourism development in Lijiang, introducing the government management structure , as well as the government's management strategies at different times, conclusions could be made in terms of restrictions on remaining residents, and a general loss of local homeownership in favour of non-local entrepreneurship. As a second research method, visitor reviews of a travel website (Tripadvisor) were collected over 3 periods (2009-2011, 2012-2014, 2015-2017), and analysed via thematic coding. This allowed for a recognition of overall

trends in changes to the visitor experience from 2009 to 2017, specifically: positive reviews (such as the perception of the attractiveness of the ancient city) have declined year by year, and negative reviews (such as lack of authenticity and over-development) have increased year by year. Therefore, the study found that the government's management strategy mainly aimed at the uninterrupted growth of the tourism industry and tourism gentrification are two major factors that hinder the sustainable development of Lijiang heritage tourism.

Therefore, this dissertation proposes to strengthen the understanding of the non-market value of the ancient city, changing the business philosophy, redefining the functional location of the ancient city and creating quality tourism products. Through this, tt may be possible to try to improve the status quo in Lijiang and realize the sustainable development of ancient city tourism. While the use of longitudinal analysis of visitor reviews offers an interesting monitoring tool, there were also some inherent limitations to the study design. The history of the Old Town's planning and management strategy could only be reviewed through secondary data. This may not be very comprehensive and detailed and cannot exactly match the timeframes for which tourism reviews were collected. At the same time, the factors of group thinking and social influence in the review cannot be ruled out. For future research it is suggested that a more in-depth interview approach can better understand the Naxi community's views on the current tourism development. As far as the second topic of this study is concerned, on the travel experience, more understanding can be provided by comparing the comments of domestic and foreign tourists and associating tourism experiences with tourism characteristics.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research background

1.1.1 Heritage resources in tourism

According to Timothy (2017), nearly 40 percent of international travel involves heritage and culture. Selby (2016) estimates the importance slightly lower, contributing around 240 million trips out of an estimated 650 million international trips per year to cultural heritage tourism. Even though exact numbers are hard to come by due to the wide definitional range of heritage and the varying degrees of motivation levels, its importance for international tourism seems without doubt. Furthermore, the World Tourism Organisation forecasts that cultural heritage tourism is still growing at a rate of 15 percent per year (McKercher & Du, 2002).

The above data show that cultural heritage tourism has become an essential part of tourism in various countries around the world, and cultural heritage tourism has become the focus of attention and choice of tourists. To give some specific examples, almost half of all domestic travellers (about 65 million people) in the United States have participated in various cultural or heritage tourism activities, such as visiting historical sites or museums, attending music, art or other cultural events. Britain's heritage industry is known as the main attraction for overseas tourists, with about 25% of tourism revenue coming from the heritage industry each year (Timothy, 2017). In Tasmania, Australia, more than 60% of tourists have visited cultural heritage or restored historic buildings (Ooi, 2015). More than three-quarters of the tourists from Hong Kong prefer to visit famous historical places (Wong, 2016). When asked why Japanese self-help tourists came to Scotland to visit heritage sites, almost all of them went to learn about local culture (Ness, 2017).

The World Tourism Organisation defines heritage tourism as an in-depth tour of natural landscapes, human heritage, arts, philosophy and customs in other countries or regions (Garfield, 1993). This broad definition reflects the diversity recognised on the UNESCO World Heritage List, covering natural heritage, cultural heritage – both tangible and intangible – and mixed heritage. Focusing on the latter part of recognized heritage – having to do with man-made culture – heritage can then be seen as deeply rooted in traditional culture from a region or a nation (Chhabra, Healy, & Sills, 2003). It exhibits a long development process and subsequently requires preservation in order to

survive (Nuryanti, 1996). Poria, Butler and Airey (2003) define how intangible cultural heritage accumulates the essence of different historical times, retains the most concentrated national and regional characteristics, carries the past and is tied to the future. People can communicate with distant ancestors through tangible and intangible cultural heritage, understand their state of life, understand their thoughts, feel their emotions and wisdom and identify their development footprints. As a result, heritage has a very high historical value outside of its immediate tourism value.

1.1.2 Heritage as a social construction

Both natural and cultural heritage are considered products of history, but heritage and social choice have particular importance for cultural heritage. Not all the history is necessarily inherited, and inheritance is related to social choice and screened by the social value system. The social value system is influenced by various factors such as politics, the economy, culture, and geography. Ultimately, human values and existing power relations play a decisive role in the preservation, inheritance, and management of cultural heritage. "Legacy" is the result of the joint action of historical inheritance and social choice. Timothy (2011) believes that the legacy of heritage goes beyond any particular type of tourism. The 'environment' transcends the notion of ordinary geographical environment and is a 'macro environment' of tangible and intangible interaction in which nature and culture are intertwined and interdependent and whose political, economic, cultural and geographical factors influence each other. The formation of the inheritance itself and the complexity and diversity of the environment in which it is located make the issue of heritage protection and development very specific. Thus, it is difficult to deal with the issue of protection with a unified, concrete or standard model.

With the cultural and political function of heritage, as well as its economic potential, cultures have started to transcend regional importance and have become a calling card of identity at a global level (Pan, Yang & Liu, 2014). In this regard, on the one hand, it can provide incentives for a national cultural recovery and remind people not to forget the past; on the other hand, it can become a platform for regions and nations to show their own culture and strengthen their vitality in the trend of globalization.

1.1.3 Heritage interpretation, and its influence on authenticity and traditional values

As was discussed earlier, cultural heritage has become increasingly recognised as a development resource that attracts international interest. This has, at times, led to a more centralised and commercialised management that can cause problems regarding stakeholder inclusivity and authenticity of site interpretation.

In terms of stakeholder inclusivity, because of the relationship between heritage, politics, and regional development, often strategies to include local people in the planning and development process are not in place. As argued by MacCannell (1973), heritage providers and managers should strive to create cooperative conditions, thus reducing the tension within stakeholder groups to ensure the authenticity and integrity of the heritage. However, especially in terms of indigenous rights groups, examples of a lack of inclusion, appropriation, and displacement are plentiful.

A lack of cultural stakeholder inclusivity relates to the second problem as well: site interpretation. Interpretation plays an essential role in the transmission of heritage information, education, entertainment, and to help promote heritage protection and sustainable development (McIntosh & Prentice, 1999). Tourism needs interpretation but at the same time, different types of tourists have different requirements. Especially for knowledgeable, highly motivated cultural tourists, authenticity of interpretation directly affects their tourism experience. Lu, Chi and Liu (2015) notice problems in terms of heritage site distortion in many heritage sites, ranging from environmental carrying capacity pressure, damage to cultural relics, gradual commercialisation, falsified or distorted heritage interpretation and other phenomena.

Some people are of the opinion that heritage tourism, while promoting the real perception of heritage, unavoidably damages the authenticity it markets. This is related to the dual nature of authenticity: authenticity of the heritage itself, and a tourist's perception of authenticity. Authenticity of the resource, which attracts heritage tourism, results in heritage sites to cater to the taste of tourists, ultimately rendering the display of heritage inaccurate (MacCannell, 1973). Li and Hunter (2015) see this as a vicious circle: an increased tourism interest leads to the commercialisation of heritage sites, and commercialisation of heritage sites in turn leads to heritage resource distortion, ultimately affecting the tourism value.

According to the above statements, heritage tourism and the protection of heritage authenticity therefore seems to be contradictory. However, other authors pointed out that given correct guidance and rational development of heritage tourism, it could also be a tool to promote the protection of heritage authenticity. As mentioned by Macdonald (1997), heritage tourism can also play a decisive role in the development of local culture and the strengthening of cultural pride, which can deepen rather than dilute traditional culture. Heritage tourism might promote the development and protection of the original culture of the heritage site (Li & Hunter, 2015).

1.2 Study aims

Cultural heritage is an essential attraction for tourism that can bring much-needed alleviation to poverty-stricken areas, but it is also a sensitive asset that can be damaged by the same tourism development. The danger of a vicious development model exists whereby tourist demand leads to commercialisation, loss of authenticity and increased pressures of real estate value. If high-interest cultural tourists become dissatisfied due to a presumed lack of authenticity and the balance further tilts towards a mass tourism model, this will further impact the resource exploitation. Heritage resources run the risk of being a victim of their own success and continued unmanaged growth can lead to alienation of local stakeholders and a diminished tourist experience.

Heritage tourism has become an active governmental strategy for a variety of reasons. However, a focus on economic growth limits the possibility to achieve sustainable conservation of cultural heritage. As Timothy (2011) mentioned, contextual effects are essential to take into consideration and prevent unified theories and models. Therefore, discussion on heritage, its value, and its local consequences requires a focused approach. Adopting a case study approach, this dissertation will specifically concentrate on Lijiang, in Yunnan province, China. Notwithstanding the considerable attention now being directed to the conservation of ethnic, cultural heritage in Yunnan, both on provincial and national levels, many problems remain. Balancing between gaining economic benefits and maintaining the core value of cultural heritage is a particularly challenging task.

The main aim of this dissertation is to understand the effects of tourism development in cities with a cultural product that is related to ethnic minorities, especially in the ancient town of Lijiang, China. The effects are investigated from both the side of local ethnic groups and the side of tourist experiences. The main research question can then be defined as: **"What are the effects of tourism**

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development on local culture and the visitor experience within the old town of Lijiang, China?"

To come to a proper understanding of the aspects at play, the main research question can be subdivided into a few main objectives:

a) Understanding the growth and segmentation of tourism in Lijiang;

b) Investigating ownership and representation of local ethnic groups in cultural resources;

c) Exploring changes in visitor experiences with regard to Lijiang old town;

d) Investigating current management structures and their limitations and opportunities.

1.3 Dissertation overview

This chapter started with a general introduction to the research topic and stated the main aim of the dissertation. Chapter 2 will present the literature review where a comprehensive definition of heritage and the heritage tourism product is given, followed by a discussion on heritage management, conflicts and solutions. The literature review will end with a further focus on the state of heritage management in China. Next, Chapter 3 presents the methodology of the primary and secondary data analysis, discussing the choice of a case study approach as well as the thematic analysis of visitor comments in order to understand changing visitor experiences. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study through an analysis of governmental resources on the one hand, and a textual analysis of visitor comments on the other hand. In Chapter 5, a discussion will relate these findings to the hypotheses and provide a critical analysis of management issues and opportunities. The final chapter will provide concluding statements and reflect on study limitations as well as recommendations and areas for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

In this section, the concept of heritage will be briefly introduced first and related to the aspect of authenticity as a tourist motivation, followed by the benefits of heritage tourism that provide a rationale for government to support heritage tourism. Secondly, since the increase in tourism can lead to potential management issues of cultural heritage, such as affecting local ownership, and causing conflicts among stakeholders, the literature review will further recognize negative effects of heritage tourism. Then, an overview is given of strategic measures for managing various negative issues which have been put forward by various international and local governments in order to achieve sustainable development of the tourism industry. These strategies can provide a reference for the management of the ancient city of Lijiang. Finally, the literature review will look deeper into China's current policies and discuss the limitations in the management structure.

2.2 From heritage to heritage tourism

2.2.1 Defining the concepts of heritage and heritage tourism

In China, the word 'heritage' first appeared in Chapter 57 of Han (92 ad, describing the history of ancient China), the original sentence "丹出典州郡，入为三公，而家无遗产，子孙困匮", which means "the mayor Dan, has no heritage, so his children are very poor". Heritage here can be understood as material property left by ancestors. This meaning is still in use today, with the Xinhua dictionary interpreting heritage as the legacy of personal legal property of a citizen who has passed away, as well as historical legacy and accumulated spiritual wealth. In English, the word heritage is derived from Latin and originally referred to the property left by the father; its meaning is therefore basically the same as it is in ancient Chinese, usually referring to something inherited from ancestors (Prentice, 1993).

This terminology therefore covers a legal interpretation. Heritage, as used in the field of cultural and natural heritage research, has been defined through various stages as treasures, antiques, cultural relics, cultural heritage, cultural and natural heritage, and intangible cultural heritage. Its connotation and concept of representation are constantly changing (Chaozhi, 2008). In general, the meaning of heritage has developed from ancestral property to being closely related to the concept

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of personality (symbolic heritage), from the material heritage to intangible heritage development and then from state-owned heritage to social, ethnic and community-owned heritage (Chaozhi, 2008). In other words, the concept of heritage has gone through the process from a special heritage system to a general heritage system, from an era of heritage as history to an era of heritage as a memorial (Pierre, 1997). As mentioned in the introduction, the evolution of the connotation of heritage also reflects the change of cultural and natural concepts and the influence of social action in different times (Lowenthal, 2006). In essence, heritage is defined by the current purpose and values of historical selective reproduction (Olsen & Timothy, 2002). It is screened by cultural and social values, and then valued in economic terms as heritage with value (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). The latter step that imbues heritage with economic value is especially relevant in the discussion of heritage within tourism, where the exponential growth of international tourism has led to the realisation that a place's particular history can translate into international revenues. In this process, the selection process is the key to deciding what is, and by extension what is not, heritage.

The definition of heritage tourism has been approached from the perspective of demand and supply. On the supply-side, Yale (1991) states that heritage tourists are interested in everything we inherit, which can reflect the inheritance of material and intangible phenomena, ranging from historical buildings to art, beautiful scenery and other tourism activities. From the demand point, Yaniv et al. (2001) argued that the main motivation of this kind of tourism is based on the sense of personal heritage belonging to the destination. But the problem with this definition is that it lacks operability and cannot easily be identified. Heritage tourism can also be seen spatially as the place where heritage coexists with tourism activities. From the perspective of geography, tourism activities turn heritage 'space' into heritage 'place'. Therefore, heritage can extract meaning and value from tourism activities. Tourism forms the consumption capital of heritage in a certain space and time. It is not only the capitalization process of culture, but also the carrier through which heritage conveys its cultural value to consumers, prompting and strengthening the significance of the existence of human individuals or groups. Therefore, it is the process of transforming resources into culture (Timothy, 2017). At the same time, people endow cultural and natural heritage with certain economic value and make heritage become the object of people's consumption. While this might partly happen as an automatic process of tourism interest, it is increasingly driven by economic stakeholders, adopting a neo-liberal development perspective, and leading to elements

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of heritage commodification. This could have potential effects on the authenticity of the product and the related tourist experience.

2.2.2 Motivations for heritage tourism: authenticity and the tourist experience
In 1964, authenticity appeared for the first time in the Venetian charter, a famous document of profound influence in the international heritage community (Sharpley, 2018). Since then, it has gradually become an essential term in heritage conservation, management, and tourism and has been widely recognized. At the same time, authenticity was also introduced into the study of ethnic cultural heritage tourism. Initially, its meaning within this context was similar to its original meaning as used in museums, defining object authenticity. When analysing ethnic cultural heritage tourism products such as artworks, festivals, ceremonies, food, clothing, houses, etc., they are often portrayed as either original or non-original. Their standard is to judge according to local traditions or customs. In the objective sense, authenticity means traditional culture and native form, realism, real or unique (Sharpley, 2018).

However, authenticity or non-originality is the result of people looking at things and interpreting them. Different types of tourists each have a set of definitions, experiences, and explanations for authenticity. Cohen (1988) believes that the concept of authenticity depends on the selectivity of perception and memory. Whether cultural products are regarded as original or non-authentic, they are related to individual tourists and to the types of experiences they seek. Some intellectual tourists have higher requirements for authenticity than ordinary tourists and their standards are more stringent. Moreover, most tourists think that what is commercialised is also true, as long as these things are designed according to tradition and produced by local ethnic minority members. Littrell, Anderson and Brown (1993) found that tourists determine whether or not a craft is authentic based on its uniqueness, originality, skills, cultural and historical integrity, tourism function, and use. At the same time, the craftsman's characteristics, the interaction of tourists with them, and the buying experience are also significant (Littrell et al., 1993). Revilla and Dodd (2003) claimed that tourists who purchase pottery souvenirs believe that the authenticity is related to five factors: appearance and function, tradition and proof, the difficulty of obtaining, local production, and low price. Local tourists believe that the authenticity of pottery is mainly manifested through its appearance and function, while international tourists pay more attention to whether the pottery is produced locally by the local people (Revilla & Dodd, 2003).

Therefore, authenticity can be accommodated and is at least partly contextual. According to the types of tourists and their definition and representation of authenticity, the concept can have different manifestations. Within a constructivists point of view, authenticity within national cultural heritage tourism is based on a relationship between supplier and consumer and is not a pure state of the object. Authenticity is considered to be a concept of flow and does not belong to the absolute nature of something. Taylor (2001) believes that in defining the concept of authenticity, we must emphasise the importance of time. As time passes, individuals will change their opinions. Graburn (1979) believes that unreal things can become true over time. Those tourist products that were initially human-made or constructed, such as Disney World, eventually became part of the local culture, and they also changed from originality to authenticity. According to Cohen (1979), even in a real cultural environment, tourists may wonder if they see staged performances. At the same time, in some bright tourist scenes, visitors can recognize that the authenticity is designed and created.

There has been an increased criticism of the commercialisation of ethnic cultural heritage and the concern for authenticity. In the context of ethnic cultural heritage tourism, commercialisation includes not only material cultural assets such as tangible products, but also activities, events, performances, and even intangible cultural heritage such as people and their lifestyles. As a result of ethnic tourism, its primary connotation is exotic, and the objects of its tourism are mainly specifically ethnic and based on cultural differences. Therefore, the criticism of the commercialisation of cultural heritage of ethnic groups is mainly concentrated in developing countries. Many people believe that commercialisation generates a large number of fake festivals, pseudo-events, and mass production of handicrafts and artworks (so-called airport artworks). However, Cohen (1995) believes that in the context of modern tourism, authenticity and commercialisation are not antagonistic; they can co-exist and can be adjusted to each other or present new forms. Cultural adaptation of ethnic cultures, or cultural performances for people to visit, may prevent further decline or loss of culture, may inspire new creations and lead to the development of new cultural expressions, thereby increasing pride and identity. This was soon accepted and considered traditional.

2.3 Heritage management and potential conflicts

2.3.1 A government rationale for supporting heritage

Most regions, governments, and countries are willing to support the development of heritage tourism (Mathew & Sreejesh, 2017) for a diversity of reasons, both economical, socio-cultural, and environmental. The main positive aspects of heritage tourism that will be discussed here are summarised in Figure 2.1 and cover the range of sustainability-dimensions.
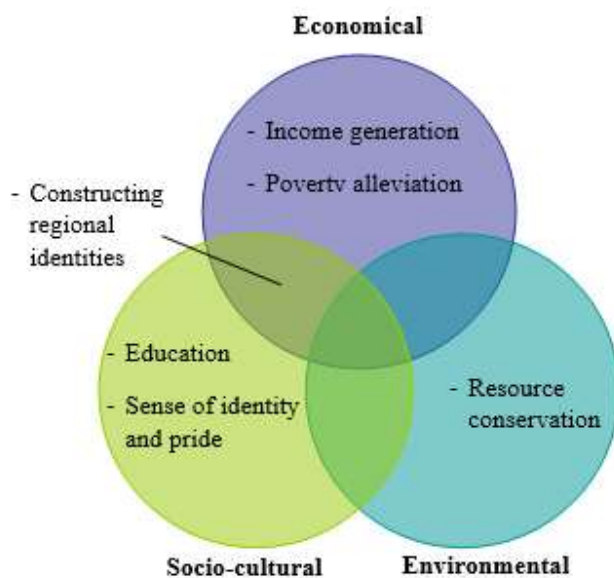
Figure 2.1 Reasons for heritage support

The primary recognised reason which has been alluded to before is that it can bring considerable income to the local area. After World War II, tourism became an emerging industry, and as an important element of tourism resources, heritage is undoubtedly one of the main contributors to the tourism economy (Timothy, 2017), primarily operating as an attractor that influences destination choice. Since many heritage resources are located in rural areas that are lagging behind in economic development compared to large cities, tourism might offer an economic basis for regional growth in places where alternative industrial development has limited potential. The wealth generated by the development of heritage tourism, can therefore most directly benefit

impoverished areas and help poverty reduction. Ashley and Roe (2001) found that tourism has made outstanding contributions to poverty-stricken areas, especially considering that tourism can lead to the development of many related industries. Tourism is an industry with higher income elasticity than other industries in poor areas. Spenceley and Meyer (2017) pointed out that it can even be developed with limited human resources and does not require significant investment in the first stages of tourist exploration. An example of tourism as a regional revenue generator can be found in the ancient city of Pingyao in Shanxi Province, located on the Loess Plateau in China. The city was listed as a World Cultural Heritage site in December 1997. Between 1997 and 2013, yearly visitor numbers increased from 120,000 to 5.5 million with tourism revenue increasing from 12.5 million Yuan to 5.42 billion Yuan (Lufeng & Jingshu, 2017). The county's economy has achieved a splendid transformation, with up to 70,000 people now employed in the tourism industry (Zheng, 2017).

Scheyvens and Biddulph (2017) therefore believe that developing tourism in poor areas brings benefits to both local residents and tourists. Although the development of leisure tourism may conflict with the needs of some local residents, it cannot be overlooked that leisure tourism can bring opportunities to the local community. Linked to the previous argument, heritage tourism can also have a positive impact on the development of ethnic minorities (Giaoutzi, 2017). Most ethnic minorities live in remote areas and economic development is relatively slower than in other areas (Heberer, 2017). The development of heritage tourism can improve the local economic level, improve human resource capabilities and enhance interpersonal communication and exchange of information (Giaoutzi, 2017). It can also deepen the recognition of each other's culture and enable the coordination of social resources. Therefore, a large number of job opportunities in some desolate areas have occurred by relying on heritage tourism resources (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2017). This phenomenon has promoted the development of heritage resources in many economically under-developed regions and led to modernisation. For example, Kasha is the birthplace of Uighur culture in Sinkiang, China. However, the region was lagging economically behind other areas (Bowden, 2005). With the strong support of the government, from the perspective of respecting ethnic cultures and protecting national customs, the original appearance of the city was safeguarded from high-rise development (Zisheng & Yizhe, 2009). In addition, the Uighurs' original and pristine living habits were highlighted through the overall remake, with the

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area becoming a tourist-visited area (Zisheng & Yizhe, 2009). In this way, tourists can understand and feel the customs of ethnic minorities while enabling the local residents to operate small businesses by selling self-produced souvenirs to increase their income.

In addition, it has been proved that the existing cultural heritage is a powerful and effective catalyst in the process of constructing regional identities (Sema & Özden, 2017). In many ways, cultural heritage is a mirror of society and its history. It is a synthesis of the natural and cultural attributes of a region and is engraved with imprints of local natural and cultural systems. Because heritage is produced and accumulated over a long period of time, it creates a special relationship between local communities and their regions (Whelan, 2016). Therefore, whether it is a material or a non-material cultural heritage resource, it is not only a kind of protected capital accumulation, but also a description of geographical and urban identity. It is a constituent element of the establishment of regional identity and its dynamic changes (Claval, 2016). That is, culture is rooted in local and regional cultures, which gives regional identity and intrinsic value to cultural heritage. More importantly, these values not only exist within the cultural heritage itself but are more often generated by the genetic processes of social relations (Bertacchini, 2017). It is precisely because of the value of giving cultural heritage its value, its intricate relationship with society and the community, that this relationship defines a change in the understanding of heritage: cultural heritage is not a collection of objects but a related concept, that is, over the time, the relationship between the established regions and communities is the true product of the inheritance process (Bertacchini, 2017).

Now people are paying more and more attention to the cultural heritage of the region and the community and regard it as the driving force for establishing geographical and cultural identity (Hall, 2014). This can not only greatly promote the development of cultural capital with obvious geographical features but it will also establish a cultural tourism activity that is sustainable and competitive and creates good conditions for other cultural and economic activities (Bertacchini, 2017). Because the scope of cultural heritage has gradually evolved from the traditional sense of a single display of past history (most of which are mere superficial and mechanical accumulations of physical heritage) to a pluralistic demonstration based on culture (Hall, 2014). It has become a dynamic factor in the process of regional development and has played a decisive role in the establishment of geographical identity. Of course, the most significant influence of cultural

heritage resources on geographical identity lies in its impetus on the development of the tourism industry (Bhabha, 2012). In the process of regional identity building, it could create suitable conditions for the experience of tourists and the development of tourism products.

It is worth mentioning that a secondary need for government support for heritage tourism is to spread tourism and educate locals about their heritage and identity (Choi, Ritchie, Papandrea & Bennett, 2010). While creating profits, due to the historic, cultural, and unique nature of heritage resources (e.g. museums, residential accommodation, historical buildings, etc.), it also provides different levels of educational significance for people coming to visit. Such attractions provide an intuitive experience for tourists to understand the local culture and history. This can allow the culture to spread to other parts of the country and even abroad, and it will enable the local people to gain a sense of identity and a sense of pride. In order to enable future generations to inherit traditional culture, locals will pay more attention to protecting local heritage resources. From the operator's point of view, the educational role of heritage tourism is inspired by corporate social responsibility (Murphy & Price, 2005). Business objectives have shifted from the initial focus on economic interests to taking into account social interests. The change is conducive to enhancing their public image and laying a solid foundation for their long-term leadership in heritage tourism (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005).

2.3.2 Management issues

While the previous part established a number of valid reasons to support heritage tourism, important potential negative effects need to be recognised as well. Two main implications that demand attention are the impacts of commercialisation and, consequently, inauthenticity, and related to this, the process of gentrification whereby economic developments and rising real estate prices displace the original population, which is specifically harmful in cases where this is related to specific cultural rights groups whose intangible heritage forms part of the original tourist attractiveness. Both aspects will be discussed in detail.

2.3.2.1 Commercialisation

Scholars generally believe that commercialisation is one of the social and cultural influences of tourism (Li & Hunter, 2015). Over-commercialisation of tourist attractions means that the

managers of tourist attractions are simply viewing the tourist attractions as an economic product (Lu, Chi, C, & Liu, 2015), potentially leading to over-exploitation of tourist attractions in order to maximize the economic benefits (Zhang, Liu, Yin & Yang, 2017). In recent years, over-commercialisation of cultural heritage resources has become a pressing issue, affecting the healthy development of the tourism industry (Li, & Hunter, 2015). Therefore, it is of great practical significance to analyse and solve the problem of excessive commercialisation in the development of tourist attractions.

The main reason for the commercialisation of tourism heritage attractions is that the development of heritage attractions is often seen as a commercial activity (Blackburn, 2015; Robertson, 2016; Tosun, 2001). In cases where attractions are not deemed to be of enough immediate interest to tourists, this leads to the creation of 'fake' products. Based on market research, tourism heritage attractions could be integrated and packaged to a certain extent to become tourist products that attract tourists so as to meet the needs of tourists for entertainment and leisure. In order to attract a large number of tourists, a series of landscape construction campaigns are carried out within the heritage resource areas, creating an artificial, inauthentic environment (Andriotis, 2011; Lu, Chi & Liu, 2015). This activity undermines the value of the original environment and cultural connotation of the original tourist attraction. But even in cases where an authentic cultural product is preserved, moderate commercialisation is an inevitable consequence of the development of heritage attractions (Jin-Ru & Zhang, 2016). Heritage resources need to be combined with modern services and commodities in order to provide a complete tourism product. This can bring about greater economic benefits and promote social development.

One of the manifestations of excessive commercialisation of tourist attractions is the reliance on ticketing as an important source of economic benefits (Bendix, 2008). In order to obtain more benefits, some tourist attractions have significantly increased their prices（Liu & Wang, 2015）. For example, the ticket price of the Tianluo Hang Scenic Spot of Nanjing, Tulou has doubled to RMB 100 per person (Wang, 2015). In terms of heritage cities, ticketing might be more difficult to achieve and here the problem arises that income is often generated by some stakeholder groups, while negative effects of commercialisation are shared among the wider resident population (Shimin & Yibin, 2016). The city or village is by nature an open-access community area, whereas shops, hotels and attractions are often under private ownership. However, profit-driven decision

makers have the power to change regulations. Tourists visiting the ancient city of Phoenix in China now have to acquire tickets before entering the city. In the ticket of 148 yuan, the county government has two dividends in addition to the normal taxes and fees (Shimin & Yibin, 2016). As an alternative for income generation, instead of raising ticket prices, heritage resources might aim for continuous growth above capacity. During the holidays, overcrowding of tourist attractions diminishes the tourism experience and even creates security risks in certain areas.

Commercialisation causes unwanted side-effects though. Lanfant (1995) believes that when heritage is transformed into tourism products, its cultural value will become commercial value, and this process will stimulate the re-shaping of history. Greenwood and Smith (1989), studied the phenomenon of cultural commercialisation caused by tourism via a longitudinal design. They followed and investigated Alarde town in the Basque Country, Spain from the town's unique festival ceremony to being introduced to the market and the entire process of becoming a tourist attraction for public performances. It was concluded that the cultural commodification of local culture caused by tourism was fundamentally harmful, leading to the loss of cultural connotation. Re-interpretation and construction of local culture in order to create an ideal tourist destination, is not a process of revival of the original culture but a process of commercialisation of traditional culture. Similarly, Butt's (2012) natural-cultural dualism argues that the commercialisation of hunting tourism has led tourists to simply equate nature with the wildlife-rich Sawangna landscape, while culture has come to be a means of survival for Maasai herdsmen. A similar devaluation of culture can be seen in the Taoist shrines and temples at Qingcheng Mountain where small business hawkers are everywhere, priests do business and bargain with tourists. Various low-quality, low-grade tourist souvenir stands are now spread across Qingcheng Mountain (Zhigang, 2018).

The commercialisation of tourism will also cause changes in the economic structure of the destination. For example, Walpole and Goodwin (2000) studied the composition and profit distribution of tourism practitioners in the Komodo National Park in Indonesia. It was found that commercialisation led to the formation of a central-periphery structure, in which a highly industrialised, capital concentrated, densely populated and economically rapidly growing area is surrounded by the peripheral, economically relatively underdeveloped region.

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Over-commercialisation can even threaten the inheritance of culture and traditional handicraft techniques. Some scholars have used the concept of the community as an entry point for their research. For example, MacCannell (1973) applies Goffman's front-back-office theory (DeFleur, 1964) to tourism research and puts forward the concept of staged authenticity. In other words, the community's cultural tourism products are developed and presented to tourists in a staged reproduction, transforming original reality to the reality of the stage. Halewood and Hannam (2001) found after interviewing at the Viking Heritage Tourism Destination in Sweden former Viking settlements' employees have criticised their loss of authenticity under the pressure of commercialisation. Local arts and crafts have become unreal and lost their original connotations after becoming popular products (Halewood & Hannam, 2001). This study points to the involvement of different stakeholders. When Cole (2007) studied the relationship between authenticity and commercialisation, he pointed out three types of stakeholders: government, tourists and community residents. Hannam and Offeh (2012) believe that governments, tourists, and the private sector all play an important role in the commercialisation of heritage.

Therefore, heritage tourism managers are faced with pressures of excessive commercialisation, which poses a huge risk of the loss of the authenticity of heritage tourism. Authenticity is especially important for experiential tourists. They often obtain an aesthetic experience from the appreciation of the other's real culture. MacCannell (1973) argues that authenticity of experience is the key to the meaning of tourism. Truth is the premise for experience to be achieved.

2.3.2.2 Gentrification

Tourism gentrification is another phenomenon that has been widely studied. Tourism gentrification is defined by Gotham (2005) as the process of transforming a middle-class neighbourhood into a relatively wealthy and exclusive area through recreation and tourism development. Zhang, Chan, and Pan (2016) focus on tourism's driving role and the spatial effect of urban gentrification, extending the meaning of tourism and gentrification into the development of large-scale tourism and entertainment projects, the redevelopment of certain areas in the city and its effect on neighbouring areas to develop into wealthy and independent areas. When indigenous residents and their culture and life become major tourist attractions, the negative potential of gentrification cannot be ignored. In the process of tourism development, with the construction of some large-scale tourism and leisure projects in the city, the transformation of the

old city can lead to rising housing costs, a changing economic structure and, hence, a gentrified area (Liang & Bao, 2015). For instance, Gotham's (2005) research at Vieux Carre found that, through increased tourism demand, community rents continue to rise, increased leisure tourism attractions and entertainment facilities are developed, and money flows to the real estate market. The consequence is a social space that has undergone tremendous changes and where low-income earners were forced to leave the area.

In recent years, the negative influence of tourism gentrification has become increasingly apparent and has attracted the attention of scholars (Zhang, Chan & Pan, 2016). Tourist gentrification can be divided into compulsory gentrification, disorderly gentrification and orderly gentrification (Zhang, Chan & Pan, 2016). Among them, compulsory gentrification is the most harmful and is often caused by policies implemented by the government, large corporations, or consortia (Jiangxia, 2017). Revisiting the case of Phoenix in China, introduced previously, closing off the historic city and charging a ticketing fee completely ignored the private property rights of all citizens living in the heritage resources (Shiming & Xiang, 2015). With an administrative approach, all private property is quietly replaced with public property and every citizen's profit claim is rejected. In the case where many citizens constitute the main body of income in the ancient city, government and investment companies reap the benefits.

Disorderly gentrification, on the other hand, is a slower process mainly caused by the participation of foreign investors and tourists in the pursuit of economic interests and tourism. Because these actors lack incentives for the conscious protection of local culture and environment, they can cause an unnatural change and even damage the local environment and social culture (Jiangxia, 2017). The negative impact of forced gentrification and disorderly gentrification on the preservation of cultural heritage sites is greater than its positive effects (Zhang, Chan & Pan, 2016). Ximing and Dan (2016) studied gentrification in the ancient city of Lijiang and related the negative influence of gentrification mainly to a series of problems caused by population replacement such as neighbourhood communication barriers, social stratification, and the loss of culture. Similar conflicts of interest also occur in other famous world tourist destinations. In July 2016, about 2,000 Venetians launched activities to protest tourists destruction of their cities (Zanini, 2017). They protested tourists brought a series of chain problems such as increase in rents and environmental pollution caused by cruise ships. The biggest concern for locals in Venice is the rise in real estate

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prices and rents, while the government is focused on solving problems of disruptive tourist behaviour (Coldwell, 2017).

2.3.3 Management solutions

Problems and hidden dangers can emerge in heritage management, but they are not unresolved. In order to achieve sustainable development, managers need to use strategies to balance the protection of resources and the local inhabitants, while meeting the needs of visitors. A number of principles and specific operating methods (some of which have been used in practice) are specified, relating to (a) economic integration, (b) stakeholder participation, (c) limitation, and (d) monitoring.

First, the overall view on planning and development of tourism cannot be isolated. Together with other industries, it is part of the sustainable development of society (Farmaki, Altinay, Botterill & Hilke, 2015). Over-reliance on a single economic activity, such as tourism, should be avoided. Tourism should be seen within a wider supply chain and provide mutual support to other sectors and be embedded in social resources (Malek & Costa, 2015) while considering how public policies can have a positive impact on tourism. Zou (2017) mentioned that, when developing heritage tourism resources, a long-term resource utilization plan must be formulated. Where possible, local levels of government should be allowed to act autonomously according to the subsidiarity principle. As Zhang (2014) noted in a study on a cultural heritage city in Korea, projects with short-term investment and financing should formulate sustainability measures that can be maintained from the beginning to the future. For example, Yan, H. (2017) mentions how Haikou, China, has integrated farming with cultural heritage sites via sharing farms and transforming places into agricultural villages. This has increased the appeal of leisure tourism while developing and sustaining agriculture. This plan provides jobs for more than 800 people. At the same time, it receives more than 1 million tourists each year, meeting the needs of mid-end tourists for vacations and visitors could be customers for the agriculture products. This has increased farmers' income and helped the development of the agriculture industry, which is finally meeting the mutual benefits of industries.

The second necessity within the planning framework is multi-stakeholder participation (John, 2015). Sustainable tourism is a work that needs to be controlled and supported locally and collectively. All people involved in tourism may affect the development and management of

tourism (John, 2015). In addition to strengthening and developing local community groups, formal partnerships with other stakeholders should be established as much as possible (Tham, 2018). For example, according to Yantao and Tao (2017), in the Shanghai Old City Historical Landscape Protecting Area (SOCHLPA), the three core stakeholders, residents, tourism practitioners and tourists have found a general consensus, which affirmed that the tourism activities contribute greatly to the community. Therefore, Yantao and Tao (2017) believed that, under the premise of reaching consensus, cooperation and mutual benefit between major stakeholders in the tourist area can be realized in SOCHLPA. Xu (2007) discusses how bottom-up community engagement in the Xianrendong Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Village has contributed to reconciling tourism and the conservation of heritage, while also allowing for economic development of the region. At the same time, though, Chirikure, Manyanga, Ndoro and Pwiti (2010), using a meta case study approach, also conclude that participatory management is not always equally successful and many goals, especially concerning local community decision making, remained unfulfilled in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. They note how the concept is often difficult to truly apply from a practical point of view due to the large diversity of communities and the fact that different objectives can sometimes be exclusive.

Third, limiting the amount of tourism development or the tourist flow is key to building sustainable tourism (Timothy, 2017), although such limits are difficult to identify. The limiting factors can be ecological operability, resource capacity management (resource capacity), social attention, visitor satisfaction, etc. These factors should be fully considered when setting limits (Alazaizeh, Hallo, Backman, Norman & Vogel, 2016). Therefore, adaptive response and management are an important aspect of achieving sustainable development, which could ensure that ongoing projects adapt to changing conditions. For example, some ecotourism sites such as the Yellowstone National Park in the United States and museums such as the Louvre in Paris have implemented restrictions on passenger flow to avoid overcrowding, in order to ensure the quality of tourism and protect the environment of the destinations. However, in China, there are currently no ecological tourist areas and ancient urban areas that have moved to restrict passenger flow.

Fourth, more and more regions have used indicators for continuous monitoring (Guzmán, Roders & Colenbrander, 2017). Sound tourism management requires that the ever-changing data can be readily available as a basis for policy adjustment and tourism activities. Therefore, various

indicators that influence the sustainable development goals must be identified and monitored. Based on these monitors, correct policies and cost-effective monitoring programmes can be formulated and put into action (Gullino, Beccaro & Larcher, 2015). The Summer Palace, a typical royal garden site in China with an annual passenger flow of about 16 million, provides a good example of this. In order to better protect and manage the garden, in 2014 the Summer Palace established the Summer Palace heritage monitoring and early warning system platform. Through information methods, the state of mountains, ancient buildings, ancient architecture, paintings and ancient trees are monitored. This information is combined and accumulated in order to provide an analysis of monitoring data to help management identify problems in a timely manner and find the cause of the problem.

In terms of the impact of commercialisation of tourism, scholars have explored the possibility of decommercialisation of tourist destinations. One of the most representative studies is Wearing, McDonald and Ponting's (2005) discussion on the role of the non-governmental organisation (NGO) in the decommercialisation of tourism destinations. Couper, Crawford and Young (2017) believe that NGOs are one of the main advocates and implementers of sustainable tourism and have already achieved success in some areas. Wearing, McDonald and Ponting (2005) further pointed out that for non-governmental organisations, tourism is no longer merely an industry or vacation activity outside of one's usual residence. Non-governmental organisations that take into account the economic interests and destination of society, cultural and ecological values, have achieved community empowerment. In addition, King and Stewart (1996) believe that legalising and routinising the duties of community residents in the management of ecological reserves can effectively reduce business activities in ecotourism. Gould and Burtenshaw (2014) proposed a study on the commercialisation of heritage sites under government-led and community-led ownership models and encouraged the private sector to cooperate closely with the state-owned sector.

In many countries, the government is pursuing a large number of actions and tourism policies that are consistent with the goals of sustainable development and poverty reduction strategies (Lin, Yu, & Chang, 2018). At the same time, small businesses often need more support and advice. Private companies have also begun to realize that their responsibilities to society have surpassed the goals of corporate wealth creation and the pursuit of economic efficiency (Lozano, Arbulú & Rey-

Maquieira, 2016). Travel operators actively implement sustainable principles in designing tourism projects, selecting suppliers, cooperating with communities, and providing information to tourists. However, these tour operators are mostly small entrepreneurs or characteristic tour operators. France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and other countries have a tourism operator network implementing the Environmental Management System and The Tour Operators Initiative (Cavlek, 2003). These plans are supported by the UN Environment Programme, UNESCO and the World Tourism Organisation. The participants of the tourism operator programme come from different countries and have created advanced sustainable practices through the work of tour operators in the regions where they operate (Dodds & Joppe, 2017).

The above principles are idealised situations. However, many management approaches lack a full incorporation of these principles. Landorf (2009) used content analysis to summarise strategies of six world heritage sites and found limitations in the form of a lack of basic consultation and the evaluation of local economic patterns. He mentioned that a successful strategy needs a holistic evaluation and the support of local community stakeholders. Therefore, the power of government is not efficient enough to realise the implication of sustainable tourism plans.

2.4 Heritage tourism in China

Heritage tourism can offer a variety of benefits but, when mismanaged, can cause significant negative effects due to commercialisation and subsequent loss of authenticity, and gentrification and loss of local control over the cultural resource. Important differences can arise across nations and sites. In order to achieve a more detailed understanding of the context of importance for this dissertation, the following parts will briefly discuss the political organisation surrounding heritage management in China.

Various authors (e.g. Chon, Guangrui, Lew, Ap & Yu, 2013; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009; Zhang, Chong & Ap, 1999) have identified how the Chinese government has actively encouraged heritage tourism for domestic tourists, people from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, overseas Chinese, and foreign tourists. From a domestic perspective, heritage tourism is seen as supporting a national culture and state ideology while also contributing to the protection of cultural diversity and multi-ethnicity (Su & Teo, 2009). At the international level, heritage tourism serves to display and disseminate China's history, culture and civilization to the international community. Particularly

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for the tourists from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, tourism is additionally seen to contribute to national reunification.

2.4.1 Heritage management and governmental overview

The current National Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics stipulates that the department of cultural relics under the State Council shall be responsible for the protection of cultural relics throughout the country (Shi, Dai, & Song, 2016). Local people's governments at various levels are responsible for the protection of cultural relics in their own administrative areas. The departments responsible for the protection of cultural relics of local people's governments at or above the county level shall exercise supervision and administration over the protection of cultural relics within their respective administrative areas (Shi, Dai, & Song, 2016). The relevant administrative departments of the governments at or above the county level shall be responsible for the protection of the relevant cultural relics within the scope of their respective duties. However, in addition to the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, the central ministries and commissions involved in the management of cultural relics include the Ministry of Construction, the National Ethnic Affairs Commission, the State Administration of Religious Affairs, and the State Environmental Protection Administration. As far as the local level is concerned, the local people's governments at the provincial, city, and county levels are responsible for the protection of cultural relics in their respective administrative areas (Pan, Yang, & Liu, 2014).

In addition to government agencies, non-governmental organisations include the Collaborative Innovation Centre for Chinese Historic Architecture and Traditional Village Protection (Li, Liu, Dou, Zeng & Chen, 2017). They were jointly built by Tianjin University and various units. It responds to the pressing needs of China's cultural heritage protection business and responds to the call of the Ministry of Education for the subject of cultural inheritance. Among them, Tianjin University is the lead unit, and Tsinghua University, Shandong University, Beijing University of Architecture are core participants in the National Palace Museum (Li, Liu, Dou, Zeng & Chen, 2017). China Architecture Design Research Institute and Dunhuang Research Institute are the main coordination units. Through joint efforts and complementing each other's strengths, they are committed to the study of the overall protection of historic buildings and traditional village cultural heritage.

In terms of World Heritage, China became a party to the World Heritage Convention in l985. In 1986, it began the application for a UNESCO World Heritage inscription. In 1987 the National Palace Museum and six other properties were included in the World Heritage List. Currently, China has the second-largest number of World Heritage properties (after Italy). In recent years, there has been an unprecedented upsurge of world heritage declarations. Nearly 100 sites in China have announced that they want to file a submission to be recognized as World Heritage. In some places, the main driving force of the world heritage declaration is the brand effect and its monopoly value as a unique resource. In some places, the declaration as World Heritage is seen to support environmental governance, and this is of crucial importance to the continuity of heritage buildings to prevent their destruction in the name of modern development. The registration procedure has followed a state-led strategy whereby China has established a system for the declaration, protection and management of World Heritage based on the functions of existing government departments. The Chinese National Commission for UNESCO, which is based at the Ministry of Education, is responsible for aspects including the declaration, protection and management of World Heritage. The National Cultural Relics Bureau is responsible for cultural heritage in general, and also specifically on a more regional scale in China (Pan, Yang, & Liu, 2014). The Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development is responsible for the natural heritage and mixed heritage. The State Council is directly responsible for the final approval of the World Heritage List Project (Shi, Dai, & Song, 2016).

In conclusion, China is implementing a diversified and multi-level management system. From the national point of view many departments such as tourism, forestry, environmental protection and even water conservancy have their management scope within different heritage sites. The China World Heritage Committee, which represents the Chinese government and corresponds to UNESCO, is located in the Ministry of Education, which has no authority over World Heritage. Because different departments manage World Heritage, management is inefficient, and sometimes even policy conflicts occur. Unfortunately, some local planning departments treat heritage sites as a general tourist attraction, severely damaging the legacy of the original historical environment and style. Governments directly involved in the development of World Heritage even promote the overexploitation in the pure pursuit of short-term economic returns and achievements. Theoretically, World Heritage should belong to the country, but because property rights are not

exclusive, governments at all levels have become the real resource managers. Some government departments and enterprises use national public resources as a tool for their own interests. In this case, management of heritage resources is prone to excessive development.

This problem is exacerbated by insufficient funding for proper site management. According to one report discussing 119 national scenic areas in China, the annual allocation of funding is only a million yuan, an average of only 84,000 yuan per place (Yan, 2017). By comparison, South Korea's existing national parks receive annual government support equivalent to 300 million yuan (Jiang, & Choi, 2018). Much investment in development, but not conservation, is bound to damage the long-term interests of the World Heritage. This has also resulted in some heritage sites having to resort to bank loans for their operational needs. At present, the total amount of outstanding loans, interest, and arrears is nearly 30 million yuan (Yan, 2017).

2.4.2 Cultural heritage villages in China

One of the specific heritage resources of interest to the Chinese government are ancient villages. Many famous historical and cultural towns were damaged by the industrialisation process (Guo & Lu, 2016). To protect the precious historical and cultural heritage on a larger scale, the Ministry of Construction and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage issued a joint list of historic and cultural towns (villages) in 2003 (Pan, Yang, & Liu, 2014). Ten villages or townscapes within large cities, such as Shanxi Province and Beijing City, were listed. These villages were chosen because of their particularly rich heritage and significant historical or revolutionary significance (Guo & Lu, 2016). They are defined as towns that can reflect the historical features and local ethnic characteristics in a more complete manner. In addition, the Ministry of Construction and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage established dynamic management mechanisms and a follow-up monitoring system for those who have obtained the title of 'famous town' (Li, Liu, Dou, Zeng & Chen, 2017). If these towns do not actively and effectively protect their historical heritage, their listing will be retracted.

2.5 Summary

Heritage is a comprehensive concept related to resources that are preserved by humans and society across different cultures and times. Well-kept heritage is tied to a community and its history. It is

undeniable that heritage tourism brings tremendous economic benefits and far-reaching cultural and educational significance to the local community, the country, and international tourists. However, through technology, urbanisation, and tourism growth, over-commercialisation and gentrification have impacted sustainable resource management in heritage sites. Heritage is not a renewable resource; it should be preserved effectively. But because of its managerial complexity, there has not been a unified approach. Management methods for various issues are continually emerging. It is worth noting that the most critical innovation in management methods involves the principle of sustainability. Conflicts and cooperation among stakeholders will continue to be the primary research issues of heritage management.

In summary, the existing gaps in heritage tourism management can be represented by Figure 2.2. On the top row it is identified that a heritage attraction is not an objective reality but is constructed by an interaction of demand and supply, often supported via the public sector. A first gap can arise here when the tourist expectations differ from the actual heritage attraction offering, possibly leading to tourist dissatisfaction and impacting the sustainable management of the heritage site. A heritage site, through its tourist attraction, generates economic benefits. However, these economic benefits can cause conflicts with local right holders when they lead to commodification and a loss of cultural authenticity. This problem is exacerbated if the public-sector management neglects local rights, leading to cultural appropriation or even forced displacement. Finally, tourist demand might create gaps with local rights when commercialisation leads to locals being pushed out of their communities in a non-planned, gentrified process. The next part will focus on methodology and then in the results and discussion the dissertation will focus on the tourist development of one specific cultural heritage village in China, Lijiang, through a secondary data analysis and literature review in order to understand the commercialisation and gentrification processes that have evolved over time in this specific heritage attraction.
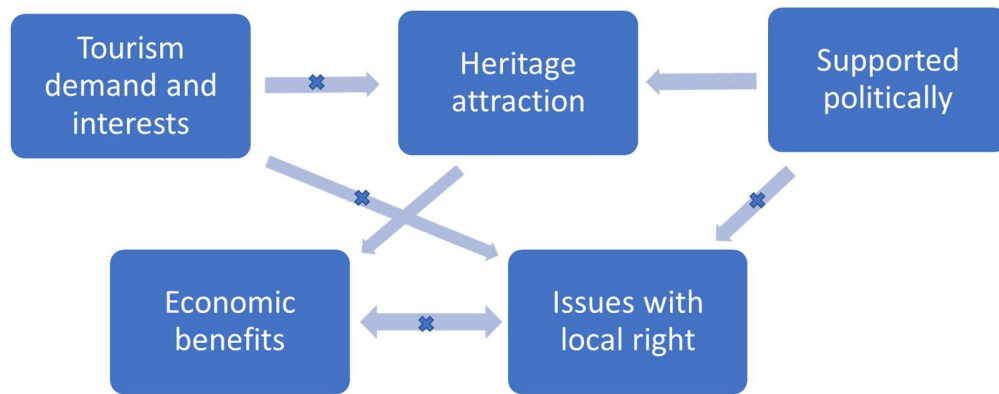
Figure 2.2 Gaps in heritage management

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The philosophical foundation and particular methods of data collection and analysis followed in this study will be mentioned in this section. The purpose and problems of the research are reviewed, followed by a description of the qualitative approach. Data collection and analysis are explained and specifically the thematic coding approach to achieve the research objectives, as part of the interpretive epistemology, is described in more detail in this section. The last part of this section reflects on ethical considerations of the research.

3.2 Interpretivist research paradigm

Interpretivism is a common philosophical point of view, formed gradually in humanities-social science research (Xu & Yang, 2013). It maintains that the human experience of the world is not passive perception and acceptance of the external world, but understanding and active interpretation (Mao, 2003). Explanatory scholars tend to understand various complex social phenomena based on their interpretations and perspectives (Liu, 2002). As such, the interpretivist paradigm takes the position that reality is socially constructed and subjective, context-laden and inseparable from the values of the observer (Wahyuni, 2012). The purpose of this study is to explore the tourist experience within the ancient city of Lijiang and the evolving nature of this experience and the environment as a whole. The perception of an experience is a complicated issue with the result of a travel experience varying from person to person. Therefore, this study adopts an interpretivist perspective on knowledge.

The researchers' epistemological position reflects their views on how to obtain knowledge from the outside world (Liu, 2002). The main purpose of this qualitative research is to explore the changes in the effects of tourism development in Lijiang from 2009 to 2017. In order to achieve the purpose of this study, the historical data is processed, and the method of qualitative induction is adopted, collecting managerial documents and personal experience through user-generated content and then completing the data analysis based on the researcher's personal interpretations and perspectives. Also, the way to present research results is based on personal understanding of the evaluation of tourism destinations. Other paradigms, such as positivism, are considered unsuitable for this study. Positivist researchers are objective, and they tend to use quantitative

methods to deduce hypotheses through statistical surveys (Opdenakker, 2006). However, in this study, statistical data were not collected. Moreover, when the data were analyzed, it was an individual subjective data interpretation. Besides, the purpose of this study is not to prove a certain hypothesis, but to interpret and understand historical data to reveal the change in the individual's perception of the location.

3.3 Qualitative research methodology

Within the interpretivist paradigm, qualitative research is the preferred way for researchers to define problems or deal with problems (Lewis, 2015). Qualitative research is one of the fundamental steps and basic methods of scientific research, particularly aimed at determining the nature of things (Silverman, 2016; Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, 2017). The specific purpose is to deeply study the specific characteristics or behaviour of the subject and analyse the disordered information (Flick, 2014). As Smith (2015) mentioned, this information can include historical reviews, literature analysis, interviews, observations, and participation experiences, among other things. Qualitative research is about the behavioural patterns, psychological characteristics of specific groups of people, or about the internal structure of a specific group and the complex relationships between them, or about the occurrence, development, and change of a specific event (Lewis, 2015).

The advantage of qualitative research is that it places more emphasis on meaning, experience and description (Yin, 2015). Research on a small group of a carefully selected sample of individuals requires researchers to gain insights into the behaviours and motivations of the study subjects and the impact they may have while taking into account the contextual factors of the environment (Yin, 2015). This is done under the premise of not changing, not manipulating the social reality environment and not controlling the research object, and not carrying out experimental stimulation on the research object, according to relevant theoretical models (Opdenakker, 2006; Catherine, Dympna & David, 2013; Bryman, 2017).

Different from the procedural and formal features of quantitative research, qualitative research is flexible. It approaches various complex social phenomena in reality, not merely cutting reality into relatively isolated variables. Wo (2005) stated that this allows retaining of the complexity and integrity of a situation, within the context of the participant's daily life. Therefore, with a high

degree of openness and flexibility in research strategy, type, design, and methodology, it can actively adapt to a variety of research topics, phenomena or content (Opdenakker, 2006). For example, in this study, the online commentary of tourists toward the ancient city of Lijiang was varied. They come from different countries and have different language levels and some comments even contain many typos. The expression of the same thing is also varied, but qualitative research makes it possible to translate and explain the feelings of tourists through the researcher's interpretation.

3.4 Research methods

Research method refers to particular stages and specific ways used for data collection and analysis (Wahyuni, 2012). To complete the data collection and analysis, this qualitative research adopted a case study approach, using secondary data in the form of historic document analysis and consumer generated content, and adopting thematic coding methods for the latter. The next section will discuss the application of the selected methods and detailed data collection and processes.

3.4.1 The case study approach

Case study research is an approach in which the researcher explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information, and then reports a case description and case themes. The researcher can choose a multi-site study or a within-site study as the unit of analysis. Case study research is appropriate for social research objectives. A case study can be described as an inquiry which empirically examines a contemporary phenomenon, in this case heritage tourism growth and its effects on local indigenous groups and the tourist experience, within a particular context, which for this study is the ancient city of Lijiang.

Experience is a spiritual journey that can bring memories to consumers. This kind of memory can be to accomplish something special, learn something, or just have fun (Sundbo & Darmer, 2008). Tourism is a leisure experience that people receive in other places. In other words, the essence of tourism is an experience. Since Boorstin's (2012) first study of the travel experience in the 1960s (Boorstin, 2012), tourism experience has been a hot topic for scholars to continue to explore. Domestic and foreign scholars explore tourism experience based on phenomenology, semiotics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and other perspectives. The content concerns the

nature, types, motivation, meaning, and quality of tourism experience and the research methods are diverse (Long & Lu, 2010). However, as no substantive progress has been made in understanding some basic issues the tourism experience remains one of the least understood areas in tourism research (Connell & Meyer, 2004). China's research on tourism experience focuses on the application of tourism planning and tourism marketing and the basic theoretical research is not yet sufficient (Ping & Chunxiao, 2007). Because of the elusiveness of the concept of tourist experience and the difficulty of translating generalised models onto specific destinations, the researcher believes that experience should be investigated locally and specifically, making a case study approach an appropriate research tool.

According to the investigation of Weiyao, Zhenbin, Qingyang and Yujie (2017), which is the latest thematic analysis of tourism experience of the ancient city of Lijiang, most existing tourist travel experience studies are based on interviews or online blogs. Since these messages are self-published by tourists without any guidance (Willson, McIntosh, & Zahra, 2013), they record the true feelings and experiences of the traveller and are important and special materials for studying the travel experience (Qingming, Honggang, & Yang, 2014).

Most of the study of tourist experiences in the ancient city of Lijiang focuses on its specific classification and in-depth motivation. However, the research on changes in the experience of tourists is almost blank. Based on various problems that Lijiang has encountered in the development of tourism and the warning received in 2017 shows that there is still much room for improvement in Lijiang's management model. Combined with the management strategy of the past years and the study of changes in the experience of tourists in the ancient city, it could better make reasonable proposals for future management. This study attempts to explore this aspect.

3.4.2 Data collection and sampling

3.4.2.1 Data collection methods – secondary data collection
Secondary data research refers to the process of searching for and researching data that was not originally collected or intended for specific research purposes (Catherine, Dympna & David, 2013). These materials have been collected and organised by others, and some have already been published. Through secondary data research, researchers can in a timely and cost-effective manner focus on specific factors that should be investigated (Rowley, 2012). Secondary data is relatively

easy to obtain, relatively inexpensive, and quickly available. Although secondary data may not provide all the answers needed for a particular research question, it is useful in many ways.

There are several advantages of investigating data without questionnaires or interviews. In primary data research, the quality of the main content of the questionnaire or interview will directly affect the value of the entire survey and could lead to an observer effect (Bryman, 2015). Therefore, the design of the study requires the investigator to have relatively available time and experience. Secondary data can, to a certain extent, avoid such problems because a more comprehensive and objective understanding of the problems in the process of data collection ensures the value of the research results. Besides, other limitations of questionnaires and interviews concern the reliability of respondent answers (Brace, 2018). After all, the number of questionnaire and interview questions are limited, and respondents cannot wholly and accurately express their ideas within a limited time. Furthermore, one of the purposes of this study is to understand the changes in Lijiang's heritage management policy and to tap changes in the visitor experience, which took place at different time periods (from 2009 to 2017). The questionnaires and interviews would only be able to identify current visitor experience, and the investigator cannot look back in time. However, secondary data can meet the needs of acquiring a longer time span. Therefore, the use of secondary data in this study can achieve all the answers to research questions.

3.4.2.2 Document analysis, user-generated content and sampling of online reviews
In this study, a first source of secondary data is based on official government documents that are publicly available. Since Lijiang is a recognized UNESCO World Heritage site, management plans and monitoring reports are a continuous requirement and are validated by external experts. Therefore, these documents can provide a reliable basis for the critical analysis of Lijiang's management approach through various stages.

The analysis of the visitor experiences and changes in heritage cities, requires more direct approaches. This study will use a database of user-generated comments (both domestic and international) on the city of Lijiang on the TripAdvisor platforms. Ayeh and Law (2013) found that more than 95% of tourists read online reviews while planning their trips. The relative truthfulness, cross-regionality, and ease of acquisition of online review data can provide researchers with a large number of sources of data. TripAdvisor is the leading travel website in the

world (O'Connor, 2008). It mainly provides reviews and suggestions from travellers all over the world. It has comprehensive coverage of hotels, attractions, restaurants, and airlines around the world, as well as travel planning and hotel, attraction, restaurant reservations (O'Connor, 2008). Its websites have sub-stations in 49 markets around the world, with a monthly average of 415 million unique visitors (Jeacle & Carter, 2011).

Based on this, the author uses "Lijiang" as a destination and "Ancient City" as a keyword under the section of travel websites (TripAdvisor). Visitors took the initiative to describe their travel experience on the site. Most of these online reviews were detailed and authentic. At this point, the reliability of the information obtained is guaranteed. Visitor reviews of the Old Town of Lijiang were selected based on a stratified systematic sample, with the strata representing different time-periods. With the earliest available comments dating from 2009 to the latest comments to account for in 2017, split intervals of three years were constructed, with all comments divided into three periods: 2009-2011, 2012-2014 and 2015-2017. Within each of the three strata, a random natural number was taken as starting point for the sample, after which this starting point was increased by a fixed interval k = 10 until a sample of approximately 30 comments per strata was obtained, for a total sample size of 118 reviews. The next section will give an explanation of the process of data analysis via thematic analysis.

3.4.3 Data analysis

3.4.3.1 Data analysis method – thematic analysis approach

Specifically, in terms of the user-generated comments that were collected from TripAdvisor, a thematic analysis will be conducted in order to identify codes and higher-level themes and analyse the periodic change and differences between tourists. As this research adopted the qualitative approach and collected narrative data, it was feasible to use a thematic method to complete the data analysis. Inspecting, synthesising and interpreting the data are three main processes of qualitative data analysis.

Thematic analysis is a method of analysing narrative data by coding and defining data into themes or categories. Codes are subsets of themes and coding is an effective way to discern qualitative data (Aronson, 1995). After gathering the same kinds of codes into themes, these can be further divided into different categories. The thematic analysis method has several advantages. It enables

researchers to find similar labeled data and bring them together, and also has the benefit of retrieving data related to more than one theme and further discovering a connected pattern or connection between those data. It is a systematic approach to integrating textual data into groups and then identifying one problem or phenomenon. Using the thematic coding method, the detailed data analysis process is explained in the following part.

3.4.3.2 Data analysis process

There are three main steps of thematic data analysis in this research: sorting textural data into codes, combining similar codes into themes, and categorising themes into categories (Smith, 2015). Guided by Braun and Clarke (2006), the step-by-step thematic coding and analysis process is presented in Figure 3.1:
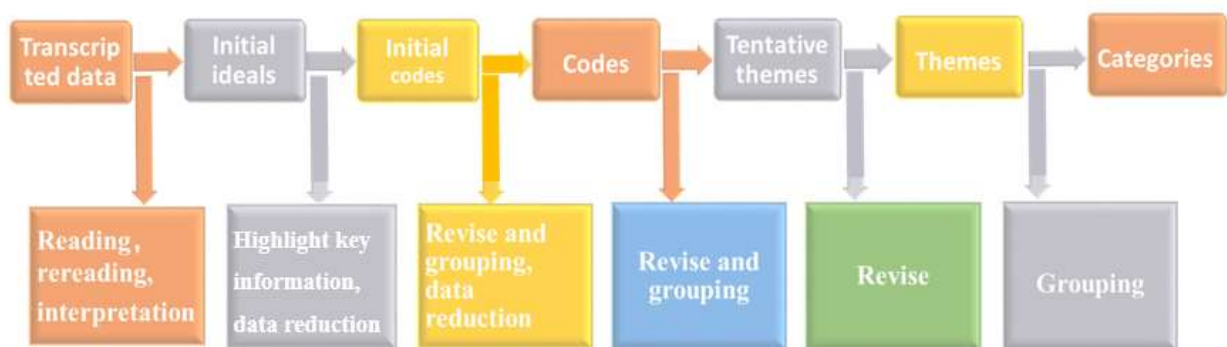
Figure 3.1 Coding process of thematic analysis

Source: Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006); Liamputtong (2009).

Step 1: Data familiarization

The first step of the coding process is familiarising with the data and transcribing it (some content was written in Chinese and needed to be translated into English). In terms of user-generated content, selected from a website (TripAdvisor), transcribing data is an easy process. The purpose in this phase is to get initial ideas and identify interesting or important concepts. To get a more accurate study result at this stage, reading and rereading the data is a significant way to understand the comments and it is helpful for noting down some initial ideas.

Step 2: Outline initial codes

Based on the initial ideas gained from careful rereading, frequent and essential words were identified highlighting specific sentences within comments which were related to specific experiences of traveling in the old town of Lijiang. Then, by defining characteristics and content of this highlighted key information, initial codes are generated (Price & Richardson, 2015). In this research, frequent words or sentences were, for example, *Disneyfication; theme park; hearing the same song; All the houses have turned into shops or bars.* Thus, this section is coding interesting features of the data systematically across the entire data set.

Step 3: Identify codes

The initial codes defined by the data in this step are not all useful for the research, so most initial codes can be dropped later when confirming significant codes (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen & Snelgrove, 2016). Therefore, in this process, based on the research questions and objectives, some codes that did not relate to the ancient city of Lijiang were not identified and retained (e.g., descriptions about the other city near the old town of Lijiang, descriptions about the experience about their traveling schedule). Then, by integrating major initial codes, major codes were generated. For example, major codes identified in this research were *commercialised, loss of authenticity, overcrowded.*

Step 4: Define tentative themes

In this step, the purpose is searching for themes and transforming codes into potential themes and then gathering all data relevant to each potential theme (Price & Richardson, 2015). Then, themes are reviewed by checking them based on the coded extracts and the entire data set, generating a thematic map of the analysis (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen & Snelgrove, 2016). For example, this research identified essential codes such as commodification of authenticity and not wholly authenticity. They presented participants' attitudes and represented tourists' satisfaction of their travelling experiences. Therefore, the identified tentative themes were the loss of authenticity through tourism development.

Step 5: Finalise themes

In this section, the overall story of the analysis will appear by generating clear definitions and names for each theme. As the whole thematic coding process was developed to answer the research question, the specific themes should correspond to the research questions (Smith, 2015). Thus, the emerged tentative themes were revised carefully, based on an examination of the association between these themes. Then, final themes that related to tourists' experiences (e.g., the environment of the ancient city, what feelings they had about the noisy atmosphere, what opinions they had) were identified. For example, the tentative themes of overdevelopment and loss of authenticity through tourism development were identified as two of the themes in this research.

Step 6: Identify categories

The last step was the final opportunity for analysis: dividing the themes into different categories by identifying positive and negative perceptions on themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For example, the identified tourism satisfactions were divided into categories of negative and positive sides. At the end of data analysis, a selection of vivid, compelling extract examples and final analysis of selected extracts will relate back to the analysis of the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was not required in this study. All data are based on secondary sources and publicly available online user-generated content that is not copyright protected. These users have opted to make their reviews available to the general public and are not identified on a personal or demographic level, with the only personal data being considered being the country of origin of the reviewer.

3.6 Summary

This chapter explained the methodology and methods used for this research. This exploratory study aims to understand the cultural effects of tourism development in cities with a cultural product that is related to ethnic minorities. Especially the management situation of heritage tourism and tourist experiences in the ancient town of Lijiang are of interest. The research used a qualitative approach with inductive reasoning. The research stages started from research questions to secondary data collection and then to data analysis revealing underlying patterns or theories. Secondary data from

available management plans and a travel website (TripAdvisor) were analysed using the thematic coding method to complete the research. The next chapter will present the results of the data analysis.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Introduction

In this section, firstly, a general overview of Lijiang will be given to help understand the growth and segmentation of tourism in Lijiang. Secondly, the local management structures in Lijiang and government-led tourism growth and its impacts on the local indigenous culture will be explained to answer the research objectives concerning ownership and representation of local ethnic groups in cultural resources and provide an understanding of the current management structures in Lijiang, as well as their limitations and opportunities. Finally, a thematic analysis will uncover effects on the tourist experience, which answers the research question on changes in visitor experiences with regard to Lijiang old town.

4.2 General overview of the case study: Lijiang

Lijiang (in Chinese: 丽江; pinyin: Lìjiāng) is a prefecture-level city in the northwest of Yunnan province, China (the location of Lijiang is showed in Figure 4.1). It had a population of 1,244,769 at the 2010 census (Chao, 2012).

Figure 4.1 Location of Lijiang within Yunnan Province

Retrieved from https://www.travelchinaguide.com/map/yunnan/lijiang/ Copyright 2018 by travel China guide.

Lijiang has a long history due to its strategic location. The city is located centrally, at the foot of Yulong Mountain about 2,400 metres above sea level, as an important traffic hub between Yunnan, Sichuan, and Tibet. Since ancient times, it has been the hub of cultural exchanges between Han, Tibetan, Bai, Naxi and other ethnic groups. Subsequently it was recognized as a strategic military place on the ancient Southern Silk Road. Lijiang old town gained prominence as an important goods distribution centre connecting the Silk Road and the Ancient Chama Roads since the 12th century (Chao, 1996).

Among the 133 recognized state-level historical and cultural cities in China, Lijiang is known as one of the best-preserved ancient cities (Chao, 2012). The main cultural heritage cluster consists

of three components: Dayan old town (Cui, He & Xu, 2016), established in the Ming dynasty, and the Baisha and Shushe housing clusters, built during the Song and Yuan dynasties. With an area of 7.291 square kilometres, more than 25,000 residents reside within the ancient city of Lijiang, 73.89% of whom are Naxi ethnic groups (Li, Zhang & Xuekun, 2018). Attractions include the Old Town of Lijiang, Shuhe Ancient Town and Baisha Old Town, Dongba Culture, Wangu Tower, Tea Horse Road Museum, Wenchang Palace and Dongba Garden (Bao & Su, 2004; Li, Wu & Cai, 2008). The town was listed as a national historical and cultural city by the state Council in 1986, and World Cultural Heritage by UNESCO in 1997 (Li, Wu & Cai, 2008). Furthermore, Lijiang is located in close proximity to other important natural and cultural resources such as Yulong Snow Mountain, Laojun Mountain, Lugu Lake, and Jinsha River.

The old town represents a crossroads between the Naxi, Han, Tibetan, and Bai ethnic groups, with particularly the Naxi character and Dongba culture influencing both tangible and intangible aspects. These historical features that have formed since the Song and Yuan dynasties have been well-preserved (Li, Wu & Cai, 2008; Xiaolian, 2006). The Naxi is an ancient civilization. Their hand writing – the Dongba language – is the oldest minority pictograph in the Yunnan language (Wang, 2007). Dongba scripture originates from the Naxi scriptures and encyclopaedias of Dongba. As Figure 4.2 shows, Dongba language is a pictograph with both ideographic and phonetic composition. It originated very early in history, even much earlier than the appearance of 甲骨文 (i.e. a kind of word inscription on bones or tortoise shells in the Shang dynasty) (Chao, 1996). The Naxi culture is the main cultural resource to attract visitors from all over the world to visit Lijiang (Leask & Fyall, 2006).

Figure 4.2 Dongba manuscript: Genesis

Retrieved from http://travel.sina.com.cn/china/2016-04-18/1531326199.shtml Copyright 2018 by SINA Corporation.

4.3 Local management structures in Lijiang: the role of governments

4.3.1 An overview of governmental agencies

The tourism industry in Lijiang started in the 1980s and grew rapidly in the 1990s (Yu & Yi, 2000). From 1994 to 2010, the number of tourist arrivals in Lijiang increased from 217,000 to 9.1 million (Li, Zhang & Xuekun, 2018).

This tourism growth, as well as the protection and management of the ancient city of Lijiang have been at least partly government-led. In 1998, Lijiang established the Ancient City Management Office as a direct institution for the protection and management of the ancient city of Dayan Town. and directly implemented the protection of the ancient city (Hu, 2007). In June 2000, the original Lijiang County People's Government established the Lijiang Old Town Protection and Management Committee, which is responsible for the protection and management of the ancient city. In February 2002, the municipal government established the Lijiang Old Town Management Committee of the World Cultural Heritage, which has increased the level of this institution and established an office as a permanent institution of the municipal government (Hu, 2007). At the

same time, Lijiang Ancient City Management Co., Ltd. was established to exercise the management and operation of state-owned assets in the ancient city (Yang, 2002). The functions and responsibilities of the protection and management of the ancient city of Lijiang were further clarified, and the protection and management of the ancient city of Lijiang gradually became standardised and professional (Hu, 2007).

In November 2001, the Lijiang government established a new ancient city protection and management committee composed of local and county leaders, relevant units and departments of prefectures and counties, experts and scholars, and residents of ancient cities (Chao, 2012). The Office of the Protection of the World Cultural Heritage Ancient City and the Lijiang Ancient City Management Co., Ltd. were established as well (Xiumei & Fugui, 2013). After that, the Coordination Committee for the Office of the Lijiang Old Town Protection and Management Committee of the World Cultural Heritage was adjusted to be the working department of the Municipal People's Government and the Lijiang Old Town Protection Authority was established in October 2005 (Yi & Xuejun, 2011). Under the Authority, there are four offices set up under the General Management, Protection and Construction Branch, and Supervision and Law Enforcement Branch, as well as subordinate institutions: The Ancient City Maintenance Fee Inspection and Inspection Detachment (Hu, 2015).

4.3.2 Financing aspects of conservation: the maintenance fee of the old town
Concerning the protection of the ancient city, the government has invested much effort, but financial constraints have limited the funding for maintenance of the ancient city. Lijiang was once an economically underdeveloped region, and the annual tax revenue was far less than the fiscal expenditure. With the development of tourism, commercial revenue has increased. However, the government loans owed because of the 1996 earthquake recovery and reconstruction entered the peak period of repayment in 2001. At this time, the government realised that it was complicated to solve the problems by relying solely on taxation and other revenues. A new strategy was formed in order to obtain additional funding sources for the protection of the ancient city. One of those sources has come from levying an entrance fee on tourists. In 2001, a total of RMB 1.57 million was collected through this ticketing fee. In 2002, a special collection agency was set up, and a total of RMB 46.46 million was levied (Xiumei & Fugui, 2013). In 2003, a total of 53 million yuan was collected for the protection of the ancient city (Lijiang Tourism Bureau, 2008). It has become the

main income for the government to protect and manage the ancient city. The second income is the use of commercial bank loans to invest in the infrastructure construction project of Lijiang Ancient City. The third way is to obtain assistance from domestic and foreign donors for the restoration and technical support of the old houses in the ancient city. The fourth solution is local enterprises. They invested funds in transforming the ancient city's water supply and drainage, power supply and telecommunications.

4.4 Government-led tourism growth and its impacts on local indigenous culture

While a multi-level management system has thus been set up and a variety of financial sources are developed to support the necessary maintenance works, the continuous growth of tourism has led to some concerns. The director of the Ministry of Construction's National Historical Centre proposed several major issues: over-abundance of foreign merchants, erosion of the ancient city's cultural and historical connotations, the appearance of false antique buildings, potential negative influence on living conditions of the residents of the ancient city, and the effect of the construction of the new city surrounding the old city (Yi & Xuejun, 2011). These concerns are at least partly an effect of the management strategies that have been followed since the 1990s.

4.4.1 Management strategies, tourism growth, and gentrification in Lijiang Old Town

Through reviewing the literature on tourism development during this period in Lijiang Old Town, and the protection and development of heritage resources in this ancient city, and according to Butler's (1980) tourism area cycle evolution theory, the phenomenon of tourism gentrification in the ancient city of Lijiang can be divided into four stages: bud stage (1980s to 1990s), beginning stage (1991 to 1994), development stage (1994 to 1999), and stable stage (1999 to the present). Particularly the latter two stages can further be linked to specific government strategies for the periods 1990 to 2000, 2001 to 2010 and 2011 to 2010.

4.4.1.1 Bud stage (1980s to 1990s)

The 1980s to the 1990s was the exploration phase of tourism in Lijiang, and the phenomenon of tourism gentrification was in an embryonic state. In 1986, the ancient city of Lijiang was listed by the State Council as a famous historical and cultural city in China. In 1987, the Yunnan Provincial Government upgraded Puji Temple in the Old Town of Lijiang to the third level of cultural relics,

offering additional protection. During this period, people had no plan for tourism development, and only a small number of tourists visited this area. The residents of the ancient city are basically the original residents of the area and the tourism facilities were not perfect. There was a very little migration of foreign residents, so the natural and social environment of the tourist destination had not changed substantially, but the demand for tourism development was vivid (Xiumei & Fugui, 2013).

4.4.1.2 Beginning stage (1991 to 1994)

From 1991 to 1994, was the beginning stages of the Lijiang tourism industry. At the same time, the phenomenon of tourism gentrification occurred. With growing awareness of the development of the tourism industry, the inhabitants of the ancient city gradually transformed their houses into shops and hotels and started to emigrate to either new developments outside of the old city or to other towns altogether. However, the changes in the demographic structure of the ancient city were not yet visible. The business sector had gradually emerged, serving local residents and tourists, and the value of land had begun to climb.

4.4.1.3 Development stage (1994 to 1999)

Since 1990, the number of tourists gradually increased, as well as the proportion of foreign tourists. The regularity of tourism gradually emerged, and local governments began to put the development of tourism explicitly on the agenda. They gradually set up a unique tourism management agency, and gradually improved tourism facilities and transportation. In October 1994, the Yunnan Provincial People's Government proposed the strategy of developing Lijiang (Qifu & Ruhui, 2007). Guided by this strategy, Lijiang took the lead in proposing and implementing the Tourism Pilot strategy in Yunnan Province, making the tourism industry embark on a rapid development path (Lijiang Tourism Bureau, 1999). The effectiveness of this plan was significant, with the number of tourist arrivals rapidly increasing from 217,000 in 1994 to 2.804 million in 1999 (Yunnan Provincial Tourism Development Commission, 2000).

The massive earthquake in 1996 did not hinder the development of tourism in the ancient city. Instead, it was seized by the government as an opportunity which used reconstruction to restore and increase the distinctive architecture of the ancient city. Under government-invested advertising and word-of-mouth from tourists, an increasingly mature tourism market gradually formed in

Lijiang (Lijiang Tourism Bureau, 1999). In 1997, at the 21st plenary session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee held in Naples, Italy, according to the selection criteria for cultural heritage, the Old Town of Lijiang was included in the World Cultural Heritage List (Li, Wu & Cai, 2008). After the success of the application, tourism began to develop rapidly. In 1999 the government attracted the World Horticultural Exposition to further increase tourism.

During the process of protection and development of the restoration and reconstruction of the ancient city after the 1996 earthquake, the phenomenon of tourism and gentrification became more prominent (Zhang, Ji, Chan, & Pan, 2016). With the increase in foreign investment, the simple accommodation provided by residents was gradually replaced by modern facilities on a big scale, and the landscape of tourism destinations and cities underwent fundamental changes (Yunnan Provincial Tourism Development Commission, 2000). The most prominent feature was the enormous changes in the demographic structure. By the time the Kunming World Expo was successfully held in 1999 in the ancient city, 32.73% of the local population (5,001) had relocated, and 4,051 people from other places had moved to the ancient city (Tao & Qi, 2006). In addition to population replacement, along with the development of tourism projects and the construction of tourism infrastructure, the price of land around the ancient city soared. Many fast-food chain stores, clothing stores, large supermarkets, and financial institutions emerged, and business conditions became increasingly abundant.

4.4.1.4 Stable stage (1999 to the present)
From 1999 to the present, tourism in Lijiang underwent a period of consolidation (1999 to 2003), a phase of quality and efficiency improvement (2004 to 2007), and a stage of transformation and development (2008 to the present) (Junzheng, 2009). Due to the sudden outbreak of SARS in 2003, tourism was forced to suspend business for rectification, and the rapid development of tourism in Lijiang was inhibited, with an average annual increase of only 5.5% (Lijiang Tourism Bureau, 2008). As a result, the Lijiang government slowed the pace down and proposed the idea of improving quality and increasing efficiency in 2004. This strategy can be seen as an exploration of the transformation and upgrading of tourism. In 2006, the government proposed the same strategic plan to increase the scale and comprehensive benefits of tourism continuously. In the following two years, the Lijiang government still followed the 1994 strategy and proposed development ideas for increasing the contribution of tourism to finance. To this end, the city has

become a more distinct line of tourism, entertainment, and commercial areas. The tourism facilities built before were gradually unable to meet the needs of development. The scale of investment has greatly exceeded that of the past, and hardware construction has been replaced by more capacity, higher quality, and more modern facilities. In January 2008, the Lijiang Tourism Bureau, responding to the national policy, proposed the development goal of building international tourist attractions and promoting the transformation and upgrading of the tourism industry.

According to a travel report published by the Lijiang government, from 2011 to 2015 Lijiang vigorously developed tourist attractions (Lijiang Tourism Bureau, 2016). In these years, Lijiang only cared about development but ignored additional tourism management policy for the old town leading to an increase in negative tourism impacts. At the end of 2015, Lijiang was warned by the National Tourism Administration because of the unsatisfactory situation of tourism industries such as poor service and low hygiene levels in the Old Town of Lijiang. To this end, the mayor of Lijiang replied that Lijiang must strengthen the supervision of the tourism industry and implement protection of Lijiang's heritage resources. After that, the Lijiang Tourism Bureau immediately issued a series of laws and regulations for the comprehensive management of the ancient city and increased punishment for illegal activities such as the destruction of heritage elements in store frontage. However, the warning did not alter the focus of tourism development in Lijiang. Until the end of 2016, the Lijiang Government and Tourism Bureau was concentrating on upgrading the level of natural and cultural landscapes such as the Yulong Snow Mountain and the Old Town of Lijiang and enlarging the travel scale of The Hujinghu Lake Scenic Area, Laojunshan National Park, and Shigu Tourism Town.

In February 2017, the Old Town of Lijiang received a second warning from the National Tourism Administration. The warning included the high rate of complaints from tourists and the frequent occurrence of incidents of personal and property safety. At the same time, the ancient city maintenance fees (charged by the Lijiang government to tourists) had also been questioned by public opinion (Su, 2018). This time, the respondence of the Lijiang Tourism Bureau was similar to the one in 2016, and as of 2018, Lijiang is still planning to further develop leisure tourism products, mainly in Lijiang Old Town and Shuhe Ancient Town, as well as Yulong Snow Mountain and a golf resort, themed as the ancient city of golf. Brand hotel-based resort products

and cultural experience tourism products represented by Mosuo style are also to be expanded in the future.

During this period, the phenomenon of tourism and gentrification gradually became stable. Despite diversification in terms of types and changes in the structure of residents, the population replacement rate was reduced, and the commercial landscape was advanced. Even though, according to Hu (2015) around 25,000 original city residents (including Shuhe and Baisha) still live within the ancient city, there numbers have decreased by half in comparison to pre-tourism development. Xiaolian (2006) argued that the relocation of indigenous inhabitants places the old town of Lijiang at the risk of becoming cultural museums. Millions of tourists swarm into Lijiang every year (Weiet al., 2012), disrupting the original tranquillity and comfort of the old town (Zhang, Hong-gang & Xing, 2017). In order to make room for the merchants and tourists, and also in order to avoid the noise of tourism, many local people have moved out of the old town (Xiaolian, 2006). According to official statistics, more than 70% of the more than 1600 shops and inns on the main street are operated by people from other regions at this stage (Zhang, Ji, Chan, & Pan, 2016).

Under the background of the leisure economy, the land price of the ancient city continues to increase, and the target market is locked in the high-end market of new consumption concepts. Tourism management has aggravated the disparity between the rich and the poor residents of the ancient city. Residents who are located in a business location have only a considerable income from leasing their property. Many Naxi people moved out, and urban businessmen have moved in. These outsiders do not care about whether Lijiang is a historical and cultural city or not; for them, Lijiang is just a place to make money (Weihong, Yuanqing, Zongxing, Shuxin, Chunfeng & Chang, 2012).

4.4.2 Restrictions placed on remaining resident homeowners
The traditional lifestyle of residents in the ancient city is also affected by tourism development. With the entry of Lijiang into the World Cultural Heritage List, new restrictions have been imposed on the residents of the ancient city, which has led to new contradictions. The most prominent is to safeguard the authenticity of the ancient city and the problems of ancient city residents in repairing and rebuilding the former residences. According to the requirements of the preservation of the ancient city, when houses in the city need to be repaired, the homeowner should use traditional

building materials and techniques (Lijiang Tourism Bureau, 1999). The homeowner does not have the right to decide on the demolition and reconstruction of his house because any changes must be approved by the relevant department. Besides, there is a lack of necessary communication between the government and residents of the ancient city. Residents often do not understand these regulations and often conflict with the government's management department. At the same time, the government lacks dedicated funds to help residents repair or rebuild houses. In particular, the use of traditional building materials and technologies to repair houses is not only costly but also difficult to obtain and more and more daily-use stores are replaced by travel goods and craft shops (Hu, 2015).

Since the villagers of the ancient city of Lijiang could only construct their houses in accordance with the regulations under the protection of cultural heritage, whether or not they need or want to remodel their houses, they have effectively lost the power to maintain their houses freely. These residents form just one part of the stakeholders in the field of cultural heritage protection, i.e., non-governmental organisations, nations, ethnic groups, and even individuals. In such cases the contradiction between the protection of cultural heritage and the cultural power of ethnic minorities cannot be evaded.

4.4.3 Ownership and representation of cultural heritage by local ethnic minorities

4.4.3.1 Tourism interest as a source of protection
According to Su (2010) and Qifu and Ruhui (2007), the development of tourism to Lijiang gave an economic rationale to the protection of the traditional Naxi folk culture. The development of tourism has not just increased the visibility and reputation, but also promoted the social and economic progress of Lijiang. As a result, the cultural and cultural relics protection departments have obtained increasing economic benefits (Peters, 2001; Qifu & Ruhui, 2007; Su, 2010). With more funds to support the protection of folk culture, Lijiang people will have an opportunity to decide on their own future (Zhang, Hong-gang & Xing, 2017). Cui, He and Xu (2016) note how this has specifically been the case for the endangered Naxi folk culture, which began to recover due to its integration into the tourism market. In addition, with the development of tourism, the national self-respect and pride of the local people has been gradually strengthened. Zhang, Hong-gang and Xing (2017) claimed that local people not only inherit the connotation of the traditional

folk culture and keep pace with the times, but also carry on the exploration and innovation to the traditional folk culture, which allows them to export it to the whole country and the world.

4.4.3.2 Local communities, the concept of universalism, and the right to interpret culture

However, at the same time, the local people in Lijiang have been weakened in terms of their ownership rights of ethnic culture. In 1992, the United Nations put forward the concept of cultural rights and expressed the power of all ethnic groups to develop their own culture. These powers include inheritance, interpretation, creation, ownership, priority beneficiary, and reservation and development rights. The right to interpret culture is undoubtedly an important cultural power. However, in most cases, local people rarely receive absolute power. For instance, at the Lijiang Dongba Cultural Museum, experts and local governments are the leading forces, and villagers are led, because they have limited experience with cultural museums. In fact, foreign forces have become agents of the village culture, and villagers have changed from de facto masters to nominal owners.

The weakening of ownership and inclusion of local voices is at least partly related to the changing scope in heritage management. The ancient city of Lijiang has initially been a local cultural heritage, but when receiving a level of national importance and later obtaining World Cultural Heritage status, at least in theory the old town has become a common heritage of mankind. Via this extension of public power, certain powers are also lost, being subjected to the World Heritage Committee's intervention and world heritage regulation. The expansion of cultural rights can be seen as a transformation from specificity to universality. In order to protect the cultural heritage, the small community often presents its cultural particularity to the large community, but during this process, it may lose its uniqueness.

4.4.3.3 Commercialisation of culture

While the unique folk culture has made Lijiang old town an attractive domestic and international tourism destination (Xing-Liang, 2004), the further development of tourism has led to commercialisation of folk culture, following the demand of the market (Peters, 2001). While this has undoubtedly had certain positive effects on the support, spread and expansion of folk culture, it has also served as erosion and vulgarization of folk culture to cater for cultural habits of consumers and corporate profit (Nyaupane, Morais & Dowler, 2006). With the development of

tourism, some traditional ethnic activities have been added to the ancient city, such as singing and dancing performed by people from the Naxi group, floating the river lanterns, and hanging the bell on which people write down their wishes (Zhang, Hong-gang & Xing, 2017). These traditional ethnic cultures have become weapons to attract tourists and make money, gradually becoming business activities and losing their heritage and cultural connotation (Qian & Fei, 2012).

For example, as a Naxi settlement, the old town is a ubiquitous theme within Dai folk music and Cui, He and Xu (2016) point out that inauthentic representations have overshadowed the folk culture of the old town of Lijiang. To some extent, the old town has become a display field of cultural symbols that no longer represent the true heritage value, for example using symbols of other ethnic groups within local houses (Zhang, Hong-gang & Xing, 2017). The stores sell Miao embroidery, Bai costumes and so on, apart from traditional Naxi costumes (Xing-Liang, 2004). The shops and tourist commodities are cheap props and the local songs and dances are performed and defined as entertainment in the tourist programme, and the cultural connotation of clothing and action is weakened (Nyaupane, Morais & Dowler, 2006).

The transformation of private houses in the ancient city during these ten years has undergone tremendous changes. Old private houses have entirely lost their original features in the years of continuous renovation (Zhang, Hong-gang & Xing, 2017). Also, the ancient houses have been transformed into shops. There are many similarities in the decoration style and store layout and even the facilities are extremely modern. These changes brought some convenience, but the ancient city lost its original charm. Some of the goods that feature Lijiang's characteristics are not produced in Lijiang, most of them are from wholesalers and made in other places, such as Mosul people's handmade shawls (Nyaupane, Morais & Dowler, 2006). In 2004, after the TV drama One-Meter-Sunshine was broadcast on local television stations, numerous shops, pubs and bars named 'One-Meter-Sunshine' appeared in the ancient city and there are many similar examples proving that the ancient city was affected by foreign culture (Yaling & Yaofeng, 2006).

Thus, the original cultural meaning no longer exists, and the mass production of cultural goods as seen on the Lijiang old town market could eventually make tourists fatigued about this ethnic aesthetic. This leads Cui, He and Xu (2016) to discuss that the motivation of tourists is no longer learning the Naxi culture. This problem that has also been recognised in the UNESCO monitoring reports that have been warning of a progressive loss of integrity and authenticity due to tourism

and commercial developments since 2007, culminating in a new heritage management plan since 2013. However, according to public opinion in recent years, the effect of the management and protection of the ancient city of Lijiang has been stagnant (Zhang, Hong-gang & Xing, 2017).

To conclude, if the folk culture of a region or nation wants to have lasting vitality, it needs an environment to grow and be inherited from generation to generation. Yang (2011) mentioned how the inheritance of folk culture in Lijiang old town holds two contradictions: the great migration of the indigenous inhabitants and the transfer of property would lead to the next generation of Naxi people in Lijiang getting familiarized with their folk culture through commercialised tourism displays. The next generation of Naxi people might lose the opportunity to inherit the real Naxi folk culture in Lijiang old town. Secondly, the over-commercialised environment has caused a bad experience for tourists, providing a stereotyped impression that can hardly be erased. This will continue to hinder the sustainable development of tourism in the ancient city of Lijiang. As a result, solving such a contradiction will be a significant issue for Lijiang's future development.

4.5 Effects on the tourist experience: thematic analysis of reviews

In the previous part, it was suggested that the increased commercialisation of Lijiang old town is negatively affecting the tourist experience. There is some evidence to suggest that the satisfaction of tourists has indeed been decreasing. In an observational study, Bao and Su (2007) found that 61.4% of local shops catered strictly to tourists in 2002, marking an increase of 21.8% compared to 2000. In the literature on the tourist experience, the latest quantitative data comes from Qian and Fei (2012). They tried to analyse tourists experience of the ancient city and their survey indicated that satisfaction with shopping and dining in the Old Town of Lijiang is relatively low.

This study will add to these previous studies by investigating the themes within tourist review comments and the fluctuation of different themes across time. By identifying codes as being positive or negative, and relating to a certain topic, it can be found whether the tourist experience has indeed become less satisfactory. Tourists can show a variety of multiple attitudes within a single comment. To calculate frequencies of codes and themes, percentages were therefore calculated on the total number of codes identified within three time periods. The period 2009 to 2011 included 61 codes for 17 respondents, period 2012 to 2014 included 78 codes for 46 respondents, and 2015 to 2017 collected 92 codes on 54 respondents.

4.5.1 Theme of attractiveness of the ancient city of Lijiang

The first theme is the attractiveness of the ancient city of Lijiang, which can be considered important pull factors for domestic and international tourism. This topic includes six codes：Fun and atmosphere, Small-scale attractiveness, Location, Local culture and artefacts, Heritage scene and Tourism services. In the period 2009 to 2011, this theme was mentioned 30 times, which constitutes about half of the comments (49.2%) from this period. In general, the valence of the comments is positive.

	Theme 1 : Attractiveness of ancient city of Lijiang	Fun and atmospherics	Small-scale attractiveness	Location of wider area	Local culture and artefact	Heritage scenic	Tourism services
2009-2011	49.2	19.7	8.2	4.9	6.6	8.2	1.6
2012-2014	34.6	17.9	7.6	1.2	2.5	2.5	2.5
2015-2017	29.3	12	10.9	1.1	2.2	2.2	1.1
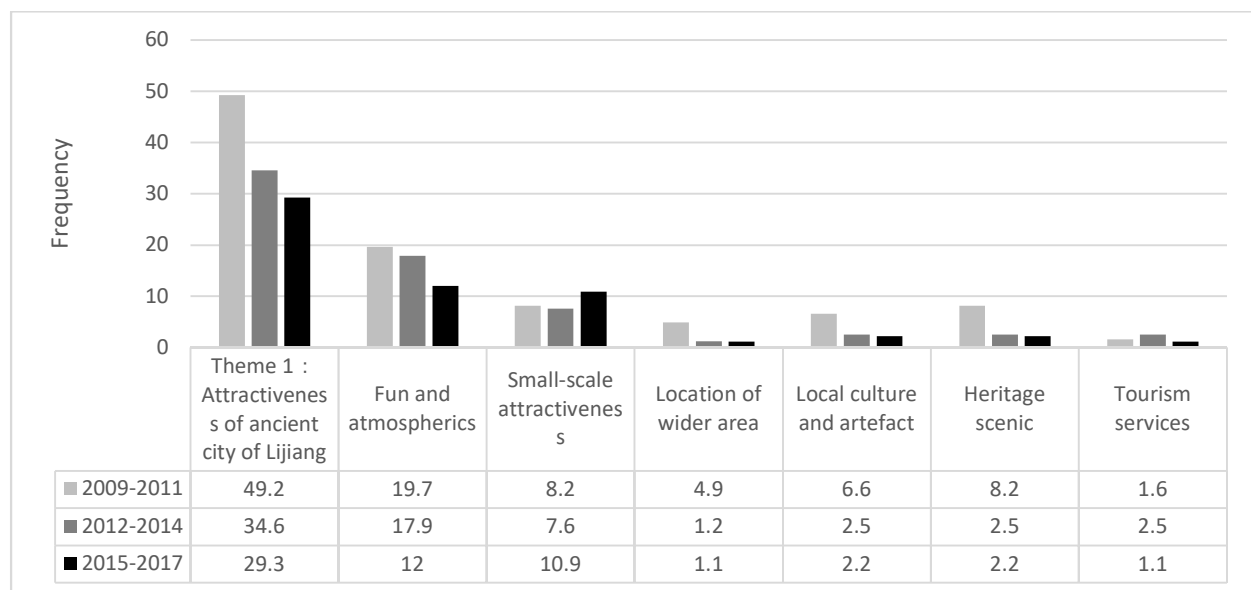
Figure 4.3 Frequencies of reviewer comments regarding attractiveness of Lijiang

Note: (n for period 2009 to 2011 = 61, n for period 2012 to 2014 = 78, n for period 2015 to 2017 = 92)

Firstly, Fun and atmosphere accounted for the highest proportion of answers (19.7% in 2009 to 2011), this code is mainly derived from tourists' experience of Lijiang's nightlife, such as:

"*What I did think was fun though, was the dancing in the main square, when the local townsfolk gathered together in the evenings to dance (it is a feature of Chinese life that people gather for fun and exercise in public places), … No matter, at least it is fun and adds to the atmosphere.*"

Figure 4.3 shows that this code occupied the highest percentage among all the codes in this theme for the entire 2009 to 2017 time period, but that it has been decreasing every year. From 2012 to 2014, it dropped 1.8% and then fell an additional 5.9% in the last period. This indicates that the number of tourists who explicitly valued fun and atmosphere in Lijiang has seemingly declined, either through a change in tourism composition or to a change in perception over the years.

The second most frequent code within the theme of attractiveness is small-scale attractiveness (8.2% in 2009 to 2011), referring to the tourists' love for the scale of Lijiang Old Town. For instance, one international tourist remarked:

"I loved the compact old town with atmospheric little alleyways and streets."

-- Live Amused，NJ，24/12/2011

At least 20 tourists showed their appreciation for the small scale of the old town, and for some of them this contributed to a peaceful atmosphere within the ancient, rural city. Thus, "slow life" is also a visitor's description of the state of the old town, differentiating it from busy Chinese metropoles. What is interesting is that the percentage of this code has somewhat fluctuated over the years. It decreased to 7.6% in the second period between 2012 to 2014 and then increased to 10.9% in the most recent period of 2015 to 2017.

In the first period of 2009 to 2011, the heritage scenery was mentioned third-most, at a similar frequency to the small-scale attractiveness. Visitors praised the historical sites in the ancient city. Such as：

"We love the old-world charm, the architecture and the irrigation that worked thousands of years ago is still there today. The buildings are beautiful and rich in history."

--Hornbet, Bedok, 17/03/2015

It can be understood that many tourists are attracted by the historical character of the ancient city, and within their understanding, they have recognized Lijiang's protection of heritage resources. Of significant importance here though is the sharp drop of mentions this code receives in the

subsequent time periods. The percentage dropped to 2.5% in 2012 to 2014 and kept falling to 2.2% in the final period 2015 to 2017.

Closely related to the heritage character of Lijiang is local culture and artefacts, which was mentioned in 6.6% of comments in the 2009 to 2011 period. This code embodies the distinctive architecture and local crafts and ethnic costumes. For example:

"The Naxi architecture of the beautifully carved wooden buildings; the pretty buildings climbing the hill up from the town's square......the pretty little shops filled with traditional goods and beautiful ethnic clothing......."

-- Pavalia, Penang Island, Malaysia, 15/08/2011

It is undeniable that unique local aesthetics and souvenirs were charming many people; however, similar to the aspect of heritage scenery, the percentage decreased markedly in the next period and dropped to only 2.2% in 2015 to 2017.

As shown in Figure 4.3, the geographical location was praised by 4.9% of tourists in the first observation period. A tourist mentioned at the end of his travels:

"The best thing about Lijiang is its location. It is a great base for visiting Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, Impressions, Baishe, Tiger Leaping Gorge, Lake Lashi for excellent horse riding ...."

--HKDave, Honkong, China,19/06/2011

Just like the previous two codes, location also received less mentions in the following period, with a frequency of 1.2% and 1.1%, respectively. Some tourists mentioned that the convenient location makes the city a good transit stop for them to visit the surrounding cities and attractions.

Finally, tourism services included services from accommodation and excursion operators. There were few reviews in this regard, accounting for only 1.6% in 2009 to 2011. For example, when tourists purchased goods, they mentioned:

"Besides, the atmosphere of the hotel is very good since they treated every guest as a good friend. @8 the receptionist is also very friendly and give us a Lijiang Map and highlighted all must see for our reference which is very helpful for our unprepared tourists."

As can be seen from Figure 4.3, the percentage slightly increased in the next period and then decreased again in the last period, while remaining low overall.

4.5.2 Theme of loss of authenticity

The second theme is summarised as the loss of authenticity through tourism development, referring to the perception of tourists' negative impact on tourism in Lijiang, which is mainly reflected in the loss of authenticity. Strikingly, this theme has received more and more attention throughout the time period, at first accounting for 29.4% of comments and rising to 46.7% by 2015 to 2017. The topic includes four categories: Disneyfication，Not completely authentic，Commodification of authenticity and Fake culture. Their proportions in the first period are: 4.9%, 9.8%, 13.1%, 1.6% respectively.

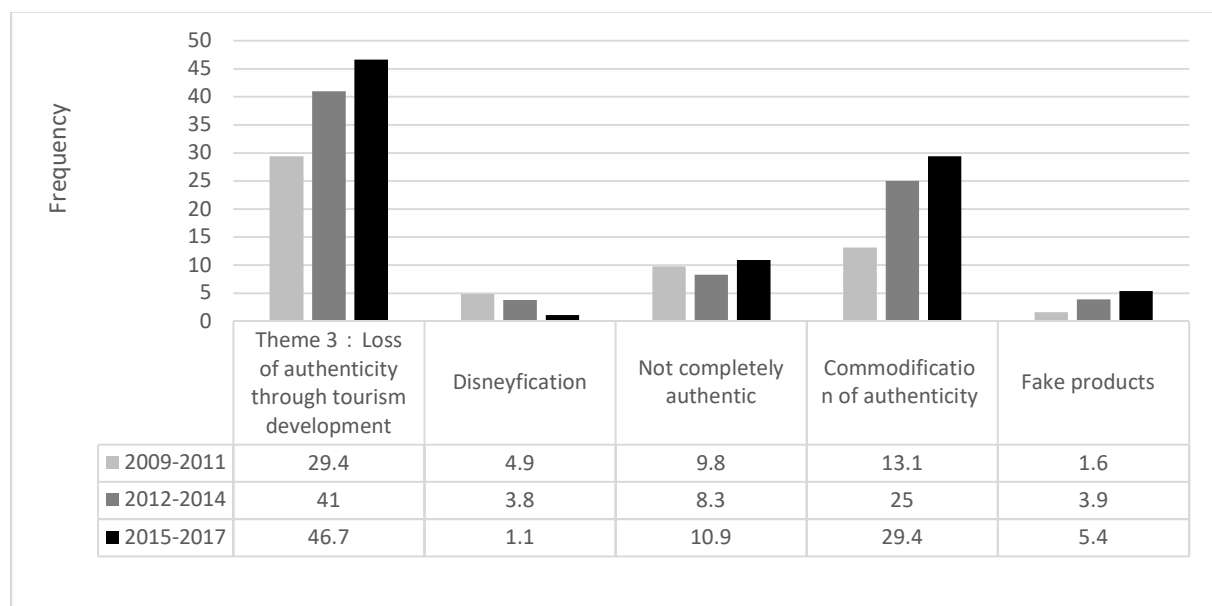|	Theme 3：Loss of authenticity through tourism development	Disneyfication	Not completely authentic	Commodificatio n of authenticity	Fake products
■ 2009-2011	29.4	4.9	9.8	13.1	1.6
■ 2012-2014	41	3.8	8.3	25	3.9
■ 2015-2017	46.7	1.1	10.9	29.4	5.4

Figure 4.4 Frequencies of reviewer comments regarding loss of authenticity of Lijiang

Note: (n for period 2009 to 2011 = 61, n for period 2012 to 2014 = 78, n for period 2015 to 2017 = 92)

Among them, the most striking is the commercialisation of authenticity, which means that the original culture of the area is converted into commodities or residential land transforming into places for making money, such as:

"it is hard to see why this is (still) UNESCO world heritage. All the houses have been turned into shops or bars, selling the same crap and playing terrible live music. There's only one advice here: don't go."

<div align="right">

--Schaapblater, Utrecht, The Netherlands, 17/08/2011

</div>

It also includes phenomena of overuse of local cultures, such as

"probably too much life as ethnic singers compete with each other, and the air is filled with a clash of discordant notes. Unfortunately，they all use amplification, so they really do clash with each other"

<div align="right">

--LizaBee, South Africa, 29/09/2009

</div>

Visitors are generally disappointed by this type of behaviour. It can be seen that Lijiang tourists already felt the commercial atmosphere during the period from 2009 to 2011 in Lijiang (13.1%). The situation has been seemingly further aggravated, with the number of negative comments reaching 25% in the second observation period, and further increasing to 29.4% in the period from 2015 to 2017.

Secondly, the phenomenon of inauthenticity through tourism development mainly means that tourists questioned the intangible and visible cultural heritage of Lijiang, such as the perception of the city's appearance. As a tourist wrote:

"The recreated old town of Lijiang--and this is perhaps the only negative aspect to it since it's too artificial and far from what it would have looked three decades ago..."

<div align="right">

--Jaideep1411, Kolkata (Calcutta), India,25/11/2013

</div>

Such statements indicate that tourists think that Lijiang has been partly artificially modified and could lead to situations of a denial of authenticity and, in worst cases, a disrespecting of local culture. In the final period of 2015 to 2017, the percentage further rose to 10.9%, indicating that

an increasing number of tourists suspect a staged tourist experience. This is closely linked to the following theme.

Disneyfication is also a prominent code (4.9% in 2009 to 2011) and can be understood as a situation that arises whereby the nature of the ancient city is being expanded into a commercial theme park. For example:

"Busy, touristy and feels like Disney set! ...if you are looking for authenticity, look further!"

--Zendra, London, UK, 22/06/2013

The number of tourists specifically mentioning this type of staging as problematic did decrease throughout the following periods to just 1.1%. Still, a small number of tourists believe that what they experience is not the real product of Lijiang, such as:

"More shops than old town. Too many shops, selling the same thing, and crap from other places, not Lijiang. You have to look hard to find the World Heritage part of this site..."

--David D, New York, 14/12/2011

This shows that the commercialisation of Lijiang has produced entirely phony products and such products are not associated with Lijiang as being a World Heritage site. The situation is linked to the aspect of 'fake' products which saw the reversed tendency of the previous code, starting at a lower rate of 1.6% and climbing to 3.9% and 5.4% in the following periods.

4.5.3 Theme of overdevelopment and tourism crowding

In the topic of Overdevelopment and tourism crowding (16.4% in the 2009 to 2011 period), there are five concepts: too many domestic tourists, many tourists, well-developed tourism infrastructure, overdevelopment, and the high cost of accommodation or tickets. Importantly, this theme has increased in importance when comparing the first observation period with the second (24.4%) and third (24%) period, therefore indicating that the continuous tourist growth might start to cause unsustainable situations for other tourists in terms of the experience being provided.
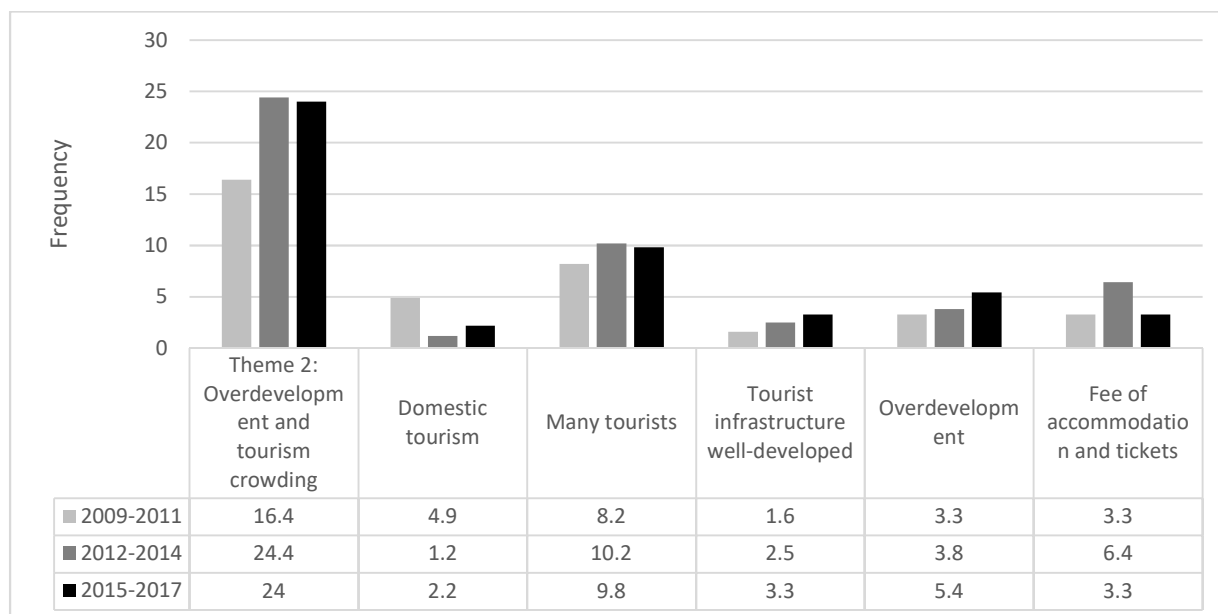
Figure 4.5 Frequencies of reviewer comments regarding overdevelopment and tourist crowding
of Lijiang

Note: (n for period 2009-2011 = 61, n for period 2012-2014 = 78, n for period 2015-2017 = 92)

The crowded experience from too many tourists was the most mentioned topic with 8.2% of response codes relating to this aspect in 2009-2011. For example, one person stated:

" The old town is built up, touristy, and crowded. "   *--Bcsystems, Ann Arbor, MI, 20/04/2015*

Another tourist said in the commentary:

" … also pack with people in mid-afternoon, wherever you turn, there's more people, an hour of time like this."

                        --Hkvisitor1997, Hong Kong, China, 9/09/2011

Therefore, it can be understood that the overcrowding caused by tourists was a problem existing in Lijiang starting in 2009 to 2011 already. The proportion of such a negative phenomenon received equal weighting as the many positive comments (such as small-scale attractions). Between 2012 and 2014, the ratio of this code further increased by two percentage points, and

while the percentage slightly dropped from 2015 to 2017, it was still at a higher rate compared to the first percentage.

The phenomenon of crowding caused by domestic tourists is also mentioned and both topics are closely related. The Chinese market has always been an important source of tourism demand in Lijiang. Some visitors commented on the fact that there are too many Chinese tourists. For example, a tourist complained in the title:

"You and a million other Chinese tourists - stay clear!"

--Oioidoug, Luang Prabang, 8/06/2010

The number of times this code was mentioned did decrease in the following periods though (3.7% and 2.2%, respectively).

Overdevelopment and expensive costs accounted for the same proportion. Regarding overdevelopment, some tourists complained that the environment of the area made them feel uncomfortable while also specifically relating it to a lack of planning by the local authorities. For example:

"A great disappointment. Lijiang old town has been almost completely converted to rows of shops mainly selling tourist junk ... To make matters worse, the authorities have allowed the extensive development of bars/discos which compete with the loudness of their music until late in the night."

--Nicholas, Sydney, Australia, 19/05/2010

Furthermore, the topic seems to have increased in importance, being mentioned 5.4% of times in the last observation period between 2015 and 2017.

In terms of costs, one tourist mentioned:

"Expect the food price to be at least twice as expensive as outside the old town and drinks to be at least 5 times more expensive."

--Tongcuk, London, United Kingdom, 11/03/2012

It shows that a small number of tourists think that the ticket fees in the ancient city are unreasonable. The percentage of this code almost doubled between 2012 and 2014 but fell back to 3.3% between

2015 and 2017. At the same time, though, even if ticket fees are considered exorbitant, the entrance fee did not divert tourism and limit growth.

One code with a largely positive valence in this theme is the praise of tourist infrastructure, even though only one tourist mentioned that:

"Another good point, is that the tourist infrastructure is well developed, and the guest houses and restaurants are used to dealing with westerners."   *--HKDave, Honkong, China,19/06/2011*

Conversely, a few tourists criticised the infrastructure of the ancient city. The rate of this code climbed to 3.3%.

4.5.4 Overall trend between 2009 to 2017

From the data changes of the three themes, it can be seen that, from 2009 to 2011, visitors' comments primarily included praise of the ancient city of Lijiang with the proportion of attractiveness scoring the highest. However, this proportion had been decreasing year by year. Therefore, between 2012 and 2014, the proportions of the three themes described above have changed. Visitors' perception of the attractiveness of the destination no longer dominates, and the loss of authenticity has become the most mentioned topic. This topic accounted for 41% in the second period, with an increase of 11.6% over the previous period. Among them, the ratio of comments on the commercialisation of authenticity has soared to 32% from the previous 13.1%. It can be assumed that, from 2012 to 2014, three out of every ten tourists believe that commercialisation eroded the authenticity of the ancient city. Finally, between 2015 and 2017, the theme of loss of authenticity continues to occupy the most significant proportion. Also, after the rate of overdevelopment increased to 24% in the second period, the topic remained fixed at 24.4% in the last period. Therefore, by 2017, the conclusion was that the most negative phenomenon experienced by tourists was the loss of the authenticity of the ancient city, followed by positive comments on the attractiveness of the old town, and finally is the overdevelopment and overcrowding in the ancient city.

4.6 Summary

This chapter answered the four research objectives of the dissertation in several parts. Through the subdivision of tourism development in Lijiang, the introduction of the management structure of the Lijiang government and the maintenance costs of the ancient city, as well as the government's management strategies in different periods, it was found how restrictions were being placed on remaining resident homeowners and ownership of cultural heritage by local ethnic groups. It is found that the government's management strategy, aimed primarily at uninterrupted growth of tourism and tourism gentrification, are two major elements that hinder the sustainable development of heritage tourism in Lijiang. On the other hand, changes in the experience of tourists are also reflected in the data analysis. Between 2009 and 2017, the positive comments (such as the perception of the attractiveness of the ancient city) decreased year by year and negative reviews (such as lack of authenticity and excessive development) have increased year by year. The next section will give further explanation of problems found in the result and make suggestions toward the sustainable development of heritage tourism in the ancient city of Lijiang.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to frame the results found within Lijiang Old Town within the main research question on indigenous rights and the tourist experience in a heritage city that is exhibiting fast growth. Based on the results of the previous chapter, and the literature review covered in Chapter 2, Lijiang can be compared to other cases and particular strengths and weaknesses in the management system can be identified in order to lead to positive management suggestions.

According to the analysis of the secondary data collection and the thematic analysis of the tourist comments on the ancient city of Lijiang, the results revealed how, at present, the tourism industry in the ancient city of Lijiang is already at a mature stage, and its development speed is steadily increasing. The direct benefits of the tourism industry to the ancient city are economic benefits, but there are development issues such as commercialisation and gentrification. Currently, most of the ancient city Naxi indigenous population have moved out, and the ethnic minority cultural resources are being weakened.

According to the online comments, from 2009 to 2017, the most attractive factor in the ancient city was fun and atmosphere, but the tourists' praise for the ancient town decreased every year, and more and more people criticised the loss of authenticity and commercialisation of the ancient city. The current management strategy tends to protect the ancient city as a principle and develop new tourism products in the future. The limitations of the development of the ancient city include the background of the era of early development, the defects of the management system, loss of folk culture and the inadequacy of its environmental carrying capacity. Future development opportunities include the attention and encouragement of the Yunnan provincial government and the branding effects accumulated over the years in the Old Town of Lijiang.

5.2 Growth, tourism profiles and product authenticity

The tourism industry in the ancient city of Lijiang started in the 1980s and grew rapidly in the 1990s. From 1994 to 2000, the ancient city's tourism market development model gradually matured, and the number of tourists increased steadily. According to the information provided by the Administration of the Ancient City, from 2000 to 2016, the average number of visitors received in the ancient city of Lijiang increased by about 14% annually. At the same time, in the 1980s to the

present, the gentrification of the ancient city also became more pertinent, leading to a decline in inner city living by the local Naxi population.

Not only did tourism show marked growth, there might also have been a change in tourism demographics. It was noticed how the advantage of Lijiang's location for wider area exploration was no longer mentioned frequently by visitors since 2011. This change might be related to the changes in the types of tourists and the traffic conditions in the ancient city. Much like the early stages of Butler's Tourist Area Lifecycle, tourists in the early stages of development are mostly backpackers. Their desire for exploration is strong and they show an intrinsic curiosity about everything in the ancient city, including the surrounding cities and landscape. At the same time, from 2009 to 2011, the ancient city was in the early stage of transitional development, and the surrounding transportation system was not yet perfect. Therefore, the advantages of the ancient city of Lijiang as a transit station were perceived by these niche tourists. After 2011, as the government's investment increased and matured, improving railway and highway facilities, more and more people arrived, depending on travel agencies and group-based tours. Thus, it might be an indication of a changing tourist profile with potentially more day-trip tourists that do not take the time to explore the area around the city. Therefore, the location advantage of the ancient city of Lijiang is ignored by mass tourists. While Lijiang is not yet at such a stage, these changes should be followed closely to avoid falling into what Russo (2002), in his case study on Venice, deemed the vicious circle of tourism development whereby excursionist visitors with less direct positive impact on the destination start crowding out more experiential tourist types, and causing a decline in a city's attractiveness.

According to the tourists' comments regarding the criticism of loss of the authenticity of the ancient city of Lijiang, between 2009 and 2017, the number of critics was increasing each year. This means that more and more tourists thought that the ancient city tourism they had experienced is not authentic enough. According to Cohen's (1979) theory, this phenomenon can be understood as more and more tourists recognise the performing elements in the ancient city. However, there have not been any major reconstructions of original buildings since the earthquake which only damaged part of the city, while much of the authentic building stock remained intact. Nonetheless, there are still tourists who question the authenticity of the architecture, leading to a denial of authenticity (or staging suspicion). This is because tourists are subjectively skeptical that this architecture was

created to meet the needs of tourists, even if, in fact, they are witnessing real historical buildings. Such situations might be seen as damaging to local culture since they neglect to value the real history of places.

While the architectural heritage might suffer from a denial of authenticity, in terms of local produce there might be an actual form of staged authenticity or contrived authenticity taking place. It can also be understood that there is a problem due the simplification of product development. The core attraction of Lijiang Old Town lies in the heritage resources. However, the tourism development in the ancient city of Lijiang is too simplistic and lacks depth of cultural understanding. The tourist souvenir market in Lijiang provides strong economic benefits, but the goods in its shops are mass-produced and the quality is lacking. With the development of tourism and the spread of modern commercial culture, the traditional culture of Lijiang Old Town is slowly disappearing. The traditional handicraft products and natural ethnic products have gradually withdrawn from the market, and the 'tourism souvenirs' without local ethnic characteristics of the Naxi people have flooded the ancient city. The absence of distinctive goods deviates from the value of the ancient city, making it almost a huge tourist souvenir wholesale market and devaluing the characteristics of the Naxi people and their connection to the tourism product.

Just as the concept of stage realism of MacCannell (1973) and similar to the study of Halewood and Hannam (2001), as the ancient souvenir market of Lijiang City thrives, the traditional arts and crafts of the ancient city seem to be slowly disappearing. There is a historic tradition in silverware production that could be used as a brand, but local Naxi people did not integrate this tradition into the tourism development and it fails to produce economic benefits. The position of local handcraft development should be clear; otherwise, Lijiang's cultural resources will increasingly be exploited. It is necessary to highlight the distinctive features of the old city of Lijiang, and the core culture should be used to develop and introduce products. Otherwise, development is a waste of the resources of the Old Town of Lijiang, and it will lead to aesthetic fatigue for tourists. At the same time, simplification of products leads to tourists misunderstanding the culture, losing interest, neglecting authentic values and might eventually cause the ancient city to lose its own unique cultural attraction.

In addition to the simplistic development of tourism products, there is also a one-sided interpretation of the cultural connotation of the ancient city. Combining the views of McIntosh and

Prentice (1999) and Jin-Ru and Zhang (2016), moderate commercialisation is an inevitable choice for the development of heritage attractions and adding entertainment into the interpretation of heritage resource of the ancient city is reasonable. However, in a wholly commercialised, highly technologically information advanced society, individuals have made new changes in the perception of time and space. Similar to the case study of Greenwood and Smith (1989), the depth of history has disappeared during the commercialisation, and the image has replaced the reality. Today, tourists tend to consume easily understandable and representative mass culture products, and the product design and development of tourism operators must follow the consumer's preferences. That is, the cultural connotation of the heritage is developed and designed in conformity with the inherent consumer psychology structure of the mass tourists. In this way, it attracts consumers and guarantees the post-development market. For example, in Lijiang's silverware shops, there is almost no real silver jewellery. Most crafts are made of lead-tin alloy because many tourists do not want to spend too much money on souvenirs. According to Jiuxia's (2015) interviews, many tourists' purchase of souvenirs did not embrace the idea of embodying local characteristics, and those who wanted to buy souvenirs with local characteristics were limited by their financial ability or worried about the high prices of real silver goods. These reasons prompted them not to buy souvenirs that reflect local character. This, to a certain extent, has exacerbated the falsification and homogenisation of tourist souvenirs (Jiuxia, 2015).

5.3 Ownership and representation of cultural ethnic resources

According to the interpretation of secondary data, indigenous peoples in the ancient city are losing their right to interpret Naxi culture step by step. Referring to Cole's (2007) stakeholder theory, the reason for this phenomenon may be different demands of various stakeholders. Residents of local communities are in a state of conflict between economic development and cultural endangerment, but local governments encourage commercialisation of culture to meet the needs of tourists.

The cultural exhibition of the ancient city is essentially the final result of globalisation and local adjustment. After undergoing an original stage in which foreign culture was seen as superior to the local culture by younger Naxi people, a subsequent revival of local culture, and the cultural innovation stage, Lijiang is currently in the phase of multicultural integration. The ancient city's culture presents multiple faces: creative culture and other cultural performances emerging among new stakeholders arriving from other Chinese regions, forming a complicated relationship.

Analysis of the relationship shows how community residents and foreign tourism operators represent competing local and global forces in the reproduction of culture. In this process, indigenous people voluntarily gave up or passively lost their dominance over the original culture.

Although many experts and scholars in recent years have realized that the Naxi culture in the Old Town of Lijiang is on the verge of being lost for future generations, most of these ideas are merely theoretical and have not led to practical changes. There is not much proof to suggest that the government has hired experts to demonstrate the development of the ancient city's ethnic culture and discussed whether the tourism development in the ancient city poses a threat to the culture of local ethnic minorities and the confusion between indigenous culture and similar culture in surrounding areas.

Since 2009, Lijiang spends 10 million yuan per year for the protection and transmission of ethnic cultural heritage, specifically for the purpose of collecting cultural heritage and repairing historical remains. However, in the context of the interpretation of the ancient city culture, the respected elders of the Naxi should be the protagonists, and the experts act as assistants. However, these old people and monks need to cooperate with renowned experts to turn oral knowledge or experience into readable textbooks. At the same time, they also need to be legitimately given the power of cultural interpretation and tourism marketing by the government. This will enable more people to understand Naxi culture and realize its scarcity and preciousness.

5.4 Issues concerning sustainable management
The sustainable development of the ancient city of Lijiang was hampered by three factors as the distortion of the ancient city was caused by commercialisation and gentrification, the government's management deficiencies, and insufficient funds.

Firstly, the change of city functions in the ancient city may be the cause of its gentrification and excessive commercialisation. Consistent with the argument of Zou (2017), when developing heritage tourism resources, it is necessary to formulate long-term resource utilisation plans. In 1996, Lijiang experienced an earthquake that led to the collapse of a large area of houses in the ancient city. At that time, there was no escape from the blind pursuit of economic development. The Lijiang Urban Planning Bureau and the Ancient City Protection Planning Bureau placed the tourism industry at the forefront of the development of the ancient city. The infrastructure

reconstruction, layout and environmental transformation in the ancient city were all based on the needs of tourism development. The public function was mainly aimed at tourism, losing its function for daily city life. The lack of an effective linkage between the function of the ancient city and the residents has led to lack of authenticity in the ancient city, and the lack of local cultural connotations made commercialisation severe. The vigorous development of the tourism industry will trigger the constant expansion of tourists' demand for related tourism service facilities. To meet the needs of tourists' shopping, living, sightseeing and other needs, the vacant land inhabited by the residents of the ancient city was successively requisitioned as public land for the construction of facilities such as afforestation and recreation, and the indigenous people's living space also disappeared. Deliberate planning destroyed the sense of the history of the city and consequently might have affected the tourist experience.

At the same time, it promoted the development of gentrification. Because the non-local population has more funds than the locals, and the income that the local people get by renting out their houses is more stable than setting up an entrepreneurial business, the income from renting out local houses can improve the standard of living for local houseowners. At the same time, the housing in the ancient city has therefore become crowded by shops and bars, decreasing the quality of local life. To save money and save time, non-locals often choose to live in the ancient city, in their tourist shops and bars. As a result, the inhabitants of the ancient city are now largely out-of-town residents due to the combined forces of inbound and outbound activities. Besides, the author of this dissertation understood that this further explains the crisis faced by the Naxi culture: they lost the soil on which they have survived for thousands of years.

Secondly, the government's management deficiencies could be one of the reasons for the current problems in the ancient city. The local government of Lijiang plays a vital role in management activities and plays a leading role in the management and protection of ancient cities and citizen participation is limited. The government has its primary powers such as administrative decision-making, regulatory legislation, and administrative execution. The government also plays the role of the ancient city tourism developer. However, the functions of the government agencies and the functional departments responsible for the protection and management of the ancient city are duplicated. This leads to the formation of multi-headed command in the protection of the ancient city, the repetition of instructions, and a waste of administrative resources.

Third, there is a lack of financial support for the protection of the ancient city. Right and obligation cannot be separated. The duty of maintenance of heritage resources also falls on the government. However, faced with the enormous economic benefits brought by tourism, the government will inevitably gravitate towards commercial development. The development of the economy (short-term gains) ignored the balance of sustainability and ignored the protection of the ancient city. Furthermore, funds for protection and maintenance are largely insufficient causing many protection schemes in the ancient city to be postponed. This led to the introduction of a maintenance fee by the government, in order to use the tourist growth as a catalyst for collecting financial resources aimed at protection and renovation. On June 1st, 2016, shop owners in Lijiang Ancient City protested against the maintenance fees in the ancient city by closing their stores. During this period, the Old Town Management Committee registered shops that did not open. Not only the local industry is dissatisfied by the maintenance fee. As the data analysis from tourists' comments showed, the number of people complaining about the expensive fee almost doubled from 2012 to 2014. The author of this paper believes that this is similar to the case of the ancient city of Fenghuang. The maintaining fee may eventually lead to dissatisfaction with more tourists and damage to the interests of the indigenous people.

For the protection, repair, and rectification of ancient cities, considerable capital investment is needed. It is not enough to rely solely on the investment of the state and the government. According to Cole's (2007) stakeholder theory, the protection of the ancient city needs to be supported by the tourism industry, and it is also necessary for local enterprises in Lijiang to invest in the protection of the ancient city. Although the Lijiang government has realized that the protection of the ancient city requires the support of enterprises, most of the enterprises investing in the ancient city are state-owned enterprises or enterprises that set up the system. The enthusiasm of private enterprises or small and medium enterprises has not improved. Therefore, the government needs to collaborate with different companies. The source of conservation funds in the ancient city is currently too focused on specific stakeholders and does not make good use of various mobile funds in the society, such as developers in the ancient city, residents of ancient cities, or social groups. Currently, there is a lack of practical and useful ways to activate these funds. At the same time, more international aid should be sought.

5.5 Summary

Tourism in Lijiang develops at a fast, exponential rate, while the local government lacks orderly and robust supervision and management. The planning of the local government is not comprehensive, scientific, or systematic, resulting in changes in the layout and style of the ancient city, which has severely weakened the local characteristics of the ancient city. The protection of the ancient city lacks funds and lacks guidance from relevant experts. At the same time, over-exploitation of the tourism industry has also led to the gradual emergence of commercialisation and gentrification in the ancient city. In order to maximise the benefits, developers and operators have led to the simplification and symbolisation of the tourism products in the ancient city, which has caused the traditional cultural connotation of ancient cities to show signs of decline. Due to fierce competition, commodity prices have been misrepresented, and imported products have replaced the unique local products of the ancient city. A large number of tourists attracted by the development of tourism may lead to the deterioration of the overall ecological environment of the ancient city. All these have damaged the image of Lijiang and affected the sustainable development of Lijiang Ancient City. The flow of this process is shown in Figure 5.1.
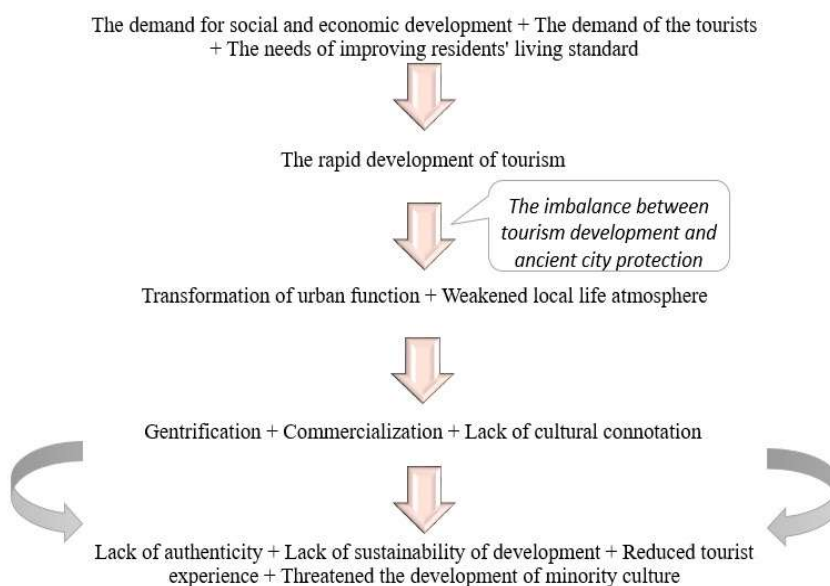
Figure 5.1 Elements affecting sustainable development in the ancient city of Lijiang

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The Old Town of Lijiang is an ancient town with relatively intact original features and patterns that remained after the city's large-scale reconstruction after the reform and opening up of China. It contains history and witnessed the prosperity of the ancient Tea Horse Road. It is a product of the blending of ethnic cultures. Original architectural patterns and architectural styles, cultural connotations, and ethnic customs are qualities that have led the ancient city to become a World Heritage Site. In today's rapid economic development, although it has lost its historical mission, its splendid culture and history attracts many tourists.

However, tourism has been evolving exponentially, creating pressure on local resources, indigenous groups, and the tourist experience in general. In many ways Lijiang might be exemplary for highlighting many problems associated with the development of tourism. This dissertation therefore aimed to understand the effects of tourism development on local cultures and the visitor experience by using Lijiang as a case study. A secondary data analysis of official statistics and governmental management plans revealed that gentrification and commercialisation are recognisable problems, with half of the original indigenous inhabitants having moved out of the ancient city, making room for unbridled tourism development, causing a general loss of ethnic culture. The Naxi cultural resources unique to the ancient city are declining due to tourism development and the ancient city is also facing problems such as the overload of management and imperfect tourism carrying capacity and the simplification of tourism product development in the ancient city. By linking this with a longitudinal overview of changes in reviewer comments over the period 2009 to 2017, it could further be concluded that the tourist experience has likely decreased due to commercialisation and overcrowding, with an increasing number of tourists mentioning aspects of inauthenticity, commercialisation, and overcrowding. As such, Lijiang might become a victim of its own success.

Realising the sustainable development of Lijiang Ancient City tourism is a complex project involving multiple disciplines, multiple professions, and multiple methods. This dissertation only discusses the ancient city of Lijiang from the perspective of tourism management. However, through some reasonable measures and suggestions, we can try to improve the current situation in Lijiang and realise a more sustainable development of ancient city tourism. The next section will

provide some suggestions on the government's management model and planning of the ancient city, and then analyse the limitations of this study and future research directions.

6.2 Management recommendations

6.2.1 Strengthen the understanding of the non-market value of the ancient city

China is a developing country. Economic construction is currently the top priority for China. This has caused the value of the ancient city heritage itself to be neglected, and the pursuit of competition is the reality of its various market values (such as tourism development). Therefore, only by changing the understanding and concept of the ancient city heritage, recognising the unique value of the ancient city, and recognizing its scarcity, can it indeed achieve sustainable development.

To establish a correct philosophy for the protection of the ancient city heritage, it is first necessary for those who come in contact with it to have a more comprehensive understanding of the value of heritage. The reason why the heritage of the ancient city is valuable is that it witnessed the historical evolution of its nationality or society and contributed to local emotions and thoughts. Through publicity and education, people might come to understand the importance of protection and avoid directional errors. This requires improving the understanding of Lijiang managers and understanding the responsibilities assigned to them; raising the number of technical personnel involved in the protection of heritage and raising the awareness of the employees of the tourism industry to make them aware of their mission. It is also necessary to raise the awareness of residents, foreign tourists, and tourism developers of the heritage site to realise that it is their duty to protect the value of the ancient city heritage.

In order to achieve a complete coverage of the different stakeholders involved, a three-tier management strategy would be advisable:

- The first level is the management department, establishing an efficient and responsible management system, providing quality public services, and clarifying each other's functional authority among the administrative functions. Supervision and guidance is the main function of the management department. From the perspective of heritage

preservation in the ancient city, historical and realistic conditions should be combined within a long-term focus to carry out relatively scientific tourism development.

- The second level is to establish a planning place for the ancient city, establish a resource pool of world heritage experts, employ experts and scholars from various fields at home and abroad, and realise the sharing of human resources, and incorporate it into the management system of the Lijiang heritage.

- The third level consists of the residents, merchants, and businesses of the ancient city for a full community stakeholder participation. Residents should participate in the formulation of tourism planning in the heritage site, participate in tourism economic activities and be enabled to obtain specific economic benefits within the limits of a unified management and planning strategy. Citizens should also be encouraged to establish cultural heritage protection groups spontaneously.

Therefore, the tourism development of the ancient city should put protection first, avoid over-emphasising the economic value of the heritage and tourism revenue, which would only result in destructive development. Recognising the value of protecting the ancient city heritage is not only to protect the tangible material culture of the ancient city, but also to not ignore those intangible cultural forms. This requires people to protect a variety of tangible architectural forms, layout styles, crafts, dance music, but also to consider how to retain the inhabitants of the ancient city, and those intangible cultures closely linked with the residents' lives.

6.2.2 Transforming business philosophy

Considering the historical values and social functions of the ancient city, business philosophy should avoid blindly pursuing the greatest economic benefits, and it is necessary to establish a protection-oriented business philosophy. In other words, establish non-profit management institutions within the first level of the strategy department discussed previously. The project that it operates does not aim to generate profits. Its profits do not belong to institutional owners and managers but are used for the protection of the ancient city.

Critically, the non-profit system does not oppose profit. It only differs in the range of profit and the choice of strategy. It also values long-term interests and fundamental interests. There is no essential contradiction between the non-profit system and profit, and it is precisely to ensure the

sustainable profitability and public welfare profitability of the heritage site. The most viable business development is a win-win road that takes both public welfare and commercialisation into consideration. Under the premise of protection priority, reasonable use of resources to develop tourism activities, and through tourism development to raise funds for protection, to achieve a useful cycle of heritage development and protection and promote the sustainable development of ancient city tourism.

6.2.3 Re-defining the functional location of ancient city, buffer zone, and new town
Tourism has driven Lijiang's economic development and has become one of its pillar industries. This brings new opportunities for development in this city of Lijiang. Modern development will inevitably lead to a large number of new structural elements that will be separated from their original forms. With regard to relieving the conflict between the protection of Lijiang Old City and the development of Lijiang City, as early as 1958, when Lijiang County first compiled its urban master plan, the local government made a decision to reserve the ancient city and open up a new city to resolve this contradiction. However, judging from the current situation, the location of the Old Town is not clear, and the environmental buffer zone is missing. Similar situations also occur in other ancient cities such as Pingyao Ancient City and Fenghuang Ancient City. Therefore, the author of this paper suggests that the functions of some parts of the city should be as shown in Figure 6.3.

Ancient city of Lijiang

The complete ancient city features, the customs of the Naxi people, the function of life in the ancient city is complete. Tourists can have a more complete understanding of the ancient city through traveling activities.

Buffer zone
There is a transitional style with the ancient city style. Imitation of ancient buildings, commercial activities are carried out here, tourist souvenirs can be sold here. The commercialization of tourism is implemented in the buffer zone.

Developed traffic

New town area
Which built to ease the impact of tourism development on the ancient city, with a large number of modern facilities. It will be a political and economical city development center with a large number of residential areas, commercial and government office areas. It will have convenient traffic with the ancient city and the buffer zone.

Figure 6.1 Ancient city development model

6.2.4 Create high-quality tourism products in Lijiang

The ancient city of Lijiang has natural advantages such as nature and humanities. Therefore, the development of tourism products in the ancient city of Lijiang should not simply follow the current pattern of tourism development in China. The ancient city's tourism product design must be diversified, specialised, and lead to deep-level engagement. The development of new tourism resources and new tourism products should be devoted to the promotion of regional cultural characteristics, tap the connotation, improve quality. Ultimately, the development of tourism should not be blind to the short-term benefits. Handicraft workshops with ethnic characteristics can increase the cultural connotation of the ancient city. The locals can be regularly used to stage horse races on the ancient horse trails to attract tourists' attention and regular markets in the ancient city can also be established. Naxi ancient music, Dongba writing, etc., should be maximally displayed to improve the level of cultural products in the ancient city.

6.3 Limitations

There were some limitations inherent in the secondary data collection method. Through the review of secondary data, the history of the management strategy of the ancient city of Lijiang may not be very comprehensive. Although the administrative model of the ancient city of Lijiang was subdivided into four periods, some government documents were still not found. Therefore, it was impossible to examine whether or not those plans had been adopted and implemented. The detailed tourist reviews could not be matched because only the visitor comments since 2009 could be obtained. Until then, the Internet in China was still not well developed, and many tourists did not write online reviews. The time span of eight years is not enough to compare with the 20 years of development in Lijiang, so this is a limitation of this study. At the time of data collection, the ancient city was already in the mature stages of the tourism lifecycle.

It can also not be excluded that there is an element of groupthink and social influence present in the reviews, with more critical and negative reviews during later years possibly influencing other travellers to consequently pay additional attention to such aspects. The idea of inauthenticity and commercialisation might then become somewhat of a self-fulfilling prophecy and be more a result of priming than of an actual situation. Notwithstanding, other authors did also observe the strong growth in tourism-related enterprises, suggesting that there are indeed grounds to suspect that increased commercialisation is indeed noticeable. Furthermore, while priming might indeed be an issue when using secondary user-generated comments, alternatives involving primary data analysis suffer from their own biases which would similarly cast doubts over the stability of research findings and reproduction of results is always necessary.

One element where primary data analysis would offer additional understanding is the question on indigenous rights. In the current research, these rights were primarily interpreted via their representation within the old city, and their voice within the management plans. However, gentrification is a common phenomenon and cultural change and commodification of culture have happened in many places. Such changes are only particularly problematic if they have been forced upon an indigenous group and have seen outsiders commercialise and appropriate local cultures. More in-depth interview methods would allow for a better understanding of the views that Naxi community groups hold on the current tourism development.

6.4 Future research directions

The study on heritage tourism is a relatively mature field, but research on the ownership of cultural heritage and inclusion of ethnic minorities is still imperfect. Since this article only surveys the experience of tourists and does not investigate the experience of residents, it would be necessary to include interviews with local indigenous groups in future studies to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of tourism development on local people. As was suggested in the study, local indigenous people have largely moved out of the ancient city but at the same time, property owners have found a steady source of income by renting out such properties to non-locals. Whether or not this is a significant issue in terms of local rights is up to determination by the right holders themselves and ignoring the very real economic benefits they might be receiving offers an incomplete understanding.

In terms of the second topic of this study, concerning the tourist experience, additional understanding might be offered by comparing comments of domestic and foreign tourists and linking experiences with tourism characteristics. However, personal characteristics cannot be collected via a secondary data analysis and would require primary data collection. A longitudinal survey method of visitors could be used here in order to understand the changing composition in tourism profiles, uncovering whether there has indeed been a shift towards mass market tourism and excursionists.

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