

Heritage as Narratives: A Case Study on Tourism Development in Longji Rice Terraces, China

WEI (WINDY) ZHAO

Louisiana Tech University

Keywords: cultural landscape, sustainable heritage management, rural tourism, vernacular settlement, China

Longji (Dragon Bone) Rice Terraces, largely constructed in the last five hundred years, are located in Guangxi Province, China. For centuries, a system of trails, connecting about two dozen settlements in Longji, was the only access connecting the residents and the world outside the valley. Since the 1990s, the decision to develop tourism has significantly changed local residents' lives and the cultural landscape of Longji. Drawing upon archival research and limited fieldwork, this paper scrutinizes the local heritage management and tourism development approach since the turn of the twentieth century, and their impacts on the cultural landscape and local people's lives. Although recognizing the benefits from developing tourism, this paper challenges the current approach, which presents heritage as many destinations, each being rather complete and independent, and overlooks the integrity of the cultural landscape. As a result, many segments of the rice terraces are abandoned, and the trails deserted. Moreover, the memories and stories attached to these places are forgotten. This paper argues that heritage should be viewed as narratives, connecting events and places both in space and in time. In this case, the trails, in addition to being the gateway to the outside world, not only connect the past and the present and the residents from all the villages, but also provide access to the rice terraces and the entire landscape. Thus, this paper advocates an alternative approach on heritage management, which not only emphasizes the integrity of the cultural landscape by considering the trails as the axis and the access, but also celebrates and promotes the narratives that construct and connect the cultural landscape in space and in time.

INTRODUCTION

Coming to know a place means coming to know its stories; new cities and neighborhoods do not resonate the way familiar ones do until they have stories to tell.¹

—Barbara Johnstone, *Stories, Community, and Place: Narratives from Middle America*

Stories matter. Place matters. And stories affect place.²

—Alison Hope Alkon, “Place, Stories, and Consequences: Heritage narratives and the Control of Erosion on Lake County, California, Vineyards”

The stories of Longji began no later than the second century BCE, when a few groups of Yao minority were recorded as living in the Jinjiang River valley defined by Longji Mountain to the northwest.³ Since the later part of the fifteenth century, the Zhuang minority groups settled in Longji and started constructing rice terraces at a large scale.⁴ By the middle of the twentieth century, earlier settlers populated the valley with over two dozen villages, and the southern side of Longji Mountain was largely articulated by rice terraces. Hidden in the hillside of Longji Mountain, a system of winding trails not only connected the settlements, rice terraces, and residents, but also was the only access linking the residents to the world outside the valley. Yet the tranquility of Longji came to an end in the early 1990s, when the local government decided to develop tourism. Electricity was first provided to the villages in the following decade. A new road was constructed and eventually connected most of the villages to places beyond the valley by 2003. Tourists started coming and everything about Longji, including its stories, began to change.

Drawing upon archival research and limited fieldwork conducted in July 2019, this paper focuses on the ways in which the stories of Longji are remembered, framed, narrated, and forgotten. In so doing, this paper first frames the argument of heritage as narratives by using theories on heritage and cultural landscape. It then examines the sociocultural context of the study: the cultural landscape of Longji, including the characteristics of the rice terraces and the vernacular built environment. This paper finally scrutinizes the local heritage management and tourism development approach since the turn of the twentieth century, highlighting their impacts on the cultural landscape and local people's lives. While recognizing the benefits of tourism, this paper challenges the current approach of heritage management, which presents heritage as many destinations, each rather complete and independent. When heritage is understood as destinations, selected sections of the rice terraces are promoted and preserved, while the integrity of the cultural landscape is overlooked. As a result, many rice terraces are abandoned, and large segments of the trails that once connected the rice terraces and the lives

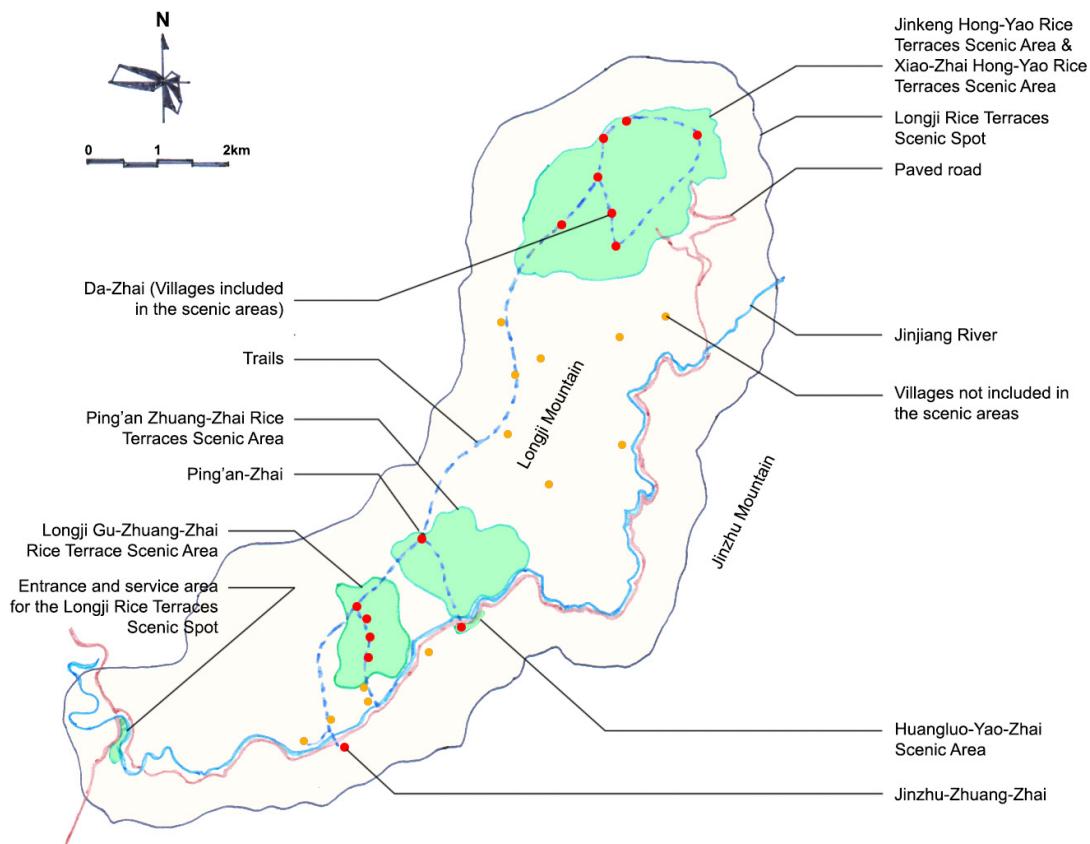


Figure 1. Diagram of Longji Rice Terraces Scenic Spot. Drafted by the author based on Luo Jie, 2019, 15.

of local residents are deserted. More importantly, memories and stories attached to these places are forgotten.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AS HERITAGE

Heritage, originally means property that descends to an heir. However, since the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted the World Heritage Convention in 1972, heritage has become a specific term referring to monuments, buildings, sites, and natural landscapes we intend to preserve. Before 1992, World Heritage List included two major categories: Cultural Site and Natural Site, which resulted in a sharp divide between cultural heritage and natural heritage. After decades of debates among organizations, governments, and scholars, the divide was bridged in 1992 when cultural landscapes were incorporated in the World Heritage List.⁵ The introduction of cultural landscapes also added common people to the consideration, as World Heritage Sites began to include everyday landscapes inhabited or created by people with various ethnic and social backgrounds. Since then, significant cultural landscapes in different parts of the world were added to the World Heritage List in addition to monuments, palaces, and archaeological sites associated with ruling classes and rich elites.

Cultural landscape, as a concept, has a long history. The word “landscape” derives from the word “landscaef” dating back to 500 CE in Europe, meaning a clearing in the forest with animals, huts, fields, and fences. In other words, “landscape from its beginnings ... has meant a man-made [artifact] with associated cultural process values.”⁶ As an early twentieth century pioneer in the study of cultural landscape, Carl O. Sauer emphasizes that landscape is an ongoing process of change as influenced by a given culture.⁷ Recognizing landscape as a cultural product, William G. Hoskins, in 1955, argues that landscape can be “the greatest historical record we possess” when read correctly.⁸ In other words, cultural landscapes are the result of everyday life over time, thereby subject to specific cultural groups.

The inclusion of cultural landscape to the World Heritage List also challenges the nature of “value,” as all World Heritage Sites must have Outstanding Universal Value.⁹ When value is understood as an intrinsic or inherent quality, heritage is often presented as “complete, untouchable and ‘in the past,’ and embodied with tangible things.”¹⁰ In response to this understanding of heritage, scholars advocate a different approach, in which heritage is understood as social and cultural processes that contribute to the production of identity and community,

locality, and social value.¹¹ Denis Byrne further articulates the difference between these two approaches: the first approach results in a dot on a map representing a fishing site, while the second focuses on the act of going fishing, the narratives, and the landscape leading to the site.¹² In other words, the second approach considers the “site” as a cultural landscape because “[it tells] the story of people, events and places through time, offering a sense of continuity, a sense of the stream of time. [It] also [offers] a cultural context setting for cultural heritage.”¹³ More importantly, this approach considers heritage a living organism, the meanings of which require constant reinterpretation and redefinition by people with their own experiences.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF LONGJI

Longji, meaning dragon’s backbone, is the name of a mountain, which locals believe resembles a flying dragon. Longji mountain and Jinzhu Mountain, located to its southeast, form the valley in which the Jinjiang River runs southwest. The valley opens up at the west end, where the Jinjiang River turns north. Although the Yao minority groups first inhabited the Jinjiang river valley as early as the second century BCE, it was after the settlement of the Zhuang minority groups in the late fifteenth century that rice terraces were constructed at a large scale.¹⁴ After hundreds of years of development, settlers populated the entire valley and formed over two dozen villages, each referred to as a *zhai* in the local language. Most of these villages are Zhang settlements, while Yao settlements are primarily located at the very northern end of the valley, except for one situated at the southern bank of the Jinjiang River (Fig. 1).

The rice terraces are mainly located on the mountainside between 300 and 1,100-meters above sea level.¹⁵ The key to maintaining the rice terraces is water, so in order to protect the water source, local residents have developed strict rules for protecting the forest on the top of the mountains. They then built sophisticated canal systems to manage the water running down the creeks and to ensure all the terraces receive

a fair distribution of water. The locals usually plant rice in April and harvest in August and September of the Lunar Calendar.

In addition to the constructed terraces, a system of narrow and winding trails traverses the middle of Longji Mountain, providing access to the rice terraces and connecting all the villages in the valley. Before the construction of the new road in the 1990s, these trails were the only way for the local residents to visit the outside world, including attending the local markets. For residents living in the settlements at the northern end of the valley, a trip to the nearest market town took them six to seven hours by foot. Locals described such a trip as a day starting in the dark and ending in the dark.

To acknowledge the importance of these trails in their daily lives, local residents have developed traditions in maintaining trails and thereby enhancing travelers’ experience. A day in February and a day in August of the Lunar Calendar are dedicated to trail maintenance so everyone can participate. Agreements exist between adjacent settlements to divide the responsibility and ensure all segments of the trails are covered.¹⁶ Near the settlements, the trail system can be complicated, with multiple intersecting trails leading to different destinations. In this situation, a *jiangjunjian*, a stone plate with inscriptions, is usually placed at the intersection to give directions. A *jiangjunjian* is often donated by a family with a newborn baby, as locals believe erecting a *jiangjunjian* helps soothe a fussy baby.¹⁷ Local residents also place *leigongxiang*, a stone statue, along dangerous sections of trails to remind people to be cautious (Fig. 2). Local residents also donate money to build pavilions along the trails, so travelers and those tending the rice terraces can have a place to rest (Fig. 3).¹⁸

The local vernacular architecture is characterized as *ganlan* structure, which is essentially a stilt house (Fig. 4). There are numerous benefits to elevating the first level when building a house in a warm and humid climate, including decreased



Figure 2. Leigongxiang. Photo by Na Sun.



Figure 3. The pavilion along the trails. Photo by the author.

humidity and improved ventilation, theft prevention, and protection from wild animals and bugs. In addition, stilt houses have minimal impacts on the local landscape and ecosystem, especially when built on a hillside, since these structures do not require the builder to level the ground. During the raining season, stilt houses are also more resilient to flood and landslide.

The local *ganlan* structures typically have three levels. The first level is usually open and used to raise domestic animals and store agricultural tools and manure. The second level is the main living space subdivided into the main hall and the hearth(s) at the center, and bedrooms and supporting spaces along the perimeter. The main hall is the ritual space for the family, while the hearth, or hearths in large houses, serves as the kitchen, dining space, and family room. The third level usually serves as additional storage space.

Due to its multi-level structure, large floor plates, and flexible interior spaces defined according to a module system, local vernacular structures were easily converted to hotels in the early stage of developing tourism. When reconstructing and enlarging their houses to host more tourists, local residents can largely maintain the aesthetics of the traditional stilt house by simply changing the wood frame structural system to a reinforce concrete frame.



Figure 3. The local vernacular architecture. Photo by the author.

CONSUMING RICE TERRACES

The beauty of Longji was first known to outsiders in 1975 when reporters visited one of the settlements, Ping'an-Zhai, to photograph rice terraces (Fig. 1).¹⁹ Longji was named the Provincial Tourist Scenic Spot in 1988. Two years later, after a simple dirt road was paved to connect the village to the outside world, residents of Jinzhu-Zhuang-Zhai, a settlement located on the southern bank of the Jinjiang River, began hosting tourists (Fig. 1). Longji officially became a tourist destination after entry tickets were imposed for tourists in 1992. To further promote tourism, the local government began constructing a new road in 1997.²⁰ Since then, the number of tourists coming to Longji has increased exponentially. Specifically, 14,100 visitors visited Longji in 1999, while in 2018, Longji hosted 1,453,500 tourists.²¹

Increasing tourists, especially self-guided tourists who often stay overnight, means increased food and lodging needs. Family hotels first opened for business in Ping'an-Zhai in 1993.²² By the end of 2018, there were over 300 family hotels in Longji with over 10,000 total beds.²³ In addition to hosting tourists, many residents participate in other aspects of the tourist industry, including providing meals, making and selling local arts and crafts, performing ethnic dance, and serving as guides, porters, and drivers. The income from the booming tourism industry inevitably improved participants' financial status and many aspects of residents' lives. Before the arrival of tourists, local residents of Longji lacked electricity and efficient means of transportation to connect to the outside world; they lived in isolation and poverty. For example, the average yearly income for residents of Da-Zhai was below 700 yuan, or about 100 dollars, in 2003 (Fig. 1).²⁴ After over a decade of developing tourism, the average yearly income per capita increased to 12,000 yuan in 2018. As of 2019, about 70 percent of families ran family hotels and restaurants, which comprised the majority of their income.²⁵ In addition, all families receive dividends from the entrance fee to the Longji Rice Terraces Scenic Spot, a unique aspect of tourism management in Longji.

From the very beginning, the local management company seemed to understand that the success of developing tourism in Longji relied on the continuation of cultivating rice on the terraces. To encourage local residents to carry on their tradition when other jobs in tourism offered higher pay, the management company agreed to give a small portion of the entrance fee to local residents as a "maintenance fee for the rice terraces." In addition, residents receive 500 to 1,000 yuan in subsidies for every *mu* (667 square meters) of cultivated rice terraces.²⁶ Specifically, Da-Zhai received 15,000 yuan in dividends in 2003, and 25,000 yuan each year between 2004 and 2006. In 2007, they negotiated to raise the dividend to seven percent of the entrance fee income.²⁷ For the year of 2019, Da-Zhai received 7,200,000 yuan in dividends, which was then divided among 275 families, or 1,246 residents.²⁸ Although families that cultivated more rice terraces received a larger

share, families that did not have the manpower to farm also received a portion of the dividend as residents of Da-Zhai.²⁹ For example, Mr. Pan's family and his brother's family received 68,000 yuan in dividend money for cultivating eight *mu* of rice terraces. In addition, they made 400,000-yuan profit from running the family hotel and restaurant.³⁰ Witnessing the benefits of developing tourism, local residents have been very motivated in cultivating the rice terraces, though it is labor-intensive work that brings significantly less income than family businesses. Yet they understand that the rice terraces form the foundation of their prosperity as depicted in a local idiom: "cultivating rice terraces equals to cultivating scenery; plant rice is to plant currency (种田就是种风景·种稻就是种人民币)." Because of this awareness, details regarding how to protect and maintain the rice terraces are included in the Village Regulation, which states that it is forbidden to abandon rice terraces; if a family is unable to continue to cultivate their rice terraces, they will be transferred to individuals who can. It also includes articles regulating management of the ecosystem that supports the rice terraces, including the surrounding forest and creeks.³¹

LOST TRAILS AND FORGOTTEN STORIES

Although the management company's approach to tourism development seems both fruitful and sustainable, whereby local residents gain economic benefits and heritage is promoted and preserved, a critical flaw lies beneath the success. Within the valley, only selected villages have been chosen to be part of Longji Rice Terraces Scenic Spot (LRTSS), rather than the entire cultural landscape of Longji. Each selected village is packaged and promoted by the tourist management company as a fairly independent tourist destination, rather than part of a larger network of ethnic and historic settlements. Therefore, only rice terraces belonging to those villages are protected and preserved, which have now become disconnected patches of isolated land (Fig. 1).

A large amount of land, including both the rice terraces and the villages, between the designated areas of Ping'an Zhuang-Zhai Rice Terraces Scenic Area and Jinkeng Hong-Yao Rice Terraces Scenic Area is not included in the promotion and construction of the LRTSS.³² As a result, local residents began abandoning rice terraces, since it made little economic sense to continue this small-scale and labor-intensive farming practice in the age of industrialized and commercialized agriculture; residents could work elsewhere and purchase rice at a lower price. Due to this significant loss of rice terraces, this area was not included in the protected area of the Longji National Wetland Park established in 2015.³³ Without legal protection or economic stipulations, more rice terraces in the area became desolated. As of 2019, most of the rice terraces belonging to residents of these villages were abandoned. In many areas, nature completely devoured the terraces, erasing the hard work of generations of local residents for hundreds of years (Fig. 5). Deserted rice terraces also meant neglected



Figure 4. The abandoned rice terraces. Photo by the author.

trails, as fewer people walked the trails to attend the land. The construction of the new road along the valley floor further reduced local traffic, since residents no longer hiked for hours to visit nearby settlements or the market outside the valley. Without local residents' regular usage and maintenance, segments of the trails started to collapse, and the traditions of placing *jiangjunjian* and *leigongxiang* along the trails to help travelers lost their meanings. More importantly, the integrity of the cultural landscape of Longji has become neglected and fragmented, thereby splintering also its corresponding memories and stories.

HERITAGE AS NARRATIVES

This paper proposes an alternative approach to heritage management at Longji, where heritage is viewed as narratives connecting people, events, and places both in space and in time. The understanding of heritage as narratives draws upon theories on critical heritage studies and cultural landscape, wherein heritage is understood as social and cultural processes, and the meanings of heritage are constantly reinterpreted and redefined by people with their own experiences. In this case, the cultural landscape of Longji includes the fruits of local residents' collective and on-going efforts over hundreds of years. The rice terraces not only offer a sense of continuity, but also undergo constant changes, both of which are manifested in space and time at different scales. Moreover, one unique aspect of this cultural landscape is the system of trails, which, in addition to acting as the gateway to the outside world, connects all the residents, settlements, and rice terraces in the valley. Thus, the trails are an indispensable element of the cultural landscape, weaving people, landscape, and vernacular traditions into an integrated whole.

The argument of considering heritage as narratives is two-fold. First, one must preserve, exhibit, and promote the trails through narratives, or stories, because stories compose and inform social interactions.³⁴ Over the past two millennia, many stories happened and were narrated along these trails as residents tending rice terraces, visiting friends, and going shopping. Over time, many such stories were filtered,

exaggerated, reorganized, and retold by later generations as a way to establish a meaningful lifeworld and form individual and collective identity.³⁵ This approach is particularly critical to the continuation of promoting Longji as a tourist destination, for “coming to know a place means coming to know its stories.”³⁶ In other words, the cultural identity of Longji is formed by the stories remembered and exchanged by its residents and visitors. Secondly, to consider heritage as narratives is to read the trails as narratives, since both connect people, events, and places in space and in time. As Willaim Cronon claims, “narrative is the chief literary form that tries to find meaning in an overwhelmingly crowded and disordered chronological reality.”³⁷ The trails hidden amidst Longji Mountain serve the same function, and therefore can be used as both axis and access to promote and emphasize the meaning and integrity of the cultural landscape of Longji.

When the heritage of Longji is understood and promoted as narratives, the restored system of trails will enable tourists to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the cultural landscape both through its stories and by allowing tourists to explore the rice terraces from multiple perspectives. More importantly, these trails will physically and socially reconnect the settlements and residents in the valley that have been fragmented as the result of tourism development. These trails, enriched by stories and read as narratives, will help to form an integrated cultural landscape of Longji that can be explored and appreciated both in time and in space.

ENDNOTES

- Barbara Johnstone, *Stories, Community, and Place: Narratives from Middle America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 16.
- Alison Hope Alkon, “Place, Stories, and Consequences: Heritage narratives and the Control of Erosion on Lake County, California, Vineyards,” *Organization & Environment* 17, no. 2 (2004), 165.
- Sun Na 孙娜, and Luo Deyin 罗德胤, *Longji shisan zhai 龙脊十三寨* [Thirteen villages in Longji] (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2013), 10-14.
- Ibid. Other sources provide different accounts regarding the early history of Longji. Some claim that Longji rice terraces have 2,300 years of history. See “Guangxi Longsheng Longji tian guojia shidi gongyuan fengjing mingsheng qu 广西龙胜龙脊梯田国家湿地公园风景名胜区” [Longji Rice Terraces National Wetland Parks Scenic Spot in Longsheng, Guangxi Province], *Xinhua News*, accessed October 22, http://www.xinhuanet.com/travel/2017-08/02/c_1121419281.htm. Others assert that the cultivation of the rice terraces in Longji started in the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) and has 600 or 700 years of history, see Sun Jiuxia 孙九霞, and Wu Lirong 吴丽蓉, “Longji tian shequ lvyou fazhan Zhong de liyi guanxi yanjiu” 龙脊梯田社区旅游发展中的利益关系研究 [A study on the economic relationship in the tourism development at the community level in Longji Rice Terraces], *Lvyou Luntan 旅游论坛* 6, no. 6 (2013).
- Aurelie Elisa Gfeller, “Negotiating the Meaning of Global Heritage: ‘Cultural Landscapes’ in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 1972-92,” *Journal of Global History* 8 (2013).
- Ken Taylor, “Landscape and Memory: Cultural Landscapes, Intangible Values and Some Thoughts on Asia,” *ICOMOS Open Archive*, 2008, accessed October 22, 2020, <http://openarchive.icomos.org/139/1/77-wrVW-272.pdf>.
- Carl Ortwin Sauer, “The Morphology of Landscape (1925),” in *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin*, ed. John Leighley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).
- William George Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1955), 14.
- David Jacques, “The Rise of Cultural Landscapes,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 1, no. 2 (1995), 91.
- Rodney Harrison, “What is heritage,” in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, ed. Rodney Harrison (Manchester: Manchester University Press in association with the Open University, 2010).
- Denis Byrne, “Heritage as Social Action,” in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough et al. (New York: Routledge, 2008); Arjun Appadurai, “The Production of Locality,” in *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*, ed. Richard Fardon (New York: Routledge, 1995); Graeme Davison, “Heritage: From Patrimony to Pastiche,” in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough et al. (New York: Routledge, 2008).
- Denis Byrne, 2008.
- Ken Taylor, 2008, 5.
- Sun Na 孙娜, and Luo Deyin 罗德胤, *Longji shisan zhai 龙脊十三寨* [Thirteen villages in Longji] (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2013), 10-14.
- “Guangxi Longsheng Longji tian guojia shidi gongyuan fengjing mingsheng qu 广西龙胜龙脊梯田国家湿地公园风景名胜区” [Longji Rice Terraces National Wetland Parks Scenic Spot in Longsheng, Guangxi Province], *Xinhua News*, accessed October 22, http://www.xinhuanet.com/travel/2017-08/02/c_1121419281.htm.
- Sun Na, 2013.
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- Luo Jie 罗洁, “Minzu wenhua lvyou de ‘Longji moshi’ yanjiu” 民族文化旅游的‘龙脊模式’研究 [The “Longji model” in ethnic cultural tourism], Master’s thesis, Guilin Technology University, 2019, 16.
- Ibid., 16.
- According to Luo Jie, 2019, the data was provided by the Management Office of Longji National Wetland Park.
- Wen Tong 文彤, “Jiating lvyuanye de fazhan: yi Guilin longji tian fengjingqu weili” 家庭旅馆业的发展: 以桂林龙脊梯田风景区为例 [The development of family hotel: Using the Longji Rice Terraces in Guilin as the examples], *Lvyou xuekan 旅游学刊* 17, no. 1 (2002): 26-30.
- Luo Jie, 2019, 14.
- Yang Mingfei 杨明飞, Liang Jiaju 梁家炬, and Liu Zhusheng 刘助生, “Ruhe lvyong jiti ziyuan fazhan cunjiti jingji: Guangxi Longshen xian Da-Zhai cun jiti jiangji fazhan ‘Longji moshi’ diaocha” 如何利用集体资源发展村集体经济: 广西龙胜县大寨村集体经济发展“龙脊模式”调查 [How to use collective resources to develop village collective economy: The development of collective economy “Longji model” in Da-Zhai village, Longsheng county, Guangxi Province], last modified February 17, 2020, accessed October 18, 2020, http://journal.cnnews.net/ncjygl/2020n/d2q/ggdc/130915_20200217113410.html.
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- Sun Jiuxia 孙九霞, and Wu Lirong 吴丽蓉, “Longji tian shequ lvyou fazhan Zhong de liyi guanxi yanjiu” 龙脊梯田社区旅游发展中的利益关系研究 [A study on the economic relationship in the tourism development at the community level in Longji Rice Terraces], *Lvyou Luntan 旅游论坛* 6, no. 6 (2013): 28-34.
- “Guangxi Longsheng tian jingqu yi cunzhai lvyou fupin nianzhong fenhong 720 wan yuan” 广西龙胜梯田景区一村寨旅游扶贫年终分红720万元 [A village in Longsheng rice terraces scenic area in Guangxi Province received dividends of 7,200,000 yuan at the end of the year as poverty alleviation from tourism], last modified January 19, 2020, accessed October 16, 2020, <http://www.gx.chinanews.com/cj/2020-01-19/detail-1fz3uekx2196194.shtml>.
- Ibid. Seventy percent of the overall dividend is distributed among families according to the size of the rice terraces each family cultivates; 12 percent of the dividend is equally distributed among all families; 12 percent of the dividend is equally distributed among all residents; the village keeps six percent and use it to support welfare and education.
- Ibid.
- Village Regulation from four villages are included in Luo Jie (2019), 47-64.
- Many villages situated at the bottom of the valley and closer to the Jinjiang River are also not included in the Longji Rice Terraces Scenic Spot. The exclusion of these settlements is beyond the focus of this paper, since it has a smaller impact on the integrity of the cultural landscape of Longji mainly because of the limited amount of rice terraces owned by these residents.
- “Guangxi Guilin Longsheng Longji tian zizhiqu zhongyao shidi fenbutu gongbu 广西桂林龙胜龙脊梯田自治区重要湿地分布图公布” [The release of the map of the important wetlands in Longji rice terraces in Longsheng, Guilin, Guangxi Province], last modified March 22, 2020, accessed October 20, 2020, <https://new.qq.com/omn/20200322/20200322A0BJS00.html?pc>.
- David R. Maines, “Narrative’s Moment and Sociology’s Phenomena: Toward a Narrative Sociology,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1993).
- Claude S. Fischer, *The Urban Experience*, 2nd ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984).
- Johnstone, 1990, 16.
- William Cronon, “A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative,” *The Journal of American History* 78, no. 4 (1992), 1349.