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The How and Why of Urban Preservation:
Protecting Historic Neighborhoods in China

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Urban Planning

by

Jonathan Stanhope Bell

2014

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2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The How and Why of Preservation:
Protecting Historic Neighborhoods in China

by

Jonathan Stanhope Bell

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Chair

China's urban landscape has changed rapidly since political and economic reforms were first adopted at the end of the 1970s. Redevelopment of historic city centers that characterized this change has been rampant and resulted in the loss of significant historic resources. Despite these losses, substantial historic neighborhoods survive and even thrive with some degree of integrity. This dissertation identifies the multiple social, political, and economic factors that contribute to the protection and preservation of these neighborhoods by examining neighborhoods in the cities of Beijing and Pingyao as case studies. One focus of the study is capturing the perspective of residential communities on the value of their neighborhoods and their capacity and willingness to become involved in preservation decision-making. The findings indicate the presence of a complex interplay of public and private interests overlaid by changing policy and economic limitations that are creating new opportunities for public involvement. Although the Pingyao case study represents a largely intact historic city that is also a World Heritage Site, the local

focus on tourism has disenfranchised residents in order to focus on the perceived needs of tourists. In contrast, the dynamic neighborhood studied in Beijing maintains a core of historic fabric and protected heritage sites amidst a dynamic matrix of localized development, often sympathetic to the character of the neighborhood and more responsive to local needs. Both cases and the available literature underscore the need for implementing an integrated planning process that engages the community and responds practically to political and economic realities.

The dissertation of Jonathan Stanhope Bell is approved.

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2014

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to those who carried me through the process. My parents have always been eager to support and encourage me in all endeavors and they have made possible so many things. Ankur has made me laugh when I was distraught and uplifted me when I was disheartened, sharing with me each challenge and accomplishment along the way. Orly and Tisha urged me forward when staying back would have been far easier and offered perspective and laughter at every turn.

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Acronyms

CBO – Community-Based Organization

CCP – Chinese Communist Party

CHP – Cultural Heritage Protection Center

FDI – Foreign Direct Investment

HPO – Historic and Cultural Preservation Office

HUL – Historic Urban Landscape

ICOMOS – International Committee on Monuments and Sites

LDC – Less Developed Country

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

ODHR – Old and Dilapidated Housing Redevelopment

RMB – Renminbi (Modern Chinese currency, also called *yuan*)

SACH – State Administration for Cultural Heritage

SC – State Council

SEZ – Special Economic Zone

SOE – State-Owned Enterprise

THF – Tibet Heritage Fund

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

A note on language usage

All Chinese terms and names are presented in *pinyin*, the official transliteration system used in the People's Republic of China. For the purpose of clarity and benefit of future researchers, essential terminology and study area place names are first introduced in characters and in pinyin, and then subsequently only in pinyin. Certain stylistic choices were made regarding word division (e.g. Yonghegong Da Jie v. Yonghegongdajie) for legibility and all efforts made to be consistent across place names. Typically, all Chinese terms are italicized, although words repeated often throughout the text (e.g. *hutong*) are only italicized upon first introduction or for emphasis.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

China's urban landscape has changed rapidly since political and economic reforms were first adopted at the end of the 1970s. Unparalleled economic and physical development has demolished innumerable historic neighborhoods and structures integral to the fabric of local and regional urban identity. These changes have affected the socio-economic character and composition of resident communities due to changing land use, rising costs of living, and forced relocation schemes. While some studies consider the context of these losses and the shortcomings of protective policies to prevent demolition, inappropriate redevelopment, and the related social impact, there has been little empirical investigation of preservation decision-making and the complex processes that result in the protection and composition of historic neighborhoods and districts. The purpose of this research is to identify and understand the political, social, and economic factors that affect preservation of historic urban neighborhoods in China. In particular, an effort is made to examine local resident perceptions of preservation and understand the extent of their involvement in decision-making processes. The study attempts to identify the relationship of preservation planning components with its outcomes, underscoring the political and social challenges that impact the composition of designated historic districts and their communities. Ultimately, the findings highlight the interplay of public and private interests and actions to preserve enclaves of traditional urban architecture and their resident communities, informing recommendations for possible good practice¹ models of urban preservation. This

¹ I use 'good practice' in place of the more commonly employed 'best practice' because I find the latter to be impractical and a misnomer. It is impossible to determine the most appropriate methods for practice in any

research has significant implications for preservation planning in China as well as throughout the developing world, where the challenges of population growth, limited available land, and the pressure for development threaten historic resources and traditional urban neighborhoods often intrinsic to the local character of the city.

Rampant urbanization and economic development in mainland China over the past thirty years have resulted in widespread changes to the physical and social fabric of the country's urban areas. Although alterations to principal cities began soon after the establishment of the Communist regime in 1949 through campaigns of road widening and concerted efforts to industrialize, these are few in comparison to the large scale and unparalleled rapidity of changes in land use and urban fabric that have occurred since political and economic reforms were instituted in 1978 and liberalization of land use rights and establishment of real estate markets took place in the late 1980s. As central urban land markets were created and land use rights could be transferred through lucrative transactions, pressure to redevelop these areas grew tremendously and overwhelmed nascent policy to protect historic urban fabric and urban residential communities. Development pressure was further compounded by governmental decentralization that required local governments to provide and finance more of the social services, e.g. income redistribution, education, healthcare, formerly provided by the central government. As a result, historic neighborhoods composed of traditional vernacular architecture and generations-old communities have largely been overrun by physical redevelopment and subjected to gentrification arising from localized efforts to increase urban revenue.

complex situation involving a variety of disciplines, complications of changing politico-economic contexts, and multiple stakeholders. Moreover, the convoluted nature of preservation processes, as with any endeavors that integrate socio-cultural, political, economic, and aesthetic factors, renders comparison across multiple cases impossible given the inherent uniqueness of each case. This, then, means determining 'best practice' through recognized research methodologies is impossible.

In Beijing, for example, this development pressure has made way for large modern housing and commercial districts that have replaced traditional vernacular residences, many of which were centuries old. Despite national and municipal policies implemented as early as the 1980s to protect historic resources in Beijing, subsequent development efforts spurred on by access to exponential growth in market-driven land values have largely overtaken these protective measures. Even after the establishment of policy to arrest inappropriate development within Beijing's Old City,² city-ordained developers razed large swaths of vernacular residential neighborhoods and erected vast modern commercial centers and high density luxury housing in their stead. These changes to the city's physical fabric have had equally devastating impact on its social composition, forcing generations-old communities to relocate far from the center as their homes were demolished and often redeveloped into luxury residences beyond their financial means. Market-driven government-sanctioned development made many longstanding central urban communities unviable.

Within this context of rapid development, however, there exist protected neighborhoods that have maintained a core of their historic architecture, still house descendants of multi-generational inhabitants, and encourage socio-economic viability in part due to enduring social networks, new opportunities for and from tourism, and a mixture of policy protection and community involvement, as well as localized development. Such neighborhoods, though constantly threatened by aforementioned pressures, reveal resilience and may represent good practice models of historic neighborhood preservation and development. Unfortunately, examples of preservation decision-making and related outcomes are understudied in China and the opportunity for learning important lessons is largely unexplored. This research, therefore,

² Today, the boundaries of the Old City are defined by the Second Ring Road that follows the ruins of the old City Wall demolished in the 1950s under Mao Zedong. See Chapter 4.

aims to investigate the successes and failures of surviving historic neighborhoods through case studies in two cities in China, Beijing and Pingyao, to describe the complexity of decision-making and implementation. At the same time, the study identifies promising strategies for policy development, stakeholder education and involvement, and fiscal planning that may be codified and adapted for application in other Chinese urban contexts. Ultimately, the research strives to address why some neighborhoods have survived despite the widespread devastation of so much urban vernacular heritage and identify aspects of policy development and implementation, community involvement, and economic limitations that have contributed to their current composition. Identified realities and opportunities can provide lessons for the protection and development of historic districts throughout the developing world, encouraging not simply the preservation of historic architecture, but valorization of resident communities and facilitation of economic growth.

Research Questions

The guiding research questions focus on understanding how preservation of urban historic neighborhoods occurs in China, specifically:

1. What social, political, and economic factors affect decisions to preserve neighborhoods in Chinese cities? What circumstances appear to have contributed to the preservation of the physical and social character of neighborhoods?
2. What are the external forces that influence the physical and social composition of the historic neighborhood?
3. What is the nature of community involvement in decision-making about preservation?

The following factors, in particular, have been investigated and contribute to the research outcomes and implications: 1) the opportunity for community involvement in preservation decision-making and practice; 2) municipal preservation policy and regulation; 3) land use rights and their evolving value within a quickly growing real estate market; 4) tourism as a simultaneous boon and threat to historic neighborhoods; and 5) economic realities and opportunities, which include urban poverty and potential for real estate development. Characterization of these factors has further contributed to describing the current landscape of preservation and redevelopment in urban China and the impact of related policy and practice on specific historic districts and neighborhoods.

In approaching these larger research questions, a handful of additional, focused questions have served to guide the empirical work and compilation of data that establish the social, physical, and economic composition of the neighborhoods studied. What is the relationship of local communities to their built environment? What is the physical character of the neighborhoods? What is the nature of commercial activity? These and other questions informed the research design and allowed for compilation of data on community perspectives and actions, the layout and composition of the built environment, and economic realities of historic districts and their administration.

Understanding the impact of external forces on the neighborhoods and their resident communities required another sub-group of focused research questions. How effective is existing preservation policy? Is tourism an important factor in the protection of historic districts? What opportunities and challenges does property ownership pose? What is the composition of the community and how is it affected by outsiders? Defining the nature and influence of measurable

external forces contributed to the description of neighborhood complexity and elaboration of principal political and economic characteristics.

Finally, it was essential for the research to determine opportunities for community self-determination and participation in aspects of preservation decision-making, i.e. consideration of internal forces. Do residents have the opportunity to impact preservation matters? If so, what are these and how are they understood? How have locals contributed to the physical composition of the neighborhood, e.g. additions, new construction? Is the community aware of relevant policy and preservation efforts? This aspect of the research has elucidated the impact that citizens can and have had on protection of their neighborhoods, both as individuals and as groups, expounding some of the social and political components of neighborhood preservation.

Organization of the Dissertation

The following chapter discusses the mechanics of the study, presenting the research design and parsing out the principal question to elaborate the approaches and methods employed. The case study methodology is presented along with the justification for selecting Beijing and Pingyao as the location for two case studies. Finally, the chapter enumerates the research instruments, including a resident survey and interview scripts, and explains their development, implementation, analysis, and interpretation.

Chapter 3 presents a review of preservation literature, underscoring some of the key concepts in the field, beginning with a consideration of what is meant by ‘heritage’. Analysis of international preservation guidelines and cross-cultural distinctions follows to provide insight into the development of the field and the basis of professional standards. In order to provide a theoretical

foundation for the research amidst China's rampant development, the chapter also includes discussion of the difficult relationship between preservation and development, underscoring some of the key challenges and opportunities identified by scholars. Examples specific to China are littered throughout to help define the state of the field and parameters for practice in the country.

China is the focus of Chapter 4, which considers in two sections the structural changes and policy development that has occurred over the past three decades there. The first section reviews concepts of democracy and political engagement as they relate to the evolution of modern China's governance. The second section uses Beijing as an example to investigate in finer detail the development of preservation policy and the challenges of enforcement in the face of new economic opportunities. This chapter also discusses the role of external contributions to preservation practice in China, and the arrival of foreign nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and local community-based organizations (CBOs) on the preservation scene.

Chapter 5 introduces the first case study, a designated historic neighborhood within Beijing. The chapter is divided into two sections: an overview of the neighborhood followed by the results of the resident survey conducted there. The first section provides a physical description of the neighborhood, including overview of its principal streets and thoroughfares, the noted historic and cultural heritage complexes located there, and basic information on demographics and political administration of the area. The second part of this chapter presents the results of a survey conducted within the neighborhood to capture resident perspectives on the place and its preservation. These results are presented in five thematic sections: demographics, relationship to

the neighborhood, historic value and preservation, recent history and tourism, and neighborhood projections.

The second case study, a neighborhood within the walled city of Pingyao, is presented in Chapter 6. An overview of the World Heritage city's history and preservation evolution begins the chapter, including discussion of recent tourism development. This is followed by description of the city's physical layout, its vernacular architecture, and the specific study area located in the southwestern quadrant. The last section presents the survey results, following the same thematic breakdown employed in the previous chapter.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter, offering analysis and implications of the research project that draw on all the data collected over the course of the study and presented in previous chapters. The discussion is organized according to the thematic factors of the original research question: social, political, and economic. Each section considers how a group of factors impacts preservation decision-making and in what ways the converse is also true, highlighting certain strengths and weaknesses in practice throughout. A subsequent section considers the implications of the research in light of this analysis, underscoring significant lessons and positing directions for the future of the field in China. The final section offers recommendations for good practice in urban neighborhood preservation, particularly relevant to China and other parts of the developing world. These are followed by suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2 – Methodology and Research Design

The purpose of this research is to identify the social, political, and economic factors that impact the preservation of designated historic neighborhoods in Chinese urban areas. In order to meet this objective, the research design needed to include the tools and approaches necessary to select appropriate study areas, gather data on the preservation and socio-demographics of each neighborhood studied, and analyze and interpret the data within and across case studies, as well as in relation to the broader field of historic preservation. A mixed methods approach has been employed to allow for integration of qualitative and quantitative methods and instruments that best capture the multiple types of data sought. This chapter presents an overview of the development of the research design and the methodology employed to answer the research question and provide a range of socio-economic, political, spatial, and historical data necessary for analysis and interpretation. See Appendix A for a schematic outline of the research design and its components.

A large body of literature discusses the theoretical and practical steps behind effective research design (Crotty 1998; Shadish, Cook, and Campbell 2001; Creswell 2003). These sources highlight the importance of matching the research methodology and choice of data collection methods to the nature of the information sought, ensuring that the former will sufficiently generate the latter. Adapting Crotty's (1998) earlier work, Creswell (2003) conceptualizes a model around research design that identifies three components necessary to inform the design process (see Fig. 1). These are expressed as: 1) knowledge claims made by the proposed research;

2) strategies of inquiry needed to address the question; and 3) the specific methods of data collection and analysis to be employed. Identification of these key components then helps guide the researcher in selection of an adequate approach, which in turn informs the nature of specific steps within the research program.

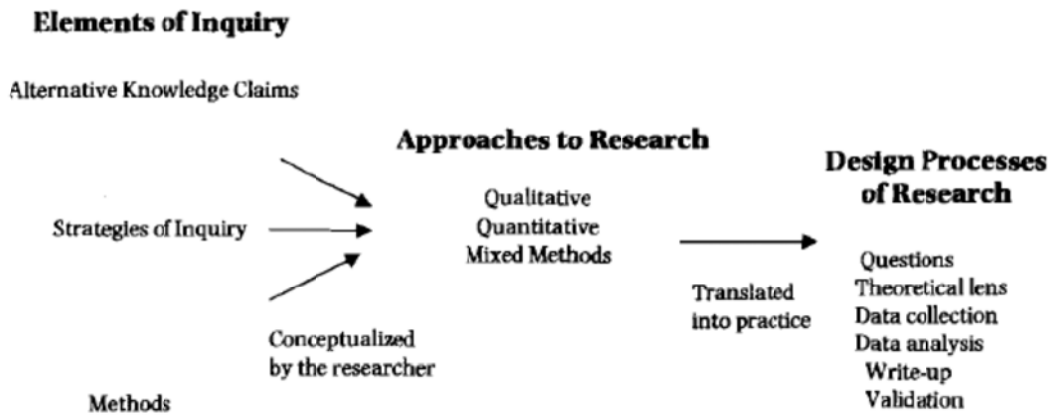


Figure 1. Creswell’s schematic conceptualization of the research design model characterizing the key components that inform the research design model (2009:5).

Using Creswell’s conceptual model as a framework for my research design, I have attempted to dissect my principal research question and related considerations to identify epistemological assumptions and philosophical approaches. The research is driven by one principal question that is further elaborated in a secondary question:

What social, political, and economic factors affect decisions to preserve neighborhoods in Chinese cities? What circumstances appear to have contributed most to the preservation of the physical and social character of neighborhoods?

The research question aims to understand the key internal and external influences in decision-making within an identified cultural, geographical, and socio-political context. It is premised on

the concept that each factor impacts decision-making processes and resulting physical and social outcomes, although the degree of impact for each factor and their specific roles are necessarily fluid and intertwined with their context. Therefore, the underlying knowledge assumptions of the question recognize the dependence of any answers on the interaction of factors unique to each time and place. This philosophical approach is most aligned with the *pragmatist* school of thought that underscores the importance of context and multiple, simultaneous truths dependent upon experience and understanding (Rorty 1982; Murphy and Rorty 1990). In this epistemological framework, the focus is not on finding an undeniable and universal truth, but rather understanding the problem at hand within its particular context and using the most appropriate tools to that end (Creswell 2003; Morgan 2007).

Having identified the question's epistemological framework as inherently pragmatic, the next step within Creswell's model outlines the strategies of inquiry to be employed within the research program. Again, this requires returning to the research question, which aims to identify social, political, and economic factors within decision-making processes. The data collection strategy must, in response, integrate methods of recording community perspectives and actions (social), government approaches and processes (political), and market forces and limitations (economic) within a Chinese urban setting that provides a specific politico-cultural and economic backdrop. Similarly, the research needs to compile data to assist in identifying the relationship between the process (input of factors) and the outcome (physical and social character of neighborhoods).

At the same time, the need for validity and the applicability of research findings is paramount. Validity of a research program ensures accurate and reliable knowledge creation, while

applicability makes this knowledge valuable as a tool in future decision-making and improved understanding of the issues studied.³ The strategies of inquiry, then, must further integrate methods to test the reliability of compiled data, and therefore the data collection methods, as well as applicability of the analysis. Given the assumption of pragmatism that contexts are unique and play an important role in answering a research question, the approach requires the ability to consider findings within multiple research contexts to ascertain their broader applicability. Integrating multiple research contexts is best done in a case study model that provides for mirrored research to take place within distinct contexts for the purpose of cross-comparison of findings.

Following Creswell's exercise highlighted a mixed methods approach as the most appropriate design for this research. Compiling the data necessary to answer the research question required multiple collection methods that targeted different data sources, namely: local residents, officials and preservation professionals, the physical composition of studied neighborhoods, policy documents, and secondary sources on local history and political processes. Appropriate data collection methods, in turn, needed to reach each of these sources effectively and reliably through both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The multiple data sources, although not providing the same type of data, further provide an opportunity for corroboration and triangulation of information. Additionally, the case study model provides the opportunity to

³ Applicability has particular significance within the pragmatic knowledge framework, since pragmatic research neither generates absolute truths nor aims to prove specific hypotheses (positivist and postpositivist models). Instead, the purpose of the research is often normative, aiming, on one hand, to understand the topic and, on the other, to develop knowledge to improve current practices or inform future decision-making. A general discussion of epistemology and research approaches is offered in John W. Creswell, *Research Design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2009). See also David L. Morgan, "Paradigms Lost and Pragmatism Regained," *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1 (January 2007): 48-76.

compare findings from multiple research contexts and identify significant similarities and distinctions that can inform the interpretation of analysis and extend the reach of findings.

Mixed Methods Model

The mixed methods model integrates traditional qualitative and quantitative research methods into one comprehensive design that is aligned with a pragmatism epistemological framework. Over the past decade, there has been a growing body of literature on the theory and practice of mixed methods research and its role as a ‘third paradigm’ in social science research (Creswell 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Greene 2008; Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2009). This literature underscores the importance of drawing on pluralistic approaches for research design and implementation in order to select methods and instruments best suited to answering the research question.

The mixed methods approach employed in this study privileges qualitative research tools and methods, but integrates a survey ($n=343$) and spatial analysis as principal research instruments. This specific model of mixed methods research can be termed ‘concurrent equal status design’, indicating that the design simultaneously employs qualitative and quantitative data collection methods and analysis, without specifically privileging qualitative or quantitative methods (see Fig. 2). The design is fully mixed, as opposed to partially mixed, because qualitative and quantitative methods are combined within stages of the research, e.g. closed and open-ended questions on the survey (Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2009).

		Time Order Decision	
		Concurrent	Sequential
Paradigm Emphasis Decision	Equal Status	QUAL + QUAN	QUAL → QUAN QUAN → QUAL
	Dominant Status	QUAL + quan QUAN + qual	QUAL → quan qual → QUAN QUAN → qual quan → QUAL

Note. “qual” stands for qualitative, “quan” stands for quantitative, “+” stands for concurrent, “→” stands for sequential, capital letters denote high priority or weight, and lower case letters denote lower priority or weight.¹¹

Figure 2. Mixed methods design matrix presented by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:22).

Case Study Model

The case study approach provides the opportunity to research one or more phenomena in depth, documenting and considering their contexts and the impact of related external forces, which are often integral to understanding socio-political processes, economic motivations, and cultural influences. The significance of context is perhaps best underscored by Flyvbjerg: “in the study of human affairs, there appears to exist only context dependent knowledge, which, thus, presently rules out the possibility of epistemic theoretical construction” (2006:221). He sees context as integral to all social science research and necessitating case study. Furthermore, Flyvbjerg highlights the importance of the case method in the generalizability of studies through the “falsification” test, as espoused by Karl Popper (2006:227-8). Indeed the case study is an ideal method to identify and delve into the nature of the statistical outlier and inform revision of generalized theory or unchallenged hypotheses.

The compatibility of the case study with mixed methods research design is not directly addressed in much of the literature on either mixed methods or case studies. However, Yin does briefly address the complementarity of the case study and a mixed methods research design, noting two specific relationships: 1) the embedded case study that simultaneously “rel[ies] on more holistic data collection strategies for studying the main case and then call[s] upon surveys or other more quantitative techniques to collect data about the embedded unit(s) of analysis;” and 2) the inverse, where the quantitative technique is the primary research method and a case study is used to elucidate one of the subjects of study (2009:63). This research design employs the former “embedded” model, establishing the case study as the larger framework for the research, within which all the data collection methods are employed.

Designated historic neighborhoods in Beijing and Pingyao have been chosen as comparative case studies because of their dissimilar local geographical settings, socio-economic contexts, protection and development status, and politico-cultural backdrops within an overarching Chinese context. Beijing, as the capital of China with a complicated political and economic relationship to the central government, serves in many ways as the model of urban preservation approaches and one of the epicenters of rapid development. The historic center of Pingyao, on the other hand, was largely neglected during the 20th century and only began to feel the impact of development and growth after the advent of large-scale tourism and its designation as a World Heritage Site in 1997.

The choice of two study areas within China provided the opportunity to consider one overarching politico-cultural backdrop that serves as the legal and economic underpinnings of historic

preservation and property ownership amidst a shared tumultuous modern history of rapid changes and greater decentralization. This fact allows for the research design to focus principally on local characteristics and distinctions integral to autochthonous practice of urban development and preservation. Thus, the research design avoids the pitfalls of comparing two culturally, historically, and politically distinct cities (e.g. Beijing and Quito) and instead focuses on the dramatic differences within China itself. Given that the research sought to find principal factors of urban preservation in China, it was deemed most appropriate to choose two contrasting urban contexts, seeking to authenticate the “hypothesized contrast” on one hand, and striving to identify points of commonality across the distinctions on the other (Yin 2009:61).

Study Areas

In Beijing, the focus of the study is the Beixinqiao / Guozijian / Yonghegong (北新桥 / 国子监 / 雍和宫) neighborhood within the northeastern quadrant of the Old City (See Figs. 3-5) that includes a mixture of historic resources, new construction, and sustained commercial activity. This neighborhood was selected for the study for a number of its characteristics that were highly relevant to the research. First and foremost, the study area is part of municipal-level historic neighborhood designation that establishes its status as a protected historic built environment subject to specialized municipal regulations and policy relevant to redevelopment, zoning, and renovation. The neighborhood lies within the historic urban center of what is often called “Old Beijing”, just within the modern city’s 2nd ring road and the footprint of the monumental historic city walls that were largely dismantled in the last century. Second, the neighborhood is the context for two national-level historic monuments: the city’s Confucius Temple (*kongmiao*), dating from the early 14th century and the second largest Confucius temple in China; and the Lama Temple (*yonghegong*), built in the late 17th century as a prince’s palace and later turned

into a lamasery and national center of Lama administration under the Qing Emperor Qianlong. There are also several municipal- and district-level heritage sites scattered throughout the neighborhood that serve as historic anchoring points for the area, though many of these are largely unknown and inaccessible to the general public.

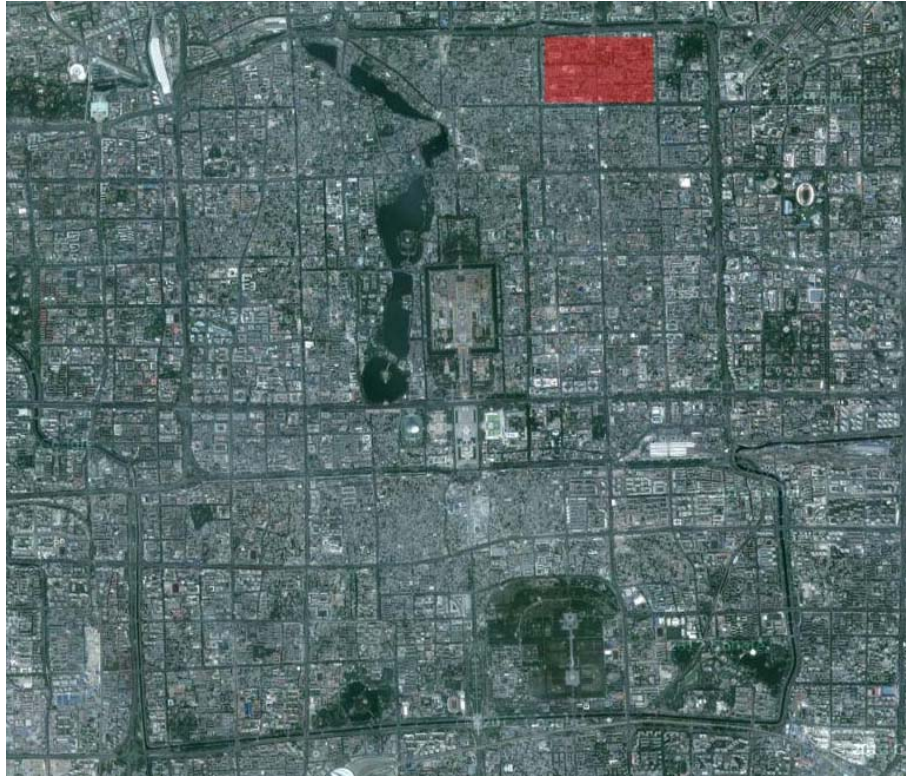


Figure 3. Satellite image of Beijing Old City, with study area highlighted in red.



Figure 4. Left, Guoxue Hutong, along the side of the Confucius Temple; right, entry to housing complex on Wudaoying.



Figure 5. Bixinqiao San Tiao, traditional-style buildings and commerce.

As the neighborhood lies in the center of Beijing, it is the site of unprecedented economic dynamism and growth, with thriving businesses and developing commercialism. At the same time, the area is a densely populated residential quarter with a mix of public and private housing, mostly one-story traditional-style architecture with pockets of multistory apartment buildings, some of which are the legacy of State-Owned Enterprise (SOE) unit housing. While principal *hutong* thoroughfares are the site of bustling commercialism that can cater to local elite and expatriate residents, many of the smaller alleyways (*tiao* and *xiang*) are quiet, purely residential passages, divided between public housing beneficiaries sometimes living in near squalor and Beijing elite and expatriates living in modern construction residences often inspired by the traditional courtyard house (see Chapter 5).

Another attractive aspect of the chosen study area was the fact that I could find no empirical studies that had been conducted there previously. Although the area is a hotbed of tourism because of the two national-level monuments and is a destination for locals and visitors alike for shopping and evening entertainment in small music venues, arts outlets, bars and eateries of all types, there does not seem to be any previous research on locals and their relationship to the neighborhood, tourism, or anything else beside physical surveys part of larger municipal mapping projects. However, a number of resident surveys have been conducted in popular tourist neighborhoods further west, such as Nanluogu Xiang (Wu 1999; Yutaka, Dorje, Alexander, and de Azevedo 2006; Shin 2010) and Shichahai (Yutaka et al. 2006; Gu and Ryan 2008; Gu and Ryan 2012), either as part of larger studies on questions of urban preservation or as research focused on tourism and its impact on residents. These studies were able to provide a point of reference, but the empirical research in the chosen neighborhood appears to be a first and,

therefore, an important contribution to the understanding of preservation processes and implications within historic Beijing.

Finally, studying the Beixinqiao/Guozijian/Yonghegong neighborhood was facilitated by the fact that I was able to reside within the neighborhood over the course of my fieldwork, making me a participant observer in the research. My presence in the neighborhood over a number of months allowed me to observe and consider use and circulation patterns across seasons and record changes in the physical fabric that underscored the dynamism of the neighborhood and its growing commercialism, which often served as the motivation for renovation and/or new construction.

In Pingyao, research focuses on the southwest quadrant of the World Heritage walled city, along Fanjia Jie (范家街) and within the area defined by Shaxiang Jie (沙巷街) and Majuan Xiang (马圈巷) (see Figs. 6-8). This neighborhood was chosen according to the same themes as the Beijing study area, however often for distinct reasons. In contrast to the Beijing study area's principally local protection status, the Pingyao study area is part of a World Heritage city and, therefore, falls entirely under national heritage protection, although most management decisions are necessarily made at the municipal level. Despite the elevated heritage status of the entire walled city, the neighborhood chosen as the study area harbors none of the most visited heritage sites and, therefore, lies outside the principal tourism area subject to specialized municipal regulations. The neighborhood is almost entirely residential, composed of large, traditional Shanxi courtyard homes that have since been subdivided and are shared by multiple families. Many are in dire need of maintenance, repair, and even structural stabilization. Despite the need

for physical intervention, the vast majority of historic architecture within the neighborhood is intact and in continued use.

As a residential neighborhood within the historic walled city, but outside the principal tourism district, the Fanjia Jie / Shaxiang Jie / Majuan Xiang neighborhood is also removed from the historic city's center of economic activity. The neighborhood has few commercial storefronts, though some courtyard house complexes integrate small businesses and a few storefronts exist on the major thoroughfares. Unlike the Beijing study area, the Pingyao neighborhood is stagnant with little economic activity, possibly impacted by municipal policy to limit the nature of commercial activity to those of perceived value to the tourism industry. As a result, the neighborhood shows little physical change driven by economic growth and opportunity and residents are forced to leave the neighborhood, and even the walled city, for most economic and commercial activities.



Figure 6. Satellite image of Pingyao walled city, with study area highlighted in red.

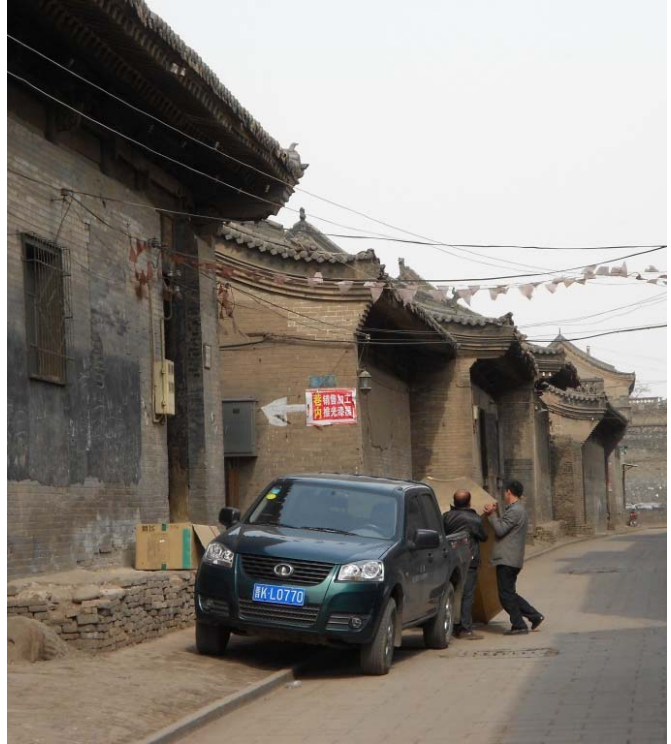


Figure 7. Left, Fanjia Jie interior courtyard of one historic building; right, view of Fanjia Jie



Figure 8. Left, Majuan Xiang; Right, Shaxiang Jie

Given Pingyao's designation as a World Heritage Site in 1997, the city has been the subject of a fair amount of study by Chinese and foreign researchers for nearly two decades. However, much of the literature has focused on the architectural style and intactness of the walled city, with only more recent studies considering the impact of heritage status and tourism on local communities. Several of these studies provide a point of comparison for resident perception of tourism and heritage policy and practice within the walled city (Huang 2006; Yang, Chen, Hu, and Shi 2010; Wang 2011; Wang 2012). Another recent study authored by a student at Tongji University, gathered demographic and architectural information on a portion of the study area, Fanjia Jie, as part of a larger ongoing collaboration between Tongji University, the local Pingyao Planning Bureau, and a cultural heritage NGO, Global Heritage Fund (Yao 2011). These studies provide a foundation and point of reference for the data collected in the current research.

One final consideration influenced the selection of Pingyao and the specific neighborhood: professional relationships and access to information. A principal challenge of working in China is ensuring the development of key relationships that provide access to reliable data.⁴ Through professional ties with the Global Heritage Fund, already collaborating with the local planning bureau and Tongji University on a model conservation project within the Fanjia Jie neighborhood, I was able to get access to previous research and planning documents related to the neighborhood. Like in Beijing, I had the opportunity to live within walking distance of the study area and become a participant observer of the walled city's inhabitants and the large numbers of tourists who frequent the city and its heritage sites daily throughout the high season. This access to residents, previous studies, and reliable data, in addition to its history, preservation

⁴ David L. Wank wrote an illuminating piece on the institution of *guanxi* and its importance in both politics and business. See David L. Wank, "The Institutional Process of Market Clientelism: Guanxi and Private Business in a South China City." *The China Quarterly* 147 (1996): 820-38. The culture of *guanxi* pervades all aspects of interaction in China and is particularly important for the outsider seeking access to information.

status, and current challenges, made Pingyao a very attractive and feasible choice for a case study.

Table 1 briefly highlights the themes that informed case study selection and relevant characteristics of each of the chosen case studies. While there are general points of commonality, the specific profile of each case study is distinct, from the level of protection (local v. national) to the extent and preservation of the original built environment. Nonetheless, the research instruments and approaches were identical in each case, in order to clearly understand perceived differences and identify similarities across the study areas.

Table 1. Characteristics of selected study areas

	Beijing	Pingyao
Heritage Designation and Inclusion	Municipal Historic Neighborhood	World Heritage City
	Two National Heritage Sites	No high-profile sites within area
Physical character	Little historic architecture intact	Historic architecture largely intact
	Mix of old and new	Traditional style architecture
Tourism	Local and foreign tourism integration	Tourism crucial to local economy
	Neighborhood popular among Beijingers	Study area removed from mass tourism
Previous research	None in specific study area	Tongji study of residents and architecture
	Studies on tourism in adjacent areas	City-wide studies consider tourism impact
Researcher relationship	Lived within neighborhood	Lived in adjacent neighborhood
	Access to locals	Affiliation with external research

Research Components

Fieldwork for the research in both study areas included surveys and interviews (see Appendices B, C, and D), observations of neighborhood activity, street and building documentation, and compilation of demographic data, preservation reports, and related information from local statistical bureaus, planning authorities, and preservation professionals. Survey questionnaires were designed for neighborhood residents and business owners and questioned respondents

about their relationship to the neighborhood, its historic valuation, their familiarity with local preservation policy and protective measures, changes to their residences or places of business, and their use of local commercial venues, as well as their opinion of tourism and its impact. Additionally, the survey provided an opportunity to collect basic demographic data of respondents in an effort to supplement official data. Interviews have been reserved for government officials and preservation professionals to delve more deeply into their perceptions of preservation decision-making, the challenges to the process, and successes and failures of both policy and practice. Neighborhood observations included documentation and recording of ongoing physical changes (e.g. construction, renovation), commercial activity, and social interaction. Additionally, photographic and written documentation of the neighborhoods captured building typologies and commercial venues, and established an inventory of historic buildings to be corroborated with official records. This process, in addition to providing a descriptive and visual baseline for neighborhoods, also informed subsequent questionnaire design and study area selection. All images are named according to street address and can be georeferenced through association with resources like GoogleEarth.

Given the rate of political, economic and social change in China in recent years, background research and consideration of lost and redeveloped neighborhoods has been limited to the period since 1980. While review of heritage policy development and the preservation history of chosen neighborhoods has certainly spanned a greater period of time, consideration of policy implementation and physical changes to the neighborhood is limited to the 32-year period (i.e. 1980-2012) in order to understand as much as possible the current state of preservation decision-making and implementation, as well as provide a relevant politico-economic context for the opinions and perspectives collected through the survey and interviews. This time frame is also

relevant to media coverage, political activity, conservation efforts, and previous studies reviewed to provide context for the empirical research.

The following factors, in particular, have been considered and studied for their significance in contributing to the preservation of the physical and social composition of historic neighborhoods: 1) the opportunity for community involvement in preservation decision-making and practice; 2) municipal preservation policy and regulation; 3) evolving significance and valuation of land use rights in light of a growing real estate market, including the phenomenon of gentrification; 4) tourism as a simultaneous boon and threat to historic neighborhoods and their character; and 5) government neglect and lack of motivation for development. Characterizing the factors that contribute to urban preservation has also assisted in understanding the current landscape of preservation and redevelopment, especially why certain neighborhoods are preserved and survive as viable communities while others succumb to demolition and wholesale redevelopment. Given the breadth of considerations, the research methods include:

1. a survey of various stakeholder groups (residents and business owners);
2. interviews with local officials and preservation professionals;
3. observations of neighborhood activity that includes patterns of circulation, commercial use, and social interaction;
4. spatial analysis to demarcate studied neighborhoods, identify relative proportion of protected historic resources, and determine their comparative exterior preservation status; and
5. discourse analysis of gathered planning documents, municipal policy, and media coverage of chosen neighborhoods and related projects.

Although certain neighborhood-specific data (e.g. economic activity, tourist arrivals) have proved impossible to compile, proxies were collected from district level data and further supplemented by the qualitative research conducted within the study areas. Adjacent neighborhoods that have been lost or undergone significant amount of change also served as counterfactual examples and relevant data were drawn from available literature, historic photographs, and additional photographic and observational fieldwork.

Survey Design and Implementation

The survey was designed to record resident and local business owner relationships to the study areas, as well as their attitudes towards preservation and its repercussions. To my knowledge, there have been no previous studies in Chinese neighborhoods to determine local relationships to preservation policy and practice and their repercussions. Thus, the survey aimed to gather resident opinions on these matters while providing demographic information, as well as information on ownership and physical changes. The resulting data is primarily quantitative, allowing for analysis of statistical relationships between respondent profiles and opinions, but includes open-ended answers to capture a full range of responses. The survey serves as the principal instrument to understand the relationships of residents to their neighborhood, homes, and its heritage status.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendices B and C) has five distinct thematic sections requesting different types of information. The first section underscores the relationship of the respondent to the neighborhood, recording ownership, years of residence, perspective on the community and its cohesiveness, and whether the respondent would choose to leave the neighborhood and why or

why not. The second section focuses specifically on the neighborhood's historical value and respondent views of preservation practice and policy, including a question that asks the projected reaction to a demolition threat (e.g. protest, community action, do nothing). The third section aims to gather a recent collective history of each study area by asking respondents to comment on changes in the past five years, such as relocation of residents and businesses, building demolition or redevelopment, and changes in building use. This section also asks respondents to comment on the recent impact of tourism. The fourth section comprises only two questions, asking the respondent to project ten years into the future and indicate all changes they predict, while also indicating what they like most about the neighborhood at present. The fifth, and final, section gathers demographic information from each respondent, including gender, age, household size, and income.

Of the 36 questions in the survey, 15 either include open-ended responses as possible choice or provide solely for such a response. The purpose of these questions is to encourage “thick description”⁵ of respondent motivations behind staying in the study area, projected responses to demolition threats, and perspectives on recent preservation efforts. There is a body of literature that discusses the added value of open-ended questions (Niedomysl and Malmberg 2009; ten Kleij and Musters 2003; and Balistreri, McClelland, Poe, Schulze 2001) and which informed the development of the questions. In addition to ensuring the inclusion of a more nuanced understanding of respondent opinions, these responses served as important sources of information about the history of the study areas, community efforts to preserve and maintain the

⁵ Usually associated with Clifford Geertz's (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures*, the term generally refers to detailed insight into the motivations and emotional contexts of observed behaviors. A piece by Ponterotto (2006) highlights the origins of the term, clearly cited by Geertz himself, as lying with British metaphysical philosopher Gilbert Ryle, and attempts to unravel the multiple levels of meaning and also confusion about the term.

neighborhoods, and perspectives on current character of the areas that predetermined answers could not provide.

Preparation of the survey began with review of previous research conducted in both study areas and, when possible, consideration of specific questions included in surveying tools (Gu and Ryan 2012; Yao 2011; Shin 2010; Yang, Chen, Hu, and Shi 2010; Huang 2006; Yutaka 2006). More information on these previous studies is included in the chapters discussing Beijing and Pingyao (see Chapters 5 and 6, respectively). The purpose of considering previously used questions was to enable creation of a sort of longitudinal study, providing for comparison between earlier findings and those of the current research. Although it is understood that a direct comparison with previous studies would be impossible, it was hoped that use of some similar questions and wording can establish a method of recording changes in opinion over time, something that has not been well researched in terms of heritage neighborhoods in China.

Review of neighborhood form and characteristics followed to inform the questions included in the survey instrument. This research included review of available photographs and published references on *hutongs* in Beijing (Sorkin 2008; Whitehand and Gu 2007; Wang 2003; Tung 2001; Wang 1997; Zhang 1997) and residential neighborhoods of Pingyao's historic walled city (Cao 2010; Tongji Urban Planning Research Academy 2010; Zuo 2009; Song 2000; Zheng and Fan 1997). In particular, review of previous qualitative research mentioned above contributed to understanding ongoing resident challenges, such as lack of private and/or indoor plumbing, overcrowded or cramped living spaces, and ongoing reliance on coal-burning ovens for heat during frigid winter months. Thus, the survey instrument included questions that considered these challenges and highlighted them as possible motivations for respondent preference for

redevelopment and relocation, while also allowing respondents to add additional information through the open-ended responses. Visits to both study areas prior to finalizing the survey tool provided an opportunity for groundtruthing, followed by revisions to ensure all questions were relevant to the contexts of both study areas.

The questionnaire was drafted first in English and then translated into Mandarin by a research assistant. I then reviewed the translation and clarified meanings in Chinese in collaboration with the research assistant before finally sending the Chinese-language survey tool to two independent reviewers to ensure clarity of language and address ambiguity in expression. Once comments were addressed, the questionnaire was finalized for use.

Administering the survey

The survey was conducted in Pingyao during one week in April 2012 and over a period of three weeks May-June 2012 in Beijing. Administering the survey required careful consideration of bias, given cultural and linguistic sensitivities and challenges intrinsic to the research. In particular, I feared introducing bias into the process by integrating my own expectations and assumptions into respondent answers (when respondents would be unwilling or unable to fill in questionnaires themselves and prefer answering questions verbally, which was a common occurrence over the course of the study). Additionally, there was concern that certain respondents might be unwilling to participate in a survey administered by a foreign researcher or would be less likely to respond truthfully in my presence. There is evidence of sensitivity on the part of Chinese locals in regard to answering truthfully and trying to “save face” in the survey process (Gu, Ryan, and Chon 2009). Thus, in order to avoid external biases introduced by or as a result of the perceived involvement of the investigator, the survey was administered by two

separate teams of Chinese surveyors, one in each study area. In Beijing, the team of surveyors was a group of undergraduate students in sociology at Beijing University, supervised on a regular basis by a graduate student in the same department and who served as my research assistant as well as the author of the first Mandarin translation of the questionnaire.⁶ In Pingyao, only one surveyor proved necessary, given the smaller sample size and geographical area of the study, as well as her extended availability. Wang Jiaqi, a local contractor with the Planning Bureau, was particularly helpful because of the necessity to interact with participants in the local Pingyao dialect. Each surveyor was trained and provided with a one-page survey manual (see Appendix D) as reminder of the principal points of the survey process and related conduct.

In most cases, survey respondents were approached at their place of residence or business, relying on a random geographic cluster sample that fell within the study areas. Each surveyor received printouts of marked maps derived from www.Baidu.com, a Chinese search engine similar to Google, but with more detailed and accurate maps of Chinese cities (see Appendix E). In Beijing, surveyors were assigned specific streets or neighborhoods within the study area and asked to approach any accessible residences to find participants. Since the survey was conducted in the spring, surveyors were also able to take advantage of the fact that many residents gather and socialize in public areas (sidewalks, streets, alleyways) outside their places of residence. Addresses were recorded, when possible, to allow for association of survey data with physical locations, which facilitated mapping of survey data and subsequent spatial analysis. Additionally, some questionnaires were filled out by passers-by in the neighborhood after ascertaining they had some local affiliation (resident or business owner). The survey was further stratified in Beijing to ensure inclusion of business owners and operators, who constitute an important

⁶ The names of the students are Qiao Tianyu (research assistant and team supervisor), Zhu Yuechi, Yao Man, Song Haoming, Xian Hongjin, Zhang Hui, Zhao Huaibin, and Song Zhengliang.

component of the neighborhood. Stratification was not integrated into the Pingyao survey because of the few businesses within the immediate study area.

Surveying took place throughout the day, depending on surveyor availability, though most commonly in the afternoon and early evenings during the week, and mid-morning on weekends, in an effort to take advantage of periods when neighborhood residents were thought to be at home or in the vicinity and available to participate. The questionnaire represented the only form of participation for survey respondents and there was no follow-up or additional point of contact before or after its completion. To encourage participation in the survey, surveyors promised small enticement gifts (e.g. bars of soap, combs) prior to filling out the questionnaire and rewarded respondents upon completion. Participants in the survey were informed that they could refuse to answer any question(s) on the questionnaire and that all data were anonymous and confidential.

At the end of the survey, the teams generated 243 completed questionnaires in the Beijing study area and 100 in the Pingyao study area. The difference in sample size was deemed acceptable, given the distinct geographic area and population sizes of the two neighborhoods, although exact populations for each study area are not known. It was also determined that both sample sizes would prove representative of the study areas for the purpose of this research, given the random cluster sampling strategy that designated study area residents as the entire sampling population (N) and randomly selected participants (n) from that defined population.

Interviews

In order to gain perspective on decision-making processes and policy related to preservation of historic neighborhoods in China, I integrated interviews of government officials and practitioners into the research methods. These interviews (see Appendix F for script) included questions about designation processes and protection of heritage neighborhoods as practiced by local officials and preservationists. Part of the script focused on the challenges and problems with current practices and consideration of possible solutions or mitigation strategies for these issues. Another portion of the script queried interviewees on their perceived impact of preservation policy and practice on resident communities, as well as the opportunities of stakeholders to influence decision-making processes. The purpose of these interviews was to provide government and practitioner perspectives on urban preservation to supplement the resident perspectives compiled in the survey.

Given the cultural importance of *guanxi* (personal connections) in identifying appropriate individuals and then obtaining interviews, participants were selected through a snowball sampling process that began with my own professional contacts and subsequently branched out to acquaintances and colleagues. While it was exceedingly difficult to secure interviews with government officials, using personal connections resulted in a handful of interviews. Similarly, I was able to speak with an array of preservation professionals and researchers experienced in the topic and general contexts, though not always intimately familiar with the study areas.

Interviews were conducted in two different ways: in person and via e-mail. While face-to-face meetings were preferable and resulted in far richer content and nuanced explanations of policy and practice, such meetings were not always possible and required use of the interview script as

a survey. In this way, I was able to secure additional opinions and information from individuals I was unable to meet or who were unwilling to enter into a conversation. Meetings in person were recorded when possible; when recording proved impossible, I resorted to note-taking to record participant perspectives and thoughts. All interviewees were informed of the purpose of the research and assured confidentiality of their responses and identities, unless they specifically provided consent for disclosure of their identities. All respondents are identified only by their affiliation and title throughout the dissertation.

Observation and Documentation

Another component of the research was the visitation and investigation of each study area that comprised observations, photographic documentation, and systematic recording of selected historic resources, businesses, and building typology. The purpose of this documentation was to create a record of the physical and social characteristics of the case studies and establish a ‘snapshot’ of the neighborhoods as context for the research, providing reference for data resulting from the survey and interviews. Additionally, this type of documentation provides a baseline of data that not only serves the current research, but establishes a record of the physical form and social context that can serve as a point of reference for future studies.

The principal, systematic documentation of the neighborhoods comprised investigation of every street and alleyway recorded on basemaps of each study area and photographic documentation of streetscapes, individual buildings, and social interactions. A principal part of the work involved groundtruthing available maps and recording designated historic structures, as well as noting new and ongoing construction or other substantial physical changes to each study area. Photographic documentation served to record significant elements of neighborhoods, physical

conditions of the built environment, and general living conditions of residents. Photographs were labeled by address or intersection and served as reference for data recorded on basemaps. Moreover, the photographs provided a valuable and informative supplement to the survey, at times facilitating corroboration or questioning of data compiled therein.

Data Analysis

In keeping with the mixed methods approach, analysis of compiled data integrates both qualitative and quantitative techniques, ranging from discourse analysis and code assignment to testing of statistically significant relationships and examination of spatial distribution of data. This combination of analytical techniques allows for interpretation of results to be informed by triangulation, i.e. reference to multiple sources of data analyzed through a variety of proven techniques, lessening the likelihood of misinterpretation.

Upon completion of the survey, all responses were compiled into Microsoft Excel spreadsheets, one for each study area. For the ease of analysis and interpretation, I translated all open responses into English, with assistance when required. Although translation at this early stage of data processing could introduce error and bias, it was deemed necessary for ongoing review, preliminary communication of results, and compatibility with qualitative and quantitative data analysis software. Closed responses were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics software to determine distribution and frequency of responses as well as statistical relationships between and amongst subgroups. Responses to open-ended questions were coded and analyzed using Provalis Research QDA Miner software. As open responses were liberally used by respondents, their inclusion in the survey was valuable to the research. A codebook (see Appendix G) was

generated from the responses and used to categorize key concepts and popular attitudes for the purpose of determining frequencies across the survey.

Interviews were similarly coded for key concepts and ideas that emerged in conversation or through email exchanges with professionals and government officials. These codes were tallied within and across interviews to determine the most commonly repeated terms and underscore principal areas of concern and shared recommendations. Additionally, interview transcripts and notes have been reviewed to isolate and consider highlighted examples of preservation decision-making, reference to specific policy, agencies and bureaucratic bodies, and anecdotal information. This content has helped inform interpretation of survey data, observations, and other information compiled during fieldwork and in review of policy documents and relevant literature. Supplemental data from study area observations and investigations, including photographic documentation have provided additional reference for the spatial organization of data and its relationship to the neighborhoods studied.

Challenges

As with any research, a number of difficulties presented themselves over the course of the fieldwork. Perhaps most challenging was the lack of access to local community data and availability of modern historic maps of the study areas. In Beijing, I found it impossible to gather local demographic data during the course of my fieldwork, as I was turned away by neighborhood offices holding these data. Luckily, I was able to send a research assistant who was successful in procuring these data. This highlights the challenge that foreign researchers have working in China, as government officials are often hesitant to provide data rightfully available to them. In Pingyao, despite strong working relationships with local officials, I was

unsuccessful in procuring similar data, but was able to refer to household data gathered during previous research on the Fanjia Jie portion of the study area.

Detailed maps revealing land use and clear boundaries of designated preservation districts were extremely difficult to acquire in both study areas. Despite official contacts in both places and discovery of low-resolution versions of land use maps that would have been helpful, it proved impossible to procure higher quality maps with sufficient clarity and legibility to ascertain the necessary data. At many turns, interviewees and researchers who were incredibly collegial and undoubtedly helpful in so many ways were adamant in their refusal to share detailed basemaps produced by the government, thus revealing even the limitations of *guanxi*. As a result, mapping data presented herein have been gathered from a variety of sources that include low-resolution maps provided by contacts, mapping data gathered from internet sources like GoogleEarth, Baidu.com, and qq.com, as well as observations recorded and mapped as part of the fieldwork. Although I purchased a number of hard copy maps from specialized sources, they proved to be far less detailed and accurate than online references.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research is to identify the principal factors that contribute to neighborhood preservation within a Chinese urban context. To this end, the research employs a mixed methods design that responds to a pragmatist epistemological framework and integrates data collection techniques capable of compiling different types of information from a variety of sources. The design simultaneously facilitates documentation of the current physical and social character of studied neighborhoods and identification of the principal contributing influences. The mixed methods model best integrates data collection techniques that recognize the interdependence of

the subject of study and its context. Furthermore, integration of a case study model greatly assists in the generalizability of the study by requiring research results to have applicability in more than one specific setting.

Translating this theoretical research design to the field resulted in a two-case study model with embedded mixed methods: each case study serves as the larger context within which data collection methods are conducted. In this case, two historic neighborhoods in two distinct Chinese cities serve as the case studies and are subjected to all methods of data compilation to facilitate comparison of resulting findings. These two study areas were chosen because of their larger shared socio-cultural and political history as historic urban areas within China on the one hand, and their multiple dissimilarities in terms of heritage protection, economic development, and social composition, on the other. These characteristics provide comparable subjects with important local distinctions that will serve to inform generalizable results.

Employed data collection methods comprise a survey of study area residents, interviews of government officials and preservation professionals, and neighborhood investigation and documentation. The survey serves as an instrument to capture the social character of the study areas, record perspectives on preservation policy and practice, and identify factors contributing to the neighborhood composition. Interviews of practicing professionals and government representatives supplement local resident views with official perspectives and insight into decision-making processes and policy tools. Neighborhood investigation and documentation provides necessary information on the physical composition and social interaction of the study areas that serve as context for other data collection and help to corroborate and challenge compiled information.

Finally, analysis of the compiled data adheres to the mixed methods model, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches to inquire into the relationships between key variables and the significance of neighborhood characteristics. Statistical analysis and coding of recurring concepts provides the key tools for investigation of survey data and interview transcripts. Spatial analysis serves to consider the physical distribution of data and illustrate the composition of communities and their built environment. Together, the analytical methods employed provide the tools necessary to interpret the compiled data and answer the research question. The following chapter presents a literature review that underpins the research question and informs the theoretical framework for the research.

Chapter 3 – Literature Review

Approaching the research question at hand requires consideration of a broad body of literature ranging from urban conservation philosophy and practice to urban policy and planning within a uniquely Chinese context. The many topics and subtopics of the preservation literature encompass early and current theoretical definitions of ‘heritage’ and ‘preservation’, treatises on the politics of built heritage and its management, technical references that serve to enumerate decision-making processes and analytical methods both *in* and *ex situ*, and copious considerations of the complex relationship between the heritage industry and tourism. The breadth of this literature demands winnowing the scholarly and professional references that inform this research down to: 1) seminal works setting forth key principles and concepts of urban conservation, and 2) literature most relevant to the specific contexts of the case studies enumerated in the previous chapter.

Employing this selection strategy informs determination of themes and subjects essential to developing a theoretical framework for the research, which seeks to determine the principal factors in decision-making for preservation of built heritage in designated historic urban settings in China. First and foremost of these themes is a consideration of the terms and concepts that compose the research questions: heritage, preservation, and Chinese urban politics. Further parsing highlights the need to consider the Chinese context in light of its socio-economic and political development and the distinct challenges and opportunities that lie therein. As the research has an additional objective of developing recommendations for good practice in urban

preservation applicable not only to the Chinese context, but also to similar developing world settings, the consideration of relevant literature is valuable. Furthermore, since the research question focusing on factors contributing to preservation decision-making has not been adequately addressed in China-specific literature, it is necessary to consider all available references capable of developing the research framework and informing recommendations for urban conservation in the developing world.

This chapter reviews the available body of literature that relates to urban heritage in the developing world and the socio-political and economic processes that underpin its protection. Discussion of key concepts like ‘heritage’ heads the chapter, followed by consideration of preservation practice and its development. These discussions are intermingled with specific consideration of literature on the Chinese and comparable contexts, as well as review of relevant developing world references. Work on tourism and heritage preservation in similar contexts is also considered, particularly in terms of social and economic impact.

Defining Cultural Heritage

The concept of built heritage⁷ encompasses a number of assumptions about the value of the past, its relationship to individual and group identity, and the significance of physical remains. Perhaps most unique to tangible heritage is its direct connection to history: a relic of the past was designed, produced, and used by a person or people in a moment of time that is irrecoverable. A subset of tangible heritage, built heritage, which refers to buildings, archaeological sites, and

⁷ This term is used to mean any erected structure imbued with significance, whether cultural, historic, artistic, scientific, social, religious, or any mix thereof. It is a general term for constructed sites of value that does not necessarily indicate associated legal designation or protection. The term refers to a subset of *tangible heritage*, which also includes artwork and museum holdings, and is in contrast to *intangible heritage*, which refers to customs, knowledge, and practices, among other things.

other human-made spaces deemed to be of socio-cultural value, is of particular significance because it has served to shape social, economic, and even political interactions and bound events within a community, defining the physical space in which the past occurred, while further giving form and meaning to cultural landscapes, urban townscapes, and places of memory. The concept of built heritage can be likened to a physical manifestation of Bourdieu's *habitus*,⁸ a context for human interaction that is itself imbued with significance and identity. Furthermore, these historic places tend to have a long history of use and reuse, bearing accretions that are emblematic of human impact and reflect the historical contexts of which they were part. As sizable productions representing substantial resources, historic structures also have long-term utility that makes them a fixture of the socio-historical landscape and, ultimately, entwines them with local, regional, and sometimes global identity.

Lowenthal (1985) observes that humankind has a penchant for attempting to reclaim or even re-create the past, which is in his view attractive because of four intrinsic qualities he identifies as antiquity, continuity, termination, and sequence. Each of these, Lowenthal claims, contributes to a vision of history that is primordial and finite with a descriptive sequentiality made further approachable by the hindsight of the present. Thus, the individual of the present is capable of appreciating a holistic view of past events, periods, and lives that encompasses a sequence of events and developments contributing to the idea of history. In built heritage, this snapshot of sequentiality is often evident in physical accretions, layers of additions and changes to historic fabric that occupy the same space, but are separated by time and meaning.

⁸ See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990) for an elaborate discussion of his concept of *habitus* as the context for social interaction and mores.

Cosgrove (1984) notes that ‘transhistorical symbols’, as he refers to the built heritage, are not easily parsed out according to their specific aesthetic or meaning. He considers cultural products, in which he includes social landscapes, to have a principally two-fold nature integrating both the physical interaction between human activity and materials, and the social process of mediation of the human experience through the physical world. Relying heavily on Sahlins (1976), Cosgrove highlights all production as a “unified and material social process” that integrates cultural symbolism with the tangible product (1984:59). He further claims that modern society is so focused on commodification and the utility of production that we are unable to see this link in the present and aim to divorce the symbolic from the material when looking back on history. However, his argument suggests that vestiges of the past are direct links not simply to the technology of manufacture, but to the social processes and contemporary values interwoven within the act of production. In other words, heritage provides an opportunity to understand its historic context.

Riegl (1903), writing nearly a hundred years earlier than both Lowenthal and Cosgrove, suggests not only the sequentiality of the past in and of itself, but highlights its important foundational relationship to the present. In his words, “everything that succeeds was conditioned by what came before and would not have occurred in the manner in which it did if not for those precedents” (Riegl 1903:70). Riegl ties together the aesthetic and historic value of all monuments of age, underscoring their representative value as examples of artistic creation at a given point in time and, more importantly, as representative of a stage of human development. Much like Lowenthal, who considers the attraction of the past, Riegl analyzes the monument in terms of its intrinsic qualities, both as a commemorative tool and as a present-day commodity. He identifies a monument’s commemorative value as an integration of age, historical value (representative of

a specific period of time), and deliberate commemorative value (the intention of a monument to withstand the ravages of time and incite an emotion or association with the past). On the other hand, he also highlights the importance of present-day relationships to these places in their valuation: “the term ‘monument’ ... can only be meant subjectively, not objectively. We modern viewers, rather than the works themselves by virtue of their original purpose, assign meaning and significance to a monument” (Riegl 1903:72). The concept of the monument is contradictory in its capacity to represent the past and the requirement that it live in the present, maintained for contemporary use and societal re-valuation.

Social thinker and architectural theorist John Ruskin wrote of monuments that they “are not ours. They belong to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us. The dead still have their right in them: that which they labored for, the praise of achievement or the expression of religious feeling, or whatsoever else it might be which in those buildings they intended to be permanent, we have no right to obliterate” (1865:163). Ruskin’s mid-century argument famously contradicted the concepts of his French contemporary Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, who freely modified historic structures throughout France to match the physical form and aesthetic he presumed original builders had intended or wished they could achieve.⁹ Contrary to this approach, Ruskin’s contention was that built monuments were imbued with meaning that should be respected. The significance integrated into these structures not only belongs to the original builders, but is the possession of all those who used, admired, or in some way interacted with them over time. Furthermore, Ruskin suggests that these relics of the past

⁹Viollet-le-Duc published his widely acclaimed *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* soon after Ruskin’s *The Lamp of Memory*. He is recognized as a structural rationalist and important architectural theorist, considered by some as the first modern architectural theorist. One of his most controversial projects, the restoration of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, is presently being restored by the French government to remove his many additions and changes to the Romanesque basilica, today deemed inappropriate.

embody a common social history, no longer intact, but accessible through their medium (Savile 2000). James Marston Fitch echoed this thought nearly 150 years after Ruskin by stating that the “comprehensive protection of such monuments and artifacts, and the scholarly examination of the theories and techniques that produced them, is of central importance to our cultural future” (1990:23). Focus, therefore, is placed on the protection and examination of the physical, so as to understand the sentiment (Ruskin) and the technology (Fitch) of an otherwise irrecoverable past for generations to come.

More recently, Laurajane Smith has developed Riegl’s suggestion that the significance of heritage emanates from present-day processes and overlaid values. Smith notes that “heritage [is] a process of engagement , an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present” (2006:1). This view “deprivileges” the physicality of historic places or any places deemed ‘heritage’ and underscores the present social processes that encircle them, thus highlighting the importance of iterative attribution of value. She goes on to note “what makes the collection of rock in a field ‘Stonehenge’ – are the present-day cultural processes and activities that are undertaken at and around them, and of which they become a part” (Smith 2006:3). In Smith’s view, the value of heritage is not intrinsic to it and not imbued in the past, but rather an ongoing assignation on the part of society or a given community in the present. Although she is quick to highlight the importance of extant physical vestiges of the past, she aims to highlight that the process of value assignation occurs in the present.

As modern-day scholars and practitioners revisit and reinterpret the past through its tangible vestiges, contemporary values are inseparably integrated into preservation and interpretation efforts. As per Lowenthal, Cosgrove, and Riegl, any tangible link to the past is imbued with

historic significance and layers of meaning to which modern society adds. Because of this, built heritage spans a broad spectrum of forms and intended uses, the definition of which is both fixed in the past and dynamic in the present. These include the vernacular and the monumental, the religious and the secular, the popular and the arcane, to name a few. As per Riegl, any of these sites may have an additional modern value of usefulness, as 'living' places that are actively inhabited or otherwise reused. Conversely, historic structures may be left abandoned and unused in present times. While Lowenthal and others might suggest that all sites, ruins or living, possess intrinsic value rooted in the context of their creation, association with their builders and occupants, and the social and technological characteristics they comprise, other views such as those espoused by Smith highlight that all associated significance of these places comes from a current socio-cultural process of value assignation. These apparently divergent views serve to define the built heritage as a physical vestige of the past that is simultaneously the focus of complex and iterative processes carried out by communities today. However, the specific view and interpretation of built heritage that becomes part of the official heritage rhetoric is greatly impacted also by questions of power and politics. Thus, the role of politics and power in heritage decision-making will be discussed later in this chapter.

Preservation and practice

Lowenthal highlights the birth of heritage protection and valorization as “Western in origin, language, and leadership” (2004:22). The professional and academic discipline of heritage preservation indeed grew out of substantial postwar efforts in Europe to rebuild, re-create, and re-establish not only individual buildings, but entire neighborhoods and districts destroyed or severely damaged by the ravages of WWII. Concerns over adequate protection of the extant historic fabric and the veracity of techniques, materials, and forms of reconstructions led to the

first international charter on preservation of the built heritage. The 1964 International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, known as the ‘Venice Charter’, represented the efforts of primarily European architects to establish guidelines for the conservation of the built environment that would serve as a “more restrictive and scientific approach” (Meurs 2007:53). Although the exclusive focus of the document is the protection of the physical fabric of buildings and monuments, there is mention of context and the values and traditions these structures represent (Taylor 2004). However, the clear intent of the Venice Charter was to set forth guidelines for the protection of the historic built environment with a singular concern for the preservation of the original physical elements as bearers of implicit socio-cultural value.

This unique concern for the physical fabric of individual monuments and buildings has since evolved into interest in groups of buildings, landscapes, townscapes, and specific places. The concepts of *place* and *cultural significance* were first formally integrated into heritage guidelines in the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (“Burra Charter”) in 1979 (Ahmad 2006). Defined in Article 1 of the charter, these two terms represent some of the principal contributions of the document to heritage preservation practice in Australia and around the world. They underscore the significance of the built environment as a whole, rather than singular buildings or monuments, and recognize the socio-cultural values that are intrinsic to the physical fabric. Geared towards historic preservation practitioners rather than policy makers, the charter includes procedural guidelines for the assessment of significance that integrate both physical and socio-cultural aspects of value. Taylor notes that the Burra Charter provides “a philosophy and methodology for conservation which link management of places of cultural significance to the assessment of cultural values and the preparation of a statement of

significance” (2004:425). In addition to these important conceptual and methodological contributions that now serve as a standard for heritage management and conservation, the charter emphasizes the protection of the original fabric, its integrity, and authenticity. This tangible trifecta is intrinsic to Western heritage concepts, on the one hand providing historical evidence and signs of the continuity of a site or place through time and, on the other hand, the veracity of its form, composition, and technique.

Development of heritage practice and concerns on a global scale introduced additional concepts of authenticity and integrity that, in particular, serve to undermine the Western reliance on original physical fabric. Some significant heritage sites within Asia have no extant original fabric, either through continued renewal and repair or because the actual location of the heritage remains unknown. As an example of the former, the Ise Shrine in Japan has undergone the ritual *shikinen sengû*, a ceremonial disassembly and reconstruction of the shrine that occurs every 20 years, since the end of the 7th century, and privileges safeguarding of the technique and building technology (Tokoro 2001). In another example, the government of the People’s Republic of China created in 1954 an expansive and imaginative mausoleum for Genghis Khan, founder of the Yuan Dynasty, despite the fact that traditional mausolea were mobile and the body of the Mongol who died in the 13th century has never been found, purposely hidden somewhere on the vast steppe (Man 2004). These examples provide evidence of the distinct concepts of built heritage that were incongruous with the spirit of early heritage charters.

The Nara Document on Authenticity, drafted in 1994, responded to this oversight in differing concepts of heritage and its relation to physical and original fabric. As Taylor notes, the Nara Document “proposes that authenticity judgments may be linked to a variety of information

sources” that can include “form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions and techniques; location and setting; and spirit and feeling” (2004:430). This new professional and philosophical guideline for heritage protection thus recognizes that significance is not necessarily bound only to physical fabric, but may be associated with function, practice, and even sentiment. As a result, the methodology for significance assessment laid out by the Burra Charter must incorporate consideration of these values and their contribution to the significance of the cultural resource. National and regionally directed charters such as the Hoi An Protocols, the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (“China Principles”), and the Indonesia Charter for Heritage Conservation, to name a few, have attempted to localize heritage preservation and address challenges rooted in the socio-economic and cultural context of specific nations and Asia generally.

Scholars have often discussed this phenomenon in terms of an East-West dichotomy, despite the application of many of these principles to diverse settings. Qian (2007) highlights the concepts of renewal and replacement as an Asian practice and suggests that the China Principles reveal an official emphasis on western conservation philosophy. Nonetheless, China in 2011 passed a law on the protection of intangible heritage, eight years after UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which highlighted the significance of practices, representations, skills, and knowledge deemed intrinsic to cultural identity. The ceremonial repainting of centuries-old Buddhist wall paintings in Tibetan monasteries is a sanctioned cultural practice,¹⁰ but at odds with the preservation philosophy set out by the Venice and Burra

¹⁰ At the five-centuries old Dhe-Tsang Monastery (大藏寺) in the Amdo region of northwestern Sichuan Province, one area of impressive wall paintings is repainted in an annual ceremony due to the damage caused by spring thaw of ice trapped beneath two party masonry walls. Although the techniques and materials currently used are incompatible with the original fabric and mar the aesthetic of the original work, the religious and cultural value of the ceremony is paramount to the resident monastic community.

charters. A number of cultural practices around the world involve the renewal of historic places or physical markers symbolic of an ethereal heritage that are themselves without inherent significance. As a result, the philosophy and practice of heritage management and conservation have developed in recent years to embrace both tangible and intangible forms of cultural production. As Ahmad notes, “[b]y the end of the 20th century, the scope of heritage, in general, was agreed internationally to include *tangible* and *intangible heritage* as well as *environments*” (2006:298, emphasis original). In recent years, a number of scholars from multiple disciplines have investigated the intangible and ethereal value of place, practice, and function (Anderson 2006; Appadurai 1986; Handler 1988; Hayden 1997) and this literature continues to impact the practice of preservation. This movement includes the growing discussions and World Heritage Center recognition of landscapes, highlighting not only specific built heritage and sites, but including their entire geographically bounded socio-cultural context.

Practice and politics

The decision to preserve one or more of the layers of significance of a place is a form of political action, through which selected associations to place, such as Hayden’s (1997) *place memories* or de Certeau’s (1984) *stories*, are privileged by interpretation and protection over other similar associations. Relevant physical manifestations of these associations are similarly protected or neglected. Preservation establishes a rhetoric of significance presented and interpreted for posterity that serves to exclude and marginalize other layers of meaning. The creation of designated historic districts and the protection of singular monuments that are simultaneously interpreted and protected formally define the place association according to the privileged history. This act further serves to limit access and use of a place, disenfranchising communities and individuals with their own, previously unhindered, association to the place in question.

Preservation, thus, has the potential to deny some stakeholders reification of their own place associations through controlled use, limited access, and lack of recognition of their socio-cultural and physical claim to the place.

Much of the literature on the politics of heritage practice has focused on the very tangible processes of archaeology and related cultural tourism. On one hand, scholars identify archaeology as a tool of governments to promote specific agendas and control socio-cultural conflict (Smith 2004). On the other, archaeologists and other heritage professionals take on the mantle of creating culture and heritage, often intricately interwoven with the process of establishing national identity and, more recently, legitimizing and coalescing sub-group identity (Kohl 1998; Meskell 2002; Meskell 2005). Casting the heritage process as an application of moral relativism, whether promoted by government or by scholars, Meskell states in no uncertain terms that the “creation of heritage is a culturally generative act that is intrinsically political. Heritage consultants and archaeologists could be said to invent culture, and, in the process, constitute heritage” (2005:127). Thus, the act of preservation, including herein the processes of discovery, study, and documentation, serve to establish a formalized and sanctioned “story”, to use de Certeau’s terminology, of a place. The overseers of this act, most often a governing or academic elite, are then responsible for the values and definitions of significance privileged by this process.¹¹

As established in the Burra Charter, assessment of heritage places should discover overlapping and competing values of different stakeholders with the intent of preserving and interpreting

¹¹ I have recently published a consideration of these concerns through analysis of the fate of Gurna, an agglomeration of hamlets built atop the Pharaonic necropolis of Luxor’s West Bank, in Egypt. See Jonathan S. Bell, “Politics of Preservation: Privileging One Heritage over Another,” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 20 (2013): 431-450.

them to the extent possible. Determination of these values requires that each stakeholder group has representation or 'voice' amongst the assessors and decision-makers, calling on a public sphere of communication and rational decision-making similar to the communicative action approaches espoused by Habermas (1984; 1989). Already a difficult pursuit in developed countries that tend to have some form of sanctioned participation in governance and established community-based or non-governmental organizations that serve to represent community interests, ensuring local stakeholder participation in decision-making in the developing world is particularly challenging. High rates of illiteracy, inability to organize, fear of retribution, and lack of official channels of participation in government create a great divide between decision-makers and impacted stakeholders.

Urban Heritage and the Developing World

Literature on the conflict between historic sites and development underscores the grave challenge of protecting heritage in the face of rampant, sometimes unfettered, urbanization and modernization, particularly in the developing world. Dix (1990) and Steinberg (1996) highlight the challenges of urban conservation and the need for rehabilitation to focus on sustainability of both architecture and their resident communities through efforts that preserve physical fabric while providing for responses to changing urban needs. Serageldin (1999) highlights the precarious nature of urban heritage in the face of development and difficulty of economic valuation of such resources. Drawing from approaches used in environmental economics, he stresses the importance of analyzing costs and benefits of heritage protection in terms of all stakeholders, effectively internalizing its positive externalities and defining heritage as a public good, while considering its relationship to tourism. Many authors engage with the complex relationship between tourism and heritage, highlighting their mutual reliance and the threat of

poorly managed tourism on historic resources and communities (Hampton 2005; McIntosh and C. Prentice 1999; Nasser 2003). While tourism is necessary to fund the preservation and management of historic resources, it threatens the very existence and values of these places, as well as the lives of resident communities.

Urbanization

In 2008, the world's population crossed the threshold into an urban age, in which the majority of the globe for the first time is born into, lives, works, and dies in cities. According to estimates, developing nations will account for 93% of urban growth through 2040, placing incredible pressures on already densely populated centers for additional housing, infrastructure, and service delivery. The need to accommodate additional population within cities of all sizes ultimately leads to redevelopment, urban expansion, and informal settlement and economic activity overlaid on the existing townscape. These pressures are particularly relevant to the urban built environment as a whole and individual historic structures and groups of buildings. As Al-Houdalieh and Sauders (2009) note, urban centers with the highest population density have similarly high concentrations of cultural heritage sites, compounding the preservation challenge for the largest and fastest growing cities throughout the developing world. This doubly high density and the limitations of available land within urban centers threaten cultural heritage sites with destruction, in order to allow for new development or reprogrammed land use, and degradation from immediately adjacent development. Wu Liangyong (2010) has noted that, in the Chinese context, addressing these challenges and planning for growing urbanization cannot rely on Western models or experience, given China's cultural and politico-historical uniqueness.

Bolay, Pedrazzini, and Rabinovich (2000) highlight two principal contradictions that arise in response to urbanization: the growth of wealth and concentration of power among the few, despite the growing population and expansion of local democracy; and the spatial expansion of the urban fabric and deficit in basic infrastructure and service provision (e.g. transportation, schools, water, and sanitation) necessary to welcome new residents. The strain placed on urban centers by rapid growth of population represents a key challenge to the preservation of the built environment: economic growth and the need for greater infrastructure and services encourage redevelopment in crowded cities where available land is of prime value. Investment, which spurs on economic growth, privileges new physical development while insufficient housing stock and lack of appropriate employment opportunities result in the creation of informal settlements (e.g. slums, squatter villages) and growth of informal economic activity, both of which lie outside the realm of traditional regulation (Solinger 2006; Solinger 2002; Zhang 1997).

Bromley notes that informality in commerce and settlement has a robust presence in many of the developing world's urban centers "because of the demand from their low-income inhabitants and because of their centrality" (1998:245). The concentration of older, often poorly maintained housing stock in urban centers has often resulted in a similarly high density of urban poor who rely on affordable access to housing, services, employment, and education, which often results in a web of informality within historic city centers. Bromley (1998) highlights that government efforts in Quito to generate investment, attract tourism, and preserve historic urban centers according to strict concepts of heritage preservation have targeted the informal commerce, particularly those forms with a clear physical presence. In Beijing, redevelopment of the historic city center, whether sensitive or inappropriate, resulted in the relocation of thousands of urban residents to new communities in the city's outskirts, often in areas not yet supplied by important

infrastructure (e.g. transportation, sanitation, public services). Redevelopment and accompanying relocation of this type removed long-term residents from their physical, social, and professional contexts and robbed them of the informal networks upon which they relied for survival, while offering minimal, if any, service provisions as substitution (Campanella 2008; Fang and Zhang 2003; Shin 2010; Wu, Xu, and Yeh 2007; Wu 1999). The ultimate result, in Quito as in Beijing, has been gentrification of these historic areas, incorporating focused efforts to attract wealthier inhabitants and additional tourists to historic centers cleansed of the physical signs of urban informality, often integral to the lifestyle of generations of urban poor (Gu and Ryan 2008; Gu and Ryan 2012; Shin 2010; Solinger 2013). Indeed, these aspects of informality, from the form of settlements to commerce and services are themselves often integral to the historic functioning of the built environment and require protection.

At the other extreme lies the lack of protection for historic resources that results in rampant redevelopment in historic centers or new development at city outskirts, as urban centers are forced to expand under the pressures of growing populations and increased land values. Inadequate preservation policy and enforcement for heritage sites not only within the historic center, but also at the expanding edge of the city, provide opportunity for the encroachment of development on sites previously unthreatened by urban expansion. As the urban core expands in response to the pressures of urbanization, it envelops outlying built environments that may be of historic and cultural value. Urban expansion highlights an additional area of potentially inadequate protection and unclear jurisdiction that may cause irreparable damage to or irrevocable loss of historic built environments. Al-Houdalieh and Sauders (2009) underscore the threat of such expansion in the context of poor regulation of development in Ramallah, Palestine. In China, this example has been seen again and again in the loss of significant sites and entire

neighborhoods within the urban core (Abramson 2001; Leaf 1995; Ren 2013; Sorkin 2008; Wang 2003).

The challenge of encouraging urban economic growth and preserving the built environment with its associated historic social values has caused some scholars to call for new forms of urban rehabilitation that encourage economic viability of integrated urban environments. In particular Dix (1990) and Steinberg (1996) highlight the importance of sustainable urban rehabilitation that promotes and protects the significance and spirit of the built environment while allowing for interventions that respond to the needs of a growing population and general changes in the urban composition. Steinberg calls for approaches that “‘sustain’...the typical and essential qualities of the historic city areas, and of the life of the resident communities, but which can also adapt these physical structures and economic activities in accordance with the needs of the present” (1996:472). Thus, policy protecting historic structures and their context require the flexibility to allow for changes appropriate to the needs of the urban population, e.g. adaptive reuse, sensitive additions, and controlled modifications to land use and zoning regulation. Such flexibility allows for important modernization, subdivision, and reprogrammed use of historic housing stock that can respond to the pressures of rampant urban growth and ensures that the protected built environment remains not only relevant, but economically viable (Bonette 2001; Rizzo and Throsby 2006; Schuster 1997; Tweed and Sutherland 2007). Thus, historic structures and their neighborhoods serve to fund their own maintenance and contribute to the economic activity of the city.

This proposed approach of economic sustainability contributes to the argument against international charters and guidelines that promote the untouchable nature of the historic urban

fabric. As opposed to a focus on the historic fabric and function of urban environments that are the subject of preservation, urbanization pressures demand an insistence on the spirit and sense of place to ensure the urban core and its extending fringes remain dynamic and economically and environmentally sustainable. Dix comments that “planning is concerned with the future of settlements and regions and involves selecting from a range of possibilities those that will most benefit the greatest number of people and contribute to their welfare and to the improvement of the environment” (1990:405). Of course, efforts must be made to preserve the historic fabric and designated monuments to the extent possible, when their established significance requires. However, preservation efforts and related policy require a district-wide approach to ensure protection of an historic and cultural context that remains relevant and fiscally responsible to the changing city. In response to this development in urban conservation theory and practice, UNESCO has promoted the concept of Historic Urban Landscapes, aiming to set standards for the consideration of the historic district and all its attributes in lieu of the isolated monument (Araoz 2008; Bandarin and Van Oers 2012; Jokilehto 2010; van Oers and Roders 2013; van Oers 2007). The practice of preservation and good practice standards continue to evolve alongside the theory of urban heritage and perceived needs on the ground.

Tourism

It is impossible to consider the protection of cultural heritage in the developing world without looking carefully at the opportunities and challenges that cultural tourism presents. Long seen as the ‘cash cow’ of the built environment, many countries and localities have focused on the development of cultural tourism as a way to generate revenue for locals, attract severely needed foreign currency, and serve as the motor for regional socio-economic development. Nonetheless, the successes of tourism can be elusive, and promotion of visitation without proper regulation

and controls can result in the irreparable loss and degradation of historic sites, as well as bring irreversible change to the built environment and its socio-cultural characteristics. The double-edged sword of cultural tourism requires careful planning and the establishment of regulatory tools to ensure it contributes to the protection of the built environment and the development of the surrounding communities without causing irreparable harm.

Cultural heritage has the great potential to attract tourists who arrive to experience a place, its historic sites, environment, and its intangible culture. Of most interest to governments, businesses, and local workers is the revenue generated by this singular act that incorporates not only sightseeing, but spending in the form of hotel stays, restaurant meals, transportation, shopping, and entry fees. These externalities of tourism can represent substantial contributions to local economies and often comprise the bulk of funds used for the management and maintenance of historic resources. Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher note that “the high costs involved in the conservation of cultural heritage make the revenue from tourism indispensable...and tourism, at least theoretically, offers the opportunity to generate income for the local community while simultaneously supporting the preservation of its culture” (2005:33). This potential for a mutually beneficial relationship between heritage management and tourism has further encouraged tourism development in many cases, though its successful application requires further consideration.

The ability of tourism to bring with it foreign currency and investment has catapulted it to the frontline of development strategies in multiple contexts. As the industry and related infrastructure have expanded and become more established around the world, less developed countries (LDCs) have been encouraged to welcome tourism as a strategy for economic growth

by such agencies as the World Bank and the OECD (Hampton 2005). Almost immediately after reforms were announced in China in 1978, Deng Xiaoping promulgated a rhetoric of economic growth and development bolstered by the introduction of foreign currency from international heritage tourism (Xiao 2006; Zhang, Pine, and Lam 2005). This alignment of tourism and growth led to the development of an institutionalized system of heritage protection (Sofield and Li 1998) and oversight within China as well as the establishment of tourism as one of the country's strategies for growth (Tisdell and Wen 1991). Aas et al. (2005) highlight the real potential for generating income from tourism for the conservation of Luang Prabang in Laos, but stress that this approach requires effective and appropriate stakeholder involvement.

Indeed, generating income from cultural tourism demands a number of coordination efforts related to stakeholder involvement, management of tourism and related revenue, and a supportive political environment and structure to ensure proper distribution of revenue. Hampton (2005) and Aas et al. (2005) both highlight Southeast Asia cases of economic generation from cultural tourism challenged by insufficient governmental planning and support despite growing tourism spending. Part of the challenge results from an inability or unwillingness to modify "top-down" planning approaches to integrate local community stakeholders and better respond to their needs and capacities, effectively broadening a single-minded focus on economic development to include socio-cultural sensitivities. The negative impact of this type of tourism has been studied in the Chinese context and highlights results ranging from damage and overuse to devaluation by local stakeholders of heritage places, as well as permanent change in both tangible and intangible resources, largely due to the rampant growth of domestic tourism (Gu and Ryan 2008; Nyíri 2006; Oakes 1998; Qu, Ennew, and Sinclair 2005; Sofield and Li 1998). Hampton (2005) considers that small businesses and the informal sector (e.g. hawkers) tend to contribute more

directly to the local economy through greater reliance on locally sourced products and services. Thus, planning efforts to support local economic growth require facilitating stakeholder involvement and assessing capacities to inform approaches to tourism-related growth.

However, lack of stakeholder involvement at the outset, coupled with expanding tourism, have the potential to prevent local communities from benefitting from economic growth. Tourism development often outgrows the capacity of local entrepreneurs, ultimately relinquishing ownership of the industry and resulting profits to large commercial entities, while locals are forced to deal with the inconvenience of large numbers of visitors, negative impacts on the environment, and changes in their daily lives (Milne and Ateljevic 2001). Similarly, the economic benefits of tourism as a principal source of revenue may be so controlled by a business or political elite as to reflect the political economy of a *rentier* state,¹² disenfranchising stakeholder communities and preventing substantial local benefits (Richter and Steiner 2008). While the links between revenue and tourism are established, the challenge to development derives from the capacity of states to facilitate and enforce local benefit from national and international receipts.

In investigating the significance of the “scenic spot” in China, Nyíri identifies the long history of culturally important places, their reproduction, and their visitation as a “culturally approved activity for the gentry” (2006:7). These scenic spots, often natural sites, were codified in a literary and pictorial tradition of poetry and landscape painting that continue to attract tourists

¹² This term refers to sovereign political entities that obtain large portions of national revenue from commodification (rent or sale) of indigenous resources to external bodies. The reliance on external funding sources typically denotes the presence of a poorly implemented system of taxation (or none at all), therefore resulting in minimal accountability to its citizens. Oil-producing nations in the Middle East have traditionally been seen as typical examples of rentier states due to the large percentage of national revenue derived from petroleum and the lesser levels of democratic patterns of governance. See Hazem Beblawi “The Rentier State in the Arab World,” *The Arab State* (1990): 85-98.

today. In the age of commercialization and modern tourism, however, a number of new destinations have been created and codified through imagined historical links and justifications, such as cultural theme parks, historic villages, and sites recreated from conjecture on historically inaccurate locations. Creating new attractions reflects the effort to redistribute tourism and attract a portion of the industry to new locales, contributing to local development. This phenomenon notwithstanding, the question remains whether local communities are able to benefit directly from the tourism in their 'backyard'. As Nyíri notes, "most of the entrepreneurs who profit from large-scale tourism are not locals, but rather outsiders who move in with the tourism" (2006:86), suggesting that cultural tourism does not bring revenue and extended benefits of development to local communities. Competition can provide opportunity to business-savvy outsiders rather than direct benefits to local stakeholders and surrounding communities. If well managed, tourism can contribute to local development, attracting revenue that becomes accessible to and, at least in part, is controlled by local communities and governments. These considerations are particularly poignant within China given the glaring reality of rapidly growing domestic tourism that represents a socio-economic and political force with which local entities and national economics struggle to reconcile.

Serageldin (1999) warns against tourism as the most common proxy for heritage resource valuation because it measures only a single dimension of use value and denies existence value. In other words, tourism represents only one interest of heritage and cannot serve to represent the entire spectrum of values, associations, and uses that come from cultural heritage. However, given its economic power, tourism often becomes the most influential force around many heritage sites and impacts preservation and interpretation decision-making. Many authors engage with the complex relationship between tourism and heritage, highlighting the threat of poorly

managed tourism on historic resources and communities (McIntosh and C. Prentice 1999; Nasser 2003). While tourism is necessary to fund the preservation and management of historic resources, it threatens the very existence and values of these places, as well as the lives of adjacent communities (Baud and Ypeij 2009; Li 2004; Oakes 1998; Xu 1999).

As a mass act of cultural consumption, tourism has enormous impact on the perceived significance and associations of a place (Katz-Gerro 2004; Oakes 2009). Hall (2003) identifies tourism as an inherently political power struggle that results in the domination of tourists over the indigenous population. This perceived subjugation further accords tourists a simplified or “flattened” history that supersedes all others for the sake of presentation. As a result, says Hall, the historic precinct tends to tell the story of the elite involved in a place, often overlooking the underclasses intimately involved in its past creation or present-day activity. Tourism calls for a hegemonic interpretation of a site: one story with simplistic message that is presented and repeated for the sake of outsiders expecting a simple take-away lesson or message. McKercher and du Cros note that tourism even requires transformation of the cultural resource “to make it appealing and relevant to the tourist” and “simple and singular in its theme” (2002:127). Tourists appear to occupy a Gramscian cultural hegemony that privileges their simplified understanding of the sites they visit and comes to represent the principal interpretation that is globally adopted.¹³ This argument adds a socio-cultural perspective to Britton’s (1982) claim that international tourism in the developing world exacerbates geographic economic disparities and ultimately establishes a foreign-owned industry that provides questionable benefits to local communities.

¹³ See T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities." *The American Historical Review* 90(1985): 567-593 for an overview of Gramsci’s concept.

Nasser (2003) underscores the socio-cultural threats imposed on historic places by international cultural tourism, as economic interests overwhelm other aspects of heritage. Expectations and needs of tourists to maximize the heritage experience often preclude necessary changes and growth of living settlements and sites. As tourism and the revenue it generates are often prioritized in historic settings within the developing world, needs for modernization and adaptation are often pushed aside. Similarly, reticence to promote planned and organic changes in response to growth and modernization accompanies desires to create falsified images of heritage that are more attractive to tourism. Oakes (2009) highlights the creation of a purified and unrealistic 'third space' of heritage as a phenomenon of tourism and its economic promise. In other words, the desire to attract tourism-generated revenue itself reassigns the value of heritage for stakeholder communities, prioritizing its potential to encourage economic growth over previous socio-cultural significance. Tourism, then, often creates its own commodified values for heritage that have the potential to overtake previous stakeholder values of heritage places. The interaction of tourism and cultural heritage management occupies a spectrum of relationships, from parallel existence, where the two operate independently of each other, to partnership, to conflict and cross purposes (McKercher and Du Cros 2002).

Moreover, tourism can have rampant physical implications on the built environment that relate to all its other implications. In contrast to enforcing an idealized environment and preventing organic or even planned changes to heritage areas, tourist needs can simultaneously engender land use changes and built form changes that have socio-economic and cultural implications on a place and its community. Reprogrammed use of historic buildings and new construction for the tourism industry have unavoidable consequences for the availability and cost of resources (e.g. land, water, electricity, infrastructure), encouraging infrastructural growth and pushing out

communities no longer able to afford remaining in newly gentrified areas (Orbasli 2000; Ren 2013; Zhang 2005). Furthermore, the act of visitation itself has great impact on the physical condition of historic fabric, requiring determination of carrying capacity and acceptable levels of damage with systematized monitoring and regular conservation work (Demas, Maekawa, Bell, and Agnew 2010; Nasser 2003).

The multifaceted implications of cultural tourism on heritage sites and the built environment generally underscore the importance of systematized planning that involves local stakeholders, government authority, and integrates voices from the tourism industry to ensure that changes are unilaterally acceptable to all stakeholders and in keeping with the multiple values of the place in question. Within the Chinese context, the literature further emphasizes the politically sanctioned nature of the relationship between historic sites, as tourist attractions, and tourism, as a source for economic growth. Investigations into the development of tourism policy and practice tie it to economic development efforts anchored on the aesthetics of monuments (Sofield and Li 1998; Xiao 2006). Oakes (1998) identifies rural community efforts to earn tourism revenue through false cultural re-creations that ultimately become an enforced aspect of community identity. Others highlight the politico-economic trend to encourage tourist arrivals and expenditures through preservation, promotion, and even re-creation of monuments, in effect identifying tourism as the goal and heritage as the means (Breidenbach and Nyíri 2007; Li, Wu, and Cai 2008; Nyíri 2006; Xiao 2006). A clear prevalence of economic motivations over heritage protection and management emerges from the literature, underscoring the established primacy of development objectives in modern China.

The implications of a “tourism first” approach are dire for the protection not only of historic areas, but for resident communities. Multiple authors discuss the importance of community involvement in sustainable approaches to heritage management (Li 2004; Serageldin 1999; Ying and Zhou 2007). Leaf (1995) proposes that the Beijing approach to inner city redevelopment privileges the built environment over its communities, citing inner city restrictions on height and protection of certain areas as evidence that community dissolution and displacement are preferred to increased building density. Research in Latin America and North Africa has highlighted the need for community involvement as well as investigated the potential benefits of formalized participation in urban protection, rehabilitation, and policy enforcement (Bigio 2010; Bromley and Jones 1995; Rojas 2002; Serageldin 2001). The implications of international and China-specific literature suggest a universal importance of community involvement in decision-making regarding cultural resources, a relatively young approach to planning and governance around the world, but particularly in China.

Heritage Policy and the Developing World

Unlike the international charters and regional guidelines that serve as methodological and philosophical references for preservation of the built environment, national and local policy provides a regulatory framework for the protection and management of designated elements of the built world. For this reason, the nature of heritage policies and their enforcement greatly impacts the character and practice of preservation in a given locality. Generally, established political systems with clear organizational structure and implementable policy on historic resource designation, assessment, and protection offer a sound foundation for heritage management. Conversely, poorly established or rapidly changing governance structures common

among developing political economies provide ample opportunity for inadequate identification of historic resources and lack of protection for the built environment.

As the trend in heritage philosophy has evolved from protection of the singular monument to consideration of entire landscapes and settings, national and local policy has tried to reflect this, expanding to preserve and valorize the historic district or setting of heritage buildings. Bleyon (1980) highlights the French legislative and institutional transition from a “traditional” protection of individual monuments that is remedial and reactionary to a “modern” planned approach that safeguards large swaths of the urban built environment through designated protected districts. He notes that this modern approach towards the townscapes incorporates not only the conservation of historic structures but of their environment and their relationship to the surrounding urban fabric. Furthermore, the modern approach, as espoused in France, provides for the development of an integrated plan that encompasses the protection of the built environment, including administrative and technical support for owners of properties within designated areas. In this way, the maintenance of heritage buildings transcends the usual public-private divide to encourage and regulate individual efforts to rehabilitate and maintain structures within protected districts, an approach often implemented through tax incentives in many western countries (Schuster 1997).

The policy and practice of the protected district system described by Bleyon highlights a number of political and economic prerequisites for national and local governments. Governance structures require a dedicated body within the political system to oversee historic resources and possess authority to designate protected districts, establish and maintain land use, regulate the actions of private owners, and manage to coordinate and interact with the local community. This

complex interplay of political maneuvering, structural capacity, and economic elasticity is challenging in all contexts, but presents particular hurdles in much of the developing world.

Ismail Serageldin defines urban heritage conservation in the developing world as “trying to accommodate sensitive architecture and urbanism, promote sound municipal finances, provide adequate incentives for the private sector, incorporate concern for the poor and the destitute and encourage community involvement and participation” (1999:242). To this matrix of daunting tasks he adds innumerable actors: national and local governments, international agencies, domestic and foreign tourists, private firms investing in physical development, and residents. Of these, the final group is the most vulnerable to change, particularly as new interest in historic places grows and resulting development displaces poorer residents unable to cope with rising prices. Given these many interrelated, yet independent actors, government oversight and authority is paramount to ensure the protection of the historic built environment.

Heritage planning in the developing world demands a negotiation between securing viable protection and continued use of the built environment and providing for the growing needs and expectations of a diverse and changing group of stakeholders. While this might be said of preservation in any context, the developing world offers a socio-political context often in greater flux and focused principally on economic development, frequently at the risk of the built and natural environments. Consideration of Afghanistan highlights a number of substantial hurdles to effective heritage management and relevant government support. Perhaps first and foremost is the misconstrued and officially supported view that heritage and development are incompatible. This lack of consideration for historic resources within cities, in particular, fueled denigration and even destruction of many aspects of the built environment in the country throughout much of

the 20th century as the government pushed for modernization and overlooked vernacular and even religious heritage (Najimi 2011). This is representative of the necessary negotiation between modernization/development and preservation/rehabilitation. Poor commitment to the preservation of historic resources in Afghanistan is compounded by insufficient resources and expertise to carry out sensitive and systematic conservation work on historic structures, as well as lack of coordination amongst government bodies and minimal involvement of stakeholders in decision-making (Najimi 2011). Unfortunately, in Afghanistan, the most insurmountable challenge to effective heritage planning is the armed conflict and weak rule of law, which must be addressed before any long-term systemic or structural changes can take effect.

Good Preservation Practice

Successful heritage preservation plans aim to incorporate stakeholder values and needs, protect the physicality and feel of the built environment, and allow for positive growth and change. The preservation corridor in Rio, Brazil integrated many of these components, “applying a contemporary planning approach to old problems” and “reconcil[ing] the need for preservation with the demand for development” through a mix of area-specific design guidelines that privileged equally restoration of older buildings, new construction, and creation of public spaces (Pineiro and Del Rio 1993:55). The perceived success of the project lies in the balance of sensitive growth, protected historic fabric, and creation of new functional spaces all supported and enforced by relevant policy. In the case of Fez, a complex system of studies, inter-agency collaboration, and semi-private oversight resulted in a model project that has lasted thirty years. The project established a training environment open to the public “[t]o overcome the lack of appropriate expertise, to rebuild the community’s trust in its heritage, to bring the master-builders back to their original work, to involve more public and private sectors in investing in the

historic city, and so on” (Radoine 2003:466). This approach brought the concern of heritage to the public and encouraged everyone’s involvement, but has required decades of persistence. Ultimately creating a multi-partite project, the first of its kind, between the World Bank, the municipal and national governments, and the semi-private project managing institution, the conservation of Fez represents a significant step forward in conceptualizing and implementing planning that protects and rehabilitates the historic built environment while encouraging and steering development and urbanization, simultaneously involving multiple stakeholders and working towards their diverse needs.

Good practice models integrate social, cultural, and economic approaches, so as to positively encourage sensitive development alongside protection regimes. Policy and practice need both restrict potentially dangerous activities while facilitating appropriate growth and opportunities for revitalization and prosperity. Such goals inevitably require engaging community and government stakeholders in decision-making processes to encourage successful protection and sustainable management that contribute to economic vitality. The following chapter will consider the specific governance and policy context for these criteria in Chinese urban conservation.

Chapter 4 – China Policy and Urban Conservation

In order to establish the context for preservation policy and practice in the People's Republic of China, it is necessary to consider the overall political economy framework for local governance and the changing backdrop of economic freedom and citizen involvement that are part and parcel of the country's socio-economic development, since the reforms in 1978. Rather than attempting structural changes that immediately revolutionized the entire system of China's centralized governance and planned economy, Deng Xiaoping and reformer colleagues in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) opted for a politically and geographically incremental approach. The economic reforms that began in 1978 introduced waves of changes that slowly liberalized the economy and decentralized political control, devolving more power and responsibility to local authorities and implementing changing policies and models of local governance. Consideration of this backdrop helps to better understand the unique and politically unpredictable context within which Chinese urban conservation takes place.

The development and implementation of heritage policy in China are closely intertwined with the government's structural changes that facilitated the loss of large swaths of historic urban neighborhoods in the 20th century. Two phases of large-scale demolition and redevelopment in Beijing, in particular, correlate to the transition to a planned economy after the Communist takeover in 1949 and liberalization and decentralization policies that initiated the reform era in 1978-9. This chapter first considers the structural changes of China's political landscape and their impact on governance, followed by a review of the evolution of historic preservation policy

and relevant mechanisms of implementation. Local regulation and enforcement tools in Beijing are presented alongside the development of national policy, as there appears to be a reciprocal relation. Beijing, as the home of the CCP and seat of government, often serves as a testing ground for national policy, which is interpreted and administered through drafting and implementation of municipal regulations. As a result, the drafting and promulgation of preservation policies and regulations reads as a dialogue between State and local government within a context of changing politico-economic realities.

Governance in China

Given China's growth since the beginning of reforms and despite the absence of public participation in governance and related accountability of officials, it is worth considering whether the CCP incremental reforms constitute structural changes both necessary and sufficient to encourage and sustain economic growth and social betterment, including effective and appropriate preservation policy. Without investigating the corpus of thirty years of political reforms or attempting to link specific aspects of China's development to requisite changes in governance, the following consideration presents a review of broad categories of political reforms and expanding liberties that serve as the context for present-day urban preservation.

Rule of law

Given that much of the recent literature on successful preservation approaches in urban contexts focuses on stakeholder involvement and consideration of impacted communities, it is worthwhile considering the literature around China's lack of representational government at nearly all political levels. Despite this, formalized and experimental political mechanisms do serve to protect and respond to citizen rights. Pan (2003) makes a distinction between democracy and rule

of law, stating the latter promotes positive economic, social, and political activity without requiring representational government. Indeed, Lipset's (1959) own definition of democracy relied on the combination of rule of law and representational governance through election. However, Pan claims that the latter is unnecessary for effective and fair governance since rule of law systems are legalistic in nature and hold all parties, lay citizens and government officials alike, to the same standard of the law. Furthermore, claims Pan, a legalistic system that does not rely on elections is more appropriate given China's political and cultural history (2003).

The theoretical relationship between law and the state has been further nuanced by Whaites (2008), who considers the distinction between rule *of* law and rule *through* law. In investigating the principal aspects of effective state-building, which Whaites proposes are security, revenue, and law, the author highlights two concepts of law and the government's relationship to it. First, "*rule through law* is the way in which the state makes known to its people the state's expectations of their behavior" (Whaites 2008:9). In linking this concept to the security component of state-building particularly, Whaites proposes that rule through law provides behavioral parameters for citizens, stating the expectations of the state vis-à-vis its people. *Rule of law*, on the other hand, greatly impacts the confidence citizens have in their state and their sense of acting as stakeholders within the state-building endeavor by ensuring limitations on government activities. Carothers (1998), meanwhile, introduces the concept of *rule by law*, which he associates particularly with Asian countries, in which political leaders focus on the efficient application of law, but are not hindered by the idea that the government is likewise subordinate to the law. These concepts together contribute to a mutual understanding of approved upon limitations, parameters for behavior, and bidirectional responsibilities between the state and its citizens, all without requiring democratic reforms, particularly citizen

participation in the political process. Both rule *through* law and rule *by* law may serve as intermediary steps along a path of structural reform towards representational governance and accepted forms of democratic political systems.

Rule of law without some form of public oversight or political participation, however, leaves unsecured two important aspects of stable governance. The first relates to the creation of the law and its adequacy to provide for and protect both society and individuals. It seems reasonable to assume that the government will ensure its own legal protection and provision of means for unimpeded continuation, but it is more difficult to presume the government both knows the needs and desires of its people and is committed to providing for them in the writ of the legalistic system. The second questionable aspect of a rule of law system is the proper enforcement of the law and assured punishment of government officials upon infraction. Without some external oversight, theory and practice indicate that corruption may be unavoidable. Given these concerns, Chinese reforms appear to allow for aspects of political accountability and participation short of establishing democratic practices.

Development without democracy

Understanding how China has encouraged economic growth without adopting democratic reforms is the focus of a piece by Mary Gallagher (2002). Gallagher highlights the importance of allowing foreign direct investment (FDI) to provide specially regulated opportunities for economic growth in China. Rather than opening the door for and encouraging local privatization, the CCP began to allow the influx of FDI into the country. Beginning with coastal Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and slowly opening up to more widespread sanctioned FDI, the Chinese government focused the adoption of economic freedom on the attraction and reliance of FDI.

“While foreign investment may indirectly improve the environment for future democratization, through the promotion of the rule of law, transparency, and the freer flow of information, in the short term its presence has afforded the regime more time and more political space to pursue economic reform without political liberalization” (Gallagher 2002:368). As opposed to the growth of the private sector and creation of a sizable and politically important business class that demanded democratic reforms in Japan and Korea, for instance, in China, reliance on foreign investment served to forestall the growth of local business constituencies with the economic clout to demand representational government. The CCP further managed to justify implemented economic and political liberalization reforms as necessary to safeguard national prowess in the face of foreign competition, thus allowing the government to adopt categorically non-Communist policies without denouncing the official political philosophy (Gallagher 2002:344). By relying on increasingly liberalized foreign investment and interaction with the Chinese economy, the CCP encouraged growth and overall development while forestalling organized calls for democratic reforms.

One sector allowed to receive FDI was the tourism industry, which was particularly related to cultural and historic sites. China’s foreign invested hotels numbered 45 by 1985, representing 85% of total investment in the tourism industry (Zhang, Chong, and Ap 1999). The CCP’s top leaders, Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun, actively promoted tourism as a sure motor for economic growth, which “started a shift of tourism from a political instrument to economic activity” (Zhang, Pine, and Lam 2005:94). This focus on economic activity within the tourism sector was a harbinger of the liberalization policies allowing privatization and the economic value of heritage. Clearly linking tourism to cultural heritage and commodifying it, Chen Yun stated “tourism was just like the export of scenic spots, earning foreign exchange more quickly than the export of goods”

(Zhang, Chong, and Ap 1999:473). Considered as part of the export sector, tourism enjoyed the benefits and freedoms of national incentive legislation that exempted it from many internal regulations and made it a crucial aspect of China's early development strategy (Tisdell and Wen 1991; Xu 1999).

Although the CCP firmly retains uncontested political control of the country, the introduction and evolution of political reforms are significant and demand consideration. As Gallagher notes, "a key element of this decentralization has been the increasing authority of local officials to attract FDI" (2002:356). Indeed, the devolution of many political powers from the center to local governments has had an undeniable impact on the distribution of government responsibilities and responsiveness to local needs. Decentralization of the government meant that the master class status of workers and the related "iron rice bowl" were no longer upheld by the central government. In discussing State policy changes enacted in September 1997 and March 1998, Saich states that "[w]ith individuals increasingly responsible for finding their own work and housing, taking more responsibility for social security and pensions, and becoming consumers in an increasingly marketized economy, it is inevitable that they will wish to have greater political voice..." (2000:127-8). As the central government has withdrawn from many of the concerns and fiscal responsibilities of local governments, promises of the pre-reform era to its citizens are no longer viable. In fact, the organization and implementation of social benefits, forms of redistribution, and public goods, under which heritage sites fall, have largely fallen into the hands of local governments. In this way, State involvement in society is greatly lessened, establishing far greater politico-economic freedom for local governments and the communities and individuals within their jurisdiction.

The de facto freedom that results from the central government's lack of interference and direct involvement coincides with the concept of negative liberties espoused by Hegel and Isaiah Berlin (1969).¹⁴ As State control and oversight of local affairs and economic activity have lessened in China, the context of personal freedoms has broadened to encompass a number of individual and societal liberties. This has resulted in the lessening of what Sen has called "capability deprivation," the lack of personal freedoms and opportunities to thrive that represents a form of socio-economic impoverishment and the principal hindrance to development (1999). According to Sen, a successful society would encourage the right for individuals to pursue prosperity through economic activity. A key aspect of Chinese reforms has been the introduction of greater economic freedom than existed previously, thus indicating, in Sen's approach, a significant step towards socio-economic development.

Included in these negative liberties are forms of public participation in government that ultimately tend towards political accountability. Scholars (Saich 2000; Watson 2008) have investigated the growth of social non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in China that serve as intermediaries between the State and society and are capable of circumventing certain aspects of government interference. These organizations often fill voids left by lesser government involvement and provide opportunities for indirect participation of citizens in political processes through public activity and communication with local government officials. These bodies can organize to apply pressure to local officials and facilitate multiple forms of social dialogue and activism. Moreover, social organizations of this type combined with lesser central government control encourage public oversight of local officials through complaints to higher authorities, media investigations and coverage of scandals, and examples of tolerated, or even sanctioned

¹⁴ Negative liberty is, most simply put, the freedom from interference by others. This is the concept that an individual can do what is in his/her capacity without limitations set upon them by other people.

protest (Perry 2001). These increasingly institutionalized forms of participation and reprobation are reminiscent of the concept of “societal accountability” proposed by Smulovitz and Peruzzotti (2000), thus providing an important channel for the expression of public opinion of government activities, though they may not be enshrined in the law. The lack of government interference in the people’s ability to express themselves has heightened the capacity to organize and impact government practice (Saich 2004:250-5), even if not through direct participation in the form of elections.

The important question of social uprising in the form of protest need also be considered. Despite the oft-mentioned Tiananmen Massacre of 1989, the central government has been tolerant of many local protests related to economic concerns. Perry (2001) highlights the central government’s tolerance towards economically motivated protests, occurring with great frequency in recent years. However, she suggests this predisposition is based on a long history of farmer and peasant revolts and a practice of considering localized matters of economic concern to fall under local jurisdiction, mirroring the spirit and actuality of the decentralization reforms implemented after Mao. This allowance, then, provides an important political voice to individuals and groups concerned with subsistence and livelihoods. Nonetheless, the central government still remains firm on challenges to its authority and official state orthodoxy, as seen with the reactions to Falun Gong activities (Tong 2002a; 2002b).¹⁵ Thus, the ‘voice’ allowed to its citizens through mass social uprisings is qualified and dependent on message and localization, though it does serve as an opportunity for participation in politics through the application of external pressure, including use of media.

¹⁵ Falun Gong is a religious movement founded by Li Hongzhi that first gained a substantial following in China in the early 1990s. By the end of the 1990s, the Chinese government viewed the movement as a threat and initiated a crackdown on the movement subsequent to a 10,000-person peaceful protest near the central government offices in Beijing in April, 1999.

Another example of extended participation that may also contribute to overall government accountability relates to the integration of non-Communist party members amongst the highest ranks of government. In addition to the most notable examples of Chen Zhu, Minister of Health, and Wan Gang, Minister of Science and Technology, both of whom were trained in Europe, there were 32,000 non-CCP members working in government above the county level at the end of 2010 (Zhang 2011). Until recently, even university deans and research institute heads were required to be communist party members, though loosening of these regulations has allowed some qualified individuals to enter even the highest ranks of state, provincial, and local government. This political openness began with the 2001 decision to allow entrepreneurs to join the CCP (Saich 2004:211). Such relaxation of CCP rules and representation of other political philosophies within the government is representative of increasing personal and political freedoms that have made the State government more penetrable and transparent.

Nonetheless, the apparent concessions to Chinese transparency and public participation do not reflect any philosophical shift towards complete accountability. Saich notes that “official policy has tried to integrate experts into the decision-making process, to influence key groups in society more indirectly by binding them into organizations that are dependent on regime patronage, improve democracy at the grassroots and sanction a limited number of social organizations” (2004:213). He continues to underscore the political focus on economic development as the driving force for integration of discussion of greater public participation. An integral aspect of reform policy, then, relates to the establishment of greater freedoms and encouragement for greater public participation, as well as accountability concessions, for the purpose of economic development. The Chinese government appears to recognize the link between development and

aspects of accountability, transparency, and participation highlighted within the literature (Ackerman 2004; Blair 2000; Goetz and Jenkins 2001), selectively implementing them to encourage and sustain economic growth.

Decentralization Challenges

However, prioritized and piecemeal reforms have also created challenges related to convoluted chains of command and divergent fiscal resources and commitments. The 31 province-level governments, composed of 22 provinces, 5 autonomous regions, and 4 national municipalities, today lie at the same authoritative level as central government ministries. A central ministry may not directly overrule a province, autonomous region, or central municipality, but has jurisdiction over its own local bureaus, a system designed to enforce the ministerial mandate through horizontal accountability from within the local government (Lieberthal 1997). Thus, local governments can react to the perceived needs and quasi-political activity of their people with minimal concern for interference from higher levels of government, as long as development objectives are met. This has provided the opportunity for government experiments and surprising instances of liberalization and citizen involvement in government (Florini, Lai, and Tan 2012). At the same time, the provision of public goods and social welfare called for by the central government and overseen by bureaus within the province requires local (provincial, municipal, and county-level) government funding and management amongst a context of ever-growing urbanization and the challenges of increasing urbanization (Campanella 2008; Miller 2012; Ren 2013; Saich 2008). Despite vastly increased responsibilities at the local level, the largest proportion of tax-generated revenue is collected and held by the central government. This shortfall has required local governments to raise funds, often through illegal levies and fees, and rely on insufficient central government transfers to finance their day-to-day operations (Saich

2004:199-207; Walter and Howie 2012). Empty coffers have resulted in cancellation of service delivery in areas from healthcare to education and encouraged formalized local defiance of central policy in search of revenue.¹⁶

Regional economic disparity underlies a substantial portion of the economic growth rhetoric and policy in China, as geographic inequalities exacerbated by reform policy drive the need for greater redistributed economic prowess and opportunity. Studies of the transition of China's political economy highlight the continued need to address geographic disparities previously addressed, though often not sustainably, through China's central allocation system (Démurger 2001; Lin and Liu 2008; Saich 2008; Su and Yang 2000; Tsui 2008). Although the central government strives to address these regional inequalities (Chung 1995; Huang 1996; Saich 2004), the decentralized political and fiscal system presents a great challenge. While reform policies have spurred localized economic development, they have aggravated regional inequalities through selective promotion of FDI and liberalizing policies and little recourse for underdeveloped areas to bridge the gap. Localities not privileged with booming urban development and an influx of FDI must rely on insufficient extra-budgetary finances resulting from extraneous fees and taxes levied on local enterprises and individuals that in turn hamper local development. Lesser central government involvement and the resultant negative liberties and aspects of accountability have not provided for sustainable growth in these regions.

¹⁶ The development of Beijing's historic center since the 1980s provides a prime example of local defiance of national policy on transfer of land use rights and historic precinct protection. Local policy formalized loophole practices that allowed Beijing authorities to allocate land development rights to government-affiliated developers at below-market rates in return for various favors and rents. The practice and relevant policy purposely skirted State policy designed to avoid such collusion and abuse of land use right manipulation outside of the market. See Fang, Ke and Yan Zhang. 2003. "Plan and market mismatch: Urban redevelopment in Beijing during a period of transition." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 44(2):149-162.

The story of China's political restructuring highlights the challenges of transitioning from a socialist political system and plan economy to a hybrid system that must embrace free market development for the purpose of economic development. More than the democratic characteristics of government accountability, transparency, and representative government, China has been required to alter its political economy to allow for greater domestic economic freedoms and encourage foreign investment and trade. Indeed, local development hinges on growing privatization and relinquished state-owned enterprises (SOEs), providing expanded opportunities for business growth and ownership, which in turn creates opportunity for collective action and citizen involvement in governance. These changes in China's political economy and its relationship to its citizens have important implications for the urban heritage and its preservation, providing for locally-driven development and protection efforts that interact with affected communities in a variety of ways. The important relevance of this political backdrop and the changing relationship between the periphery and the center to preservation policy and practice in Chinese cities is discussed next.

Development and Preservation

Rampant urbanization and economic development in mainland China over the past thirty years have resulted in widespread changes to the physical and social fabric of the country's urban centers. Although changes to the layout and built environment of principal cities began soon after the establishment of the Communist regime in 1949 through campaigns of road widening and concerted efforts to industrialize, these are few in comparison to the large-scale and unparalleled rapidity of changes in land use and urban fabric that have occurred since reforms in 1978 and especially since liberalization of land use and establishment of real estate markets in the late 1980s. As central urban land markets were established by the new ability to transfer land

use rights, pressure to redevelop these areas grew tremendously and far outweighed existing policy to protect historic urban fabric and urban residential communities. The economic potential of land use rights transfers came to represent a principal component of local economic growth and, therefore, a powerful force.

In Beijing, this development pressure has made way for large modern housing and commercial districts built by developers that have replaced traditional vernacular residences, many of which were centuries old. Despite national and municipal policies implemented as early as the 1980s to protect historic resources in Beijing, subsequent development efforts spurred on by access to an exponential rise in market-driven land values have largely overtaken these protective measures. Even after the establishment of policy to arrest inappropriate development within Beijing's Old City, enclosed by the Second Ring Road that follows the ruins of the old City Wall, city-ordained developers razed large swaths of vernacular residential neighborhoods and erected vast modern commercial centers and luxury housing in their stead. These changes to the city's physical fabric had equally devastating impact on its social composition, forcing generations-old communities to relocate to purpose-built housing far from the center as their original homes were demolished or rehabilitated into luxury residences far beyond their means. Market-driven development made many longstanding central urban communities nonviable in their current form.

That untamed development has been capable of sidestepping and even completely ignoring policy designed to protect the historic urban character of Beijing appears to be the result of lax enforcement of existing regulations and overlapping jurisdiction of national and municipal policy. The power of the municipality even in the face of central State or Ministry directives is an outgrowth of political economy reforms that leave most socio-cultural responsibilities in the

hands of the implicated local government (Saich 2004). Ultimately, efforts to encourage economic development and generate revenue for the municipality have overcome preservation policy enforcement. Nonetheless, increasing frequency of collective action approaches on the part of residents and local NGOs has impacted the proverbial landscape of urban conservation, thwarting or revising some plans for demolition and redevelopment of historic areas.

Beijing Vernacular – hutong and siheyuan

The traditional residential architecture of Beijing represents more than a typology of the city's urban vernacular since, taken as an *urbs corpus*, it embodies a minutely detailed urban fabric emblematic of imperial city planning, with the Imperial Palace in the center of the old city surrounded by a grid of large blocks of houses accessed by meandering alleyways of progressively diminishing width. Beijing's Old City (*gucheng*), as it is most commonly known, comprises the area within the modern Second Ring Road, originally the walls of the imperial city's Inner and Outer walls (see Fig. 9). The urban layout of the Old City as it is today largely represents the spirit of the original 13th century Yuan Dynasty grid layout of large blocks. Although the buildings were mostly destroyed in the attacks that established the Ming Dynasty in 1368, the general Yuan layout was preserved by the Ming capital and overlaid, expanded, and enhanced by both Ming and Qing dynasties, surviving largely intact until the 1950s (Tung 2001:141). Indeed, many of the historic structures of this urban landscape that survived into the early 1990s preserved fabric dating back to the Ming dynasty (Sit 1995).

The principal unit of Beijing's imperial vernacular architecture is the *siheyuan*, or courtyard house, composed of a quadrangle of buildings that encloses an inner, private courtyard (see Fig. 10). These houses served single families and varied in size and embellishments depending on the

status of the residents, such that a prince or other elite might have as many as seven or nine quadrangles on an axis, while humbler families would inhabit only one. As the basic unit of this type of construction, the term literally means ‘four-sided courtyard’ or quadrangle. These walled compounds lie along meandering alleyways or lanes, known as *hutong*, that communicate with principal thoroughfares in a “fish-bone-like transportation network” (Wu 1999:74).

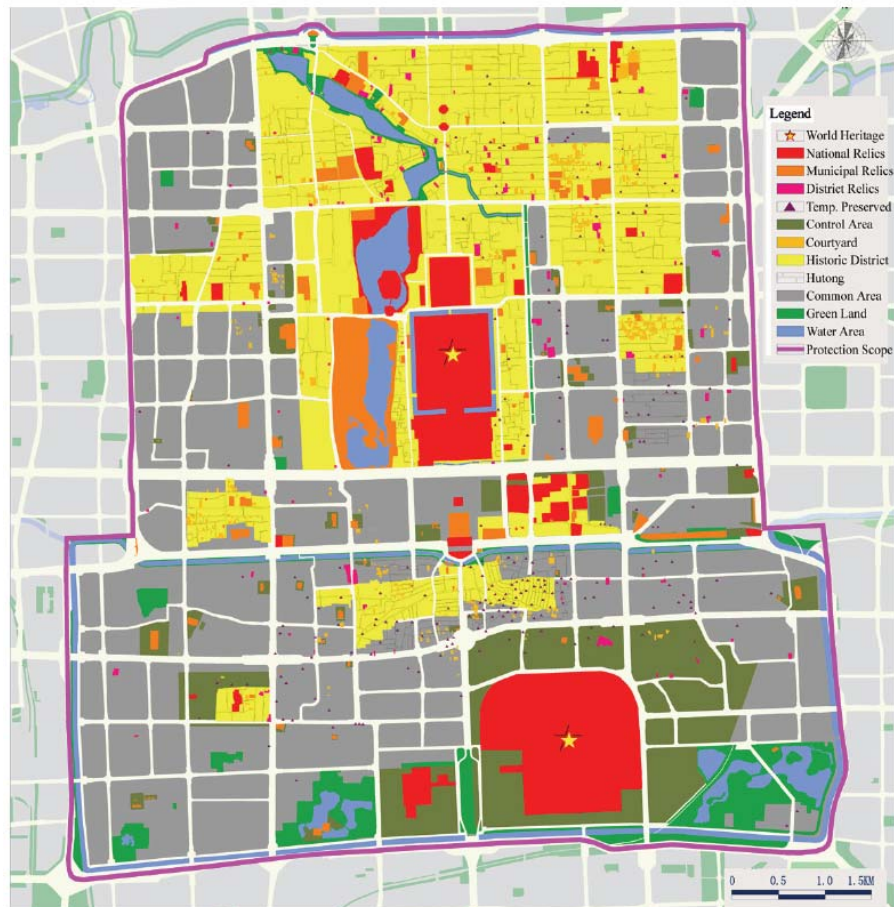


Figure 9. Beijing Old City, bounded by Second Ring Road. Yellow areas designate current historic districts and red areas represent national-level protected sites (Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design)

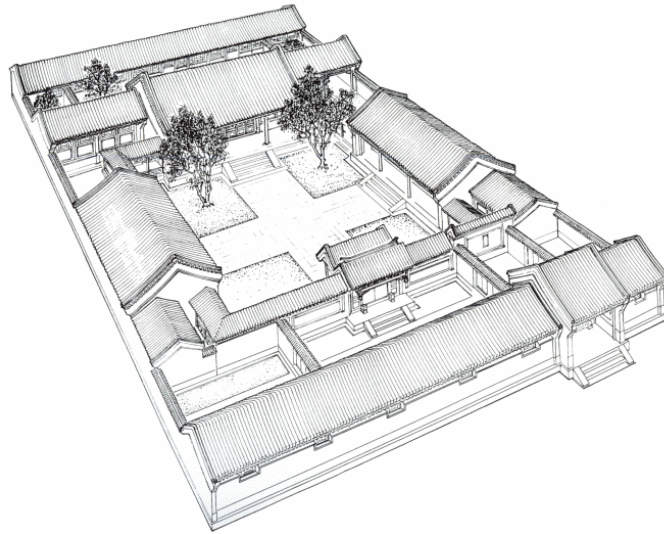


Figure 10. Drawing of a typical Beijing siheyuan. (chine-informations.com)

In this way, a series of adjacent courtyard houses were integrated into a system of hutong, creating an urban architectural and circulation unit that was repeated on a cardinal grid throughout the Old City. This modular layout of seemingly organic components caused Liang Sicheng,¹⁷ the father of modern planning and preservation in China, to call Beijing's inner city "an unparalleled masterpiece of urban planning" (Zhang and Fang 2003:77, fn 2). These same components are found within the Imperial Palace of the Forbidden City, at the very heart of Beijing. Thus, the entire historic urban core is a repeating landscape of one-story courtyards that extend out from the imperial center of power, administration, and wealth. The significance of this symbolic layout incorporating the courtyard home as a quintessential Chinese form of planning has further testimony in the archaeological record dating back thousands of years (Wu 1999:69).

¹⁷ Liang Sicheng, then Deputy Director of the City Planning Committee of Beijing and professor of Urban Planning and Architecture at Tsinghua University, is often seen as the father of modern Chinese planning and preservation practice. Liang contributed greatly to the 1951 Beijing Master Plan although many of his preservation-inspired proposals aimed to safeguard a largely intact Old City were omitted or overridden by the Old City renewal plan and subsequent redevelopment efforts. See Wang, Jun. 2003. *Cheng ji (City Record)*. Beijing Shi: Sheng huo du shu xin zhi san lian shu dian. Also see Lai, Guolong, Martha Demas, and Neville Agnew. 2004. "Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation." *Orientalisms* 35(2).

A number of authors highlight the additional modern social significance of hutong and siheyuan as neighborhoods within which community interaction is codified and even relied upon as a form of social welfare among residents (Abramson 2001; Yutaka, Dorje, Alexander, and de Azevedo 2006; Zhang and Fang 2003). Gu and Ryan (2008) attempt to quantify resident attachment to siheyuan and hutong in relation to growing tourism. Bray (2005) underscores the importance of the courtyard as a physical manifestation of traditional Confucian ideals and concepts of social structure and organization. The hutong and siheyuan are intrinsic components of Beijing's physical and socio-cultural environment and represent the bulk of the city's historic building stock.

Redeveloping Beijing – 1949 to reforms

With the advent of communism as the national model for social and economic systems in 1949, Chinese government rhetoric promoted the valor of production, spilling over into policy that insisted on rapid industrialization of its cities. As the capital and centuries-old stronghold of imperial rule, Beijing was assigned priority in efforts to transform cities, seen as bastions of consumption, into centers of production (Tung 2001:149). Under Mao's supervision and with the input of Soviet city builders, Beijing underwent a number of physical changes against the advice of well-known Chinese urbanists, among them Liang Sicheng. The renewal plan aimed to redevelop the entirety of the Old City within ten years, requiring 1 million m² of demolition and 20 million m² of construction per year (Wu 1999:22). Although these levels were never reached, Wu notes that what was redeveloped throughout the 1950s represented "much of the best of the city, including many grand mansions." By 1960, 540,000 m² of old building stock had been demolished and only 530,000 m² of new construction completed, well below the target; after that,

the annual demolition rate was under 100,000 m² until 1979 (Sit 1995:249-50). Widening of roads and construction of large street-front buildings caused the loss of a number of traditional hutong and their contiguous siheyuan. During this period of demolition and new construction, the government also demolished the massive walls that encircled the entire Old City, a move that would be officially regretted in the 1980s (Tung 2001:161-2). Despite these drastic changes to the city's fabric and layout, Bray (2005) posits that the *danwei*¹⁸ system implemented within and around the new factory construction established a social structure and space closely based on traditional Chinese concepts of spatial and functional organization, epitomized by the architectural unit of the siheyuan. This notwithstanding, the change to the built environment was radical.

Equally troubling as the historic fabric lost during this period is the long-standing practice established by the renewal plan to neglect extant historic residences, providing minimal resources for general maintenance, under the assumption they would eventually succumb to demolition. Government ideology from the 1950s through the beginning of reforms in 1978 prioritized agricultural and industrial development as modes of production, undermining the development of housing, seen as unproductive and therefore consumptive in nature (Sit 1995:205; Zhang 1997). As a result, the number of dilapidated houses within the Old City doubled by the beginning of the Cultural Revolution (Wu 1999:23). Neglect of housing conditions and availability continued despite added pressures from Beijing's population growth in response to industrialization efforts in the 50s and, later, mass relocation as a result of the Tangshan earthquake in 1976 that encouraged the construction of informal structures within the courtyards

¹⁸ The *danwei* or work unit was the principal unit of social, economic, and political organization under Communist China's pre-reform system. In addition to being one's place of work, the *danwei* was assigned for life and was the only way for individuals to gain access to state-provided housing, healthcare, school, and other services and facilities.

of siheyuan to house the refugees.¹⁹ Throughout this period, the residential density of siheyuan increased as traditional homes designed to house a single family became home to four or more entire families, resulting in an average of less than 8m² of living space per person, with some having as little as 2m² (Abramson 2001:16; Zhang 1997:86). As late as 1987, 80% of housing development had taken place outside the Old City with development efforts therein focused on commerce and new construction (Zhang 1997:89). In other words, the government made little or no effort to rehabilitate historic hutong and siheyuan until nearly ten years after reforms, following a policy that belittled both the importance of the built environment and social welfare in favor of industrial growth.

Policy v. Practice: Beijing Redevelopment after 1979

Despite the extent to which changes occurred in the physical layout and fabric of Beijing during the first 30 years after the Communist takeover, the rate of demolition and redevelopment in the Old City that took place after reforms was far greater. Prior to 1949, Beijing had an approximate 13 million m² of siheyuan within and outside the city wall (Zhang 1997). A housing rehabilitation program forty years later would result in the loss of 4.2 million m² within a span of eight years in the Old City alone. In 1949, the Old City within the walls comprised approximately 7000 hutong, which diminished to 4000 by the 1980s, and only about 1000 remain intact today (Heath and Tang 2010).

Soon after the reforms, the State Council and Beijing Municipality promulgated a handful of policies promoting and protecting China's built heritage. Although the first official listing appeared within the Beijing Municipal government as early as 1957, this focused on individual

¹⁹ Fear amongst residents after the powerful temblor felt also in Beijing caused many to sleep outside in the open courtyard or sheltered by the temporary, informal structures, rather than within the dilapidated housing.

monuments without consideration for vernacular architecture or other aspects of historic urban fabric (Abramson 2007:139). Little else followed until the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics* in 1982,²⁰ which served as the first national law on the protection of heritage sites throughout the country and provided a mechanism for the designation of protected sites at national, provincial, and local levels. Sofield and Li interpret this new policy focus on culture as Deng Xiaoping's strategy for re-establishing CCP legitimacy and "restoring national unity after dissension and trauma of the Cultural Revolution" (1998:370). With the act, the National Cultural Administrative Management Bureau (now the State Administration for Cultural Heritage) was established and regional and local governments were encouraged to establish their own organizations for heritage management, overseen by the national organization (Shen and Chen 2010). This model was prevalent during this period: the government would establish a national agency and strongly encourage local government to create their own reporting branches, as part of the politics of decentralization and deregulation. Deng also promoted the recognition of 55 minority groups, allocating them with certain freedoms and, in some cases, limited autonomy through the promulgation of the 1984 National Law of National Minorities. This new view of culture as integral to socialism further encouraged the re-establishment of social sciences in academic institutions and separate courses on tourism linked to China's history and culture became part of university curricula for the first time (Sofield and Li 1998).

Clearly stated in Article 8 of the Cultural Relics Law is the responsibility of local governments to protect any cultural resources within their jurisdictions (see Fig. 11). Each province was charged

²⁰ The law includes provisions on the protection, ownership, and care of historic resources, including responsibilities of local governments and punishments for damage. The 1982 law was revised in 2002. See China State Administration for Cultural Heritage, 2002. *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Wenwu Baohufa (Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics)*. Beijing, China: Cultural Heritage Publishers.

with a provincial museum and research institute for archaeology and/or cultural relics, in charge of many aspects of cultural work within the province, supported by local heritage administration bureaus and officials at city, county, and village levels (Shen and Chen 2010). The burden of resources, namely budget and expertise, necessary for preservation work at each administrative level, rested squarely on local governments.²¹ As reforms introduced political and economic decentralization within China, local governments found themselves burdened with greater responsibilities and the need to finance any related efforts. The impact of these structural changes on the enforcement of heritage protection is evidenced by the extent of redevelopment that occurred within districts previously designated as protected. Further discussion of national and local government jurisdiction over preservation administration is included in Chapter 7.



Figure 11. Chart of cultural heritage jurisdiction and reporting (by author)

²¹ A central fund for heritage preservation does, however, contribute to management and conservation work of national level sites. In 2005, this fund totaled 534 million RMB for over 2300 designated national-level sites.

Apparently in response to the 1982 Cultural Relics Law, the 1983 Beijing Directives for the first time highlighted Beijing as an “historic cultural city” and stated that “[v]aluable revolutionary artifacts, historical relics, old architecture, and old archaeological sites of value have to be preserved. The built form and volume surrounding such sites must be appropriately controlled” (Sit 1995:232). Beijing was subsequently named a “Renowned Historic and Cultural City” by the national government. In 1984, the city designated 35 national-level and 174 municipal-level heritage sites as protected resources and simultaneously established a lower district-level designation to address the sub-municipal administrative level. In this same act, the municipal government included selected several individual siheyuan as municipal protected sites, the first courtyard houses to be designated for protection. The criteria for the designation of these first protected courtyard houses are, however, unclear. Despite new found protection, only individual properties were designated, so the new regulation provided no protection for the integrity of the historic urban fabric or even the immediate environment of these buildings despite the call of the 1983 Directives. To address this in part, the Beijing municipal government passed a law in 1985 establishing height restrictions on new construction within the Old City. The following year, the State Council adopted the concept of the historic district, promoting the protection of heritage precincts and neighborhoods of historic and cultural value (Abramson 2007:140). This event introduced national precedent for the protection of an integrated urban cultural landscape as opposed to sole consideration of singular monuments divorced from their context. Beijing’s municipal government had listed 25 “Traditional Courtyard Housing Preservation Districts” within its 1982 Master Plan, although their boundaries and redevelopment restrictions would require further iterations in 1990 and 1999 to be effective (Abramson 2001:13; Abramson 2007:140; Zhang and Fang 2003:77).

Concomitant with these domestic developments, the national government officially joined the international preservation community through its signature of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Convention²² in 1985. This important step within the realm of international relations had at least two principal benefits for the Chinese leadership domestically. On the one hand, as suggested by Shen and Chen (2010), the move highlighted the interest on the part of the government to seek and secure international guidance in the development of its preservation infrastructure. Acutely aware of the challenges of tourism, the newly established market for land, and the lack of relevant expertise in the country, Chinese leaders saw international assistance as necessary to curtail the irreparable damage already sustained by the country's heritage. On the other hand, Chinese leaders could not have been unaware of the potential economic benefits from increased international tourism to securing World Heritage status for its most iconic sites. Only two years later, China had six sites added to the World Heritage List: the Peking hominid site at Zhoukoudian, the Great Wall, the Forbidden City, the Mausoleum of Qin Shi Huang (the first Qin Emperor), the Mogao Grottoes, and Mount Taishan. As early as 1989, the Chinese government established a collaborative conservation project with the Getty Conservation Institute that focused on the research and preservation of the Mogao Grottoes wall paintings, a project that has evolved and still continues today. Becoming a signatory of the World Heritage Convention precipitated international preservation efforts within China's borders.

In 1987, the Beijing municipal government embedded into its own regulations one of the requirements set forth by the 1982 State Cultural Relics Law: construction control and buffer

²² The *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* was adopted on 16 November, 1972 and sets out the concept of world heritage, some of the guidelines and mechanisms for its protection, as well as the role of national and international concerns therein. The full text of the convention is available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>.

zones around designated sites. To this end, the Municipal Planning Institute drafted policy that required such control zones around national and municipal level sites, as well as restrictions on height and style of new buildings within the vicinity. This policy had an unintended effect, known as *penjing* or ‘tray scenery’ (*bonsai*), over subsequent years of redevelopment. Developers saw the opportunity to develop green spaces and parks around protected sites and then built the rest of the site out to maximum density, creating isolated and monumentalized pockets of historic buildings surrounded by large, stylistically incompatible highrise structures (Abramson 2001:12-13; 2007:140). Although this approach ensured creation of green spaces and access roads, the sanctioned redevelopment of surrounding fabric into parks further impinged on the historic urban fabric and allowed construction of large modern structures incompatible with the historic built environment. Designating and enforcing protection of one siheyuan appears to have facilitated the loss of its equally significant context.

In the same year, the Beijing Municipality embarked on a redevelopment experiment in Ju'er Hutong, in the northeastern corner of the Old City. The project began as a model for inner city redevelopment, primarily to rehabilitate and upgrade gravely deteriorated housing. For this purpose, the lead architect, Professor Wu Liangyong, designed a new kind of courtyard house that could house multiple families and respond to modern needs while privileging the historic urban landscape dominated by one-story courtyard homes (Wu 1999:82-103). The Dongcheng government, a district of the Municipality, oversaw the project and provided funding to its own affiliated Dongcheng Development Company in the amount of 3.5 million yuan. Residents were requested to pay 350 RMB/m², matched by subsidies paid by their employers. Of the original 44 households, only 30% returned to the rehabilitated units, 39% transferred their right to reside there to other Old City residents who could pay, and the remaining households agreed to

relocation to other areas by the development company (Zhang and Fang 2003:77-78). This project yielded 46 new units, a portion of which were sold at market rate to cover development costs.

During this first phase of the Ju'er project, the political and economic context of Chinese land use changed dramatically. The *Land Administration Law* of 1988 separated land use rights from ownership for the first time in Communist China, allowing these rights to be transferred and creating a de facto real estate market. Although the land continued to be owned by the government, access to the land and ownership of any buildings on it could now be bartered on an open market. In 1992, Beijing promulgated the *Implementation Guidelines* for the *Land Administration Law*, which officially allowed the sale of land use rights within Beijing. Zhang and Fang (2003) apply the Logan and Molotch (1987) "Growth Machine" concept to the events that ensued, identifying the commodification and exchange value of inhabited space within a market economy as the engine for growth. In the Chinese context, where aspects of a market economy were only beginning to take hold, this model may have been even more robust. Land and constructed space suddenly became an object of exchange, providing new and seemingly ubiquitous opportunities for economic growth now that capital could be extracted.

Following this landmark policy and in response to the express need for housing rehabilitation, Beijing embarked on the Old and Dilapidated Housing Redevelopment (ODHR) program in 1990. The first 37 projects were announced in the following year and impacted 3.4 million m² of land and 1.6 million m² of housing. By the end of 1993, 221 projects had been planned involving 20.9 km² of land. The ODHR projects principally redeveloped large swaths of land in socialist planning style, demolishing entire neighborhoods to build new highrise housing and commercial

centers. Only eight years after the program was launched, ODHR had demolished 4.2 million m² of traditional housing within the Old City, including four individually listed historic buildings and areas of poorly bounded preservation districts (Fang and Zhang 2003:151-153). Now part of the ODHR program, the second phase of the Ju'er project employed a for-profit model, sequestering a small percentage of returning residents to smaller units with fewer amenities, while the project focused on development of new, luxury units for sale at market rate (Zhang and Fang 2003:78). Motivations for sensitive design and upgraded housing options for existing urban residents were undermined by the opportunity to make large profits selling to the highest bidders.

Excessive loss of traditional housing and neighborhoods occurred despite the drafting of the first Conservation Plan for 25 Historic Areas in Beijing Old City in 1990, designating 260 hutong and 2000 siheyuan as protected historic resources. The first policy acknowledging historic districts enacted in Beijing since the State Council encouraged such protection in 1986, the effort to designate neighborhoods of historic urban vernacular was significant despite protecting only 5% of extant hutong neighborhoods. As a result, redevelopment of undesignated areas continued nearly unimpeded and even some listed areas fell within large ODHR projects, at times entirely demolished prior to new development (Campanella 2008:152). The ODHR program continually sidestepped, or blatantly ignored, municipal preservation policy.

Beijing Municipality further ensured that ODHR could continue to serve as a lucrative government-driven program within a backdrop of skyrocketing market prices despite the promulgation of national controls on the transfer of land use rights. As early as 1990, only two years after the Land Administration Law, the national government established the *Interim Regulations on the Sale and Transfer of the Land Use Rights over the Urban Land in China*,

presumably in response to fears of collusion and corruption within city administrations at the prospect of such a novel and ample source of revenue. The stipulations of this law indicated that investors must pay market rates for the use of sites for new development except when used for public goods, government agencies, the military, and the like. In Beijing's own *Implementation Guidelines* for the regulations in 1992, the municipality established that the government had the authority to allocate land for use as it saw fit, effectively negating the specific denial of the law of free land allocation in non-governmental projects. Soon after this, the State Council issued the stipulation that all land development must first undergo a bidding process, with the exception of government projects. One month later, in November 1993, Beijing answered this with a policy known as "Allocate First, Bid Later", allowing ODHR developers to receive the land for free first and pay for the right to develop upon the completion of the project. The result was that State Owned Enterprise (SOE) developers most often received land for redevelopment at far below market rate and provided the municipal or district government with favors, such as housing or money, in return (Fang and Zhang 2003:154-55). Overall, redevelopment of central Beijing represented huge amounts of revenue for the government and reshaped both the physical and social character of the Old City.

The rapidity with which redevelopment projects took shape and expanded relates to municipal or district control of the land and its development. Direct transfer of development rights to SOE developers involved secret negotiations that obscured project plans and timing from the public, such that even residents, at times, were given no more than a two-week notice of their need to relocate (Fang and Zhang 2003:157). As the government controlled the entire process internally, little information was public about the type and scale of the project, preventing the possibility for preservation authorities to take action. Even if the political context had encouraged resident

involvement or civic activity to protect neighborhoods, there was little opportunity for organization. The famous example of Dinghai, in Zhejiang province, represents the speed of destruction: listed by the province as an Historic and Cultural City in 1991, Dinghai was home to hundreds of intact Yuan, Ming, and Qing era examples of traditional local architecture, but was destroyed within weeks in June 2000 in order to create a new city landmark plaza (Shen and Chen 2010). Additionally, the municipal planning districts had jurisdiction even over designated preservation areas, unlike national or municipal level monuments which required approval from above and resulted in the aforementioned *penjing* style of development.

Increased Regulation, Market Protection, and NGOs

In response to the perceived failure of the national law, the CCP released a new version of the Cultural Relics Law in 2002 meant to close some of the loopholes and, in particular, hold accountable officials responsible for the destruction of protected heritage places. In the same year, Beijing Municipal Government issued two additional preservation documents promoting the significance and protection of the city's historic fabric: *Conservation Planning of 25 Historic Districts in Beijing Old City* and *Conservation Plan for the Historic and Cultural City of Beijing*.

These documents state five directives for working with historic sites within the city:

1. The overall style and features of the areas must be preserved;
2. Authentic historic features and heritage must be preserved, including historic architecture, courtyards, and traditional residences;
3. Renovation in historic areas must be gradual and measured;
4. Improvement of environment, infrastructure, and living standards of residents is necessary; and

5. Encouragement of public participation in preservation efforts is required. (Heath and Tang 2010:158)

The conservation plan included the results of survey work detailing the boundaries and composition of the 25 historic districts, information on historic materials and architectural styles, population density, property ownership, and additional demographic data. The document further proposed increasing the area under protection to 42% of the entire area of the Old City, within which no large-scale, clearance-style redevelopment would be allowed (Abramson 2007:151-2).

Prior to the release of these documents, the municipal government allocated 330 million RMB to the preservation of the 25 hutong districts in 2000. However, the portion invested in the Nanchizi project, in a protected district immediately east of the Forbidden City, covered only 10% of the project cost, requiring development of new luxury units for sale (UN-Habitat 2008:41). Accordingly, the Nanchizi project aimed to redevelop overcrowded historic housing within the framework of newly established preservation guidelines and within a feasible budget.²³ A Tsinghua University study of the neighborhood recommended gradual, incremental redevelopment in an effort to preserve tangible and intangible aspects of the place and not just its physical fabric (Campanella 2008:154-5). Ultimately, only nine of 240 siheyuan were preserved and new structures emulating the original demolished homes were erected and sold at market prices, upwards of US\$1 million (Campanella 2008:156). The project further gained attention because it defied the construction control and buffer zone required by the 1982 national law for

²³ Budget constraints were particularly challenging for redevelopment of historic areas due to a 2000 by-law referred to as the “101 document” that actively encouraged poor residents to relocate from historic properties and ensured government subsidies to this end or for rehabilitation should they decide to stay. As Nanchizi was exceedingly overcrowded, expenses would never be recouped if the site were redeveloped as working-class single-story buildings. See Campanella, Thomas J. 2008. *The concrete dragon : China's urban revolution and what it means for the world*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

the Forbidden City, a national-level protected and World Heritage Site. The extent of destruction (96% of original siheyuan) and faux re-creation of the historic urban landscape in Nanchizi after the promulgation of the 2002 *Conservation Plan* and despite restrictions for development around national-level sites evokes the ability of developers to evade preservation policy with lucrative results (see Fig. 12).

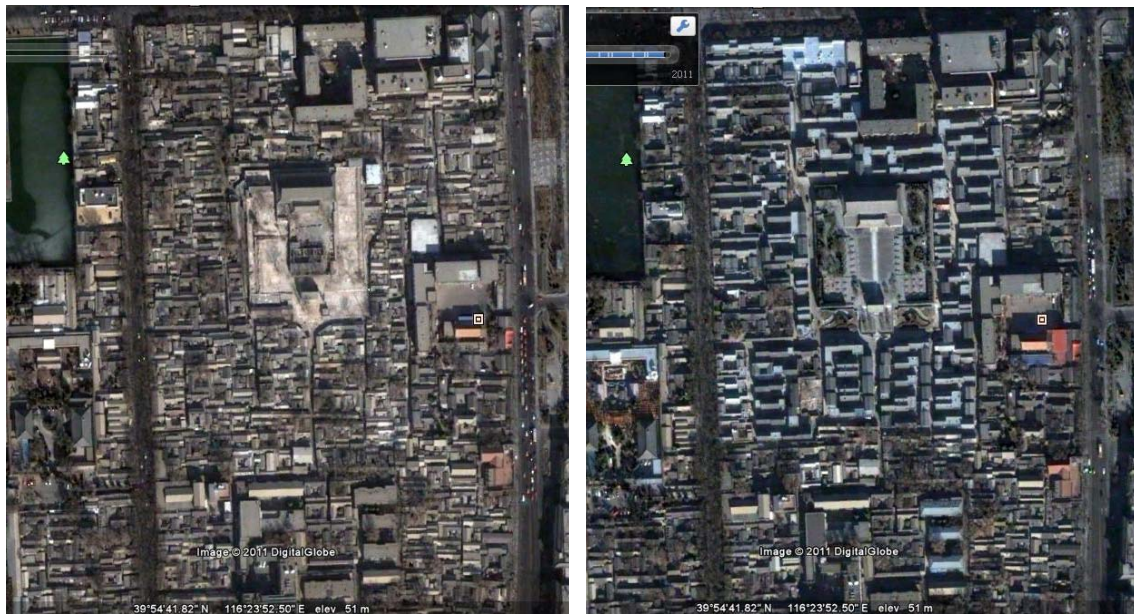


Figure 12. Comparison of Nanchizi in February 2002 (before) and December 2003 (after), around Pudu Si (Google Earth)

A 2004 Master Plan revision introduced concern for *hutong* and streetscapes in terms of “Conservation of the Checkerboard Road System and Hutong Fabric” and additional “Control of Building Height in the Old City” (Abramson 2007:152). In 2005, the Municipal Government enacted a comprehensive protection plan for the Old City covering a 7 km² area centered on the Forbidden City quintessentially forbidding new development within the 2nd Ring Road (Heath and Tang 2010:160). Despite these additional layers of protection for the historic urban fabric of the Old City, large redevelopment projects ensued (see Figs. 13 and 14). As with years before, recent policy for the protection of the traditional urban vernacular and infrastructure required

greater enforcement to curb unabashed development. A survey conducted in the same year identified 1,353 hutong within the Old City, 616 (46%) of which were located within designated areas (University of Civil Engineering and Architecture, Municipal Institute of Planning and Design, and Municipal Commission of Urban Planning 2008:12).

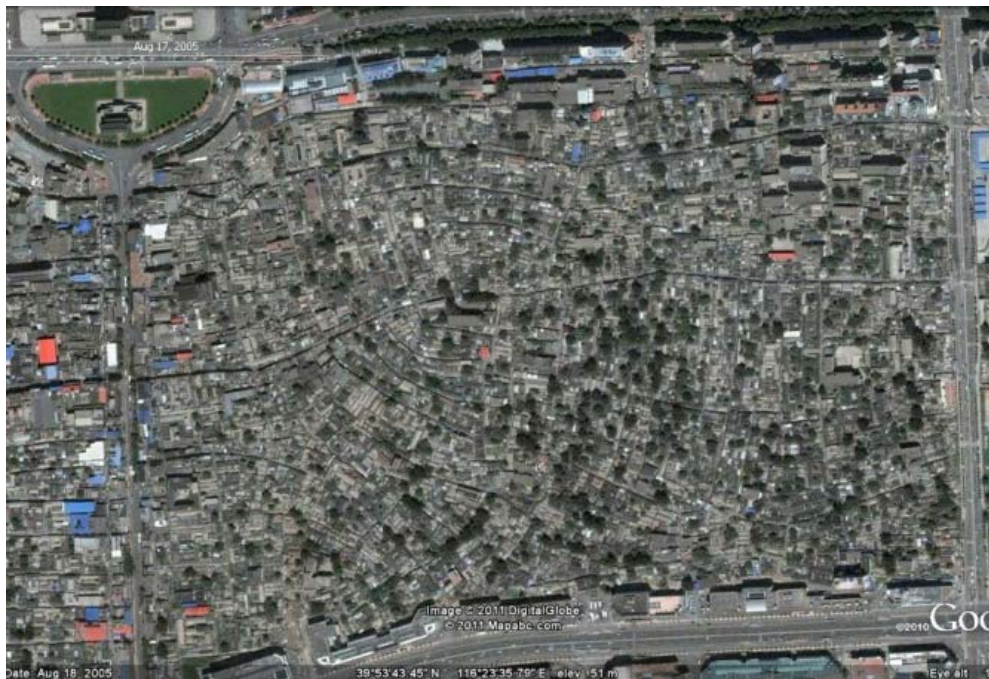


Figure 13. Qianmen Hutong in August 2005 (Google Earth)

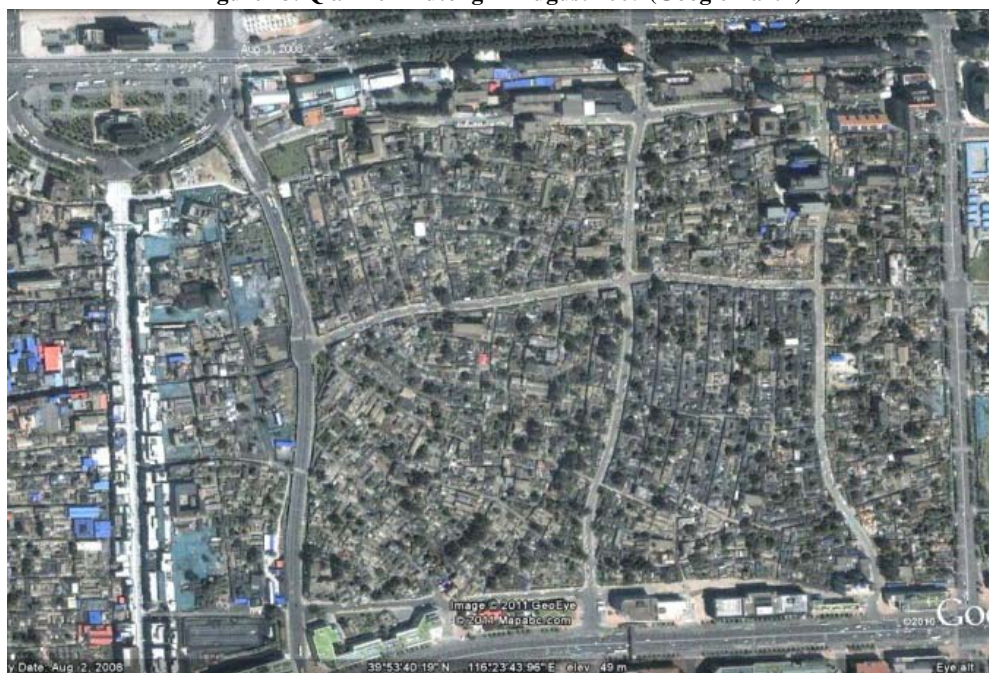


Figure 14. Qianmen Hutong in August 2008; particularly visible are the large roads cut through the neighborhood, as well as localized new development along these thoroughfares (Google Earth)

During the 1990s, as large swaths of traditional architecture succumbed to ODHR projects and other development efforts, a new trend of small scale preservation for elite consumers took root. Quite antithetically to the 1950s motivation to negate the consumptive nature of cities, a few wealthy individuals took on projects to restore siheyuan properties for use as private clubs, hotels, and restaurants, often for use by foreigners or wealthy Chinese. The Hong Kong China Club undertook a US\$8 million project to restore a siheyuan built by a Qing Dynasty royal that later served as home to Republic president Yuan Shikai and one of Deng Xiaopings' favorite Sichuan restaurants (Campanella 2008:156). Beijing began to encourage such investment and adaptive reuse of siheyuan in 2004 with the *Circular Encouraging Groups and Individuals to Buy Siheyuan in Beijing's Old Districts and Cultural and Historical Conservation Areas* that officially allowed foreigners to own the properties and provided tax breaks as incentives. By 2006, there were over 7000 siheyuan on the market in Beijing, with the most well preserved within the two northern districts of the Old City selling for as much as US\$5 million (Campanella 2008:158).

In recent years, another resource for heritage protection has come to the forefront, facilitated by changes in China's political context: NGOs. Efforts to involve citizens in local government decision-making and organize collective action have grown substantially since the 1990s and this has paved the way for both international and domestic involvement in preservation matters. The International Committee on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has long had an unregistered,²⁴ but

²⁴ International organizations are required to acquire registration in order to operate in an official capacity within the country. Tied to registration is the ability to open a bank account and have any legal status. However, obtaining registration for international NGOs is extremely difficult, so much so that even recognized organizations at times collaborating with local and central governments may not be registered.

engaged chapter and presence within the State Administration for Cultural Heritage (SACH).²⁵ Indeed, the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* were officially issued by China ICOMOS and approved by SACH in 2000, and have been used in numerous State-sanctioned professional training events. The document was drafted by a collaborative team composed of the SACH officials and the Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles to provide guidelines for preservation approaches, relevant expertise, and decision-making processes specific to the typology of Chinese heritage and the socio-political context. Although issued by an officially unrecognized organization and not a law, the *China Principles* are promulgated throughout the professional heritage sector in China. In 2005, China hosted the 15th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium of ICOMOS in Xi'an, during which was issued the *Xi'an Declaration on the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas*, a document that set forth principles for the protection of the environments and cultural landscapes of heritage places, a particular challenge for Chinese policy and practice. Therefore, even preservation practice is only informally governed, in a process that might be called "professional accountability", to adapt the Smulovitz and Peruzzotti (2000) term.

Domestically, interest in the preservation of cultural heritage has resulted in the creation of local grassroots organizations and officially recognized NGOs. Perhaps the most famous and also most pertinent to this discussion is the Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center (CHP), founded by a current SACH employee in 1998 and legally registered with the Beijing Bureau of Civil Affairs in 2003. The largely volunteer-based organization serves as an important resource for the community, as well as researchers, offering walking tours, educational events, and an open library of resources about Beijing's built heritage, particularly its vernacular building stock.

²⁵ Over my years of involvement in Chinese preservation efforts, I have had multiple conversations and meetings with staff from the ICOMOS office, the head of which is also a SACH employee.

In addition, the organization has been politically active, raising awareness about threatened properties and famously helping to cancel the redevelopment of the Drum and Bell Tower neighborhood, slated to become a fanciful, re-created commercial neighborhood, similar to the one built subsequently near Qianmen. Preservation has, for perhaps the first time in China, a powerful venue for community involvement in local planning decisions. The following chapter will discuss CHP and these examples in greater detail.

Better Sorry than Safe

The rapid destruction of Beijing's historic urban fabric from the late 1980s through the 2000s underscores the complex and conflicted landscape of policy and practice resulting from China's political and economic reforms. The ongoing transition from plan to market economy has provided a number of policy and implementation gaps related to local and state government jurisdiction and ambivalent political economy structure. Fang and Zhang highlight a "plan and market mismatch" that allowed local governments to benefit from dualistic urban land markets, skirting between allocation practices common to planned economies and the economic opportunities available in open markets (Fang and Zhang 2003:158). This mismatch provided Beijing Municipal Government with lucrative opportunities to redevelop central urban land and gain benefit from newly available profit. While this provided needed revenue for city coffers, preservation regulations went largely unheeded and required multiple policy iterations. There are even cases where buildings in awaiting designation were preemptively demolished to ensure that new development would not be impeded.²⁶

²⁶ The Prince's Charities Head of Development in China mentioned specific instances of this type to me in an interview on March 28, 2012. Interviews with other Beijing officials corroborated occurrences of this nature.

State and local power struggles contributed to the confusion and lack of preservation practice, as national legislation protecting historic sites required local policy to be implemented. Perhaps even more dramatically, attempts to curb abuse of land ownership and allocation rights by the State were summarily overridden by local law. The gaps between national and local policy enacted a preservation ‘no man’s land’ in Beijing that allowed for extensive demolition and drastic redevelopment of a large portion of the extant historic fabric integral to Beijing’s cultural identity.

The piecemeal preservation of the urban vernacular has resulted in a perforated historic landscape of few intact historic neighborhoods and far more individual rehabilitated or restored structures now owned and used by a new urban elite with no ties to the previous generations of residents. As land use rights became commodified at market rates, neighborhoods and individual properties of historic significance have become gentrified, forcing displacement of long-time residents and engendering change in the physical, social, and aesthetic character of urban landscape. However, these changes have also provided necessary economic development for the city and funds for preservation efforts within historic neighborhoods. The changing political climate has also facilitated the political engagement of the community through the agency of grassroots and non-governmental organizations, offering an opportunity for motivated citizens to impact planning decisions and processes. Additionally, the perceived need for action hastened the involvement of the international preservation community in the development of professional and legal guidelines, as well as in hands-on preservation efforts.

Despite the great losses within Beijing and other Chinese cities, there are historic neighborhoods that have weathered the storm of unfettered development and toothless preservation policy.

However, they remain under threat from the forces discussed above, as well as from new attention from the tourism industry. Developing effective and sustainable strategies for their current and future protection requires understanding the neighborhoods and resident communities as they are today and considering the forces that have contributed to their protection thus far. The following chapters present two case studies of designated historic neighborhoods in Beijing and Pingyao, informed by the theoretical framework and relevant politico-historical context already discussed.

Table 2. Relevant Planning Actions at State and Beijing Municipal Levels

Year	State	Beijing Municipality
1957		First listing of protected monuments
1978-9	State-wide Reforms	
1982	Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics	25 Traditional Courtyard Housing Preservation Districts
1983	Beijing listed "Renowned Historic and Cultural City"	
1984		Designation of national-level, municipal-level, and district-level protection
1985		municipal height restrictions
1986	Creation of historic districts promulgated	
1987		- Land Use and Height Control Planning Measures for the Old City of Beijing - Ju'er Project
1988	Land Administration Law	
1990	Interim Regulations on the Sale and Transfer of the Land Use Rights over the Urban Land in China	- ODHR Program - Conservation Plan for 25 Historic Areas in Beijing Old City
1992		Implementation Guidelines for Interim Regulations (1990)
1993	Bidding process required for Land Development	"Allocation first, bidding later"
2000	Promulgation of the <i>Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China</i>	
2002	- Revision of Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics	- Conservation Planning of 25 Historic Districts in Beijing Old City - Conservation Plan for the Historic and Cultural City of Beijing - Nanchizi project implemented
2004		- Conservation of the Checkerboard Road System and Hutong Fabric - Control of Building Height in the Old City - Circular Encouraging Groups and Individuals to Buy Siheyuan in Beijing's Old Districts and Cultural and Historical Conservation
2005	Hosting of ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium that resulted in the <i>Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites, and Areas</i>	Comprehensive protection plan for Old City

Chapter 5 – Beijing Case Study

As part of the strategy to understand the current factors in preservation decision-making in urban China, this case study offers a closer look at the physical and social composition of a designated historic neighborhood in Beijing. It is essential to recognize that such neighborhoods are not composed entirely of historic resources, nor are they necessarily staid, tranquil residential communities with little commercial activity. In contrast, the study area in question, like many of these neighborhoods, is a dynamic center of commerce and tourism with a mixture of historic buildings, communist-era *danwei*-style construction, and more recent new construction, renovation, and adaptive reuse. However, this neighborhood, like many other designated precincts in Beijing, maintains a character and streetscape associated with both Ming and Qing urban layout and aesthetic.

The political and development background discussed in the previous chapter provides some context for the preservation mechanisms and practices employed in urban centers across China. Of concern in this chapter are the socio-political and economic factors that contribute to the physical and social composition of the neighborhood. Description of the neighborhood details its layout, the nature and location of principal historic and cultural resources, and the variability of the built environment. Basic data on the political division and administration of the neighborhood is complemented by demographic and density information. Finally, results from a resident survey conducted within the neighborhood are presented and reveal demographics,

resident associations to the area, and local perspectives on neighborhood historic value and protection, as well as respondent views on future development.

Study Area Description

Research in Beijing focused on the Beixinqiao / Guozijian / Yonghegong (北新桥 / 国子监 / 雍和宫) neighborhood within the northeastern quadrant of the Old City (See Fig. 15). The neighborhood includes a mixture of historic resources, new construction, and sustained commercial activity. The neighborhood lies within the historic urban center of what is often called “Old Beijing”, in Dongcheng district, bounded by the 2nd ring road to the north, Dongzhimen Bei Xiao Jie (东直门北小街) on the east, Dongzhimen Nei Da Jie (东直门内大街), commonly called Gui Jie (簋街), and Jiaodaokou Dong Da Jie (交道口东大街) on the south, and Andingmen Nei Da Jie (安定门内大街) to the west (see Fig. 16). The area is bifurcated into two large blocks of meandering hutong by a principal north-south street called Yonghegong Da Jie (雍和宫大街), after the national-level protected Lama Temple (*yonghegong*) that lies within the study area. The widest east-west thoroughfare cuts through only the western block and is called Guozijian Jie (国子监街), after the Imperial Academy (*guozijian*) and associated Beijing Confucius Temple (*kongmiao*), which is also a national monument. Some of the principal east-west alleys are Jiaodaokou Bei Tou Tiao (交道口北头条), Jiaodaokou Bei Er Tiao (交道口北二条), Fangjia Hutong (方家胡同), and Wudaoying Hutong (五道营胡同) in the western block, and Beixinqiao San Tiao (北新桥三条), Qian/Houyongkang Hutong (前/后永康胡同), and Qinglong Hutong (青龙胡同) in the eastern block.

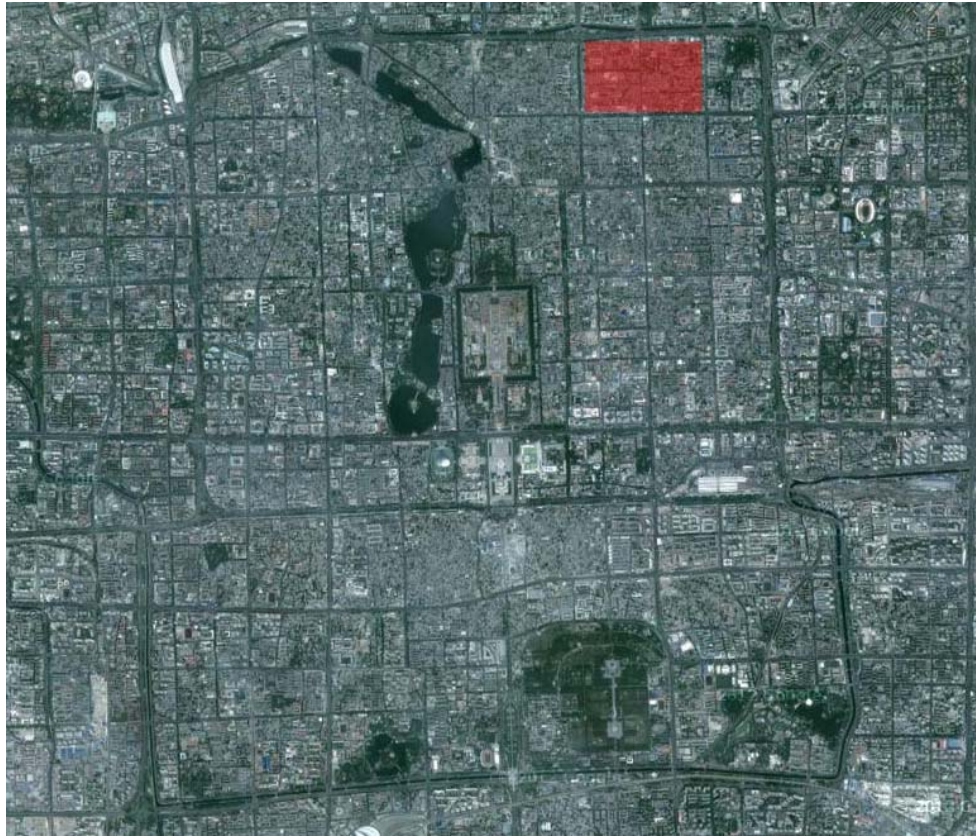


Figure 15. Satellite image of Beijing Old City, with study area highlighted in red (Google Earth)



Figure 16. Overview of entire study area with key thoroughfares and historic sites identified. (Tencent/China Siwei)

One can begin to discern the rather structured hierarchy of Old Beijing streets and alleyways from the description and associated maps above. The largest in the area are *da jie* (“large street”), followed by *jie* (“street”), then *hutong*, *tiao*, *xiang*, and *dao*, each narrower and administratively less significant than its predecessor. This network of sequentially narrower thoroughfares fanning out from larger ones was described by Wu Liangyong as “fish-bone-like” and serves to create a dense neighborhood of housing and businesses easily accessed by these alleyways (1999:74). These alleyways range from under 3m to over 9m in width and result in distinct patterns of usage, circulation, vehicular traffic, as well as differences in associated architectural function, facades, and fenestration, with wider streets naturally bearing higher levels of vehicular and foot traffic as well as increased commercial activity.

The two large blocks of the neighborhood are governed by two different sub-districts: west of Yonghegong Da Jie lies within the Andingmen sub-district, while the east block is assigned to the Beixinqiao sub-district. Each sub-district is further subdivided into neighborhoods with corresponding committees that serve as administrative units for resident registration and census recording, among other functions (see Fig. 17 and Table 3). Table 3 reveals that the entire study area has a resident population of approximately 30,000. This provides an estimated 22,000 people/km² and 8,925 households/km², which is corroborated in earlier research (Wang and Zhou 1999; Zheng and Kahn 2008). The data used represent the number of registered residents and households physically residing in the neighborhood, as compared to higher figures that represent total number of household registrations (*hukou*).²⁷

²⁷ The household registration system, or *hukou*, is a system of national record-keeping with ancient roots in China, but has been used more recently under the Communist regime to control movement of citizens by tying state subsidies and services to a person’s registered place of residence. Registration numbers often do not accurately reflect the number of residents in an administrative area because of unregistered relocations, nominal registrations through which individuals were allowed to purchase registration from the government without being residents, and the floating population, which represents residents unregistered individuals.

Table 3. Sub-district neighborhoods and corresponding residential populations²⁸

Andingmen sub-district			Beixinqiao sub-district		
Neighborhood	Population	Households	Neighborhood	Population	Households
Jiaodaokou Bei Tou Tiao 交道口北头条	4983	2230	Zangjingguan 藏经馆	2199	985
Guozijian 国子监	3580	1402	Qinglong 青龙	5530	1984
Wudaoying 五道营	4208	1683	Qianyongkang 前永康	5275	2110
			Caoyuan 草园	2623	1209
Totals	12771	5315	Totals	15627	6288



Figure 17. Approximate boundaries of residential administrative areas. (Tencent/China Siwei)

As the study area lies in the center of Beijing, it is the site of unprecedented economic dynamism and growth, with thriving businesses and developing commercialism. At the same time, the area is a densely populated residential quarter with a mix of public and private housing, including

²⁸ Data collected from Neighborhood Committees in September 2013.

one-story traditional-style architecture with pockets of multistory apartment buildings, some of which are the legacy of State-Owned Enterprise (SOE) unit housing.²⁹ While principal hutong thoroughfares are the site of bustling commercialism that can cater to local elite and expatriate residents, many of the smaller alleyways (tiao and xiang) are quiet, purely residential passages, shared by public housing beneficiaries sometimes living in near squalor and Beijing elite and expatriates living in modern construction residences, at times inspired by the traditional courtyard house (see Figs. 18-20).



Figure 18. Left, Xilou Hutong; right, Beixinqiao San Tiao at night



Figure 19. Left, Yushu Er Tiao; right, Jiadaokou Bei San Tiao

²⁹ In the *danwei* system, factories and other work outfits owned and operated by the State provided housing for their employees and dependents, often adjacent to the place of work, creating an entire compound of workers.



Figure 20. Left, Jianchang Hutong, small modern construction housing with lots of informal additions, in the shadow of the Imperial Academy behind; right, Guoxue Hutong, housing adjacent to the Confucius Temple.

The study area lies in two different designated preservation areas, with the majority of the neighborhood within the Guozijian – Yonghegong Historic and Cultural Preservation District. The southeastern portion of the area is part of the Xintaicang Historic and Cultural Preservation District, which takes its name from a hutong south of the study area, across Dongzhimen Nei Da Jie. Understanding the boundaries of these preservation areas has been impossible and many government-generated maps do not distinguish between different preservation areas. Similarly, interviews with municipal government officials and local academics revealed that it was highly likely that the boundaries of these districts were not necessarily clearly defined.³⁰ However, a survey of Old Beijing hutong carried out in 2005 by the Beijing University of Civil Engineering and Architecture, the Beijing Municipal Institute of Planning and Design, and the Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning (2008) shed some light on specific designated historic

³⁰ Similar sentiments were provided by the founder of the Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center, an officer from the Dongcheng Municipal Historic and Cultural Preservation Office, and a planning professor from Renmin University in interviews that took place from March to June, 2012.

districts and the historic resources therein. The preface to the resulting publication highlighted the challenges of understanding the current situation of Beijing hutong, stating that one of the key purposes for the study was “to develop through field investigation a thorough understanding of the number of hutong and their preservation condition, as well as establish a complete and accurate record, including names, drawings, and photographs” (University of Civil Engineering and Architecture, Municipal Institute of Planning and Design, and Municipal Commission of Urban Planning 2008: preface, no page number, *author trans.*). It is worth noting that one office of the National-Level Cultural Relics Preservation Unit is located within the Wudaoying Neighborhood.

Cultural Heritage Sites

The study area was chosen, in part, because of the wealth of recognized and designated structures located within and situated amidst modern highrise construction, adaptive reuse, and new construction in keeping with the tradition of the traditional courtyard (see Fig. 21). The study area is home to two national-level historic monuments: the city’s Confucius Temple (*kongmiao*), dating from the early 14th century and the second largest Confucius temple in China, combined with the adjacent Imperial Academy and Guozijian Da Jie, the wide treed pedestrian street that runs in front of the two buildings (see Figs. 22-24); and the Lama Temple (*yonghegong*), built in the late 17th century as a prince’s palace and later turned into a lamasery and national center of Lama administration under the Qing Emperor Qianlong (see Figs. 25-27).



Figure 21. An overview of land use in the study area.

Unshaded areas indicate primarily single-story residential and commercial architecture, historic and recent construction.

- Red areas indicate national-level protected sites.
- Purple areas indicate municipal-level protected sites.
- Green areas represent large groupings of “tagged courtyards”.
- Yellow shading indicates specific “surveyed heritage”.
- Orange areas are non-residential highrises, though some highrises indicated listed as government offices also serve as residences for retired cadres and others.
- Blue shaded areas indicate larger residential highrises and complexes; buildings less than 4 stories are not included.
- Thick orange lines indicate commercial centers on principal streets.
- Thick green lines indicate street-front greenspaces.



Figure 22. View of interior of Confucius Temple Complex (Tencent GS/qq.com)



Figure 23. View of interior of Guozijian Complex (Tencent GS/qq.com)



Figure 24. Image of *pailou* on Guozijian Jie, with Guozijian on left



Figure 25. Interior view of Yonghegong, with tourists



Figure 26. Yonghegong's largest building, Wanfuge (Pavilion of 10,000 Happinesses), which houses a 26m tall Maitreya Buddha statue carved from a single piece of white sandalwood.



Figure 27. Interior view of Yonghegong, northern end of complex, behind Wanfuge

Three municipal-level heritage sites are also located within the study area: Bailin Temple (see Fig. 28), a Tibetan Buddhist temple dating from the 14th century, now housing government and

commercial offices; a large courtyard complex once belonging to Qianlong’s third son, Prince Xun, on Fangjia Hutong; and another courtyard house, no. 7 Qianyongkang Hutong, also dating to the Qing Dynasty. District-level protected buildings include a number of courtyards categorized as *guapai baohu yuanluo*, or “tagged protected courtyards”, in the central western section of the eastern block (see Fig. 29) and others scattered throughout the area. In addition to these designated properties, there is additional “surveyed cultural heritage” (*pucha wenwu*), whose protection status is unclear, although these sites have been identified by generalized surveys as cultural resources. One example is the Lama Temple Ancestral Hall, for which I could find very little background information (not part of Yonghegong; see Fig. 30).



Figure 28. Left: Satellite image of Bailin Si (Tencent/China Siwei). Right: Guarded entrance to temple, now used for government offices.



Figure 29. Two “tagged courtyards” on Zangjingguan Hutong are identified by blue plaques reading “Protected Courtyard, Dongcheng District”. Even partial view of compound interiors reveals extensive modern interventions.



Figure 30. Lama Temple Ancestral Hall on Zangjingguan Hutong, just east of Yonghegong, is a “surveyed heritage site”. The plans for the complex are unclear, though most windows and doors are filled in and public exercise equipment has been installed in front.

Additionally, neighborhood committees keep records on the number of courtyards within their jurisdictions, although no other information on condition, authenticity, or historicity, e.g. historic courtyard houses versus new construction, is included. For example, the Beixinqiao portion of the study area lists 675 courtyards across three of the neighborhoods, the Caoyuan Neighborhood

data being unavailable. The Wudaoying neighborhood in Andingmen subdistrict records 207 courtyards in 2010 and data for the two other neighborhoods were unavailable. Extrapolating from the available data, we can assume the entire neighborhood has roughly 1,500 courtyards. However, given the greater amount of redevelopment in the Andingmen block and the area taken up by municipal buildings such as Beijing no. 6 Hospital, Dongcheng Library, and the large Guozijian – Confucius Temple Complex, the number may be lower.

Use and Reuse of Heritage Structures

The most important complexes and buildings within the study area have either been turned into museums or found new life as subdivided housing or government offices, while simultaneously enjoying some level of heritage designation protection (see Fig. 31). Yonghegong, or the Lama Temple, is unique among the historic sites in the area in that it maintains its original program and function as an active monastery replete with a resident monastic community of principally ethnic Tibetans and Mongolians. The temple simultaneously serves as the national center of lama³¹ administration, a center of worship, and one of Beijing's principal tourist destinations.³² In contrast, the Confucius Temple and Guozijian serve principally as tourist attractions and museums, showcasing the stately architectural complexes and the age-old practices that once took place within (See Fig. 32). Both of these sites receive far fewer tourists than Yonghegong, despite tourism being their principal function.³³

³¹ Lama (Tib. *bla-ma*) is the term used to refer to monks of any Tibetan Buddhist sect and means literally “chief” or “high priest”.

³² Yonghegong received over 25,000 visitors on one day of the Spring Festival (Chinese New Year) in 2014. See Fenghuang wang caijing, “Gugong Yonghe gong deng jingqu youke huiluo, kejiguan da zeng,” (2014, http://finance.ifeng.com/a/20140204/11594027_0.shtml).

³³ Although visitation numbers for these sites were unavailable, observations over a period of four months were corroborated by discussions with workers and caretakers, as well as local residents.



Figure 31. Study area with highlighted national (red) and municipal-level (purple) heritage sites (Google Earth)



Figure 32. Plaques at the entrance to the Confucius Temple indicating, in clockwise order, the site's National Cultural Heritage Designation, “4A” National Tourist Attraction, Guozijian Jie’s listing as a China Famous Historical and Cultural Street, and prohibited fire area.

Heritage sites protected at the municipal level have tended to experience a change in program. The former residence of Prince Xun (1736-95), third son of Qing Emperor Qianlong at 13-15 Fangjia Hutong, was subdivided into multiple residences and still serves this function today, housing not only retired cadres, but also expatriate professionals³⁴ (see Figs. 33-35). To the west

³⁴ I managed to meet one Italian resident of the complex who informed me that two other expats were in residence.

of the complex and, according to some sources,³⁵ on part of the prince's original grounds, was established in 1906 one of the area's most illustrious elementary schools, Fangjia Hutong Xiaoxue. The subdivision and rental of imperial and mandarin urban courtyard homes was a common fate for these buildings while some were offered to high-level government cadres and military leaders. This is the case of 7, Qianyong Hutong, a courtyard house built by a eunuch in the late Qing Dynasty that was later the home of two important military figures under Mao, General Xu Haidong and Marshal Chen Yi.³⁶ The complex is said to be in an impressive state of preservation with intact walkways, rockeries, and pavilions. Bailin si, or the "Temple of the Cypress Grove", was one of the original "eight great temples" around Dadu, as Beijing was called under the Yuan Dynasty, and originally built in 1347. The temple has undergone multiple restorations under Ming and Qing emperors and is today home to various government offices and not open to the public. These municipal-level designated complexes are important examples of adaptive reuse and continuity of this type of built heritage. However, these examples highlight decades-old changes in building program and function, often instituted by the government; newer adaptive reuses appear to relate more closely to economic opportunity, rather than political edict.

³⁵ The official address of the school is No. 17 Fangjia Hutong, but site analysis suggests that at least part of the school's grounds overlap with part of the Prince Xun complex. This is corroborated by www.baike.com, which mentions the school is sited at both nos. 15 and 17 Fangjia Hutong in "quaint, antique princely architecture" (*guxiang guse wangfu jianzhu*). See <http://www.baike.com/wiki/北京市东城区方家胡同小学>.

³⁶ A brief history of the courtyard house is available on Beijing's Municipal Government website at http://english.bjww.gov.cn/wbdw/view_sb_Info.asp?id=332 under the listing of the site as part of the "Seventh Group of Cultural Heritage Units under Municipal Protection".



Figure 33. Fangjia Hutong, facing east, entrance to no. 13, residence of Prince Xun, on left



Figure 34. Fangjia Hutong, no. 13, interior courtyard, used as residences



Figure 35. Fangjia Hutong, no. 13, interior courtyard, entrance to western courtyard

Two interesting examples of more recent heritage buildings are also worth mention, although they do not enjoy any protected status. The first is the five-story Huaqiao International Traveler Inn, located at the eastern end of Beixinqiao San Tiao (see Fig. 36). The building was designed by the famous architect and preservationist Liang Sicheng and opened in 1953. It is distinct in its integration of traditional vernacular decorative features, such as a gabled roof covered in green glazed tile, *dougong* (decorative cantilevered members), and *caihua* (multicolored painted decoration on the stylized architrave beneath the eaves). The second example is a former industrial complex located on Paoju Tou Tiao, to the east of the Lama Temple (see Fig. 37). The complex was originally established as an artillery factory in the 18th century, during the time of Emperor Qianlong, and later became a weapons depot and prison. In 2007, it was converted into a youth hostel and now welcomes international travelers seeking affordable accommodations in the area, an example of successful adaptive reuse.



Figure 36. Huaqiao Traveler Inn, as seen from the south



Figure 37. Left and right, P.Loft Youth Hostel, adaptive reuse of 19th c. munitions factory

Given China's modern political and economic history, discussed in the last chapter, the growing value of central city land use rights has encouraged and, perhaps, even required that viable, sustainable land use programs integrate the generation of revenue. In other words, the expanding real estate market and related physical development have greatly impacted program and form of urban centers. Seemingly in response to this, adaptive reuse has become a trendy approach for new businesses aimed at serving a public with growing levels of expendable income and rising standards for service and aesthetically pleasing environments. Interest in China's past evidenced by exponential growth in domestic tourism and success of cultural theme parks and heritage sites among consumers (Li, Wu, and Cai 2008; Li 2004; Nyíri 2006; Oakes 1998; Xu and Kruse 2003;

Yang, Lin, and Han 2010) has driven a market for novel, historic experiences in restaurant, bar, café, and similar settings.

These modern tastes for an older aesthetic have greatly impacted architecture in the study area and throughout Beijing's Old City. Wudaoying Hutong, across the street from the heavily visited Lama Temple, is home to a number of small proprietor commercial ventures, principally eclectic cafes and bars that appeal to modern Chinese youth and young professionals and their international counterparts. Following the commercial reuse of older buildings in Nanluogu Xiang, an often overrun tourist attraction further west adjoining the famed Ju'er Hutong and Wu Liangyong's creative housing project discussed in the previous chapter, Wudaoying Hutong has a number of interesting adaptive reuses and new buildings that reference traditional hutong and siheyuan aesthetic (see Figs. 38-40). Other examples are common throughout the study area (see Fig. 41).



Figure 38. Left, view of Nanluogu Xiang overrun by tourists; right, one of the adaptive reuses on Nanluogu Xiang



Figure 39. Left, interpretive plaque at entrance to Wudaoying Hutong; right, view of western end of Wudaoying, which has yet to succumb to high levels of redevelopment/reuse and retains long-term residents.



Figure 40. Wudaoying, Hutong Adaptive reuse of older buildings for commercial purposes: left, façade of a salon and spa; right, interior courtyard of restaurant/café



Figure 41. Adaptive reuses: left, Jianchang Hutong, restaurant; right, Guozijian Jie cafe

This trend has further impacted new construction within the study area, with new commercial and residential construction mimicking the style and aesthetic of traditional hutong architecture (see Fig. 42). Cafes and stores use the siheyuan form and style (see Chapter 4) to attract consumers and tourists alike. In many cases, it is difficult to know without specific construction details whether structures are entirely composed of new materials or integrate original fabric, such as post and beam members, brick, and roof tiles. Modern courtyard houses are appealing to Chinese and expats who want to live in the city center in traditional-style housing and can afford to do so (see Figs. 43-44).



Figure 42. Guozijian, left and right, two newly constructed storefronts in traditional style



Figure 43. Left, Qianyongkang Er Xiang new courtyard houses; right, interior courtyard of No. 2.



Figure 44. Caoyuan Hutong new courtyard house

Residential Architecture

Historic neighborhoods undergoing the type of development highlighted above appear to present a dichotomous nature: increased economic activity and benefit for certain historic structures, on the one hand, and marginalization of poorer, less politically powerful residents, on the other. Shin (2010) highlights this nature in consideration of the Nanluogu Xiang area, noting that preservation policies combined with increased market interest in older structures facilitated the protection and revalorization of historic resources and generated new revenue for the neighborhood. However, many residents were unable to benefit from the new opportunities as they were unable to take part in the decision-making and preservation processes because they lacked the “voice” to do so. In the study area, neighborhood census data indicates that retired persons represent from 14% to 40%, depending on the neighborhood, of the entire population and those relying on minimum subsistence subsidies from the government (*dibao*)³⁷ represent between 3% and 9%, indicating that a substantial portion of the residential population may be reliant on government aid.

³⁷ *Zuidi shenghuo baozhang* (“minimum subsistence subsidy”), often shortened to *dibao*, is a government subsidy to ensure citizen incomes meet the predetermined minimum household subsistence amount. Any shortfall is provided by the municipal government. The *dibao* for Beijing was raised in January 2013 to 580¥ per month.

Survey results (see below) and interviews with local government officials revealed that the majority of residents are unable to afford the newly built or restored residential structures within the Old City and continue to inhabit older, though not necessarily historic, housing with poor insulation and few amenities. Neighborhood observations indicated that the forms of housing structures range from traditional siheyuan to stylized rowhouses and highrises (see Fig. 45). The single-story government-owned residences tend to be older structures in poorer condition and, in many cases, facilities like kitchens and bathrooms are not included within the dwellings (Hsing 2010) (see Fig. 46). Public bathrooms maintained by the municipal government are numerous throughout the city and serve as the primary facilities for a large portion of the population in these older single-story residences. My own observations documented multiple types of efforts to improve the living conditions, including temporary roof repairs and informal additions in the form of added storage areas, makeshift lofts, and even provisional second stories (see Fig. 47). Interviews with local preservation professionals and government officials revealed that these types of additions are illegal.³⁸ Although there is desire among many residents in poorer condition public housing to relocate, many refuse to leave without adequate compensation, well aware of the value of the land use rights they currently lease. However, the government is unable to afford these payments, so many residents continue to live within poor conditions, unwilling to relocate without perceived “fair market” compensation and unable to afford other options without government assistance.³⁹

³⁸ From interviews with the Prince’s Charities Head of Development for China, the China Heritage Protection Center Founder, and a Dongcheng Municipal Historic Preservation official in March and June 2012.

³⁹ A representative from the Dongcheng Municipal Historic and Cultural Preservation Office spoke candidly about the challenges of the public housing residents in an interview on June 6, 2012. He mentioned specifically the poor conditions, high density, and lack of options for these poorer residents reliant on low-cost housing provided by the government. At the same time, he underscored that these residents were often unreasonable, as many have been offered relocation opportunities, but refuse to leave. The official mentioned specifically their desire for exorbitant



Figure 45. Left, Jiadaokou Bei San Tiao modern highrise residences; right, Beilimin Hutong modern single-story residences adjacent to older courtyard style buildings



Figure 46. Left, courtyard with stove on left, under makeshift shelter; right, public bathroom in Qianyongkang Hutong



Figure 47. Left, informal storage structures on left side abutting *danwei* compound; right, informal second story addition

payouts, but the survey also reveals the importance of community ties and attachment to place to some of the participants.

Resident Survey

The survey was conducted over the course of three weeks in the spring of 2012 to better understand the socio-economic status of older, traditional-style courtyard residents and also capture perceptions of their neighborhoods, preservation, development and tourism. Analysis of the data includes basic review of frequencies and distributions, as well as statistical relationships between expressed sentiments and self-identified groups within the sample. A total of 243 questionnaires were completed for the entire study area, ensuring mixed geographic sampling across the neighborhood (see Chapter 2 for details on survey methodology and implementation). Survey results are presented according to the five thematic subjects of the questionnaire, organized as follows: demographics, relationship to neighborhood, recent history and impact of tourism, perspective on historic value and preservation, and projection of neighborhood changes. Inferential statistical analysis was carried out to identify relationships between participant opinions, demographics, and relationship to the neighborhood through hypothesis testing, correlation, and regression analysis.

Demographics

Gender, age, local status

Of the 243 respondents surveyed in the Beijing study area, roughly 40% were male and 55% female, with nine (4%) respondents failing to provide this information. Age distribution of respondents was broad, ranging from 18 (pre-established as minimum age to participate in the survey) to over 70 years of age. The most represented age group was 30-39, totaling over one-fourth of respondents, followed by those aged 50-59, who represented 20% of the sample. Participants aged 30-59 represented over two-thirds of total respondents, with younger

participants totaling less than one-fifth and older only about 14%. Self-proclaimed locals represented a clear majority of 57%.

Household information

When asked how many households were included in the respondents' compound or courtyard, nearly half responded only 1 (see Fig. 48). The mean response was three, but 20% of respondents failed to answer this question. Three outliers responding 15, 17, and 30 suggest that these respondents reside in legacy *danwei* apartment-style housing within the neighborhood or adjacent highrise buildings outside the demarcated study area, discussed in previous chapters. Nearly 40% of respondents indicated they had 3-4 members in their household, with 17% indicating two or less and one-fourth answering five or more members. Again, some 20% of respondents did not respond to this question.

Monthly household income responses covered a similarly broad range, from less than 500 RMB to more than 10,000 RMB (see Fig. 49).⁴⁰ Roughly 50% of respondents indicated a household income between 2000 and 6000 RMB per month.⁴¹ A quarter of participants answered that their monthly household income was above 6000 RMB. However, nearly a quarter failed or refused to respond to the question.

⁴⁰ The question provided bracketed income ranges in a multiple choice format in response to research indicating this generated better response rates than an open-ended format. Ting Yan, Richard Curtin, and Matthew Jans, "Trends in Income Nonresponse over Two Decades", *Journal of Official Statistics* 26:1 (2010): 145-64.

⁴¹ The average *individual* monthly income for 2012 was 5,223RMB. See the website for the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistic accessible at http://www.bjstats.gov.cn/tjzn/mcjs/201306/t20130608_250284.htm.

Figure 48. Household size

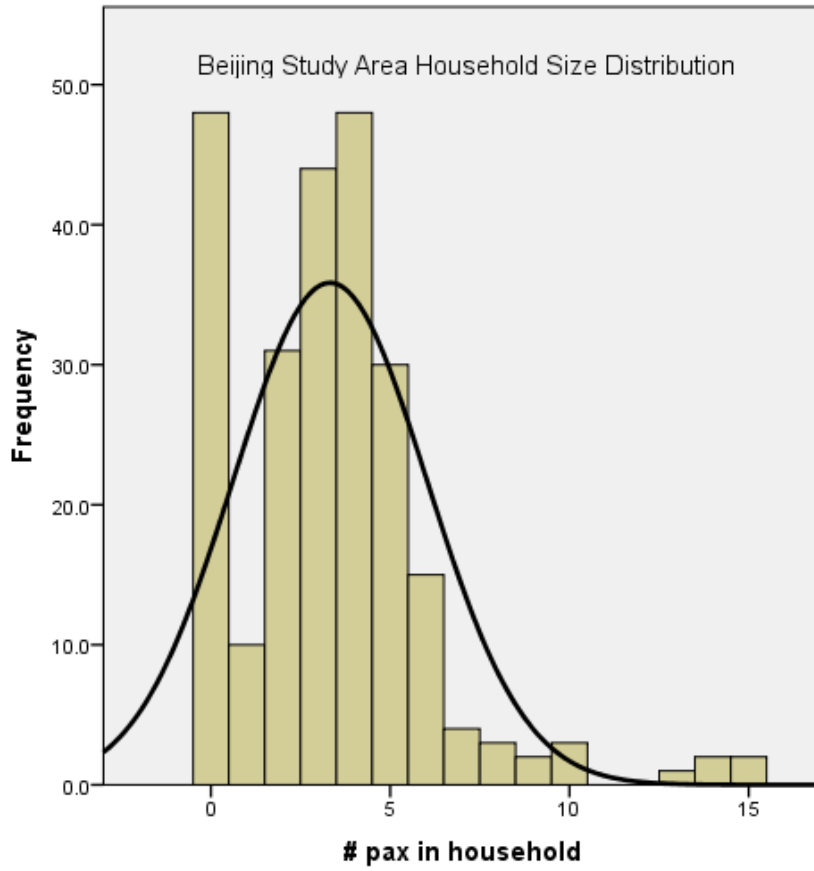
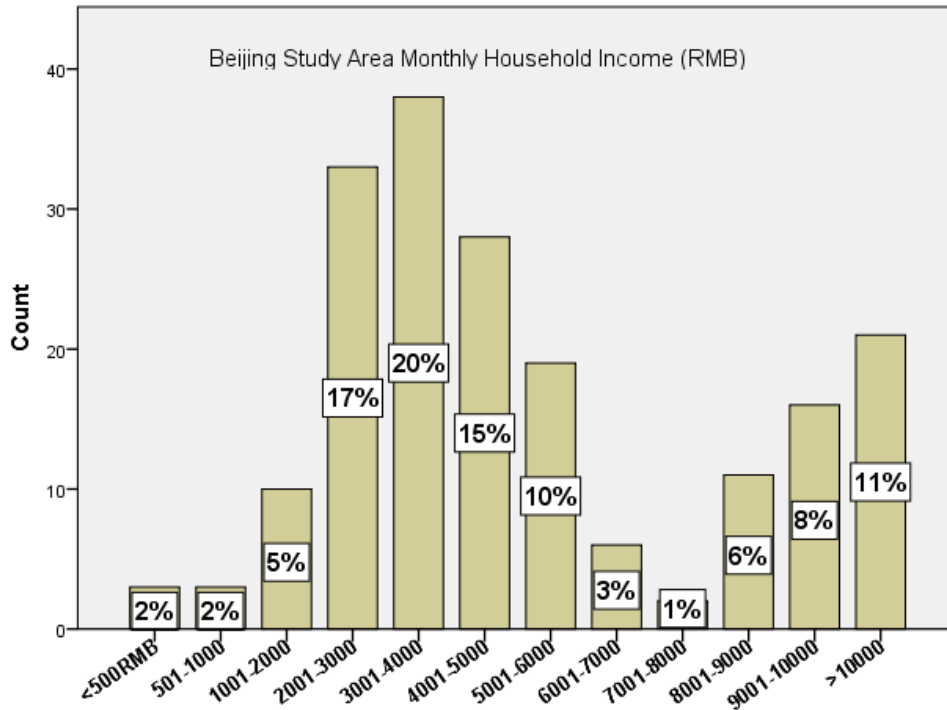


Figure 49. Household monthly income



Relationship to neighborhood

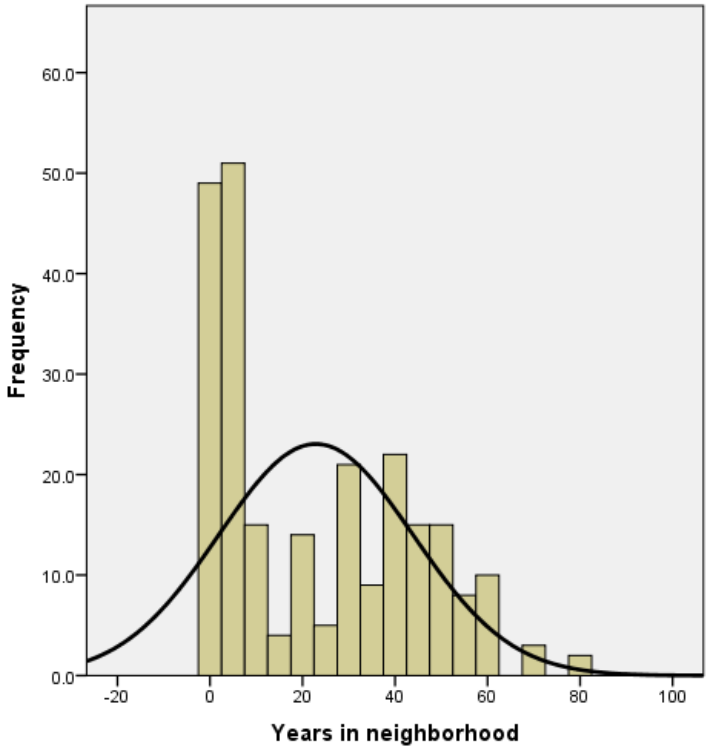
Respondents included residents, business owners, and employees. Residents represented 58% of respondents and business owners 30%. Landlords, i.e. owners of homes for rent, represented 3% and employees roughly 7%. Five respondents were in the “other” category and represented outliers improperly screened by surveyors prior to allowing them to fill out the questionnaire. Just over half of respondents were renters, and 43% owned their residences or businesses.

Slightly less than a third of all participants had lived or worked in the case study neighborhood four years or less (see Fig. 50). Half of respondents indicated having been in the neighborhood for 20 years or more, revealing that the majority of respondents had an established relationship to the area and should have been intimately familiar with the community and the built environment. Over half indicated that their neighborhood had either “High” or “Extremely important” historic value, while another third of respondents rated this value at “Medium”. Only 9% considered their neighborhood to have “Low” significance and another 5% indicated “There is no historic value” (see Table 4). A comparison of means showed that there was no significant difference in opinions of the neighborhood historic rating between renters and owners, although owners were more likely to rate their own residences as having historic value than renters. However, there was a significant relationship ($\text{Sig} = .009 < .05$) between respondents indicating a strong sense of community and assigning greater historic value to their neighborhood. Similarly, respondents reporting higher income tended to assign the neighborhood greater historic value, possibly reflecting higher levels of education and their own attraction to the neighborhood.

Table 4. Respondent historic rating of neighborhood

Historic rating	Percentage
No historic value	5.5
Low	8.9
Medium	34.2
High	40.9
Extremely important	10.5

Figure 50. Number of years respondents have resided/worked in neighborhood



When asked what spatial units were most relevant to respondents, half indicated the hutong, and its smaller offshoots, tiao and xiang. Just over a quarter identified the block, or *jiequ*, as their unit of strongest neighborhood association, while a little more than one-tenth each identified the smallest unit, the courtyard (*yuanluo*), and the largest unit, sub-district (*jiedao*). Well over half (58%) of respondents reported that their neighborhoods had strong community relationships, while a quarter of respondents felt such camaraderie only existed among certain people. Owners were more likely to indicate they felt a sense of community than renters and, not surprisingly,

statistically significant relationships existed between the number of years in the neighborhood and greater sense of community perceived by respondents. The principal reasons respondents perceived either or strong sense of community or entire lack therefore were that “neighbors often interact” (72%), “no interaction” (20%), and successful local business (6%).

A wide variety of neighborhood businesses were frequented by residents and local workers. Most used were food markets (72%), restaurants (66%), and services (62%), which included haircutting, dry cleaning, bicycle repair and the like (see Table 5). Just over half of respondents indicated they use local convenience shops, and 45% reported frequenting local clothing and accessories outfits. Bars and/or cafes were selected by 40% of respondents. Only one-fifth of participants indicated using mobile vendors, a time-tested business model in traditional urban neighborhoods in China that include products and services as diverse as knife sharpening, collection of unwanted goods, ceramic repair, and vegetable selling.

Table 5. Neighborhood businesses frequented by respondents

Business Type	Percentage indicating patronage
None used	6%
Food market	72%
Restaurants	66%
Cafes/bars	41%
Services	62%
Clothing/accessories	45%
mobile vendors	20%
convenience shops	52%

In an effort to demonstrate respondent ties to the neighborhood, the questionnaire then asked respondents if they would leave, given the opportunity. A clear majority (64%) answered they would not leave the neighborhood, while 12% would consider it and another 11% indicated they did not know. One-tenth responded they would probably or definitely leave the neighborhood

and 4 respondents (1.6%) revealed they have plans to leave the neighborhood in the near future. A comparative means test revealed that renters were more likely to answer with uncertainty than owners. Strong linear (Sig = .005) and non-linear (Sig = .000) relationships existed between the identification of a strong community and unlikelihood of respondents leaving the neighborhood. Similarly, those reporting higher incomes were more likely to indicate they would not leave the neighborhood, a logical outcome since wealthier respondents would have their choice of residences. Respondents willing to leave the neighborhood were asked about the principal factors for wanting to depart. Only 83 participants responded to this question, indicating overcrowding (48%) and poor conditions (40%) as principal motivations for considering leaving the neighborhood. Lack of indoor plumbing (25%), the presence of too many outsiders (19%), and lack of central heating (16%) represented the other most popular reasons (see Table 6).

Table 6. Motivations for wanting to leave neighborhood

Selected reasons	Percentage
Overcrowding	48%
Poor Condition	39%
poor/no indoor plumbing	24%
too many outsiders	19%
no central heat	16%
too many tourists	7%
traditional lifestyle	4%

This same subgroup of respondents was further asked whether they would want to stay in the neighborhood if these problems were addressed; 96 participants answered the question. Half indicated they would remain in the neighborhood and nearly a third stated “Maybe”. Only one-tenth of these respondents answered a firm “No”. When asked if they would stay if they owned property, 8% indicated they were already property owners, but nearly half responded they would

stay. A quarter of those who were posed the question responded they did not know and another 13% said they might stay. Less than a tenth indicated they would not stay if they owned property.

Respondents were asked an open-ended “Why?” after the previous question (see Fig. 51). Coding of the answers resulted in the following principal terms: convenience (40%), home (13%), and economic security (11%). ‘Convenience’ relates to location of the neighborhood and/or respondent home and/or business, as well as circulation through the area. ‘Home’ denotes ideas of belonging, attachment and sense of home, including mentions of multiple generations living there or respondent lifetime spent there. Economic security most often represents mention of financial stability and freedom, as well as legacy for children.

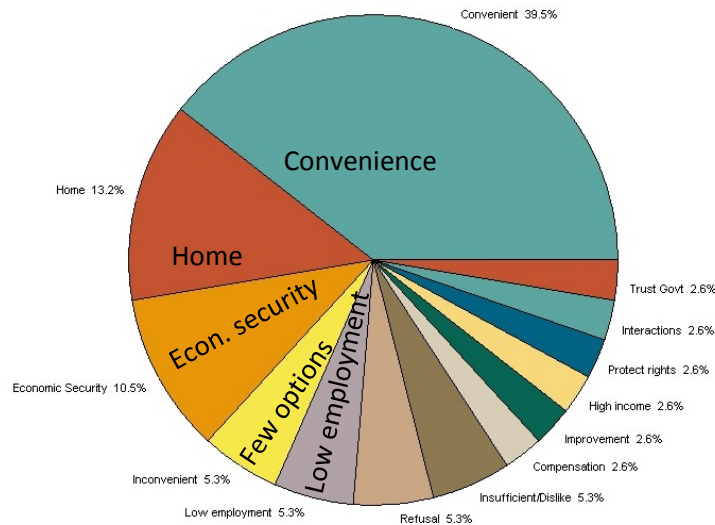


Figure 51. Why respondents would stay/leave if owned property

Historic value and preservation

All respondents were asked whether they felt the neighborhood should be protected and one-third answered that “all buildings and streets” should be protected (see Fig.52). One quarter of participants agreed to protection, but indicated it depended on circumstances, and one-fifth said

only some buildings should be protected. Roughly 17% were unsure, indicating “Maybe”, and only 3% responded “No”. Respondents indicating they felt a strong sense of community tended to call for more aggressive neighborhood protection (Sig = .000 < .05). To capture respondent perspectives on neighborhood preservation, the next question asked why the area had not yet been redeveloped with modern highrise buildings and provided respondents with a number of options (see Table 7). “Government policy” (58%) was the most popular response, followed by “tourism” (29%), “lack of funds” (29%), and “community involvement” (13%).

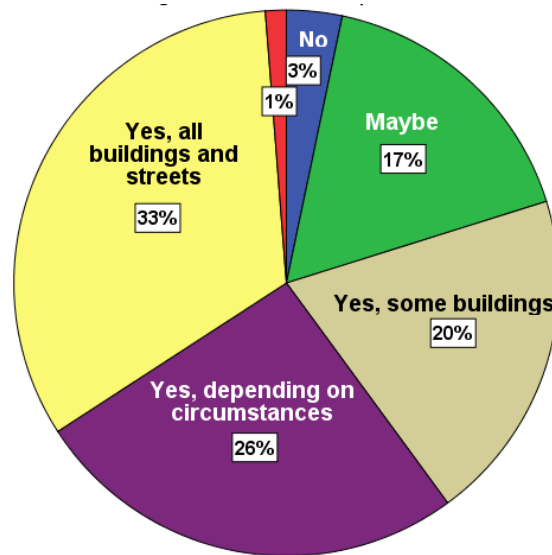


Figure 52. Respondent views on whether neighborhood should be protected

Additionally, the questionnaire asked respondents if there was any policy currently protecting the neighborhood. Roughly equal numbers (27%) answered positively and negatively; almost half indicated that they were unsure. Participants assigning high value to the neighborhood and/or their residences along with owners were more likely to indicate that preservation policy existed. Respondents answering other than “No” were asked a series of subsequent questions. In attempting to record perceived effects of preservation policy, the multiple response question listed a number of possible responses, including an open response for additional information. Of

121 respondents in this subgroup, 59% reported that neighborhood protection was a result of government policy, 50% cited increased tourism, and 23% indicated new development was spurred on by enacted preservation policy (see Table 8).

Table 7. Reasons neighborhood has not been redeveloped

Reason selected	Percentage
Govt policy	58.3%
Lack of funds	28.7%
Lack of interest/neglect	11.3%
Community involvement	13.0%
Tourism	29.1%
Too many highrises already	6.5%

Table 8. Impact of preservation policy

Effects of policy	Percentage
More community involvement	9.1%
Less community involvement	4.1%
Neighborhood protection	58.7%
New development	23.1%
Increased tourism	50.4%
No effect	8.3%

This same group of respondents was further asked if they knew of any recent efforts to preserve the neighborhood or individual buildings. Only 13% indicated knowing of any such efforts and were asked to elaborate. Noted in these responses were successful individual efforts to thwart demolition of residences, renovation projects, and protection of courtyard-style homes that requires government approval for innovation. One respondent also simply noted the Cultural Heritage Office (*wenwu bumen*), suggesting that there was awareness of the office jurisdiction over certain aspects of physical development in a designated heritage neighborhood. Of particular interest were three mentions of Cultural Revolution-era efforts to demolish buildings, some apparently in and around the Confucius Temple, which met with the resistance of local residents, although I have not uncovered any official reference to these events.

All respondents were asked to rate the historic value of their residence or place of business (see Table 9). Half rated their home or workplace as either “High” or “Extremely important” and just under one-third indicated “Medium”. Less than 20% of respondents considered their building to be of low historic value or below (i.e. having no value). As with other questions, there was a significant relationship (Sig = .000) between indication of a strong sense of community and increased historic value of residences.

Table 9. Respondents’ historic rating of their buildings

Respondent rating	Percentage
No value	7.9%
Low	11.3%
Medium	30.4%
High	40.4%
Extremely important	10.0%

Table 10. Changes and repairs made by respondents

Buildings changes	Percentage
Roof repairs	16.0%
New roof	9.2%
Addition	8.4%
Partial renovation	35.9%
Complete renovation	42.7%
Plumbing	22.9%
Reconstruction	9.9%

The questionnaire continued by asking if respondents had made any changes or improvements to their residences or places of business (see Table 10). Half of the sample indicated they had carried out some form of work on their buildings, while a quarter indicated they did not want to make any changes. Another 16% indicated they had not yet made any repairs or updates, but intended to. Not surprisingly, owners were much more likely to have already made repairs or be planning to do so than renters. Of those who reported that they had already carried out some

form of work on their buildings, nearly half specified “complete renovation”, over a third reported “partial renovation”, and one-fourth highlighted “plumbing”, which could include introduction of plumbing into the building or renewal of pre-existing facilities and fixtures. Roof repairs were also mentioned by 16% of respondents.

Finally for this section, respondents were asked how they would respond to threatened demolition of their neighborhood (see Table 11). Almost one-half indicated that there was nothing they could do in response to the threat. However, 30% reported they would encourage community action and 20% specified they would complain to the government. Involving the media (18%) was also a popular response, followed by protest (15%). Not surprisingly, owners were more likely to indicate a desire to take action. There was also a significant statistical relationship (Sig = .003) between respondents having made changes or planning to make changes and responses of defiance and activism in response to threatened demolition. As a follow-up to this question, respondents were asked simply “Why?” and provided space for an open response (see Fig. 53). The principal concepts highlighted by these answers, expressed as percentage of total codes, are: impact (19%), powerlessness (15%), community voice (9%), refusal (9%), comfort (7%), and trust in government (7%). ‘Impact’ encompasses the idea of having some influence over the course of events, whether government decision-making and action or community involvement. ‘Powerlessness’ represents sentiments of political impotence, which was often expressed in the responses as “one person has minimal power.” The term ‘community voice’ highlights the concept of community action and the influence that an entire community can have over its environment and related political decision-making. ‘Refusal’ reflected sentiments of personal, i.e. not organized, disobedience, sometimes simply expressed as “I won’t go.” The code ‘comfort’ reflected the common expression of being accustomed to the

neighborhood or residence/office and finding it comfortable. Some respondents clearly stated that they had ‘trust in government’ and believed that a plan was in place that had their best interest in mind.

Table 11. How respondents would react to threat of demolition

Reactions to threat	Percentage
Complain to govt	20%
Community action	32%
Bribery	1%
Call media	18%
Seek help from NGOs	8%
Refuse to leave	7%
Protest	15%
Nothing I can do	42%

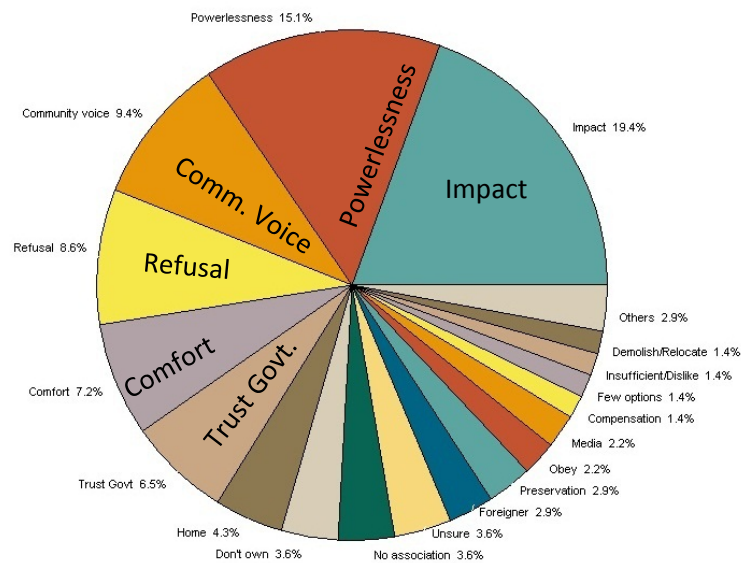


Figure 53. Terms used to answer why respondents would react as indicated

Recent history and tourism

Given the challenge of finding data on recent demographic and physical changes in Chinese neighborhoods without a pre-existing longitudinal study and photographic record, I included

questions in the questionnaire that asked respondents to highlight changes to the neighborhood within the past five years. First, respondents were asked how many households and businesses had left their immediate neighborhood (see Table 12). For households, nearly a quarter stated “A few”, 15% selected “Between 5 and 10”, and one-tenth indicated that more than 10 households had left. The largest group (40%), however, said they did not know. Almost a quarter noted that a few businesses had left, while roughly 15% recalled 5 or more leaving the neighborhood. About a half of all respondents indicated they did not know. More than a quarter responded that new structures had replaced departed households and held both businesses and households.

Table 12. Number of households and businesses that have departed the neighborhood reported by respondents

Households departed	Percentage responding	Businesses departed	Percentage responding
None	9.7%	None	13.2%
Few	24.9%	Few	21.7%
5-10	14.8%	5-10	7.7%
>10	10.5%	>10	7.2%
Don't know	40.1%	Don't know	50.2%

Respondents were subsequently asked what had replaced the departed households and nearly half indicated that businesses and households had replaced departed households in the existing structure (see Table 13). When asked what replaced the departed businesses, nearly two-thirds of respondents stated new businesses in the same buildings. Roughly a third indicated that residents inhabited the same building (35%) and also that new structures now harbored new businesses (33%). Additionally, 30% reported that new buildings had been built that housed new residents.

Table 13. Respondent indication of replacement of departed households and businesses

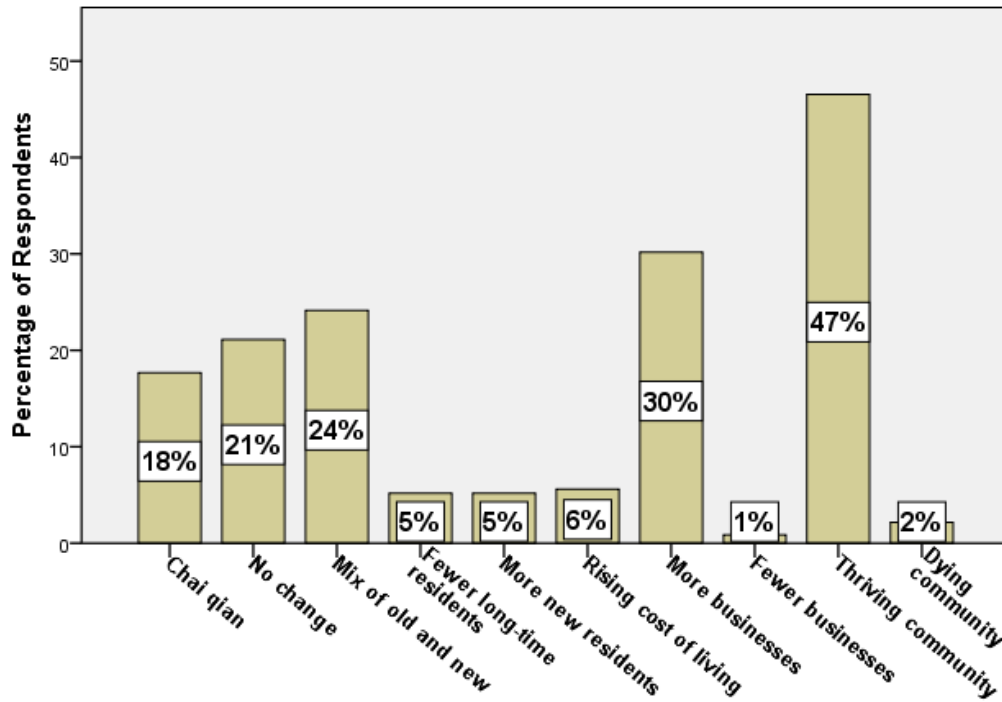
Household replacement	Percentage	Business replacement	Percentage
New resident in same building	30.3%	New resident in same building	22.4%
New resident in new building	19.2%	New resident in new building	18.2%
New business in same building	31.7%	New business in same building	38.5%
New business in new building	18.8%	New business in new building	20.8%

Table 14. Perceived impacts of tourism

Perceived impacts	Percentage
Increased activity	30.1%
More business	48.2%
Higher income	33.2%
Less income	1.8%
Better infrastructure	32.3%
Better facilities	13.7%
Better businesses	22.1%
Higher cost of living	15.0%
Less privacy	8.8%
Overcrowding	29.2%
More traffic	30.1%

Finally, this section ended with two questions on the impact of tourism on the neighborhood. The first asked respondents to characterize the type of impact tourism had, to which just over a half responded there had been a positive impact and nearly a quarter indicated “Neutral”. Only 11% of respondents felt that tourism had a negative impact on their neighborhood. The questionnaire then asked participants to identify the specific impacts of tourism, including 11 provided options and an open “Other” (see Table 14). Perceived benefits were associated principally with commercial activity: more business (48%), higher income (33%), better infrastructure (32%), and better businesses (22%). Conversely, negative impacts related more to quality of life: more traffic (30%), overcrowding (29%), and increase in cost of living (15%). Nearly one-third mentioned that there was greater activity in the neighborhood, though whether respondents felt this was a positive or negative effect of tourism remains uncertain.

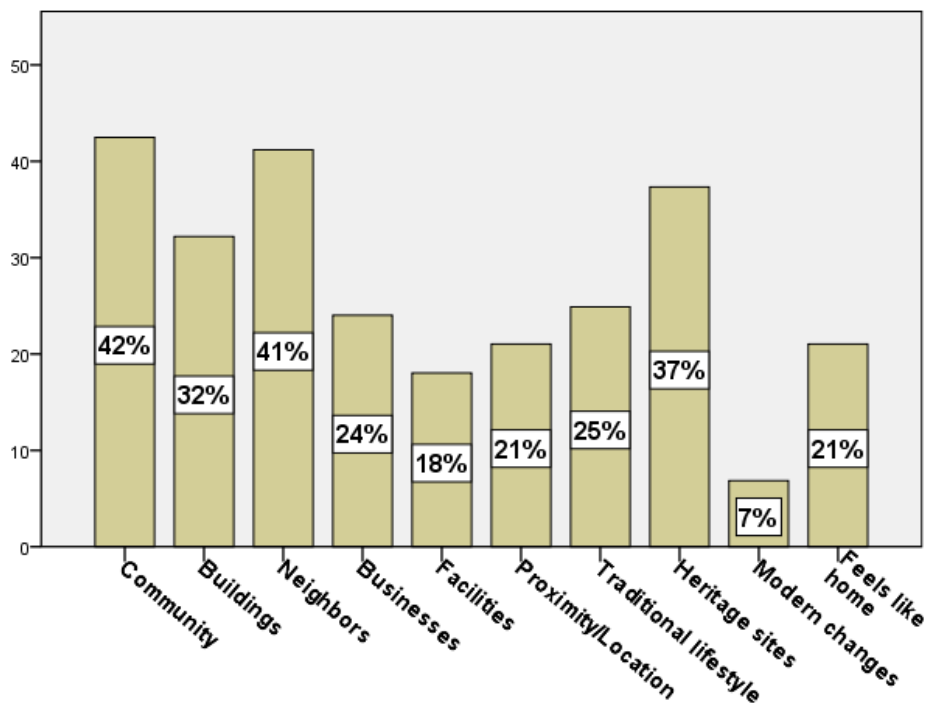
Figure 54. Respondent projections of neighborhood in 10 years



Neighborhood projection

In an effort to record resident outlook on the future of the neighborhood and understand the characteristics most appreciated by respondents today, the questionnaire had two final substantive questions. The first asked for the expectations of respondents for their neighborhood in the coming ten years, with multiple choices provided and an open response to provide additional information (see Fig. 54). Nearly half of respondents indicated they predicted a thriving community, followed by roughly one-third who stated more businesses, and one quarter who mentioned they foresaw a mix of old and new buildings. One-fifth of respondents predicted there would be no change, in contrast to 17% who predicted the quintessential concept of *chaiqian*, or “demolition and relocation”, which accompanies Chinese urban renewal and development (See Chapter 7 for a discussion on *chaiqian*). Only 14 respondents wrote in their own answers, split largely between a positive economic outlook (higher income, affordable housing) and improved quality of life (calmer environment, better community relations).

Figure 55. Most liked neighborhood attributes



The last question of this section asked respondents to specify what aspects of their neighborhood they most liked at present (see Fig. 55). The most frequent responses were: community (43%), neighbors (41%), heritage sites (37%), and buildings (32%). A quarter of respondents indicated that they valued the traditional lifestyle and the businesses present in the neighborhood. One-fifth of the sample indicated both location (i.e. proximity to work, school, and recreation) and that the neighborhood “feels like home”. Only 7% of respondents indicated liking modern changes.

Consideration of Previous Studies

In an effort to build on existing research, development of the survey instrument was partially based on questions asked by earlier studies. This approach has allowed for data from previous studies to be considered in light of results from the current research, establishing a sort of longitudinal study that can highlight changes and trends in neighborhood composition and

community attitudes. During the literature review, a number of previous studies in Beijing were uncovered, with additional information coming to light during the fieldwork and in conversation with heritage professionals and researchers still working in the areas. In this section, relevant findings from prior research will be compared to present data.

There are few empirical studies on local Beijing resident and business stakeholder views on preservation and urban development. Although a body of literature has been dedicated to the policy and practice of urban redevelopment generally (Campanella 2008; Fang and Zhang 2003; Leaf 1995; Ma 2002; Wu, Xu, and Yeh 2007) and, more specifically, to the impact of development practice on cultural heritage (Abramson 2001; Abramson 2007; Wang 2003; Wu 1999; Zhang and Fang 2003), this research has rarely integrated qualitative studies to determine the views and interactions of local communities affected by changes to the built environment. Nonetheless, there have been some efforts in recent years to record through surveys or interviews stakeholder views on heritage, particularly as they relate to tourism. Such studies provide a point of comparison for the current research and deserve some attention here.

In 2002, Tibet Heritage Fund (THF) worked with the Architecture Department of Tsinghua University in Beijing to conduct a “social survey” of three historic neighborhoods in the northern portion of the Old City.⁴² Although the neighborhood surveyed lie to the west of the current study area, the form and composition of the neighborhoods and their communities are sufficiently similar for comparison. The study also considered basic land use and historic

⁴² This survey is one component of a larger study carried out by the Tibet Heritage Fund that culminated in H. Yutaka et al., *Beijing Hutong Conservation Plan* (2006). Although one of the principal authors of the study, Andre Alexander, was a friend and colleague, his untimely death at the outset of the current research prevented me from gaining access to the original questionnaire, raw data, and additional information about the survey. The information cited here all comes from the truncated reporting of survey results in the *Conservation Plan*.

resource information for the entire area of Beijing's Old City. Moreover, the rarity of this type of survey conducted in Beijing makes the THF study a valuable reference.

The THF study interviewed 80 households in three different neighborhoods within the larger study area. Their results indicated that a number of residences were owned by work units and used to house their employees, many of whom came from all over China; only 55-70% of respondents were self-identified Beijingers. Some 60% of the residents had lived in their homes for over 30 years, which the report suggests highlights the perseverance of a "comparatively deep-rooted community" (2006:33). These results are comparable to the 57% of locals and 22-year mean value for habitation uncovered in this study, although may suggest a trend towards increased arrival of nonlocals and loss of long-time residents. THF respondents also reported that 26-35% of housing was privately owned, in contrast to 43% of private owners surveyed in the current research (2006:34). Unfortunately, the current questionnaire only asked respondent ownership status and did not ask whether the residence in question was public housing, related to a work-unit, or entirely privately owned. It is likely that some percentage of renters identified by the current study rented from private owners, which indicates an even higher percentage of private ownership of property in these areas.

The THF research discovered that 80% of respondents considered the hutong an important public space (2006:41). Although a different question, this sentiment is reflected in the current study in the 50% who responded that they related most closely with the hutong and its offshoots and the 58% who noted that the neighborhood had a strong sense of community. The frequentation of local businesses and markets is also highlighted by the THF report, although without any specific

statistics, similarly reflected in the high level of local business patronage revealed by the present survey.

There were moreover similarities in findings related to willingness of residents to leave the neighborhood. The THF report highlights that over 60% of respondents indicated they would not leave the neighborhood, quite similar to the 64% found in this study. Reasons for liking the neighborhood and motivations for leaving were principally the same, highlighting in particular community and convenience as attractive characteristics and overcrowding and poor conditions as negative aspects. The inferential statistical analysis further identified sense of community, length of time in the neighborhood, and income as variables with a strong positive correlation to desiring to remain.

Over 70% of THF surveyed households had some form of informal additions to their residential buildings, as recorded by the survey team (2006:38). Although such additions were documented as part of this study and found to be rampant throughout the study area, only a small percentage (8%) of respondents specifically indicated having constructed an addition. In contrast, only half of the sample indicated carrying out any work on their buildings and the vast majority of those reported having undertaken complete or partial renovation. It is unclear how respondents consider these additions and, given the fact that most such additions are erected without official permission, it is likely that some respondents were loath to report honestly. Furthermore, the wording of the current question would have omitted legacy additions (i.e. additions erected by a previous occupant) and respondents may not have considered creation of exterior spaces and storage structures as additions.

More recent studies conducted in 2006 and 2008 (Gu and Ryan 2012) focused on community perceptions of tourism within the Shichahai neighborhood, one of the areas studied in the THF/Tsinghua research. Although this study is not as easily compared with the current research because of the reliance on a 7-point Likert scale and cluster analysis for their questions rather than response frequency and means comparisons, principal sentiments are recognizable. In particular, the study shows a growing tolerance for tourism within the hutong community, with particular attention given to the development of economic opportunities. This is in keeping with the current research findings that most popular perceptions of the impact of tourism include creating more business and providing higher incomes to locals. Additionally, the Gu and Ryan study underscores the sentiment that tourism has improved living standards and sustainability of the hutong, again reflected in the current research by respondent emphasis on increased income and improved infrastructure as prominent impacts of tourism. The resident concerns regarding traffic and increased activity engendered by tourism highlighted by Gu and Ryan are similarly underscored in this present research. The great value of the Gu and Ryan study is that it documents the evolution over a two-year period of attitudes towards tourism development and the very presence of tourists, namely a significant trend towards greater acceptance and positive perception of the phenomenon. It should also be noted that the study highlighted decreased opposition over the two years to demolition and reconstruction of the entire neighborhood, though the present research indicates strong support for protection, with nearly 80% of respondents indicating that some form of neighborhood preservation was necessary (2012:32).

One 2009 study conducted in Nanluogu Xiang, another neighborhood that had been surveyed as part of the THF/Tsinghua research, relied on interviews of a small sample of business owners and residents to understand stakeholder involvement in urban regeneration and preservation

efforts (Shin 2010). One of the key findings in the article is the lack of integration of resident and business stakeholders in planning and conservation decision-making in the urban Chinese context. Shin notes that this “exclusion of the majority of local residents from sharing the benefits is exacerbated by the limited degree of their intervention in neighborhood affairs” (2010:S53). In other words, most stakeholders are compelled to remain outside of the decision-making process, preventing them from influencing neighborhood changes for their benefit, and therefore leaving them disinterested in ongoing aspects of local governance, which reinforces the cycle of disenfranchisement. Results from the present research reveal signs of this phenomenon: 42% of respondents indicated there was nothing they could do in the face of threatened demolition and 11% specifically mentioned a sense of powerlessness in the context of local government decision-making. While it is impossible to determine whether this sentiment has grown or lessened from a comparison of the data, its presence in the current study highlights a continued sentiment of disempowerment of local stakeholders related to neighborhood development.

Fieldwork provided the opportunity to develop an understanding of the physical, social, and economic composition of the neighborhood, thereby allowing for improved familiarity with the ‘typical’ Old City preservation district. Although each neighborhood necessarily has its uniqueness, investigation and survey data have revealed a number of comparable characteristics across neighborhoods in the northern half of the Old City. A common theme that has strongly emerged from the current research and previous studies is general support for neighborhood protection among the resident community. Additionally, opportunities for some degree of participatory planning processes that involve the local community in decision-making might contribute to more members benefitting from preservation efforts and related tourism and

economic growth. One of the principal challenges lies in the need to consider opportunities for new housing for residents of public housing in need of improvement in order to rehabilitate historic structures and possibly decrease density. However, the inability of the government to undertake renovation or redevelopment of public housing may also have facilitated some survival of large swaths of historic urban fabric. At the same time, some commercial interests and perceived economic opportunities appear to contribute to the protection of historic structures and the viability of entire neighborhoods. Chapter 7 will consider in greater detail the data presented in this chapter and the related implications for urban preservation.

Chapter 6 – Pingyao Case Study

The second case study focuses on a neighborhood in the World Heritage City of Pingyao, in central Shanxi Province (see Fig. 56). Distinct from the metropolitan powerhouse and site of rapid urbanization represented by Beijing, Pingyao is an historic city whose economic prowess and political laurels rest largely on its illustrious past. In contrast to the rampant redevelopment seen in Beijing from the time of the Communist takeover in 1949, Pingyao experienced minimal changes to its historic city center and intact Ming Dynasty wall. The entire city earned the title of UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997. Local and national policy efforts that paved the way for World Heritage status and generated tourism have had undeniable impact on the city's preservation and livability, privileging the city's former glory over nearby recent development.

Somewhat isolated from the large-scale urbanization and general development boom encouraged at the national and local municipal levels after the national reforms that began in 1978, Pingyao followed a different path to economic growth. In light of the province's relative economic sluggishness and despite wealth in important resources like coal and bauxite, the historic city has focused principally on its cultural resources to generate revenue, echoing the exhortations of Deng Xiaoping (see Chapter 4). This approach distinguishes the city from Beijing and its preservation challenges and patterns. This chapter will consider Pingyao's historic character and preservation policies, alongside community perspectives on the study area and related preservation policy and practice. As in the previous chapter, select interviews of government

officials and preservation professionals provide additional insight into preservation decision-making and local challenges.

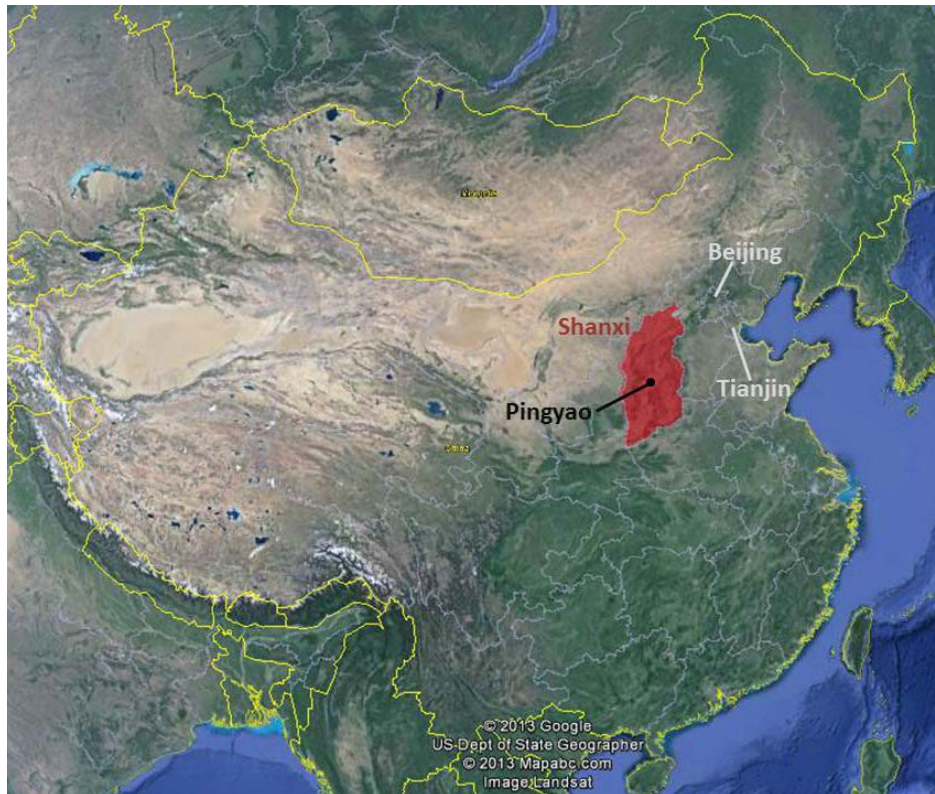


Figure 56. Map of China indicating Shanxi Province and location of Pingyao (Google Earth)

Pingyao History

The name ‘Pingyao’ (“distant peace”) instills in the Chinese mind a vision of fortification, isolation, and opulence, related to the city’s illustrious past. Qing Dynasty sources date the original founding of the city to Emperor Xuan’s reign (827–782 BCE) in the Western Zhou Dynasty as a garrison for troops fighting marauding ethnic minorities to the north (Wu and En 2005). However, the current well-preserved city walls were laid during the third year of Ming Emperor Hongwu (1370) and much of the interior city layout and historic architecture dates to the late Ming and early-mid Qing dynasties. The city’s prosperity originated with the business savvy of its locals, who became important merchants with an imposing presence throughout

China by the late Ming Dynasty (Lan 2001). During this period, merchants from Shanxi came to prominence in the trade of dyestuff, salt, iron, cotton, silk, and tea (Knapp 2005).

By the beginning of the 19th century, the movement of silver currency over long distances became a concern and Shanxi businessmen began to use their kinship networks to rely on a form of paper notes or drafts (*piao*) that could be exchanged for silver currency at “draft shops” (*piao hao*) with branches all over the country. This created the first model of modern banking in China and greatly facilitated the transfer of money over long distances (Cheng 2003:11-12). Indeed, Rishengcheng Draft Bank in Pingyao, founded in 1823, was the first institution of its type in China and the first of 22 such institutional headquarters in the city, which represented nearly half of all banking institutions in the country, with more than 400 branches in over 70 cities (Du 2002:199-200). These shops handled the wealth of much of the government, including annual revenue, remittances and conversions, and even soldiers’ provisions, controlling half of the silver trade in China (Shen, Guo, Shen, and Wang 2003).

However, the fall of the Qing Dynasty and related financial obligations⁴³ exacerbated the decline of Pingyao’s dominance over China’s financial industry, as Western banks made entry into China and the old system of draft houses became obsolete, causing most of them to cease operations in the first years of the Republic: most had declared bankruptcy, were reorganized, or simply stopped doing business by 1921 (Du 2002:201-3). The economic vacuum left by the absence of China’s financial center and the lack of other established industry caused Pingyao to

⁴³ The Empress Dowager Ci Xi secured from Pingyao’s *piao hao* 200,000 taels of silver (a sum equivalent to approximately US\$300MM today) as the first payment of 450 million taels of silver of war reparations paid over 39 years to the eight-country alliance after quashing the Boxer Rebellion. For a detailed account of the Boxer Protocol that established these reparations, see Immanuel Hsu, *Rise of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). A more recent title providing a close look at the Boxer Rebellion and its legacy is Diana Preston, *The Boxer Rebellion: The Dramatic Story of China’s War on Foreigners that Shook the World in the Summer of 1900* (New York: Walker, 2000).

decline dramatically, providing little opportunity for new development throughout the Republic years (1912-1949) and the first decades of the Communist regime. Indeed, the city became one of the poorest in China between the 1950s and 1990s and was largely unaffected by the rampant development that took place in many urban centers during the 1980s and 1990s (Wang 2011; 2012). As a result, the old city and its many Qing era draft houses and residences of wealthy financiers and merchants have remained largely intact into the present day and streets have remained unwidened (Knapp 2005).

Preservation Context

The World Heritage City of Pingyao represents the former wealth and architectural majesty of imperial China through its staggering amount of extant historic architecture and intact city wall (see Figs. 57-59). After Pingyao's decline, a 20th century history of poverty and neglect prevented the city from undergoing the rampant industrial development of the early Communist period and subsequent physical changes associated with the reform period after 1979. Protective legislation established at the national and local level in the 1980s and 1990s effectively preserved the physical form and structure of the city for the benefit of tourism, while new development of the county seat moved roughly a kilometer to the southwest of the historic city (see Fig. 60), followed by relocation of many government offices and businesses from within the old city walls to the new city.

Pingyao has a long history of preservation, with funding originating from Beijing and local wealthy merchants and financiers. Du notes that the brick city wall was “renovated 26 times during the Ming and Qing Dynasties” (2002:20). In modern history, the city has also been the center of attention for preservation efforts. As early as 1956, 40,000 RMB was provided by

China's national government to renovate the main hall of the Confucius Temple in Pingyao. During the Cultural Revolution, Pingyao was also included in a document listing cultural places bearing a seal of protection by the government.⁴⁴ From 1979-1980, the Pingyao County government was given 230,000 RMB for the preservation of the city walls and Shuanglin and Zhenguo Temples, two important religious complexes outside the city. From 1981 to 1986, the county received 1.9MM RMB for the preservation of the city wall and the two temples from the central government, as part of funds focused on a group of significant cultural sites in severe states of deterioration (Du 2002:357). Since 1979, four kilometers, including gates and watchtowers, of the near 6.2km city wall have been repaired or restored at a cost of over 10MM RMB (Du 2002:341-3). That the city wall in particular generated so much interest and funding is addressed by Knapp (2000), who considers its importance to the Chinese concept of urban planning and organization, as well as identity. Du further notes that Pingyao's city wall is the "most completely—preserved [*sic*] ancient city wall in China" (2002:22).

During this period, a number of architectural experts came to assess Pingyao's walled city and recommended that it be designated a place of national importance. The walled city was included in the second group of named "Famous National Historical and Cultural Cities" in December 1986 and received another 520,000 RMB for preservation work, the bulk of which was earmarked for the preservation of the city walls. In early 1988, the city wall and exterior Shuanglin and Zhenguo Temples were named national level cultural sites and thus officially overseen by the government in Beijing. Following this, the central government allocated 8.4MM RMB over ten years for the conservation of the city walls and the two temples. During this

⁴⁴ The *Guanyu zai wuchanjieji wenhua da geming zhong baohu wenwu tushu de jidian yijian* (Regarding the Proletariat Great Cultural Revolution Suggested Sites Bearing the Seal of Protected Cultural Heritage) was promulgated by the national government on May 14, 1967, a year after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. See <http://xuewen.cnki.net/R2006050150003525.html> for more information on the document.

period, Pingyao became the site of meetings on tourism and economic development and its collection of intact city walls, street markets, residences, and early *piao hao* were the focus of study (Du 2002:357-8).

Focus on tourism and its potential for economic development continued to grow during the 1990s. Wang (2012) notes that the 1993 *Gazette of the Jinzhong Area*⁴⁵ indicates Pingyao was planned to be developed for tourism as a cultural and historical town. Designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site took place in 1997 based on three criteria: 1. the extant walled city is representative of five centuries of Chinese imperial urban planning and vernacular architecture; 2. the extant businesses and opulent residences are evidence of the city's history as a financial center at the end of the Qing Dynasty; and 3. the city is an "outstanding example" of a Han-style city dating to the Ming and Qing dynasties and "has retained all its features to an exceptional degree".⁴⁶ The figure 3797 is often cited as the number of extant historic courtyard houses dating to the Qing and Ming dynasties, with about 400 considered to be in a pristine state of preservation (Du 2002; Hao 2011; Hei 2001; Knapp 2005). During the years before and after the designation, there was government interest in repairing the deteriorated building fabric and then promoting the city as a center of tourism. Wang identifies a threefold focus on the part of the government in recent times: "first, restoration of the historic sites in the walled city; second, reduction of the population density within the walls of the city; and third, creation of a desirable atmosphere for tourists" (2012:6).

⁴⁵ Jinzhong is the prefecture-level area within which Pingyao county and the walled city lie.

⁴⁶ These criteria are taken from the official UNESCO page on the Pingyao inscription. See http://whc.unesco.org/pg.cfm?cid=31&id_site=812.



Figure 57. Left, view of storefronts and City Tower on Nan Da Jie, the walled city's main street; center, entrance to 12 Mijia Xiang (author's residence during fieldwork); right, interior view of northern side of Pingyao city wall



Figure 58. Left, view of Pingyao rooftops from southern city wall; right, City God Temple, main entrance



Figure 59. Left, view into intact Pingyao-style courtyard, with buildings in advanced state of decay; right, view of storefronts on Xi Da Jie, Pingyao's second principal street

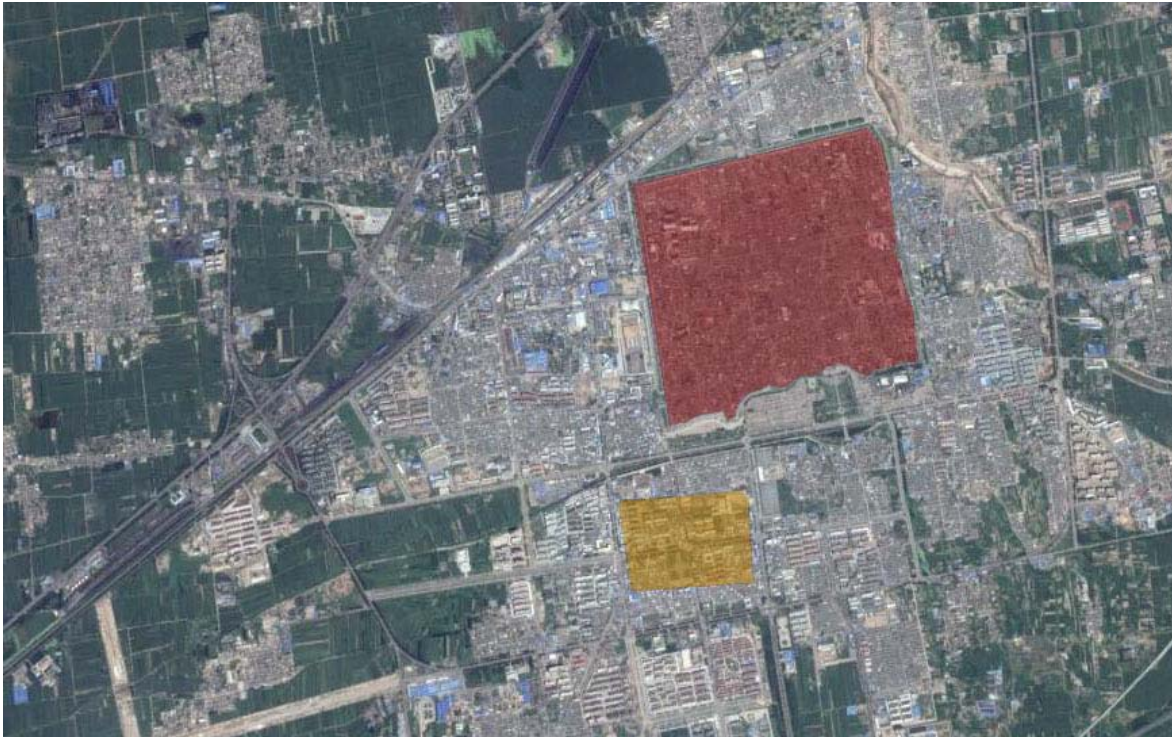


Figure 60. Satellite image of Pingyao County seat; the historic walled city is shaded red, while the current seat of government and service provision is shaded orange (Google Earth)

The second objective was met in part through policy that involved relocation of work units, factories, and government offices to a newly built city beyond the historic walls, resulting in the relocation of nearly half the city's population, approximately 20,000 residents. Soon after the establishment of the Communist regime in 1949, Pingyao county residents from outside the city began to move within the city wall, such that the 2.25km² city center held roughly 42,000 inhabitants by the 1980s (18,700/km²) (Du 2002), despite the 1989 Conservation Plan of Pingyao that indicated a desired residential population of 22,000 (9,800/km²) (Wang 2012). The county government made an effort to meet the target residential population indicated in the 1989 Conservation Plan by carrying out a 'depopulation' (*renkou shujie*) scheme that relocated *danwei* and government offices and facilities outside the city wall beginning in 1994, thus drawing many citizens reliant on government services and proximity to work units to the new city expansion beyond the wall. The population of the walled city had fallen to 35,000 by 2000 (Du 2002) and

to roughly 20,000 by 2009 (Wang 2012). The articulation of the buffer zone around the city wall has also been impacted and improved by demolition of adjacent fringe belt development (Whitehand, Gu, and Whitehand 2011).

In order to meet the third objective discussed by Wang (2012), regulations related to the aesthetic of the tourism district were put into place. In 2000, a large area in the city center was designated pedestrian-only and metal barricades were erected to prevent vehicular traffic within this touristic core (see Fig. 61). In 2010, this area was enlarged to include an even greater proportion of the walled city and stores not catering to tourists were forced out of the so-called ‘tourist district’ (Wang 2012). Additionally, local *chengguan* (city management officers) routinely inspect tourist streets and enforce cleanliness, as well as a predetermined aesthetic, among businesses.⁴⁷ Daily street performances during peak tourism periods further attempt to revive the historic character of the city: processions of costumed actors reenact ceremonial activities of city officials and warn the imperial closing of the city gates, which no longer occurs.

⁴⁷ Interviews with local guesthouse operators revealed that there are strict rules on furnishings and decorations on the exterior of buildings and in the street enforced by local *chengguan* employed for this purpose. Inappropriate décor and modern style furniture are regularly cited by these officials and can carry fines.



Figure 61. Example of vehicular barricade on Xi Da Jie, with narrow openings for pedestrian and bicycle traffic. The characters on the barrier, in the form of a classic Chinese coin read “Pedestrian Area Street”.

Today, the historic city center is entirely focused on tourism and the main streets are overrun with guesthouses, bars, and businesses selling tourist memorabilia clearly marketed for Chinese and foreign tourists.⁴⁸ There are few commercial options for local residents and many lament the need to leave the city walls for shopping, entertainment, and other necessities (see “Resident Survey” below). Wandering the city underscores the clear division between the residential areas comprised of intact historic courtyard houses and living communities and the commercial axes that cater to an endless stream of transitory visitors, though also boast large amounts of historic fabric (see Fig. 62). Although this division can become blurred during peak seasons, when visitors and the vehicles that chauffeur them along the outskirts of the pedestrian core overwhelm usually calm residential areas (see Fig. 63). Principal historic places additionally have controlled access, privileging tourists over local residents within and outside the city walls, despite having

⁴⁸ Aside from a few small locations selling traditional lacquer ware and silk shoes, both supposed to be traditional crafts of the locality, most shops and mobile vendors sell fake antiques and typical Chinese-style memorabilia available anywhere in China. Two stores have even been selling, quite successfully according to my observations, African-style drums (*djembe*). There has unfortunately been little effort to distinguish the wares of Pingyao from those of any other touristed sites, which was a missed opportunity of the strict regulations of the tourism zone to encourage truly local products. Discussions with vendors and salespeople also revealed many were not Pingyao locals and came from as far away as Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces (south and north of Shanghai, respectively).

previously been anchors for community activity (Wang 2011).⁴⁹ Results of tourism cultivation can be seen in the increase of visitor numbers over the first decade after the designation of a tourism district (see Table 15).

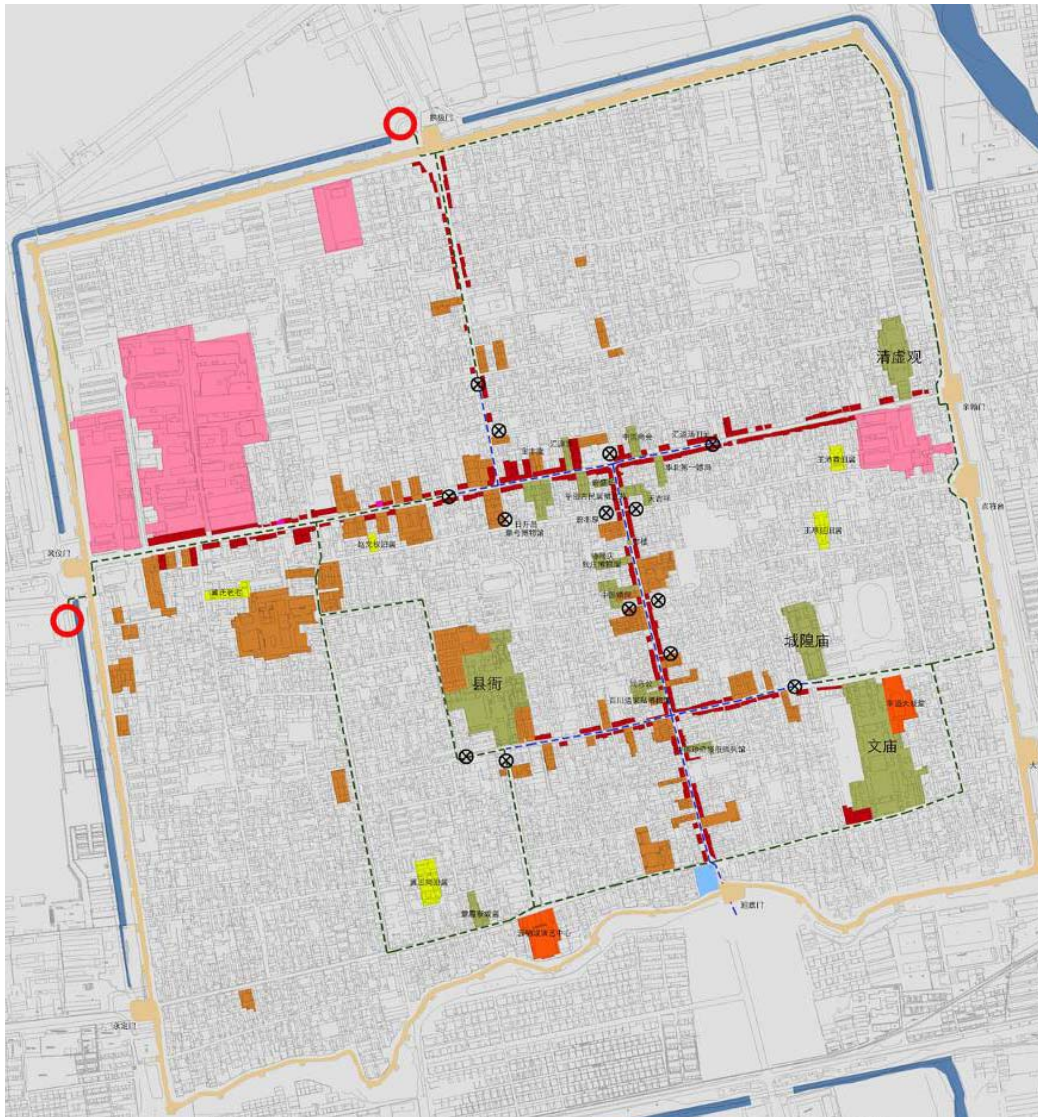


Figure 62. Map of principal tourist circulation and attractions (Tongji University); indicated are tourist shops (dark red), tourist hotels (orange), historic sites visited with the “city-wide” ticket (green), and the circulation of city-operated electric vehicle. Pink represents temporary exhibition space, principally in former factory spaces, during the 2010 Pingyao International Photography Festival.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The walled city has one general ticket allowing access to all principal historic places of interest that can be bought at a number of venues. This single ticket purchase substantially streamlines the process of gaining access to multiple sites within the city for tourists, perhaps also presenting the city as one large theme park of attractions.

⁵⁰ See <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/30/arts/30iht-Lau.html?pagewanted=all& r=0>.



Figure 63. Left and right, electric city vehicles used to transport tourists clog non-pedestrian thoroughfares during the May 1st holiday season, Majuan Xiang, within the study area.

Table 15. Tourist arrivals and generated revenue (Wang 2011).⁵¹

Year	Total tourist arrival	International tourist		Tourism income (CNY)
		Tourist arrival	Percentage	
2001	819,179	13,000	(1.59%)	11,428,725
2002	1,549,150	39,000	(2.52%)	21,457,688
2003	344,120	15,800	(1.18%)	22,892,790
2004	582,133	37,000	(5.51%)	47,299,836
2005	726,994	39,000	(4.94%)	57,493,695
2006	921,718	–	–	73,500,873
2007	981,827	–	–	75,605,133
2008	918,744	–	–	71,217,669
2009	1,126,586	–	–	88,269,241

Source: Based on Bureau of Culture and Tourism I.

Notes: CNY 1 = US\$0.127 in November 2006. The fee was the same for both international and domestic tourists since 2006.

⁵¹ The large growth in tourism in 2002 can be attributed, at least in part, to the launch of the Pingyao International Photography Exhibition in 2001 and subsequent growth in city's popularity as an attraction. In contrast, domestic tourism numbers for the entire country rose only 5% over 2001, according to China National Tourism Agency statistics (see http://www.chinability.com/tourism_in_china_in_the_21st_cen.htm). The sharp decline in 2003 was due to the SARS epidemic which greatly impacted domestic and international tourism in the country. See Olivier Dombey, "The Effect of SARS on the Chinese Tourism Industry", *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 10 (January 2004): 4-10. The Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles and the Dunhuang Academy in Gansu Province were forced to postpone an international conference at the Mogao Grottoes originally scheduled for July of the same year due to the fears over the epidemic.

In 2012, there were efforts to develop and implement guidelines for preservation of the built environment that attempted to involve the residents of individual structures and courtyard compounds. Collaboration between the Pingyao County Planning Bureau, Tongji University in Shanghai, and Global Heritage Fund has developed guidelines for sensitive and compatible resident-led renovation and changes of the historic courtyard houses. The Planning Bureau is further making available funding to subsidize renovation when construction plans are submitted by residents and approved by the Bureau, according to the guidelines set forth.⁵² Despite the advanced stage of these guidelines and two model projects taking place on Fanjia Jie during this fieldwork, residents appeared unaware of these resources or even of the nature of the renovation work happening on their street in spring 2012 (see “Resident Survey” below). A 2012 Progress Report disseminated by Global Heritage Fund indicates that these two model projects were being carried out by the government according to the guidelines and required the following: relocation of residents, demolition of inappropriate structures, roof repairs, repair and replacement of wooden structural members and exterior walls, and replacement of wooden fenestration and doorways.⁵³ After the completion of these projects, it appears that the fund was made public, as the document states that 173 courtyard homeowners applied for the “Preservation Incentive Fund” and 54 of these were accepted in the same year. The document, which is undated, further states that 22 of these had begun work at the time of writing and were due for completion by June 2013.

⁵² Information on the nature of the collaboration and some details on the specific guidelines and funding strategies available was gathered in independent interviews with the Director of the Planning Bureau, members of the Tongji research team, and the China Director of Global Heritage Fund. However, it proved impossible to obtain a complete copy of the document detailing these guidelines.

⁵³ This report is available online: http://ghn.globalheritagefund.com/uploads/documents/document_2226.pdf.

Description

The walled city of Pingyao is roughly 2.25km² in area with a city wall just over 6km in length and 84 total streets and lanes (Hao 2011). Of this latter group, two principal thoroughfares, Nan Da Jie (南大街) and Xi Da Jie (西大街), serve as the primary central axes of north-south and east-west circulation within the tourism core of the city, with secondary streets Dong Da Jie (东大街), Bei Da Jie (北大街), Yamen Jie (衙门街) and Chenghuangmiao Jie (城隍庙街) also largely located within the tourism zone (see Fig. 64). Important vehicular thoroughfares run along the interior of the City Wall and the only substantial redevelopment has taken place in pockets of the northwest (Beicheng New Village, *beicheng xin cun*) and northeast (Northern Town, *beicheng*). Some of the key visited sites within the city include the City God Temple (*chenghuang miao*), the City Tower (*shi lou*), and a number of draft houses (see Fig. 65).



Figure 64. Satellite image of walled city of Pingyao, with study area indicated in red and principal (red) and secondary (yellow) streets identified (Google Earth)



Figure 65. Left, interior of City God Temple on Chenghuangmiao Jie; right, City Tower on Nan Da Jie



Figure 66. The residential administration of the walled city is divided in two ways: three neighborhood committees (shading) that oversee non-peasant household registration (*hukou*) and four village committees (dotted lines) that oversee peasant household registration (Tongji University)

The walled city’s inhabitants include local residents identified as such by their housing registration (*hukou*), those coming from outside the city (non-local *hukou*), and tourists. While much of the tourism administration relates to the policy approaches discussed earlier and local tourism bureau oversight of guesthouses, the government registration of residents is slightly more complex. The walled city, in fact, has two separate administrative structures for residents with local, i.e. from with the historic center of Pingyao, household registration status and for those from outside. These are typically referred to as “peasant” and “non-peasant” village or neighborhood committees, identifying the peasant householders as those who came to settle within the city wall from the neighboring countryside (see Fig. 66).⁵⁴ It appears that access to services and subsidies differs based on the status of residents, though it is difficult to ascertain exactly how these are distinct and what specific benefits or challenges one status provides in lieu

⁵⁴ This information was gathered in separate discussions with the head of the Pingyao Planning Bureau and Tongji researchers.

of another. Additionally, residents self-identify simply as “local”, compounding the confusion of their household registration status and any related benefits (see “Resident Survey” below).

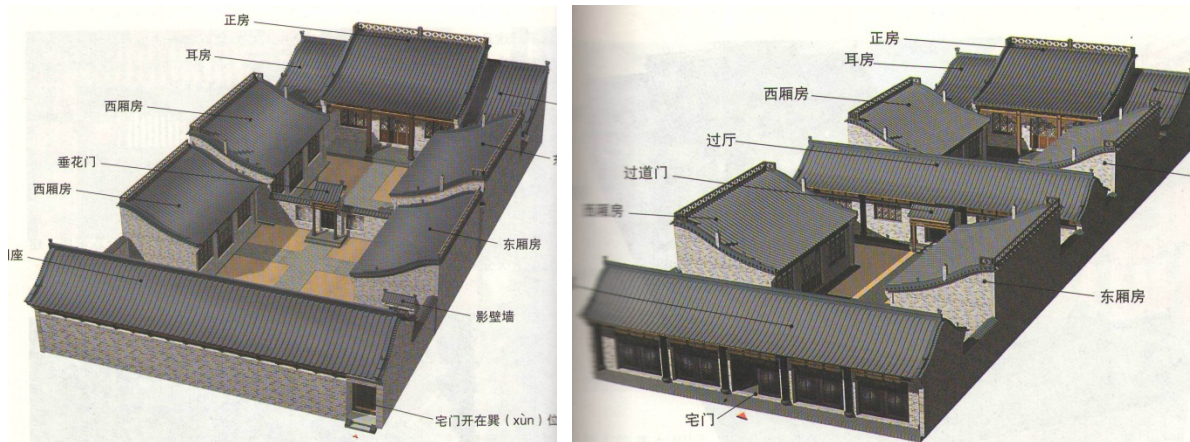


Figure 67. Two versions of typical Pingyao courtyard houses (Cao 2010)



Figure 68. Left, typical Shanxi residence with arcuated rooms, known as *yaodong*, cut 5-8m into the loess soil; right, interior of one *yaodong* in the countryside around Pingyao.

The vernacular architecture of Pingyao is stylistically grouped with northern Han architecture and shares many characteristics with the Beijing courtyard house (Cao 2010). The houses have anywhere from one to four enclosed courtyards, typically separated by walls and/or buildings (see Fig. 67). One distinguishing characteristic is the arcuated cave-like structures usually

integrated into the rearmost living quarters that draw their form and function from the traditional Shanxi dwellings cut directly into the loess soil of the region (see Fig. 68). In Pingyao, the thick constructed walls of these structures provide effective protection from the region's harsh climate, conserving heat in the winter and providing a perpetually cool space in the hot summers.

The study area focuses on two neighborhoods in the southwestern quadrant of the city, just outside the tourism and pedestrian core (see Fig. 64). The northernmost is bounded by Majuan Xiang (马圈巷) on the east, Xiguoji Xiang (西郭家巷) on the north, Xihujing Jie (西湖景街) on the south, and Shaxiang Jie (沙巷街) on the west. The second portion of the study area follows Shaxiang Jie south and includes Fanjia Jie (范家街) and its residents (see Fig. 69). Shaxiang Jie is a key vehicular thoroughfare for locals and also has a handful of commercial points, including one of the more expensive guesthouses⁵⁵ in the city at its northern end, just outside the study area. There are no specific sites of interest or visitation within the immediate neighborhoods, though the area is adjacent to a number of the principal tourist attractions and thoroughfares. These neighborhoods are greatly impacted during peak tourism seasons by the city's electric touring vehicles, which integrate Shaxiang Jie and Majuan Xiang into their circulation routes (see Fig. 64). Of course, wandering visitors also find their way into the streets and lanes of the area, although observations revealed that very few stray significantly from the pedestrian streets of the tourism zone.

⁵⁵ Yide Guesthouse (*yide kezhan*) occupies a restored courtyard house originally built by a wealthy merchant, Hou Wangbin, in 1736. The original compound included six courtyards and an ancestral temple. See <http://www.yide-hotel.com/zhonghe0.htm>.



Figure 69. Detail of Study Area (Google Earth)

The vast majority of structures in the study area are historic, although their states of preservation vary dramatically (see Fig. 70). Additionally, there are examples of substantial renovation and cramped additions, attesting to resident efforts to upgrade or change their homes (see Fig. 71). Many of the courtyard houses in the area have been subdivided and shelter multiple households, just like the courtyard houses in Beijing, which has contributed to the overcrowding of some residences and the need for informal additions. Nonetheless, the area, just like much of the walled city, preserves the character of the place and its historic vernacular (see Fig. 72).



Figure 70. Left, Fanjia Jie courtyard house in good state of preservation, with intact decorative woodwork; right, Shaxiang Jie courtyard house structure with only wooden façade of extant (behind tree)



Figure 71. Left, multiple new structures within Fanjia Jie courtyard house; right, compound with multiple additions (note integration of older grey brick with newer red brick)



Figure 72. Left and right, views of Majuan Xiang, highlighting the extant vernacular of the area

Resident Survey

As in Beijing, understanding the social component of preservation decision-making in Pingyao was essential to the research and a survey was used to understand local resident perceptions of preservation, associations to the community and neighborhood, and their own roles in preserving or changing the neighborhood. The same questionnaire was employed as that in Beijing following similar methodology (see Chapter 2). Findings indicate a resident base far more informed about the perceived significance of the built environment and aspects of preservation policy and decision-making than its Beijing counterpart.

Demographics

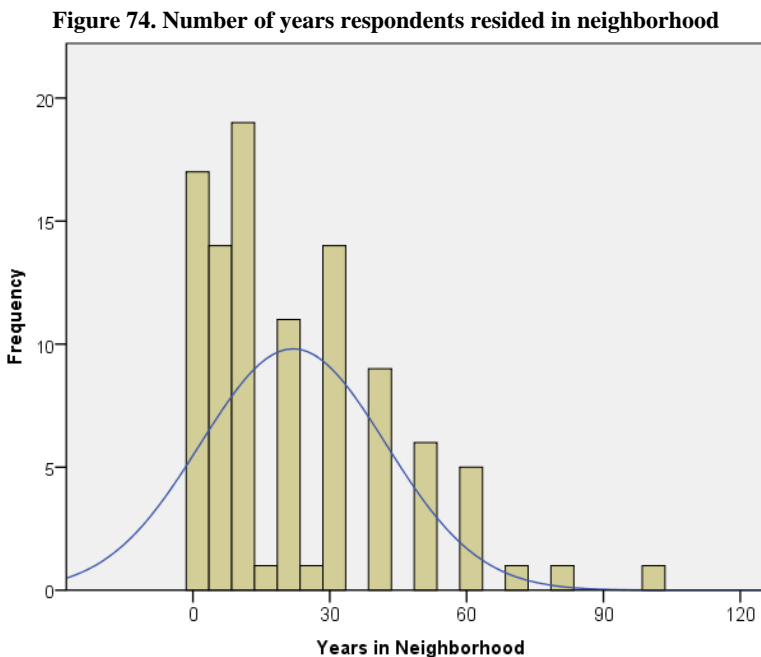
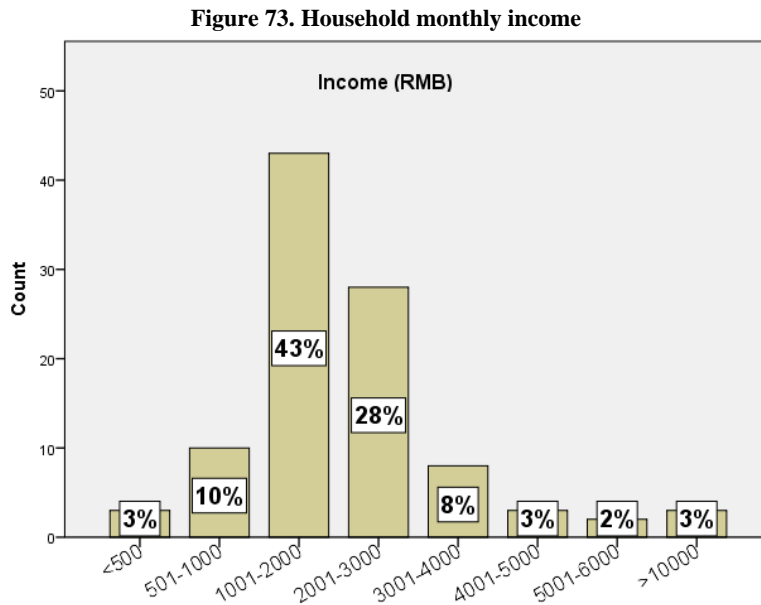
Gender, age, local status

Of the 100 people surveyed in the Pingyao study area, three-quarters were female, highlighting a gender disparity within the survey. Two-thirds of respondents are between the ages of 40 and 69, while a quarter of respondents are aged 18-39, and nearly all (94%) identified themselves as locals.

Household information

Three-quarters of respondents reported having four households or fewer within their courtyard and the mean number of households was four. Over 10% indicated having eight or more households within their courtyard, highlighting the degree to which subdivision has occurred within certain historic compounds. Two-thirds of respondents reported having four or fewer members of their household, with a mean of 4.5; nearly a third indicated 5-6 household members.

When queried about monthly income, over half reported earning 2000 RMB or less and one-third earned between 2000 and 4000 RMB (see Fig. 73).⁵⁶



⁵⁶ The average monthly household income for the city in 2012 is not available, in part because of the administrative breakdown of the county seat described above and the separation between peasant and urban household registrations within the city. The median monthly household income determined in a 2009 Tongji University survey of 101 Fanjia Jie households was 1475 RMB (see below). Although this offers one reference, it cannot be considered representative for the city because of the small size and geographical bias of the sample. However, as the survey of this study included Fanjia Jie, it is a relevant for comparison.

Relationship to neighborhood

Since the study area identified in Pingyao was principally residential and the few businesses within the area were small activities carried out from residences, the focus of the survey was on local residents. Fifty-five percent of respondents indicated being homeowners, i.e. having ownership of their residences, though there was one percentage point difference when asked pointedly if respondents rented or owned. The mean value for number of years of residence in the study area was 21.95, with a quarter of respondents having lived in the neighborhood only five years or less (see Fig. 74). Another quarter indicated having resided within the neighborhood for 20-30 years and 20% reported between 40 and 60 years. There was a strong positive linear relationship (Sig = .000) between number of years residing in the neighborhood and ownership: the longer residents indicated living in the neighborhood the greater the likelihood was they owned their homes.

Regarding perceived historic value, just over half of respondents reported their block rated “High” or “Extremely important” (see Table 16). Less than 15% determined their block to have “Low” or no value at all. One-third of respondents regarded their courtyard as their most relevant spatial unit, with the remaining two-thirds indicating the district or block. That only one respondent indicated the lane (*xiang*) underscores the distinction in urban form and perception between Beijing and Pingyao, where the alleyways serve less of a social function and courtyards have traditionally been the center of social interaction. A clear majority (87%) indicated the neighborhood has a strong community, with only two respondents dissenting by reporting there is no sense of community. Perhaps because of the clear sense of community, it was impossible to detect significant statistical relationships between perceived sense of community and other

responses, like ownership, historic rating, and even years living the neighborhood. When asked why participants responded the way they had about their community, 75% highlighted that neighbors often interact, and one-fourth noted the role of local government oversight. Only 5% mentioned local business as a catalyst for social interaction. Nearly one-third of respondents mentioned using convenience shops regularly and almost half reported frequenting guesthouses, perhaps the most prolific form of business within the walled city.

Table 16. Respondent historic rating of neighborhood

Historic rating	Percentage
No value	8%
Low	6%
Medium	35%
High	43%
Extremely important	8%

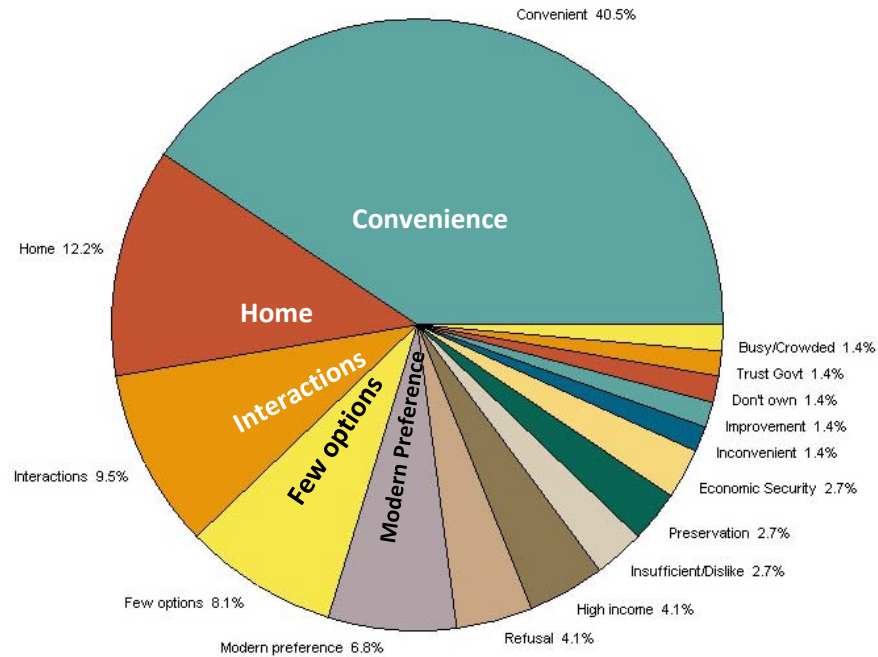
Table 17. Would respondent leave neighborhood

Response	Percentage
No	38%
Don't know	11%
Would consider it	26%
Yes, probably	11%
Definitely	13%

When asked if respondents would leave the neighborhood if they could, 38% indicated they would not leave, while nearly a quarter indicated they would leave (see Table 17). Another 26% percent reported they would consider departing and only 11% indicated they were uncertain. Renters were more likely to indicate they would leave the neighborhood than owners. However, the longer respondents had lived in the neighborhood, the less likely they were to indicate considering departing. The 62% of respondents indicating willingness to leave were asked to report the principal factors that make them want to leave the neighborhood. Nearly a quarter wrote in “demolition/relocation” (*chaiqian*) in an open response, presumably indicating concern for threatened relocation by the government as a motivation for leaving. Twenty percent of

respondents reported overcrowding and poor conditions as factors for departing and 10% mentioned lack of ownership as motivation. When asked if they would stay in the neighborhood if these problems were addressed, 72% of those posed the question indicated they would stay. Regarding ownership, 44% indicated they would stay if they owned the property and 36% identified themselves as owners already. When this same group was asked simply “Why”, 41% of responses highlighted convenience, 12% mentioned a sense of home, and 10% noted the importance of community interactions (see Fig. 75). A small percentage (8%) noted having few alternatives for housing.

Figure 75. Why respondents would stay/leave if owned property



Historic value and preservation

Pingyao resident perceptions on preservation appeared better informed than their Beijing counterparts, probably due to the World Heritage status of the city, local government actions in

the name of protection, and the undeniable presence of tourism. When asked if the neighborhood should be protected, 98% indicated that some level of protection was necessary, with a sizable 94% stating all buildings and streets should be protected. Given the near unanimous view on protection of the neighborhood, there was no detectable correlation between responses to other questions, such as number of years living in the neighborhood, income, or ownership. Nearly half of respondents highlighted tourism as a factor in protecting the neighborhood from redevelopment thus far (see Table 18). Government policy was cited by over a quarter of respondents and lack of funds by one-fourth as additional reasons for the neighborhood being extant.

Table 18. Reasons neighborhood has not been redeveloped

Reasons	Percentage
Govt policy	27.8%
Lack of funds	24.7%
Neglect	5.1%
Community involvement	6.2%
Tourism	44.3%

Table 19. Impact of preservation policy

Effects of policy	Percentage
More community involvement	8.5%
Less community involvement	1.4%
Neighborhood protection	66.2%
New development	47.9%
Increased tourism	56.3%
No effect	23.9%

Three-quarters of respondents replied “Yes” when asked if there was a policy protecting the neighborhood; only 23% indicated they were unsure. Those who indicated they were familiar with a protective policy were then asked to report its impacts (see Table 19). The most popular responses were neighborhood protection (66%), increased tourism (56%), and new development (48%). Nearly a quarter indicated that the policy had no impact.

Despite familiarity with preservation policy among a majority of respondents, just less than a quarter were aware of recent preservation efforts, whether across the neighborhood or on specific buildings. As discussed above, conservation work on two courtyard houses on Fanjia Jie was ongoing during the time of the survey, but no respondents mentioned this work, despite relocation of the residents and activity clearly visible from the street. This lack of awareness on the part of residents underscores insufficient, or perhaps nonexistent, efforts to inform and educate the community about the pilot program prior to its inception. The concepts most noted by respondents who provided information were ‘individual’ (36%), ‘cooperation’ (24%), and ‘preservation’ (20%), with 8% of responses highlighting the role of commercialization (see Fig. 76). The term ‘individual’ references self-reliance to maintain homes and neighborhoods and includes things like roof and door repair. ‘Cooperation’ includes community efforts to protect the neighborhood, including road paving and maintenance of streetlamps. ‘Preservation’ highlights calls for protection of the neighborhood and/or its buildings.

Figure 76. Respondent mentions of recent preservation efforts

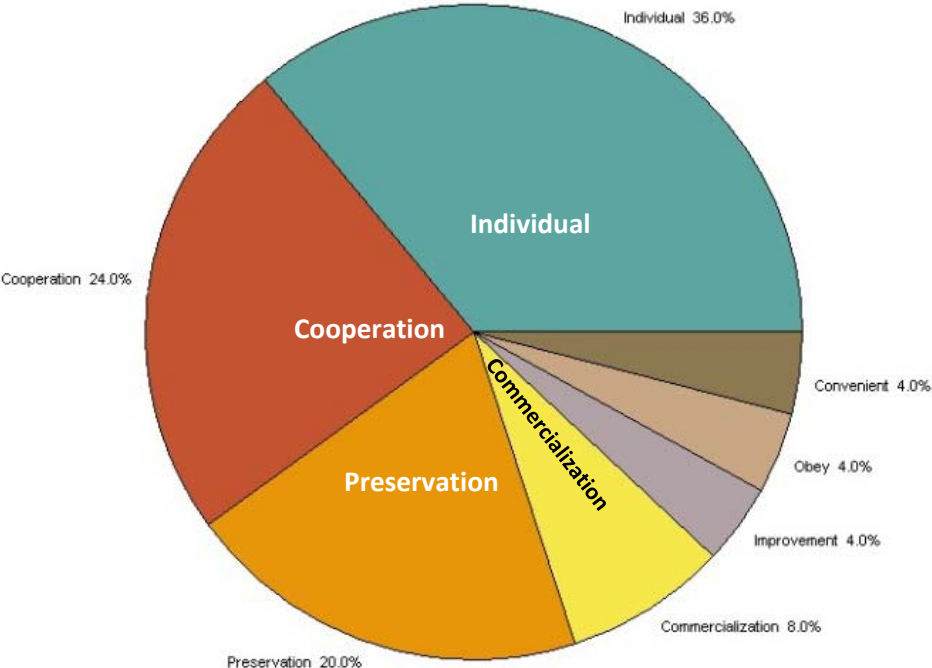


Table 20. Respondents’ historic rating of their buildings

Respondent rating	Percentage
No value	8.1%
Low	2.0%
Medium	41.4%
High	40.4%
Extremely important	8.1%

Table 21. Changes and repairs made by respondents

Buildings changes	Percentage
Roof repairs	60.0%
New roof	10.9%
Addition	12.7%
Partial renovation	74.5%
Complete renovation	21.8%
Reconstruction	1.8%

When asked to rate the historic value of their residences, just under half of respondents selected “High” or “Extremely important”, 40% indicated “Medium”, and the remaining 10% reported “Low” or “No value” (see Table 20). Over half (55%) of respondents reported having made repairs, changes, or updates to their homes. In contrast, 12% indicated not being allowed by law to make any changes and 11% highlighted lack of funds as a key factor. Roughly a quarter reported they had no desire to carry out any work on their residences. Of the respondents who indicated they had made repairs, three-quarters specified partial renovation and 60% mentioned roof repairs, a typical maintenance activity that was observed to be in great need throughout the study area (see Table 21). Over 20% noted having carried out complete renovations of their residences.

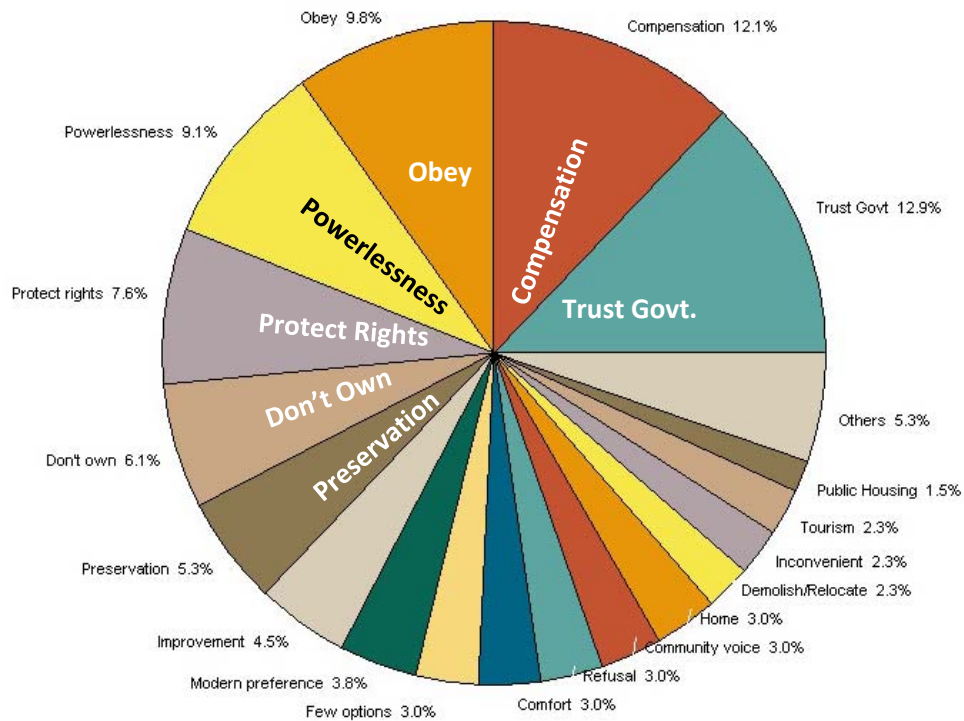
Table 22. How respondents would react to threat of demolition

Reactions to threat	Percentage
Complain to govt	3%
Community action	4%
Refuse to leave	1%
Protest	18%
Nothing I can do	68%

When posed the question, “How would you try to protect the neighborhood from demolition,” 68% of respondents indicated there was nothing they could do and 18% indicated they would protest (see Table 22). Those indicating there was nothing they could do were more likely to have mentioned considering leaving the neighborhood and, conversely, respondents choosing protest were likely to have indicated not having intentions to leave the neighborhood. Another 7% wrote in they would want to “consult” or “confer”, presumably meaning they would talk to the government or perhaps with their neighbors. The reasoning behind respondent answers was expressed by ‘trust in government’ (13%), ‘compensation’ (12%), ‘obedience’ (10%), ‘powerlessness’ (9%), and ‘protection of rights’ (8%) (see Fig. 77). The most common sentiment

was belief that the government would either provide for respondents or make a decision in the best interest of residents. However, an equal amount of respondents indicated the importance of ‘compensation’ if demolition were threatened, with the connotation that agreement was contingent on adequate compensation. The next most popular sentiment reflected obeying the government, which is distinct from ‘trust in government’ since there is no expression of faith in government decisions or policy. ‘Powerlessness’ principally represented the sentiment that individual influence on decision-making was inconsequential, while ‘protection of rights’ highlighted focus on individual rights and personal freedoms.

Figure 77. Terms used to answer why respondents would react as indicated



Recent history and tourism

When asked to recall how many households had left the neighborhood in the past 5 years, nearly 50% of respondents reported no one had moved and 40% indicated “A few”. Nearly a third indicated that departed households were replaced by new residents in the same buildings. Almost 70% of respondents did not answer. In the same question for businesses, three-quarters failed to answer and 25% indicated none. Only one respondent indicated “A few”. This reflects the few businesses present in the immediate neighborhood and the staying power of those that do exist, primarily guesthouses, which are supported by tourism. In the follow-up question, 99% of respondents failed to answer and one respondent indicated new residents moved into the previous business location(s) (see Table 23).

Table 23. Number of households and businesses that have departed the neighborhood reported by respondents

Households departed	Percentage responding	Businesses departed	Percentage responding
None	47%	None	25%
Few	40%	Few	1%
5-10	3%	5-10	0%
>10	6%	>10	0%
Don't know	4%	Don't know	0%

Table 24. Perceived impacts of tourism

Perceived impacts	Percentage
Increased activity	9%
More business	60%
Higher income	44%
Better infrastructure	69%
Better facilities	4%
Better businesses	40%
Higher cost of living	23%
Less privacy	1%
Overcrowding	29%
More traffic	26%

Respondent views of tourism are largely positive, with 59% indicating tourism has been beneficial to the neighborhood and 33% reporting the impact has been neutral. Only 8% of

respondents viewed tourism as having negative impact. When asked to highlight the specific impacts of tourism (see Table 24), the most popular responses related principally to benefits in commercial activity and economic prowess: “better infrastructure” (69%), “more business” (60%), “higher income” (44%), and “better businesses” (40%). Additional responses related to the negative impacts of tourism on quality of life: “overcrowding” (29%), “more traffic” (26%), and “higher cost of living” (23%).

Neighborhood projection

As in Beijing, respondents were finally asked to predict the status and composition of their neighborhood in ten years and highlight the aspects they most appreciated at present. In projecting ten years into the future, respondents were largely optimistic, indicating there would be a “thriving community” (52%) and “more businesses” (45%). Nearly one-fourth predicted some degree of demolition and relocation (chaiqian), and 20% suggested there would be a mix of old and new buildings. A small group (14%) projected the neighborhood would not undergo any change (see Fig. 78).

Figure 78. Respondent projections of neighborhood in 10 years

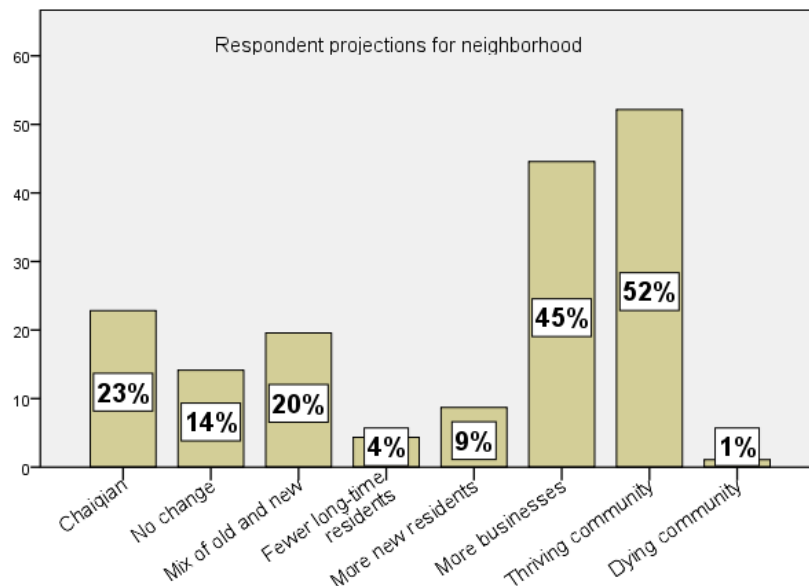
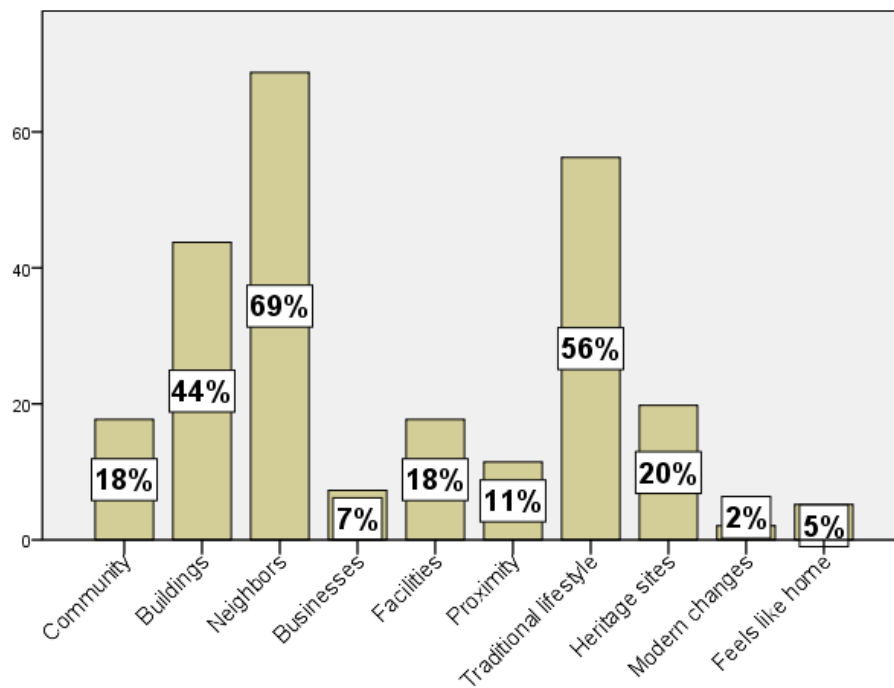


Figure 79. Most liked neighborhood attributes



A clear sentiment was expressed by respondents when asked what aspects of their neighborhood they most liked currently: 70% of responses indicated “neighbors”, “traditional lifestyle” (56%) and “buildings” (44%) were the next most popular options, followed by the heritage sites (20%). “Community” and “facilities” were each highlighted by 18% of respondents (see Fig. 79). The importance of social networks and the interactions and practices that take place within the historic built environment surfaced as paramount.

Previous Studies

The World Heritage status of Pingyao’s walled city has attracted a handful of researchers interested in urban preservation practice and tourism development within the context of a largely intact historic city (Dong and Dong 2004; Knapp 2000; Wang 2011; Wang 2012; Zhang, Zhuo, and Xu 2004; Zhang 2010). Some of these researchers have shown particular interest in the

views of local stakeholders and the impact of preservation policies and tourism on the community. The resulting findings serve as a valuable body of data with which to compare the findings of the current research and enrich their consideration and analysis.

One study principally conducted between 2005 and 2006 considered the impact of preservation policies aimed to encourage tourism growth on the local population (Wang 2012). Although a small sample of only 35 residents was surveyed and interviewed, the research provides insight into the effects of local policy that relocated city government and services outside of the walled city beginning in 1994, effectively turning the city into a center of tourism and neglecting many local needs.⁵⁷ Wang found that 69% of respondents had no plans to relocate outside of the walled city within three years, citing being accustomed to the city and the community, owning property there, and/or not having the finances to seek other accommodations (2012:11). It seems reasonable to consider all respondents in the current study indicating uncertainty about leaving as not having any plans within three years, therefore resulting in a comparable 75% of respondents without plans to leave. Wang suggests that there is a correlation between income and intention to depart the walled city, noting that 87% of those not intending to leave made less than 300RMB (2012:12). While the validity of this correlation is difficult to ascertain with available data, it is reasonable to assume that financial capacity plays a role in mobility and has prevented residents with lesser means from departing the city. However, the present research asked respondents whether they would leave if they were able, and only a quarter responded they would do so, which indicates that other factors must be at play.

⁵⁷ The local government implemented a policy of ‘depopulation’ (*renkou shujie*) that officially began in 1994. The result of the implementation was relocation of approximately 23,000 residents, effectively half the walled city population, to a newly established urban center outside the city walls. This was carried out by relocating government offices, work-units, and many services, therefore indirectly forcing many workers and others depending on related services to the new city. Tourism policy also established stringent requirements for businesses and greatly limited opportunities for locals not involved in tourism.

A study of collective memory and place association was conducted in 2006 to determine the impact of tourism on residents within Pingyao's walled city (Wang 2011). The study relied on interviews with a sample of 50 residents over the age of 30 and sought to understand local collective memory associations with places of newfound tourism importance. Given the pre-reform Communist focus on redefining the function and meaning of historic symbols of wealth and religion, many of the most popular sites within the walled city were used as community centers, government offices, and schools and were places of open access to residents. The study highlights the break in continuity with these functions and associations once these places became tourist attractions with controlled access and questions the current practice of tourism development as a force that marginalizes the local community in lieu of reifying their interactions with and valuations of these places of historic importance. While the current study does not facilitate discussion about this type of marginalization, it is worth highlighting that most respondents saw the impact of tourism as positive and none highlighted concern for access to historic sites, although there was concern for the lack of shopping and other services within the neighborhood that emerged in discussion with residents and business-owners alike.

Another study carried out in the summer of 2005 in Pingyao aimed to determine the impact of tourism at World Heritage sites on locals by surveying 283 residents of the walled city (Huang 2006). This survey focused on a younger demographic, reaching most of the sample by sending questionnaires home with children from one of the local elementary schools; 90% of respondents were 41 years of age or younger in contrast to the current study in which two-thirds of the sample was aged 40-69 (Huang 2006:125). Only 87% of respondents identified themselves as locals, compared to 94% in the current study. Over 70% of respondents in the Huang study

reported that 10% or less of their household income resulted from the tourism industry. Using a cluster analysis of perceptions towards tourism, Huang found “enthusiastic” (*requing*) support among residents for the following statements: the need to encourage more tourism, tourism raises resident quality of life, tourism provides more job opportunity for residents, attracting more external investment promotes economic development within the old city (2006:126). The current study findings mirror the largely popular view of tourism, highlighting in particular its positive impact on business, opportunity, and quality of life. However, Huang’s results indicate principally neutral response to statements highlighting the negative impacts of tourism (e.g. traffic, crowding, inconvenience), in contrast to these being highlighted as nuisances in this research.

A different survey was carried out in 2009 to determine local perceptions of tourism and its impact on residents (Yang, Chen, Hu, and Shi 2010). The focus of the study was to understand the relationship between attitudes towards tourism and socioeconomic status, which was determined through a series of questions regarding household income, education level, and profession. Over 90% of respondents in the Yang et al. survey indicated having a household income of 2000RMB or less, while only 56% of respondents reported the same range. However, respondent perceptions of tourism and its impacts were largely similar in the two studies. The Yang et al. survey revealed largely positive responses to the impact of tourism on job opportunities, income, and quality of life, similar to findings cited above. However, they also determined that a majority of respondents felt tourism polarized the society along socioeconomic lines, i.e. increasing economic inequality among residents (Yang et al. 2010:191). Respondents in the study further reported that tourism affected traffic, but also promoted increased awareness of environmental protection and cultural heritage preservation. The results of this study

effectively underscored the dichotomous impact of tourism on the local community and neighborhoods.

Another study conducted by a master's degree student in Tongji University's Urban Planning Department contributed to work the department has done in collaboration with the local Planning Bureau and Global Heritage Fund (Yao 2011). This work focused on a survey of Fanjia Jie, a residential street that comprises roughly half of the current study area, and therefore is one of the most relevant studies to this research. In addition to documenting the 125 households on the street, a social survey was conducted of 101 households in 2009. The household average size was 2.7, compared with 4.5 in the current study, and roughly 70% of households no longer represented the traditional extended family model of three generations living together. The ages of all residents represented an expected age distribution, according to national Chinese household standards: the average age was 36 and 36% of residents were 30 years old or younger, suggesting that there is no significant trend of younger people moving out of the neighborhood (Yao 2011:75). In terms of monthly income, 78% of households earned between 400 and 2600 RMB, comparable to 84% of respondents earning 3000RMB or less discovered in the present survey.

The Tongji researchers found 48% of the households were owned by the residents, slightly less than the 55% of respondents in this research who indicated being homeowners. Additionally, the 2009 research determined that nearly 75% of residents indicated wanting to move to "better" areas, 54% of respondents indicating preferring to live outside the walled city (Yao 2011:148). This is compared with 40% of respondents in the current work who indicated they would leave or would consider leaving the neighborhood if they could. However, the Tongji study also

revealed that 78% of respondents preferred to remain in their homes after renovations (being planned as part of the Tongji - Pingyao Urban Planning Bureau – Global Heritage Fund collaboration) were complete, provided government facilities were available (Yao 2011:148). These findings support the 72% of current respondents who indicated they would stay if the principal problems (e.g. concern for demolition/relocation, overcrowding, and poor conditions) were resolved. In contrast to the research cited above, the Tongji study found that nearly half of residents of Fanjia Jie felt tourism development had an indirect negative impact (43%) on the historic city, while only 36% believed there was an indirect benefit from tourism (Yao 2011:149). The study also found that one-third of residents considered their houses to be worthy of preservation efforts, while over half of current respondents indicated their residence and their block had high or greater historic value.

Contributions of current research

Review of prior studies has shown that a limited body of research attempting to record and determine local community perceptions of historic resources and the industries of preservation and tourism they engender. However, I have uncovered no previous empirical work to determine the impact of local communities on the current condition and protection of these neighborhoods. The survey aims to highlight respondent relationships to their neighborhoods and homes, while also determining their sense of preservation processes and the opportunity for their involvement, even if hypothetical. In contrast, previous studies have all considered the impact of preservation policy and the overlay of tourism on the residents without determining either their desire to have an influence over decision-making processes or their perceived capacity to do so through various means. Although analysis of the survey instrument reveals omissions and weaknesses, the

resulting data have provided invaluable information on local views of preservation and the politics of engagement.

Perhaps most interesting of the findings is the strong association of respondents to the historic architecture and neighborhood indicated that seemingly contradicts an expressed lack of willingness or perceived empowerment to protect these resources against the threat of demolition. Although the valuation of the place is high, the displeasure with current living conditions and sense of powerlessness may contribute to statistical apathy. As in Beijing, the need for improved facilities and general standards of living underlies the consideration of architectural and neighborhood preservation. Distinct from Beijing, historic city regulations in Pingyao constrain economic opportunities to tourism-related business, rather than providing potential for more sustainable commercial activity relevant to local residents. This appears to privilege physical preservation, while stunting the socio-economic vitality of the neighborhood. The fascinating program to educate residents about preservation and facilitate sensitive updates could have substantial impact on policy and practice as the public and government officials become mutually informed. Additional interpretation of these findings will follow in the next chapter and provide context for discussion on the social, economic, political factors that contribute to neighborhood preservation in China.

Chapter 7 – Analysis and Implications

Identifying and understanding the principal factors contributing to the preservation of historic neighborhoods in China is no small challenge. Interpreting the data compiled as part of this research requires consideration of the methodology, approaches, and specific contexts that the study comprises. Following the framework set forth in the original research question, this chapter considers the significance of the findings in light of their documented contexts and posits key implications for historic neighborhood protection in Chinese urban settings. As the research sought to identify the principal factors of preservation decision-making along social, political, and economic veins, the findings are considered within three eponymous sections that highlight their role in impacting the composition, character, and ongoing development of historic neighborhoods in Beijing and Pingyao, specifically. Additional information and relevant examples within or near the study areas are also presented to consider recent developments in preservation advocacy, policy, and practice and inform the interpretation of findings. The consideration of outcomes will be applied more globally to determine implications of the research for preservation decision-making beyond the case studies and within the larger context of China and beyond. Finally, this chapter briefly reviews the principal objectives and outcomes of the current research, considering strengths and weaknesses, and enumerating the most meaningful lessons for preservation planning around historic neighborhoods and districts in both Chinese and developing world cities.

Social Factors

Available literature on preservation of urban areas in China lacks consideration of community involvement in related decision-making. Very little information on the opportunities for residents of historic neighborhoods to influence preservation planning decisions has been available. This gap in the literature was one of the driving forces behind the current research whose design integrated methods of compiling information on community involvement in advocacy, protection, and evolution of designated historic neighborhoods. While it proved impossible to survey or interview former residents of areas already redeveloped, the research design focused on designated historic neighborhoods to understand current resident perceptions of the built environment, the community, and their attachment to both. This section considers the opportunities of communities and individuals to influence preservation decision-making and underscores some of the social impacts of redevelopment.

Social networks

The role of social networks in Chinese urban settings has been discussed in the context of the *danwei* and aspects of top-down state engineering and control (Bray 2005; Romich 1994; Yan and Gao 2007). In recent years, however, the importance of both informal and formalized social networks has come to light in the context of urban redevelopment and resulting relocation of long-time residents (Campanella 2008; Hsing 2010; Shi and Cai 2006). The common phenomenon of *chaiqian* (“demolition and relocation”) that plagued so many Chinese urban centers during the 1990s and into the 2000s resulted in the loss of established community networks as residents were relocated to urban fringes without continued access to healthcare, education, and established community support on which many relied in the absence of former *danwei*-related service provision (Campanella 2008:169; Hsing 2010:74-5). Consideration of the

impact on *chaiqianhu* (“demolished and relocated households”) has resulted in recognition of some of the key roles of community as well as resident attachment to place and associated social networks.

In order to understand community perception of place and degree of attachment to the neighborhoods studied, the resident survey included a series of questions about the built environment, the community, and reaction to possible demolition (see Chapter 2). Respondents in both Beijing and Pingyao indicated attachment to their neighborhoods and high valuation of the built environment (see Chapters 5 and 6). The Pingyao residents held their built environment in particularly high esteem, with nearly 100% of respondents indicating their neighborhoods rated among the two highest degrees of historic significance and calling for complete preservation of all buildings and thoroughfares. Beijing respondents were more divided in their opinions of the value of their neighborhoods, though nearly 80% called for some sort of protection of the built environment. Moreover, well over half of respondents in both study areas identified the presence of a strong community and ranked community and/or neighbors as the most valued attribute of their neighborhoods.

Perceived community attachment influenced the valuation of the neighborhood. In Beijing, there was a significant statistical relationship between identifying a strong community and assigning greater historic significance to the built environment. Similarly, identifying a strong sense of community made it far more likely that a resident was inclined to react to threatened neighborhood demolition. The presence of social networks and associated values appears to have influenced at least one-third of Beijing participants to indicate community action as a viable strategy for neighborhood protection. Despite the far stronger association with the community

that was identified among respondents in Pingyao, the majority there was resigned to the power of the government, responding there was nothing they could do to prevent demolition.

This distinction may point to another piece of information uncovered through interviews with preservation professionals and locals regarding the lack of community spaces within the city walls. In particular, many people interviewed highlighted the need for community centers in historic Pingyao, since there are no public spaces providing residents the opportunity to gather and socialize, something perceived as particularly essential for retired persons.⁵⁸ Although such spaces were once common in the city, they are no longer accessible to residents due to two principal characteristics of the city and local dwellings. The courtyard has most often been the venue for social interaction in Pingyao. This is evident in the architecture and was expressed by survey respondents, who often associated most with their courtyard (see Chapter 6). Wang (2011) also found in her research that one impact of tourism and related policy on local residents was the loss of access to historic sites that had served as venues for communal activities for much of the 20th century. As a result, there are few opportunities to facilitate community-building and extend social networking beyond the immediate surroundings of individual residences. Support for this interpretation lay in the fact that Pingyao survey respondents identified the importance of their immediate neighbors above that of the community. Congruently, Hsing (2010:88, fn 39) found that cross-district networking in Beijing required “active mobilization” that surpassed the ability of local social networks. This all suggests that social networks in Pingyao are very local in nature and may not provide for extended ties across neighborhoods, which in turn may have important ramifications on resident views of their own role in preservation planning, i.e. they

⁵⁸ Two local business-owners, the Global Heritage Fund China Manager, Tongji researchers, and a number of other locals interviewed mentioned the need for community spaces for residents of the walled city, particularly older retired persons, in interviews. These interviews took place in in April, 2012.

have little power to influence these processes as individuals in the face of strong local policy that privileges tourism and limits access to prominent areas of the city to outsiders.

Collective action

Despite the sentiment recorded in Pingyao, a growing number of examples of collective action in China points to opportunities for informal community involvement in implementation of redevelopment planning. Two recent cases in Beijing provide some insight into this phenomenon and the increasing influence of communities in the protection of historic neighborhoods. The first does not highlight the ability of the community to preserve the neighborhood as much as its capacity to defy the municipal government and put planned redevelopment on hold for years. The second highlights collective action mobilized by a local non-governmental organization (NGO), underscoring the potential role for community-based organizations (CBOs) generally in preservation advocacy. Both draw attention to collective action as a method to influence the physical and social composition of historic neighborhoods and redefine the parameters of planned redevelopment.

Although there were large areas of redevelopment implemented within the protected historic district to the southeast of Qianmen in Old Beijing, as discussed in Chapter 4, one portion of the large area slated for redevelopment has yet to complete demolition, at least six years after completion of surrounding work (see Figs. 80-82). According to one representative from the Dongcheng Municipal Historic and Cultural Preservation Office (HPO) interviewed, the reason for the situation lay in resident refusal to relocate. Despite the fact that this large redevelopment

project that began in 2005 created approximately 20,000 *chaiqianhu*,⁵⁹ (“relocated households”) (Hsing 2010:75), a group of residents in this area avoided this plight by simply refusing to leave their homes. Although Hsing notes that many inner city residents were forcibly removed from their houses in earlier redevelopment projects, with some demolitions happening in the middle of the night (2010:77, fn 26,27), the Dongcheng HPO representative highlighted the use of subtler coercion strategies in this case: many who moved from the area were either employed by some level of local government or received municipal subsidies and were threatened with unemployment or cessation of subsidies if they refused to comply with the relocation. In his estimation, those who remained had no such reliance on the municipal government and were therefore not convinced such coercion tactics. This underscores a newfound ability of residents in Chinese cities to protest and thwart demolition and redevelopment plans by standing their ground. The current situation, although not ideal for any of the involved parties, is evidence of a new effectiveness of collective action, previously identified by Chinese authorities as civil disobedience and often harshly punished (Hsing 2010).

⁵⁹ It is worth noting that a large group of *chaiqianhu* originally relocated throughout the 1990s and early 2000s have mobilized to seek legal action to secure greater compensation for their original homes, restitution of their earlier household registrations which were reassigned to their new residences in 2005, and new residence rent payments promised as part of their relocation packages. The large class action lawsuit is known as the *wanren dasusong* (“Grand Litigation of 10,000 Plaintiffs”) and has regularly been brought to Municipal Courts since 2000, with a growing number of litigants and supporters. These efforts have simultaneously developed community-based organizations for the purpose of legal education and other mobilization. See Hsing, 2010 for investigation of this phenomenon and consideration of the related essential social mobilization.

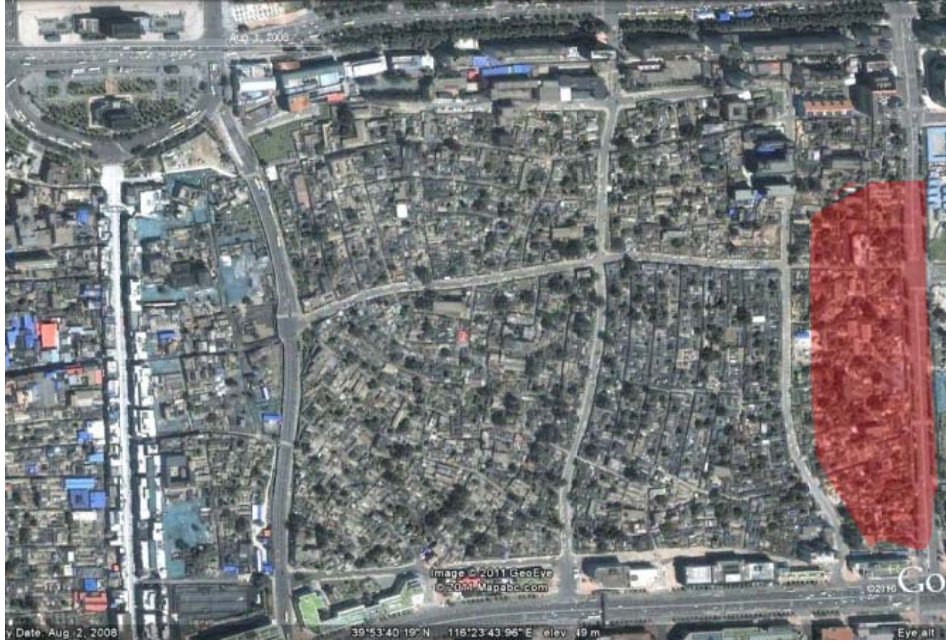


Figure 80. Qianmen Hutong block, with un-redeveloped area indicated (area of intended redevelopment approximated)



Figure 81. Left and Right, incomplete demolition west of newly created Qianian Da Jie (images taken May 2012)



Figure 82. Left, pile of rubble with occupied building in background; right, occupied historic building with adjacent structure demolished (images taken May 2012)

The second example was a proposed project in the Drum Tower (*gulou*) district in the central north of the Old City. In early 2010, Beijing Municipality revealed a US\$600MM plan to redevelop a 30-acre area within the historic neighborhood around the Drum and Bell towers that would be called the “Beijing Time and Culture City” and include an underground shopping area, a museum on time-keeping, and modern luxury courtyard housing. The news of the projected redevelopment of the historic neighborhood that serves as home to the 700-year old Drum and Bell towers and a wealth of some of Beijing’s most historic hutong and courtyard houses was reported by 100 Chinese and 30 foreign press outlets, largely due to the advocacy work of the Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center (CHP) (Wang and He 2013).⁶⁰ Much of the coverage of the plan likened it to the Qing Dynasty Shopping Street that had resulted from the redevelopment of the Qianmen historic district discussed above and completed in time for the 2008 Beijing Olympics (see Fig. 83). This 1.45km² area of faux late imperial *chineseness* has a mix of high-end Western and Chinese stores with restaurants and a trolley that travels the length of the shopping street and has become a tourist attraction.

⁶⁰ The slated destruction of the neighborhood was covered by The Telegraph (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/7532375/Historical-Beijing-quarter-to-be-destroyed.html>), The New York Times (<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/21/world/asia/21beijing.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>), and the Asia Times (<http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/LE11Ad01.html>), to name a few.



Figure 83. Qing Dynasty Shopping Street in Spring 2012. Note tracks for trolley.

The Drum Tower proposal very quickly drew the attention of the CHP, whose headquarters are located within the current research study area. The organization in many ways served as the representative and mobilizer of collective action: they involved the media, encouraged engagement of the local community through social media and phone calls, and organized public events to educate and engage locals in advocacy and activism. In March of 2010, CHP planned to launch a large public seminar entitled “Towards a Better Future for the Drum and Bell Tower District” that was publicized through the Internet and texting. One day before the scheduled event, the police summoned CHP staff and informed them the event was prohibited and must be canceled, an order with which CHP complied (Wang and He 2013). A few weeks later, the municipality announced that the redevelopment plans were postponed indefinitely. A revised plan was eventually developed that impacts a much smaller area of the Drum Tower district.⁶¹

⁶¹ In discussion with the CHP founder, it was revealed that CHP staff stood their ground with the police and made it known that future events would be planned if the redevelopment threat was not removed. In this June 6, 2012

Although it is impossible to prove a causal relationship between the work of CHP and the cancellation of the redevelopment, it is difficult to overlook the essential role that CHP played as an organizer and facilitator for collective action of the community, many of whom were actively involved in advocacy throughout the process. According to the CHP founder, people can use informal pressure through social media and the press, but they often need support in the form of information and organization from NGOs or other bodies. Beard (2003) corroborates this concept through the revelation that collective action within “restrictive political environments” requires a structured venue for a “social learning process” that provides citizens with the tools and knowledge to organize and engage politically. Additionally, the CHP leader noted that foreign organizations can provide preservation planning expertise and guidance, but that they prioritize their own projects over perceived community needs. Instead, local CBOs and NGOs are beginning to play significant roles in preservation advocacy and education, while simultaneously working to coordinate community efforts, build capacity around collective action methods, and guide engagement in preservation planning.

A handful of survey respondents in the Beijing study area also mentioned earlier successes at protecting heritage sites through collective action. A quarter of participants indicated that the community has the capacity to influence preservation decision-making, with some specifically mentioning prior instances of successful collective action. Three respondents in particular cited Cultural Revolution-era threats to the Confucius Temple that were ultimately thwarted by the activities of the community. A few others noted instances of threats to the area or to their own homes that were successfully mitigated by their actions and those of neighbors. Unfortunately,

interview, he also noted that a new plan to impact a much smaller area was underway. However, I have been unable to uncover any details about the area or nature of the revised plan. Recent articles highlight a current push to begin this new redevelopment and inform impacted locals of their impending relocation. See Simon Rabinovitch, “Structural Revolution” in *Financial Times* (26 April 2013), <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/eb0384c0-a812-11e2-b031-00144feabdc0.html#slide7>.

the nature of the survey did not allow for compilation of additional information and I have been unable to find any documentation about these events. However, mention of the specific Confucius Temple incident and stories about individual properties by multiple respondents serve to corroborate the historical event and an apparent trend, although on a small scale, of successful preservation activism.

(In)Formal channels

The research has indicated that there are no formal channels for citizen involvement in preservation planning. However, individuals interviewed discussed some methods by which citizens can influence planning processes. Nonetheless, I stress that, as some studies have indicated, these are *informal* methods of citizen engagement in governance (see Chapter 4). Despite this distinction there appear to be opportunities for the community to communicate concerns about planning decisions to the Beijing municipal government. I have found no similar mechanism within the Pingyao context, although it should be remembered that the preservation environment is quite distinct there, given the designation of the entire walled city.

One local preservation professional at first mirrored the sentiment of the CHP founder, highlighting that most advocacy campaigns in Beijing were begun by non-locals who took an interest and had the influence to gain media and/or official support for their cause. The practitioner continued to mention that there was one municipal channel for complaints, the mayor's hotline (*shidai rexian*), although this was not specific to preservation matters or concerns.⁶² What remains unclear is if and how concerns voiced through the mayor's hotline are reviewed and integrated into decision-making processes and the interviewee expressed doubts

⁶² Information gathered in an interview with the Head of Development at Prince's Charities Foundation and former Managing Director of CHP on March 28, 2012.

regarding the direct impact of these types of communications. He further stated that citizens learn about this and other informal options for engagement in the preservation process through the media and word of mouth, highlighting that even options for education are informal at best. This fact underscores the importance of NGO and CBO involvement in education and advocacy discussed above.

The representative from the Dongcheng HPO outlined opportunities for Beijing residents to seek government permission for and assistance in renovation/upgrading of designated properties in very poor condition.⁶³ However, it appears that there are no comparable formal processes related to the listing of properties and influencing preservation planning beyond pressure through informal channels and lobbying, for lack of a better term, local neighborhood committees and sub-district bureaus to undertake designation of specific properties as “tagged courtyards” (see Chapter 5). Indeed, the CHP founder stated categorically that citizens do not have the right to designate properties or become involved in preservation. It is worth noting that the Dongcheng HPO is similarly charged only with preservation of state-owned properties, leaving historic privately owned properties apparently without much recourse in Beijing.

⁶³ The interview revealed that residents of officially listed properties (sub-district, district, and municipal) can approach their neighborhood committees to seek necessary permission and financial assistance in renovation of buildings in poor condition. However, he noted that this process is convoluted and ultimately challenged by the availability of funds. He also noted that since this work must largely be underwritten by the residents, many people are unable to afford the necessary work, given local income for many in public housing is so low. For instance, the Historic Preservation official cites that in subsidized public housing, the poorest individuals pay just over 3RMB/m²/month. The subsidized monthly minimum wage in Beijing at this time was raised to 1260RMB for 2012 as reported by the *Xin Jing Bao* on December 30, 2011.

Political Factors

Any component of preservation planning and its implementation could be considered political, whether discussing examples of community engagement and collective action presented above or some of the fiscal challenges discussed later. However, this section focuses specifically on the factors related to the evolution of preservation policy and its enforcement, considering in particular the role of government. Although there is no dearth of consideration for historic and cultural heritage enshrined in national law and local regulations, implementation and enforcement of these legal concepts poses significant challenges. One substantial component of these challenges is a lack of clear comprehension of key concepts and approaches in preservation that is accompanied by a single-minded focus on growth and development.

National and local policy

The evolution of national cultural heritage law and relevant regulations in Beijing has been discussed at length in Chapter 4. The focus here is a consideration of the successes and failures of the process and its outcomes. Policy development is necessarily considered an iterative process, as laws and regulations are drafted, developed, revised, and reiterated on a cyclical basis (Howlett and Ramesh 1995; Jann and Wegrich 2007). Evolution of preservation law in China, particularly in the Beijing municipality, reflects the iterative aspect of policy development around preservation, even suggesting a trial-and-error approach (see Table 25). As discussed earlier, each iteration was devised to strengthen the policy in question and facilitate its enforcement in the face of rapidly changing economic and political forces at all levels of government. Therefore, these iterations indicate responsiveness to perceived weaknesses in the policies and to enforcement obstacles.

Table 25. Reiterations of selected National and Beijing policies related to preservation since 1980

National Heritage Law	Beijing Historic Districts	Beijing Old City Protection
1982	1982	1985
2002	1990	1987
	2002	2002
		2004
		2005

Given the innumerable examples of demolition and redevelopment within designated historic districts in the Old City despite expanding prohibition of large-scale development of any type, the most glaring weakness in the system lay with enforcement. Policy designed to protect the historic fabric and character of Beijing’s Old City was implemented over a twenty-year period from 1985 to 2005, culminating in the prohibition of any large-scale development not already approved (see Table 25). Nonetheless, projects defying height restrictions, development control buffer zones, and designated historic district protection were rampant during this period (see Chapter 4). It is difficult to say categorically that such violations were due to corruption, though scholars have highlighted this reality as at least one factor, along with misinterpretation of preservation policy (Abramson 2007; Fang and Zhang 2003). Even years after the Comprehensive Protection Plan of the Old City (2005), developments such as the Beijing Time and Culture City were publicized as approved projects slated to break ground, and substantial areas of old traditional single-story building stock continued to give way to modern highrise construction. As Wang and He note, legal protection of intended areas of redevelopment “would not be enough to halt the progress of this project, because indeed illegal destruction of China’s cultural heritage is an everyday occurrence” (2013:195). Additionally, many recent, ongoing,

and planned redevelopment projects take place in areas slated for redevelopment in the 1990s, although it appears that the nature and extent of projects are determined in the present day.⁶⁴

The challenges of enforcement, though not unfamiliar to many countries and localities around the world, are systemic to China's political structure. Decentralization of the authoritarian government and planned economy after 1980 has resulted in parallel structures of central ministry bureaus whose local offices have a chain of command deriving directly from the ministry, but operate within the political and economic context of the locality. For example, the State Administration for Cultural Heritage (SACH) is the highest national authority overseeing heritage and preservation matters and has its own bureaus at the provincial and municipal/county levels over which it has jurisdiction. However, SACH does not have jurisdiction over local governments and therefore can only work through its local offices to enforce preservation policy and interact at this level with other central ministry bureaus and government offices. The significance of this structure, ultimately, is that local jurisdictions are not accountable to even the highest level of preservation authority. Furthermore, an unspoken hierarchy of national level entities and their local offices often results in the subjugation of Cultural Heritage bureaus in the face of their counterparts from the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (formerly the Ministry of Construction) and the China National Tourism Agency,⁶⁵ which are more closely

⁶⁴ This piece of information was gathered during discussion with the Dongcheng HPO official, who noted that approximately 75% of the traditional housing stock was slated for redevelopment during the 1990s and that many projects today take place in neighborhoods identified at that time. He did not specifically mention the Old and Dilapidated Housing Redevelopment program (see Chapter 4), but I surmise he was referring to this. If this assertion is true, the municipality relies on a 20-year old ledger of neighborhoods ripe for redevelopment, ignoring subsequent changes in preservation legislation and practice, as well as newly listed historic resources. Similarly, the 25 historic districts were identified during this same period and have yet to be expanded or diminished in the legislation, despite significant losses that have occurred.

⁶⁵ The China National Tourism Agency is a national-level entity under the direct supervision of the State Council. Although it is not officially a ministry, its structure and operations are similar.

associated with development and revenue.⁶⁶ This political structure is also, at least in part, responsible for the lack of enforcement of preservation policy in Beijing, where local development and construction entities can easily overwhelm the municipal cultural heritage authorities.

This structure is further instructional in understanding the ability of localities to redefine and even override national law through creation of local policy. The example of Beijing's responsive policy development around the regulation of land use transfer is a case in point: despite national policy requiring a fair and open bidding process in the transfer of land use rights, Beijing was able to pass its own guidelines for the bidding process that effectively allowed the circumvention of the State Council requirements. This ability to sidestep national requirements for the land use transfer process greatly impacted the composition of Old Beijing's built environment and, in turn, served as a catalyst for the establishment of stronger protection later enshrined in both national law and local regulation. Indeed, the 2002 version of the National Heritage Law integrated the accountability of local officials for the mistreatment or loss of cultural heritage.⁶⁷ However, the National Law does not have direct jurisdiction over the protection of locally designated places

⁶⁶ I experienced this difficulty firsthand working with the leadership of the Mogao Grottoes in Gansu Province, a World Heritage Site and national-level designated site. Despite central government oversight of the Grottoes and the celebrity status of its director (Fan Jinshi was asked to run with the Olympic torch in preparation for the 2008 Olympics and appeared regularly on nationally aired television programs and government meetings), there was constant pressure from the provincial and local tourism offices to encourage unfettered visitation in order to generate more revenue. To protect the site from the ravages of overuse, the site management asked the Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles to conduct a carrying capacity study to determine guidelines for safe visitation as a scientific buffer against these political and economic pressures. See Martha Demas, Shin Maekawa, Jonathan Bell, and Neville Agnew, "Sustainable Visitation at the Mogao Grottoes: A Methodology for Visitor Carrying Capacity" in *Conservation of Ancient Sites on the Silk Road: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Conservation of Grotto Sites, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, People's Republic of China, June 28-July 3, 2004* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2010).

⁶⁷ The most egregious enforcement of this law occurred in 2004 when an official at the Chengde Imperial Summer Mountain Resort, a World Heritage Site in Hebei Province, was sentenced to death for the theft of 152 of the resort's historic artifacts.

and so the partial or complete loss of historic neighborhoods and buildings designated at the provincial or municipal level would not receive attention from central ministries or agencies.

Another component of the political relationship between local and national authorities is the precedence of development established in the early reform period of the early 1980s. Despite concern for preservation of cultural heritage demonstrated in national and local policy, the promotion of economic development was a priority at all levels because it served to bridge the fiscal gaps created by decentralization and liberalization. Beijing policy simultaneously privileging development and undermining preservation provided the funds for the municipality to meet its fiscal obligations. Similarly, Pingyao concern for tourism development served to introduce desperately needed revenue to the region, despite greatly impacting the resident community and functioning of the historic city.

Knowledge and expertise

Although enforcement is the proverbial Achilles' heel of cultural heritage policy in China, there are other aspects of drafting and implementation that reveal flaws. In Beijing, preservation policy has tended to omit essential details on specific boundaries of designated neighborhoods, parameters of protection, and even clear criteria for selection. This is a principal reason for iterative protective policy around the Old City's 25 Historic Districts (Abramson 2001). Indeed, I have yet to uncover definitive boundaries for any of these districts.⁶⁸ Furthermore, what designation of these neighborhoods means in terms of protection remains in question, particularly in light of ongoing construction, localized development, and continuous changes to

⁶⁸ Although this may simply be a case of restricted access to information, the fact that local government officials, researchers and practitioners interviewed also admitted to an inability to find such information clearly indicates that data essential to preservation planning is not available to decision-makers.

the built environment within these districts. The dynamic nature of these places relates to the question of criteria for their selection and whether continued change to their fabric could result in eventual loss of status. These areas of ambiguity underscore the need to define within the policy key terms like ‘historic’ in order to establish criteria for protective measures and describe the quintessential characteristics of these districts, while ensuring these specifics are available to relevant officials and practitioners.

Fieldwork in Beijing revealed that many designated historic neighborhoods inherently comprise a mixture of old and new fabric and styles. However, the majority of these areas maintain the character of historic Beijing through: 1) preservation of the hutong form and layout; 2) adherence, for the most part, to low-rise (single- or double-story) construction; and 3) protection of key historic anchor points and a matrix of older, traditional-style building fabric. Although none of these districts are composed entirely of historic fabric, many of their neighborhoods uphold the historic character of the Old City through their form, layout, style, and aesthetic, as well as lifestyle and spatially governed interactions. In fact, many of the more dynamic and vibrant neighborhoods integrate sensitive new construction with historic structures and creative adaptive reuse, suggesting the promise of sensitive and controlled development borne by commercial interests. Thus, the definition of ‘historic districts’ might evolve to integrate dynamism and commercial viability that contribute to sustainability. However, this inclusive definition also creates ambiguity in policy implementation.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ The Dongcheng HPO official mentioned that one of the key challenges for preservation officials was the lack of clarity around different types and periods of heritage buildings and determination of historic value. He also noted that his office has a large budget for preservation work that is rarely spent because many proposed projects lack informed decision-making, relevant expertise, and efficiency.

The protected status of Pingyao's entire walled city, as well as its location and much smaller size, create a distinct political context for the definition of 'historic'. Quite opposite to the case of Beijing, policy and practice within the walled city assume everything to be of elevated historic significance and therefore protected. Here, the definition of 'historic' is much more closely tied to the extant fabric, which has ensured the survival of a traditional aesthetic, form, and character. However, much of the local policy has focused on tourism development and related preservation efforts that include tidiness of tourist areas, reenactments of Imperial pastimes, and disenfranchisement of local residents through coerced relocation and limited access. These political efforts thus aim to freeze the city in a specific historic context, without encouraging or allowing the dynamism observed in pockets of Beijing, a process that has simultaneously been facilitated by the far lesser pressure for redevelopment and the powerful motivations of tourism.

The lack of preservation expertise amongst government officials also poses a huge problem for the field and was noted by a number of Beijing and Pingyao interviewees.⁷⁰ Presumably, lack of clarity present in existing policy also contributes to confusion of government officials and to inconsistent implementation and enforcement. However, the quintessential issue is the absence of relevant expertise and comprehension of essential concepts related to historic and cultural significance, methods of protection, and long-term preservation planning amongst decision-makers. Beijing officials and professionals interviewed identified the city's most significant preservation challenges as: 1) lack of vision for the future of the Old City that integrates preservation and sensitive development; 2) absence of coordination between departments and offices, which allows for quick, but poorly informed decision-making and action; and 3) reliance

⁷⁰ Representatives from CHP, Dongcheng HPO, Renmin University, and Prince's Charities in Beijing and Tongji University, the Pingyao Urban and Rural Planning Bureau, and Global Heritage Fund in Pingyao all noted the lack of expertise within the government and limited familiarity with important concepts and approaches related to preservation amongst officials often charged with related decision-making.

on a technocratic culture that discourages integration of new concepts and approaches. While I would proffer that all cities struggle with these challenges to some degree, it appears that the municipal government has no integrated conservation plan providing effective guidelines for inter-agency collaboration, evaluation and impact assessment, or informed decision-making. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, there is no formal mechanism for community education, communication, or involvement in preservation planning processes. This is in part because policy-makers and decision-makers lack familiarity with professional (international or domestic) standards of preservation planning and principal approaches to heritage protection, even if they recognize historic neighborhoods as assets. Conversely, new efforts to upgrade and maintain historic residential architecture in Pingyao's walled city are involving the community through specially developed renovation guidelines and competition for government funding (see Chapter 6). The program resulted from collaboration with preservation researchers and practitioners, integrating external expertise into government approaches. This program is a valuable example of external collaboration and citizen education and involvement in preservation efforts, although the involvement is limited to individual property and does not consider neighborhood preservation planning.

Economic Factors

It is impossible to consider the driving forces behind urban preservation and its many threats without addressing essential economic motivations. As discussed previously, the past three decades have ushered in a period of immense structural change for China, not least of which was the transition from a planned economy to a principally market-based system. The creation and liberalization of real estate markets provided a stream of revenue never before seen in modern China that created new wealth and bred corruption, but also served to finance the operations of

local governments trying to recuperate funding formerly provided by the central government. New markets and channels for revenue generation have greatly impacted urban historic resources, simultaneously providing new opportunities to fund and support preservation while threatening historic resources with demolition and the burdens of development. Economic opportunities have also impacted the communities that compose historic neighborhoods, displacing some long-time residents while attracting new affluent residents and business owners through a process of gentrification. Finally, these neighborhoods have developed tourism markets around their protected resources, benefitting from the influx of new revenue and suffering from the impact of high volume visitation.

Chaiqian

This term that means “demolish and relocate” is ubiquitous in discussions about China’s urban development and of paramount importance when considering preservation in the largest cities. The first word, “*chai*” (拆) is of particular significance to the culture of modern China, as it could be seen scrawled on buildings of all types in almost every major city for decades. It was simultaneously a symbol of destruction and of modernization and development.⁷¹ The two characters together are especially associated with residential communities forced to relocate, usually far from their homes in the city center, to make way for redevelopment. The largest motivation for *chaiqian* is capitalizing on land use value by redeveloping central city areas. Even early projects in Beijing meant to repair and increase the housing stock and ensure resident retention, such as the Old and Dilapidated Housing Redevelopment program, eventually focused on development of high-end and luxury housing beyond the financial reach of original residents

⁷¹ Campanella, 2008 explores the modern cultural meaning of the term and considers its inclusion in visual arts against a backdrop of demolition and the loss of many neighborhoods and communities.

(see Chapter 4). Redevelopment of this type was best able to capitalize on the market value of land use rights and underwrite the costs of the project, not to mention provide profits and kickbacks for most parties involved (Fang and Zhang 2003). However, original residents suffered and became part of the growing numbers of *chaiqianhu* still struggling to regain certain rights and financial assurances stripped from them during and after relocation.

Market value of land use rights, i.e. the real estate market, in Beijing's city center is at an all-time high, and residents threatened with relocation now demand hefty compensation from the government and/or development companies to comply. The capacity to refuse relocation, as discussed above, has greatly impacted redevelopment programs. Governments and developers have relied on the vast divergence between government-sanctioned compensation amounts and market value of land use rights to finance redevelopment projects. However, resident demands for market value compensation make these projects far less profitable and have hampered redevelopment efforts. Survey respondents in both study areas who indicated willingness to relocate mentioned the prerequisite for 'adequate' compensation. The result, in part, is that more historic neighborhoods have remained intact, but poorer residents often live in squalid conditions and without amenities like toilets and central heating, since even public housing residents refuse to leave without market value compensation. Interestingly, poorer residents are usually unable to benefit from the market value of their land use rights without government assistance, i.e. a relocation package that integrates compensation. Nonetheless, only a quarter of Beijing survey respondents indicated they were open to leaving their neighborhood, citing overcrowding and poor conditions as principal motivations. Although the CHP founder stated that wealthier residents would be willing to relocate because they have more options, survey results indicated a

strong statistical relationship between higher incomes and desire to stay in the neighborhood, as well as willingness to combat the threat of redevelopment.

In Pingyao, the concept of *chai* is not as relevant, given the level of protection of the city's historic fabric. Nonetheless, *qian* has played a significant role in the economic development of the city. As part of the national and local government effort to preserve the walled city and generate revenue through tourism, the city's depopulation plan (*renkou shujie*) was begun in 1994 to reduce the population density and create a more amenable tourism environment (see Chapter 6). The approach of relocating *danwei* and government offices, as well as developing a new city center, outside the old city wall succeeded in coercing approximately 20,000 people to move beyond the city walls. Moreover, the principal streets of the walled city were zoned entirely for tourism and non-tourism related businesses were forced to relocate. Economic activities not related to tourism were thus largely banished from the historic city and relegated to areas beyond the wall, creating an indirect policy of *qian* that had significant impact on the economic composition of the historic city center.

Storefronts and local investment

Commercial activity is rampant throughout the Beijing study area and Pingyao's walled city, although the former is much more diverse in nature. Observations of Beijing revealed a dynamic mix of storefronts, restaurants, and services. Many commercial venues attempting to attract a wealthier and cosmopolitan clientele have either taken over older building stock through adaptive reuse or constructed new buildings in traditional style, privileging the historic character of the neighborhood and simultaneously responding to public interest in traditional architecture styles and contributing to their popularity. Clustered investment of this type has resulted in

popular areas for nightlife, eating, and shopping within historic neighborhoods that valorize the aesthetic of the built environment, even if marginalizing long-term residents unable or unwilling to frequent them. Concomitantly, these new commercial venues attract growing numbers of tourists and customers from outside the neighborhoods, although some of these commercial clusters have been developed, at least in part, by locals.⁷² Nonetheless, more and more of these businesses are established and operated by non-local Chinese and foreigners, revealing that these historic places have attracted outside investment and business opportunities while also generating revenue themselves.⁷³ Similarly, I encountered a number of outsiders operating businesses in Pingyao who saw the financial opportunity of a constant flow, from April to November, of visitors eager to spend money.

That these historic neighborhoods can generate revenue and attract investment is quintessential to their survival and sustainability. Both the Dongcheng HPO official and CHP founder were convinced that wealthier individuals and communities have greater influence over preservation planning as they can more effectively campaign for protection of their immediate built environment through informal channels than their less privileged neighbors.⁷⁴ Business owners are a key part of these communities and contribute to their viability as prosperous neighborhoods, while also enjoying greater political influence. Nonetheless, attracting investment and outsiders ultimately changes the composition of the community. In Beijing, 43% indicated not being local and at least 9% of respondents were foreigners, i.e. they chose an English-language survey.

⁷² The first popular venue in Nanluogu Xiang, a hutong dating back to the Yuan Dynasty that has become Beijing's most visited traditional hutong area and probably the most overrun with tourists, was a café begun by a local in one of the renovated historic buildings around 2004, according to the Prince's Charities China Head of Development.

⁷³ Many cafes and bars on the popular Wudaoying Hutong are owned and operated by foreigners and non-locals.

⁷⁴ The HPO official indicated that an important step forward for Beijing preservation planning was to take advantage of gentrification by relying on collective action and advocacy of wealthier residents, since they have greater influence over planning processes.

Tourism

The double-edged sword of tourism represents another strong economic factor in the preservation of historic neighborhoods. Tourism brings with it large amounts of revenue that result in the tourism industry having significant influence over destinations, impacting management, infrastructure, economy, and even the culture of a place. Tourists require lodging, restaurants, and other businesses that cater to them, on one hand providing increased business opportunities for local communities, and potentially impacting the composition and form of the built environment on the other. In Beijing, a large portion of storefronts on the major thoroughfare of Yonghegong Da Jie sell Buddhist paraphernalia, such as incense and joss paper,⁷⁵ responding to the needs of visitors to the Lama Temple. In Pingyao, most of the walled city has been dedicated to the tourism industry for at least a decade, as sanctioned in local policy that specifies that businesses on the main tourist streets must cater to outside visitors (see Chapter 6). In both study areas, hotels and guesthouses occupy new and older buildings, impacting land use patterns and local economic activity.

Most local residents may not gain any direct benefit from the influx of tourist revenue, since money spent tends to remain in the hands of commercial entities that may not reinvest in the community and, therefore, further marginalize locals (Shin 2010). However, in both Beijing and Pingyao, the majority of survey respondents perceived tourism as benefitting their neighborhoods, noting particularly increased business and higher incomes, as well as improvements in infrastructure. These findings suggest that local communities in the study areas are enjoying both direct (more business and higher income) and indirect (improved infrastructure)

⁷⁵ Joss paper (*jinzhi*) is fake money often burned in Chinese culture in remembrance of the deceased and when seeking assistance from ancestors. The act is a symbolic offering of money that can be used in the afterlife.

benefits from the influx of tourists. As the survey did not ask about employment, it is impossible to correlate views on tourism with involvement in the industry. Increased tourism also affects neighborhood costs and quality of life, contributing to gentrification and impacting the local environment (Gotham 2005; Sinclair 1998). Better business and higher incomes associated with a developed tourism industry are therefore counterbalanced by higher costs of living, increased traffic, and overcrowding (Cros 2008; Milne and Ateljevic 2001).

Implications

While the study findings cannot be directly applied to all urban contexts even within China, lessons from the two case studies can serve to identify the principal factors that contribute to the composition and preservation of historic neighborhoods, the initial question that guided this research. The key implications of these findings lie in the complex interaction of the identified factors within their social, political, and economic contexts, each serving to bolster and delimit the others. Indeed, it is investigation of the complexity of these interactions that enriches the comprehension of preservation decision-making and outcomes.

Although concern for historic urban landscapes (HULs), to use a current term that embraces the built environment and its socio-cultural attributes, is enshrined in Chinese law, the capacity to enforce these policies is challenged by economic necessity and political sanctioning of increased urban development and regeneration. This conflict is representative of the common challenge to reconcile preservation and development, particularly convoluted in the developing world context. The Chinese context, however, integrates a broad spectrum of responses and outcomes, from near comprehensive preservation of some urban settings, as in the case of Pingyao, to complete demolition and redevelopment, as evidenced by multiple examples in Beijing. Somewhere along

the spectrum lie numerous historic neighborhoods that comprise a matrix of old and new fabric, while protecting and privileging the form, aesthetic, and socio-cultural character of the past amidst dynamic economic activity and sensitive development that is market driven. These neighborhoods deserve further attention in urban preservation literature to determine what lessons for reconciliation of the preservation-development conflict they may offer.

The role of local communities in preservation decision-making is evolving. A mutually dependent relationship between newfound political freedoms of organized citizenry and neighborhood protection is developing in China. Community engagement in preservation planning is engaging methods of protest, collective action, and institutional advocacy and education. Moreover, local governments are beginning to entertain these forms of political action and respond to the voice of the community, which still only relies on informal channels of political involvement. It appears that as the CBOs and NGOs proliferate and community capacity for collective action increases, local governments will need to develop formal channels of interaction with their citizens to influence and oversee their engagement in preservation decision-making. These channels of interaction would necessarily educate the public on decision-making processes, fiscal limitations, and operational shortcomings to communicate the range of feasible options. Furthermore, governments will need to recognize the benefits of preservation expertise and integrate more creative and responsive approaches to practice. As in Pingyao, engagement of the community in sensitive renovation and building upgrades can be steered by expert-informed, government-sanctioned guidelines and related funding applications.

Economic realities have contributed to the policy and practice of preservation in Chinese cities. Rising market value of city center land has simultaneously encouraged redevelopment and

prevented demolition, as fiscal limitations required new sources of revenue and then hampered the capacity to pay expected compensation. However, the protection engendered by financial shortcomings has not served to preserve historic resources desperately in need of repair and maintenance, but rather neglected them. Furthermore, resulting inaction has relegated poorer residents to squalor while market-driven development and related gentrification take place around them. Tourism represents a similar dichotomy, encouraging preservation of historic urban landscapes for the purpose of commodification and the benefit of its consumers. Policy and practice aimed at bolstering tourism further disenfranchise local communities, which reap an inconsistent amalgam of direct and indirect benefits. Preservation decision-making necessitates concern for fiscal capacity and local economic impact that ultimately requires compromise between safeguarding of specific resources and community well-being.

Preservation processes and mechanisms in China integrate many of the same heuristics and challenges common to other contexts. However, the country's recent history of rampant urbanization and development amidst political and economic structural modification appears to be unique. Preservation policy has evolved alongside unfettered development and the establishment of new opportunities for economic growth, ultimately orchestrating a dialog between policy and practice within the short span of three decades. The future of preservation planning and decision-making in China will be more informed and experienced than ever before and progress over the course of recent history is evident: related policy has evolved, specialized institutions and training programs are established, financial resources and approaches have been developed, and burgeoning interaction with community stakeholders is apparent. Although the losses and mistakes have been glaring, the complex interaction of preservation factors has

succeeded in preserving, through distinct processes and to different degrees, some historic urban landscapes.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research has been to identify and understand the complexity of preservation decision-making in Chinese urban contexts. Examining the policy evolution and specific circumstances of two different case studies, the research has revealed a complicated web of interdependent social, political, and economic factors that influence preservation planning and impact the current composition of designated historic districts in Chinese cities. While a number of significant characteristics must be recognized as specific to the contexts studied, there are important lessons to be gleaned from these examples. Among them are: the potential for community involvement, strategies for effective policy, and essential considerations for fiscal planning.

The extremely divergent histories and characteristics of the two case studies have provided a wealth of material to consider. In particular, the stark distinction between the rampant development and associated demolition in Beijing and the modern history of neglect and stagnation in Pingyao is evident in the respective degree of historic resource integrity. In Beijing, three decades of modernization and redevelopment made possible by an influx of wealth and political facilitation of revenue generation associated with cycles of demolition and construction have irrevocably changed the character and fabric of the city. In contrast, the absence of substantial financial opportunity in Pingyao during much of this period and the city's lesser political and economic significance on the national scene safeguarded an impressive corps of the city's historic vernacular architecture. In both cases, there are examples to the contrary: protected

and somewhat intact historic neighborhoods in Beijing and corners of mid-century demolition and factory construction in Pingyao. Nonetheless, the broad character, aesthetic, and reputations of both cities are largely borne out by their histories.

This interpretation underscores the dire need for reconciliation between development and preservation already emphasized in the literature and by preservation practitioners and advocates. Considering the counterexamples in both case studies, however, enriches the conversation around these two forces and can serve to inform better policy and good practice. In Beijing, historic neighborhoods that have survived have undeniably benefitted from protective policies. Nonetheless, countless other examples of wanton destruction and wildly inappropriate development have proven that policy alone has not been sufficient. Recent examples of preservation advocacy and informal political participation of the local community have brought to light the effectiveness of collective action and influential role of CBOs and NGOs in some of these processes. The potential of participatory planning approaches in preservation processes is also emphasized, simultaneously corroborating planning and preservation literature and exposing new considerations for the future of Chinese local governance. Furthermore, a variety of economic factors contributes to the safeguarding of many historic resources in these neighborhoods, at once offering new revenue-generating opportunities that contribute to the valuation and resulting protection of the built environment, and preventing necessary upgrading and redevelopment of neglected housing stock. The physical and social composition of these neighborhoods has resulted from the complicated interaction of all these forces.

In the case of Pingyao, the minimal localized development resulted principally from the absence of wealth necessary to demolish and rebuild in modern times. Aside from the city wall, whose

preservation reveals a long imperial and post-dynastic history of political support and financial underwriting, the rest of the city's built environment has only become the focus of policy in recent years. Like in Beijing, the past three decades of policy have indisputably contributed to the control of redevelopment within the wall of Pingyao. However, the inseparable nature of preservation policy and tourism development in the city makes it impossible to attribute the impressive extent of preservation solely to one of these factors. Similarly, the symbiotic relationship between the policy of population thinning and local response moved redevelopment efforts outside the city wall, just as local coffers began to fill with money from tourism and coal mining. Interestingly, the policy and practice of moving all new development outside the historic city echoes the unheeded recommendations of Liang Sicheng⁷⁶ for Beijing in the 1950s. Nonetheless, the firm prohibition of intramural development that has accompanied strategies for tourism expansion in Pingyao has relegated the city's populations to the proverbial sidelines, restricting the more scenic and vibrant urban axes for the sole exploitation of tourism. Again, it is difficult to point to a single factor that has contributed to the minimal development in Pingyao's historic center, though tourism emerges as particularly influential.

It has not been the purpose of this research to determine success or failure of preservation efforts, but rather to identify and understand the complexity of preservation decision-making in Chinese urban contexts with a view towards learning valuable lessons that could improve outcomes. Despite the stark contrast in the political histories and socio-economic circumstances of Beijing and Pingyao, the intricacies of preservation planning are similarly convoluted in both contexts,

⁷⁶ Considered the founder of modern Chinese architecture and the preservation movement in the country, Liang Sicheng was an important figure throughout the early Communist era and was asked to develop a plan for Beijing's future development. His plan preserved the Old City and centered new development in an area to the west, but was largely ignored in preference of centering development within the ancient capital. See Chapter 4.

with enforced policies and practices associated with promising opportunities and confounding limitations. Given these similarities, what can be learned from the findings of the research?

The weakness of policy alone highlights the obvious need for enforcement supplemented by education and integration of relevant expertise in policy-drafting processes. It is clear that a policy without teeth has little value. However, policy must also be drafted so as to facilitate enforcement. The example of Beijing's policy around its 25 Historic Districts brings to light the need for detail and clarity regarding clear boundaries, the nature of protective measures, and strategies to mitigate threats and dispense penalty. At the same time, the efforts to amend perceived weaknesses and act responsively to events are commendable and pinpoint a virtue of policymaking. Similarly, education and comprehension of the principal challenges and threats to historic resources are quintessential in the development of preservation policy. Achieving effective approaches often requires involving parties with relevant expertise. The collaboration of Pingyao's Planning Bureau with Tongji University and Global Heritage Fund to develop guidelines for appropriate resident-driven upgrading and renovation is a powerful approach.⁷⁷ In addition to involving relevant expertise in the planning process and, in so doing, educating policymakers and others within government, this process engages the community in preservation. Collaboration, education, and engagement are all integrated into the process to enhance urban preservation efforts and improve resident living conditions. The additional availability of funding for this work also serves to mitigate the financial threats to such a program.

⁷⁷ Discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, the collaboration focused on the development of guidelines for appropriate renovation and upgrading of historic residences in Pingyao. These guidelines have led to raising awareness among the local residents and encouraging their involvement in the maintenance of some the city's historic housing stock through an application process that can result in funds to subsidize sanctioned renovation work.

Collective action suggests that new opportunities for expanding and formalizing these efforts will have great promise. Examples of steadfast property owners and residents, known as “nail houses” (*dingzi hu*), refusing to give way to encroaching demolition have drawn attention throughout China since the 1990s. Few, if any, cases were able to stay the tide of development or best the institution of eminent domain. As these forms of collective action and opposition have spread to historic neighborhoods and included greater numbers of participants, their influence has similarly grown. Simultaneously, amidst a changing political backdrop, CBOs and NGOs have multiplied to address the concerns of citizens. These entities are now playing greater roles in organizing, educating, and advocating for preservation concerns. While their impact was showcased in the case of the planned Beijing Time and Culture City, continued losses may indicate that informal pressures and engagement in planning are insufficient. During Chinese New Year (January) in 2012, the house of famed architect and preservationist, Liang Sicheng, was demolished, despite admonitions from the State Administration from Cultural Heritage in 2009 and assurances from the Beijing Municipal government that it would be protected.⁷⁸ Unmoved by the lamentations of professors, activists, and others, developers were able to demolish what remained of the house over a holiday, despite the stated intentions to safeguard the structure (Branigan 2012). Formalized involvement in decision-making processes of community representatives or CBOs and NGOs could potentially hamper unfettered demolition by assisting not only in preservation planning, but also in oversight of third party developers. Such approaches also engage local stakeholders, which in turn can inform practices and result in more sustainable outcomes respecting community values and responding to local needs. One can only begin to imagine how this methodology might have changed Pingyao; in my estimation,

⁷⁸ CHP and others were involved in a long campaign to protect the site that appeared to have ended in 2009 with assured protection and the informal involvement of the national heritage authority. A January 30, 2012 article in Guardian covered the news of its demolition: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/30/chinese-developers-demolish-home-architect>.

principal venues might continue to serve both locals and visitors, and tourists could experience a truly living city, rather than a one-dimensional center of entertainment.

It is also essential to address the incontrovertible need for new development that encompasses improved housing stock, provision of modern services and facilities, and the general growth and dynamism of urban centers. Recognizing the importance of change and its role in economic viability in city centers compels consideration of the definition of historic neighborhoods and districts. Recent works on the concept of Historic Urban Landscapes (HULs) address this re-definition boldly (van Oers, Haraguchi, World Heritage Centre, and Historic Urban Landscape Initiative 2010; van Oers and Roders 2013; van Oers 2007). One of the key concepts of the HUL is a consideration of city centers with historic resources as continuums of physical, social, and economic values and interactions deserving of preservation and valorization. Integral to this interpretation of the urban fabric is a dynamism that embraces new architecture and urban growth that is at once sensitive to the context and historicity of the place and responsive to local needs. Herein lies, in my opinion, an important reconsideration of the historic district or neighborhood: it is a vibrant place that safeguards valuable historic fabric and maintains the significant forms and layout, while ensuring viability through sensitive, localized development and necessary economic activity.

For this reason, I see the Beijing study area as a model worthy of further study. The neighborhood has managed to preserve a number of principal historic resources, while maintaining the overall layout of traditional hutong occupied by new and old constructions that are largely in keeping with older forms and reminiscent of the local vernacular. Nonetheless, economic opportunities abound and even serve to protect the form and historicity of the

neighborhood through a mixture of sensitive restorations and renovations, creative adaptive reuses, and new construction that simultaneously integrates modern conveniences and needs with an older aesthetic that respects the place. Of course, there are many anomalies, regrettable additions, and also troublesome economic realities that impact the entire landscape. Yet, despite these, the character of the neighborhood remains largely intact and there are many more opportunities for good decision-making and practice.

In contrast, Pingyao has privileged the physical and economic environments for the enjoyment of a specific stakeholder group. The social component has been largely neglected as the local community has little opportunity to engage with the totality of its built environment and many economic transactions and opportunities have been relegated to sites in the north of the city or beyond the wall. The concept of an urban landscape that works as a continuum has instead been supplanted by a singular focus on tourism and therefore, redefinition of the city as an open-air museum. Despite the awe that one feels at the sheer amount of historic, intact architecture in Pingyao, a sense of stagnation is present. Indeed, the fact that survey respondents were not engaged in the life of the larger community and felt powerless when considering threats of demolition may be evidence of the absence of dynamism and local opportunity.

In considering how these lessons can contribute to the advancement of the field of urban preservation more generally, it is important to highlight areas of future research and additional questions that have arisen during this study. In the Chinese context, as well as across the developing world, it will become essential to consider how ownership impacts preservation processes. In many developing economies, property ownership may be an evolving concept not yet clearly defined and protected. Moreover, growing economies are generating rapidly

expanding middle classes that suddenly have the resources to become property owners and, therefore, develop stronger economic and social ties to places. How the developing policy and practice of ownership impacts preservation, particularly in urban neighborhoods, will require further investigation. Greater rates of ownership might both propel preservation causes, as owners demand greater impact over planning processes and the protection of their built environment. Conversely, increased economic opportunities and community preferences may spur on rapid redevelopment as ownership is transferred to developers for financial gain and modernization.

As the role of community in preservation planning evolves in developing world contexts, additional research on the opportunities and threats of tourism is also necessary. Although a lot of work of this type has been conducted, especially in China, increased consideration of the interface of preservation and tourism as an opportunity for poverty alleviation and community development will be indispensable. The concerns over squalid public housing conditions in Beijing neighborhoods is evidence of the need for this type of research that explores avenues for engagement of the urban poor in sanctioned economic activities that contribute to an integrated neighborhood or district plan. This direction of research may necessarily overlap with work on informality in city centers and prospects to formalize such activities for the benefit of local communities.

Finally, additional work on preservation policy will assist in improving government decision-making and oversight of related processes. Although international charters and professional guidelines have been drafted to engage policymakers and practitioners in reflection around matters of historic resource protection, there remains a gap in the integration of essential

concepts and good practices into policy and law. Considering again the context of developing nations, treatment of historic urban districts is often poorly understood and only loosely enshrined in law. Of course, reconciliation between the old and new, historic and modern, preservation and development remains an ongoing dialogue in most contexts.

Although the future of the field is unclear, the growing body of literature alongside increased media coverage, community involvement, and increasing political oversight for issues of urban preservation suggest that progress will continue. This cannot mean, of course, that unnecessary losses will come to an end or that both process and outcome will improve dramatically. However, work like the current study will ultimately assist in developing new approaches and conducting new urban experiments to valorize historic city centers through a dynamic blend of successful preservation, appropriate development, and economic viability that engages and sustains the local community. Improved comprehension of the social, political, and economic factors that underpin sound preservation planning will ultimately advance practice and generate better outcomes.

Appendix A – Research Design Outline

Research questions

- What social, political, and economic factors affect decisions to preserve neighborhoods in Chinese cities?
 - What circumstances appear to have contributed most to the preservation of the physical and social character of neighborhoods?
 - Community involvement
 - Preservation law and policy
 - Perceived value of land use rights
 - Tourism
 - Neglect
- What are the external forces that influence the physical and social composition of the neighborhood
 - Preservation policies and regulation
 - Tourism
 - Government ownership (e.g. public housing, government buildings)
 - Influx of outsiders
- What is the nature of community involvement in decision-making?
 - Political opportunity
 - Additions, changes to physical character
 - Resident awareness of preservation policy and involvement in efforts

Survey Methodology (addressing the socio-economic factors)

Inclusionary survey criteria

- Resident stakeholders
 - Owners/Residents
 - Business operators
- Demographics
 - Over 18

Beijing - Beixinqiao, Guozijian, and Yonghegong neighborhood

Pingyao - Fanjia Jie, Shaxiang Jie, and Majuan Xiang neighborhood

See Appendices B and C for Chinese and English surveys, respectively

Interview Methodology (political factors)

Respondent criteria

- Decision-makers
 - Officials within municipal governments responsible for development and implementation of preservation policies
 - Officials within the national government responsible for development and implementation of preservation laws
- Practitioners
 - Local preservation professionals involved in protection, advocacy, community development, and other aspects of preserving designated historic neighborhoods and their components
 - Foreign practitioners involved in local neighborhood preservation and development efforts

See Appendix D for Bilingual interview script

Appendix A – Research Design Outline

Physical Documentation and Assessment

Overview

- Photographs and descriptions
- Neighborhood maps with building footprints
 - Demarcation of study area
 - Inventory of residences v. storefronts/commercial property
- Inventory of historic resources (e.g. historic, reconstruction, adaptive reuse, new)
 - Third party data (previous studies, government designation)
 - Observations

Respondent data

- Physical changes over time (buildings, streets)
- Socio-economic changes (length of time in residence, abandoned properties, etc.)
- Threatened areas/buildings (land use rights transfer, developer interest, policy change)

Compilation of Documents and Data (political, economic, and social factors)

Demographics and other data (Municipal and District Statistical Bureaus)

- Local demographic data (street/community level)
- Local economic data (sub-district/street level)

Planning documents (Planning and Cultural Heritage Bureaus)

- Previous and current municipal plans
- Municipal preservation policy
- Neighborhood-specific status and designation information

Media (newspapers, magazines, other)

- Coverage of neighborhood changes, redevelopment
- Public debates over development
- Social and economic concerns related to neighborhood development

Previous Research (articles, surveys, interviews related to tourism)

- Beijing Shichahai (2006, 2008) resident surveys and interviews
- Beijing Chaodou Hutong (2001-3) resident surveys and documentation
- Pingyao (2005, 2006, 2010) resident surveys

Appendix B – Survey Questionnaire (Chinese version)

您好，我是美国加州大学的研究人员，正在从事一项有关中国历史社区的学术研究。我想问您几个问题，关于您和邻近地区的关系，您对文物保护的看法，以及您的工作和居住地等信息。我们的研究完全是匿名的，所得数据将会根据中国的相关法律予以保密，且完全用于学术性研究。整个访问大概会占用您不超过 15 分钟的时间，也不会影响到您的日程。在我们结束问卷访问之后会送给您一份小的礼品，很感谢您的参与与配合。

H1. 对于这个地区来说，请问您属于下列哪种情况？

1. 房产主
2. 居民
3. 私营业主
4. 雇员
5. 其他（请注明）_____

H2. 请问您这儿的居住场所（或者经营场所）是租用的还是属于自己所有？

1. 租用的
2. 自己所有

H3. 您在这个区域居住（或工作）了多久了？_____

H4. 您怎样评价您居住（或工作）的这个地区的历史价值？

1. 根本没有历史价值
2. 有很低的价值
3. 有中等的价值
4. 有很高的价值
5. 非常非常重要

H5. 与你关系最为密切的地区是什么？

1. 街道
2. 街区
3. 胡同 / 条 / 巷
4. 院落
5. 其他 _____

H6. 你认为这个地区有着很好的社区关系吗？

1. 没有
2. 只在某些人之间有
3. 只在某些特定的场合/时期有
4. 是的，经常有
5. 是的，总是有

H6a. 为什么？（可多选）

1. 没有来往
2. 邻里间经常来往
3. 在这的生意不好
4. 在这的生意很好
5. 没有当地政府的介入
6. 当地政府的监管
7. 其他（请注明）_____

H7. 你使用地区里的下列哪些商业设施？（可多选）

1. 一个都不用
2. 食品市场（水果、肉类等）
3. 餐馆
4. 咖啡厅/酒吧
5. 服务业（理发、干洗、自行车修理等）
6. 服装店/饰品店
7. 移动商贩（磨刀匠/垃圾回收员等）
8. 便利店
9. 其他（请注明）_____

H8. 如果可能的话，您会搬离您现所在的地区吗？

1. 不会（跳问 H9）
2. 不知道
3. 可能会考虑一下
4. 是的，很有可能
5. 肯定会搬离
6. 马上会搬离

Appendix B – Survey Questionnaire (Chinese version)

历史社区调查# _____ 采访者 _____ 地址 _____

H8a. 下列哪些因素会促使您离开? (可多选)

1. 过于拥挤
2. 条件太差
3. 没有 (或者条件很差的) 室内厕所或浴室
4. 有太多的外来人口
5. 有太多的游客
6. 没有集中供暖
7. 传统的生活方式
8. 其他 (请注明) _____

H8b. 如果这些问题都得到了很好地处理, 您还想继续在这个地区住下去吗?

1. 不想
2. 或许会
3. 想继续住下去
4. 不知道

H8c. 如果您拥有了您现在这个住处的产权, 您还想继续在这个地区住下去吗?

1. 不想
2. 或许会
3. 想继续住下去
4. 不知道
5. 我是拥有者

H8d. 为什么? _____

H9. 您觉得地区应该被保护吗?

1. 不应该
2. 或许应该
3. 应该, 但只有某些建筑
4. 应该, 视情况而定
5. 应该, 包括所有的建筑和街道

H10. 你觉得是那些原因使得该传统地区还没有被拆迁或建造高楼? (可多选)

1. 政府的政策
2. 缺乏资金
3. 无利可图/不够重视
4. 社区参与的结果
5. 开发旅游业
6. 已经有了很多高层建筑
7. 其他 (请注明) _____

H11. 就您所知, 现在有保护传统地区或是这些建筑物的政策吗?

1. 没有 (跳问 H13)
2. 可能有
3. 有
4. 不知道

H11a. 如果有, 就你所知这些政策的效果如何? (可多选)

1. 带来了更多的社区参与
2. 导致了更少的社区参与
3. 传统地区得到保护
4. 带来了新的开发
5. 使得旅游业发展
6. 没有效果
7. 其他 (请注明) _____

H12. 你是否知道现在有一些为保护传统地区或是个人住宅的努力吗?

1. 不知道
2. 知道
3. 我不清楚

H12a. 如果知道, 你能详细描述下吗? (什么时候? 谁? 什么努力?)

H13. 你觉得你的住宅或是生意所在地的历史价值如何? (可多选)

1. 没有历史价值
2. 很低
3. 中等
4. 高
5. 非常高

H14. 您曾经修复、改变或更新过您的建筑吗? (可多选)

1. 没有, 我不想这么做 (跳问 H15)
2. 没有, 因为我承受不了这么做所需的花费 (跳问 H15)
3. 没有, 因为这么做违法 (跳问 H15)
4. 没有, 但是我打算做 (跳问 H15)
5. 有过

Appendix B – Survey Questionnaire (Chinese version)

历史社区调查#_____ 采访者_____ 地址_____

H14a. 如果有过, 请告诉我您都做了些什么?

1. 修缮屋顶
2. 换新屋顶
3. 添加(新房间/空间)
4. 局部修理
5. 整体修理
6. 修理/改变管道(包括下水、厕所、洗浴设施等)
7. 重建
8. 其他(请注明) _____

H15. 假如您所在的街区面临着拆迁, 您可能会采取下列哪些措施以保护您所在的社区免于拆迁?(可多选)

1. 向政府抱怨
2. 采取社区集体行动
3. 行贿
4. 诉诸媒体
5. 从 NGO(非政府组织)那里寻找帮助
6. 拒绝搬离, 做钉子户
7. 抗议
8. 我什么都做不了
9. 其他(请注明) _____

H15a. 为什么? _____

H16. 过去五年内, 有多少住户离开了你所在地区?

1. 据我所知没有
2. 少量几户
3. 5 至 10 户之间
4. 10 户以上
5. 我不清楚

H16a. 原住户搬走后, 谁搬进来了?(可多选)

1. 在**同样的**建筑中搬进了**新的**住户
2. 在**新建**的建筑中搬进了**新的**住户
3. 在**同样的**建筑中搬进了**新的**商户
4. 在**新建**的建筑中搬进了**新的**商户
5. **同样的**建筑存在, 但是**没有住(或商)户**

H17. 过去五年内, 有多少商户离开了街区?

1. 据我所知没有
2. 少量几户
3. 5 至 10 户之间
4. 10 户以上
5. 我不清楚

H17a. 原商户搬走后, 谁搬进来了?(可多选)

1. 在**同样的**建筑中搬进了**新的**住户
2. 在**新建**的建筑中搬进了**新的**住户
3. 在**同样的**建筑中搬进了**新的**商户
4. 在**新建**的建筑中搬进了**新的**商户
5. **同样的**建筑存在, 但是**没有住(或商)户**

H18. 旅游业的发展给传统地区带来了下列哪种类型的影响?

1. 消极的
2. 中立的
3. 积极的
4. 不知道

H18a. 请进一步确认一下旅游业发展带来的具体影响(可多选)

1. 增进了社区活力
2. 带来了更多的商业
3. 增加了收入
4. 减少了收入
5. 建设更好的基础设施(道路, 电力设施等等)
6. 建设更好的生活设施(例如浴室)
7. 会有更好的商业(例如, 饭店、商店)
8. 带来更高的生活成本
9. 不利于隐私的保护
10. 过于拥挤
11. 会出现更多的交通问题
12. 其他(请注明) _____

H19. 下列有关您所在地区在今后 10 年里可能出现的情况中, 哪些是您所期待的?(可多选)

Appendix B – Survey Questionnaire (Chinese version)

历史社区调查# _____ 采访者 _____ 地址 _____

1. 拆迁并重新开发 2. 没什么变化 3. 历史跟新建的建筑在一起
4. 常住居民少 5. 新来居民多 6. 生活费比高 7. 生意多
8. 生意少 9. 繁荣的社区 10. 消失的社会
11. 其他（请注明） _____

H20. 您最喜欢下列您目前所在的地区的哪些方面？（可多选）

1. 小区环境 2. 建筑 3. 邻里 4. 商业 5. 基础设施
6. 临近工作单位、学校、娱乐场所 7. 传统生活方式
8. 历史遗迹遗址 9. 现代化的一些改变 10. 像在家的感觉
11. 其他（请注明） _____

H21. 性别： 1. 男 2. 女

H22. 年龄： 1. 19-21 岁 2. 22-29 3. 30-39 4. 40-49 5. 50-59
6. 60-69 7. 70 及以上

H23. 您是本地人吗？ 1. 不是 2. 是

H24. 您的院落有几个家庭？ _____

H25. 您的住户有几个人？ _____

H26. 您住户月均总收入（包括政府提供的补贴及援助）是：

1. 500 元或以下 2. 501-1000 3. 1001-2000 4. 2001-3000
5. 3001-4000 6. 4001-5000 7. 5001-6000 8. 6001-7000
9. 7001-8000 10. 8001-9000 11. 9001-10000 12. 10000 元以上

Appendix C – Survey Questionnaire (English version)

Hello, I am a doctoral student from UCLA conducting research on historic urban neighborhoods in China. I would like to ask you a few questions about your relationship to the neighborhood, your thoughts about preservation, and some general information about your residence or business. This research is anonymous and you can refuse to take part or answer any questions at any time. The entire process should take no more than 15 minutes and not interfere with your schedule. As thanks for your participation, I will give you a small gift upon the completion of the questionnaire. Thanks for your help!

H1. What is your relationship to the neighborhood (circle all that apply)?

1. Homeowner 2. Resident 3. Business Owner 4. Employee
5. Other _____

H2. Do you rent or own your residence or place of business?

1. Rent 2. Own

H3. How long have you lived or worked in the area? _____

H4. What is your rating of the historic value of the block?

1. There is no historic value 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High
5. Extremely important

H5. What do you have the strongest association with as your neighborhood?

1. Sub-district 2. Block 3. Alleyway 4. Courtyard
5. Other _____

H6. Do you think this neighborhood has a strong community?

1. No 2. Only among some people 3. Only during certain occasions/periods
4. Yes, usually 5. Yes, always

H6a. Why? (circle all that apply)

1. No interaction 2. Neighbors often interact 3. Poor local businesses
4. Successful local businesses 5. No local government involvement
6. Local government oversight 7. Other _____

H7. What neighborhood businesses do you use? (circle all that apply)

1. I don't use any 2. Food market (fruit, meat, etc.) 3. Restaurants
4. Cafes/bars 5. Services (haircut, dry cleaning, bicycle repair, etc.)
6. Clothing/accessories shops 7. Mobile vendors (knife-sharpeners, trash collectors, etc.)
8. Convenience shops 9. Other _____

H8. Would you leave the neighborhood if you could?

1. No (go to H9) 2. I don't know 3. I would consider it 4. Yes, probably
5. Definitely 6. I am moving soon

H8a. What are the main factors that make you want to leave? (circle all that apply)

1. Overcrowding 2. Poor condition 3. Poor/no indoor plumbing or bathrooms
4. Too many outsiders 5. Too many tourists 6. No central heat 7. Traditional lifestyle
8. Other _____

Appendix C – Survey Questionnaire (English version)

Historic Neighborhoods Questionnaire: #____ Interviewer: _____ Address: _____

H8b. If these problems were addressed, would you want to stay in the neighborhood?

1. No 2. Maybe 3. Yes 4. I don't know

H8c. If you owned the property would you want to stay?

1. No 2. Maybe 3. Yes 4. I don't know 5. I am the owner

H8d. Why? _____

H9. Do you think the neighborhood should be protected?

1. No 2. Maybe 3. Yes, only some buildings
4. Yes, depends on circumstances 5. Yes, all buildings and streets

H10. Why do you think this neighborhood has not yet been redeveloped with modern highrises? (circle all that apply)

1. Government policy 2. Lack of funds 3. Lack of interest / Neglect
4. Community involvement 5. Tourism 6. Too many highrises already
7. Other _____

H11. Is there any policy protecting the neighborhood and/or its buildings?

1. No (go to H13) 2. Maybe 3. Yes 4. I don't know

H11a. If so, what are effects of the policy? (circle all that apply)

1. More community involvement 2. Less community involvement
3. Neighborhood protection 4. New development 5. Increased tourism
6. No effect 7. Other _____

H12. Do you know of any recent efforts to preserve the neighborhood or individual buildings?

1. No 2. Yes 3. I don't know

H12a. If yes, can you elaborate? (When? What? Who?) _____

H13. How do you rate the historic value of your residence or place of business? (circle all that apply)

1. There is no historic value 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High
5. Extremely important

H14. Have you made repairs, changes, or updates to your building? (circle all that apply)

1. No, I do not want to 2. No, I cannot afford to 3. No, I am not allowed by law
4. No, but I am planning to 5. Yes (continue to H5a and H5b)

H14a. If yes, please check all changes that apply:

1. Roof repairs 2. New roof 3. Addition (new room/space) 4. Partial renovation
5. Complete renovation 6. Plumbing (sink, toilet, bath/shower facilities)
7. Reconstruction 8. Other _____

H15. How would you try to protect the neighborhood from demolition? (circle all that apply)

1. Complain to the government 2. Community action 3. Bribery

Appendix C – Survey Questionnaire (English version)

Historic Neighborhoods Questionnaire: #____ Interviewer: _____ Address: _____

4. Call the media 5. Seek help from NGOs 6. Refuse to leave 7. Protest
8. Nothing I can do 9. Other _____

H15a. Why? _____

H16. How many households have left your neighborhood within the past 5 years?

1. None that I know of 2. A few 3. Between 5 and 10 4. More than 10
5. I don't know

H16a. What has replaced them? (circle all that apply)

1. New residents in same buildings 2. New residents in new buildings
3. New businesses in same buildings 4. New businesses in new buildings

H17. How many businesses have left within the past 5 years?

1. None that I know of 2. A few 3. Between 5 and 10 4. More than 10
5. I don't know

H17a. What has replaced them? (circle all that apply)

1. New residents in same buildings 2. New residents in new buildings
3. New businesses in same buildings 4. New businesses in new buildings

H18. What type of impact has tourism had on the neighborhood?

1. Negative 2. Neutral 3. Positive 4. I don't know

H18a. Please identify the specific impacts of tourism (circle all that apply)

1. Increased activity 2. More business 3. Greater income 4. Less income
5. Better infrastructure (roads, electricity, etc.) 6. Better facilities (e.g. bathrooms)
7. Better businesses (e.g. restaurants, stores) 8. Higher cost of living 9. Less privacy
10. Overcrowding 11. More traffic 12. Other _____

H19. What do you expect in the neighborhood in the next 10 years? (circle all that apply)

1. Demolition and redevelopment 2. No change 3. Mix of old and new buildings
4. Fewer long-time residents 5. More new residents 6. Rising cost of living
7. More businesses 8. Fewer businesses 9. Thriving community
10. Dying community 11. Other _____

H20. What do you like most about your neighborhood now? (circle all that apply)

1. Community 2. Buildings 3. Neighbors 4. Businesses
5. Facilities 6. Proximity (to work, school, recreation) 7. Traditional lifestyle
8. Heritage sites 9. Modern changes 10. Feels like home
11. Other _____

H21. Gender: 1. Male 2. Female

H22. Age: 1. 18-21 2. 22-29 3. 30-39 4. 40-49 5. 50-59
6. 60-69 7. 70 and over

H23. Are you a local? 1. No 2. Yes

H24. How many households in your courtyard/compound? _____

Appendix C – Survey Questionnaire (English version)

Historic Neighborhoods Questionnaire: #____ Interviewer: _____ Address: _____

H25. How many people in your household? _____

H26. Your average monthly income (including government subsidies and assistance) is:

- | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. below 500RMB | 2. 501-1000 | 3. 1001-2000 | 4. 2001-3000 |
| 5. 3001-4000 | 6. 4001-5000 | 7. 5001-6000 | 8. 6001-7000 |
| 9. 7001-8000 | 10. 8001-9000 | 11. 9001-10,000 | 12. more than 10,000RMB |

Appendix D – Surveyor Instructions

您好，我在帮美国加州大学的一个研究人员开展一项工作，主要研究中国的传统街区。我想问您一些问题，希望您能谈谈关于你所在街区的状况（包括您自己的居所和商铺，以及如何保护它们）。这项研究是匿名的，您的任何答案都不会被泄露给非此项研究的任何人员。整个过程不会超过 15 分钟，您的回答将为我们的这项研究——保护传统街区与社区——提供莫大的帮助。您将获得一份小礼物以及研究人员的名片，以作为我们对您的答谢。

多谢您的帮助！

访员守则：

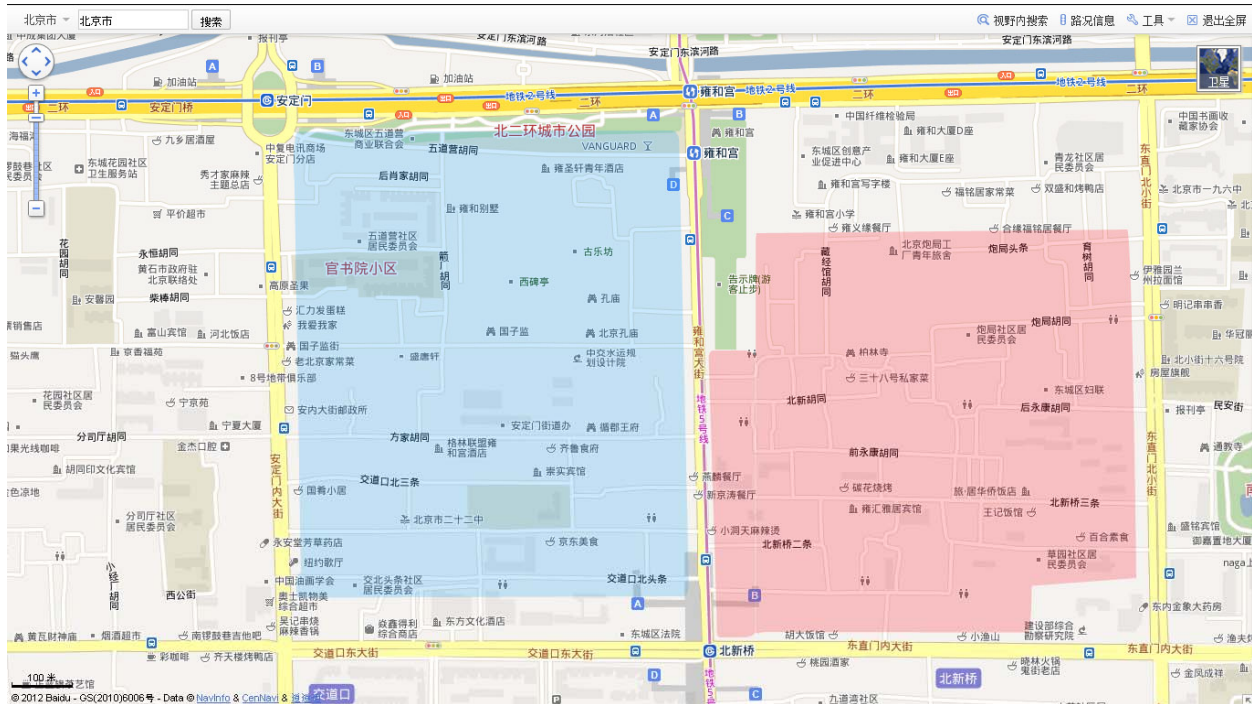
1. 在开始访问之前，每位访员须浏览问卷，如遇任何不懂之处，请及时询问裴江升。
 2. 在开始访问之前，访员须为受访者朗读问卷的导言部分，并须征得受访者的同意。
 3. 访员要向受访人读出每个问题和选项，并由访员自己记录受访人的回答，注意，不能将问卷交给受访人自填。
 4. 访员不可以在访问中按照自己的理解随意地更改问卷中问题的问法。如果受访人实在不理解问卷中的问题，访员可以对问题加以解释，但是一定要在问卷上注明。
 5. 记录答案分一下两种方式
- A. 封闭式问题应圈选受访者回答的答案。
- B. 开放式问题以及带“其他”项的封闭式问题应按照受访者的回答如实地记录。
6. 在访问完成之后，访员需向受访者表示感谢并向受访者赠送礼品。
 7. 在进行下一个访问之前，访员应该在问卷上部准确记录访问的时间和地点（例如，北新桥三条 24 号 18h34）以及该访问在地图上的编号。如果在一个相同的地点做了多个调查，需要在地图上标记一个字母，并在地图的上方列出在这个字母所在地点进行的调查的序号（例如，A——1,2,3,4）
 8. 如果发现访员遗漏了一些重要信息，记录了错误的信息，或者在访问过程中做假，研究者会拒付相关部分的访问薪酬。

Hello, I am working with a researcher from UCLA on historic neighborhoods in China. I would like to ask you a few questions about your views on your neighborhood and residence or business, as well as their protection. This research is anonymous and no answer you give will be available to anyone outside of the research team. The entire process should take no more than 15 minutes of your time and will greatly contribute to research on the protection of historic neighborhoods and their communities. As thanks for your participation, I will give you a small gift and contact information of the researcher upon the completion of the questionnaire. Thanks for your help!

Rules for the Interviewer

1. Each interviewer should review the questionnaire and clarify any points not understood with Qiao Tianyu or Jonathan Bell before beginning the interview process.
2. The interviewer should read the introductory text included on the questionnaire to each respondent and ask for verbal consents prior to beginning the interview.
3. The interviewer should read the questions and possible responses to each respondent and record the responses him/herself.
4. Interviewers should not improvise or change the questions while interviewing. In the case of the respondent not understanding the question, the interviewer may rephrase the question, but must note this on the questionnaire.
5. Responses may be recorded in two ways:
 - a. Closed questions should have the response circled
 - b. Open questions and closed questions with “Other” should record the spoken response of the respondent on the form.
6. After the interview, the interviewer should thank the respondent and offer one of the gifts and name card of the researcher (Jonathan).
7. Before continuing on to the next interview, the interviewer should record the proper locational and time information at the top of the form (e.g. 北新桥三条 24 号 18h34) and the survey number on the map. Multiple surveys at the same location should be recorded with a letter on the map; a note at the bottom of the map should list the survey numbers related to each letter (e.g. A – 1,2,3,4).
8. If an interviewer is found to omit information, record incorrect information, or otherwise hinder the collection of accurate responses, the researcher can refuse to pay him/her for that survey.

Appendix E – Example of Surveyor Working Maps



Overview of Beijing Study Area



Area detail of Beijing Study Area

Appendix F - Practitioner Interview Script (Bilingual)

Please answer the following questions as honestly and in as much depth as possible:

H1. What is the basis of Beijing municipal heritage preservation policy?

H1. 北京市文物保护政策的基础是什么？

H2. What levels of heritage protection exist within the municipal policy? Individual resource (建筑、遗址), Neighborhood (社区、街区), Sub-district (街道), District (区)?

H2. 北京市的文物保护政策涵盖了以下几个级别？单个建筑或遗址，社区或街区，街道，区？

H3. What is the designation/listing process (i.e. how does a building or site become protected)?

H3. 确定及立项文物保护的程序是怎样的？（比如，一个建筑物或是遗址怎样确定被保护）？

H4. Do local citizens have formal opportunities to nominate and promote specific buildings/neighborhoods for preservation?

a. If yes, how does this work?

H4. 本地居民/住户有机会提议或是促进某个特定的建筑物/街区成为文物保护的对象吗？

a. 如果有，具体如何操作呢？

H5. How are residents/owners educated about their options?

H5. 如何告知住户/产权持有者他们的选择？

H6. Are there financial incentives for protected properties? (e.g. tax breaks, subsidies)

H6. 对于被保护的物业有否财政上的激励？（如退税，补贴等）

H7. What are the limitations of designated property owners?

a. Can they make any changes they wish to the building interior?

b. Can they make any changes they wish to the building exterior?

H7. 对特定物业的持有者有什么限制？

a. 他们能按照自己的意愿改动建筑的内部吗？

b. 他们能按照自己的意愿改动建筑的外部吗？

H8. How does preservation policy affect social composition of neighborhoods?

a. Do long-time residents often move out?

b. Do properties become more expensive/have greater value?

- c. Do physical changes occur in the neighborhoods?
- d. Do new businesses move in? (e.g. hotels, bed and breakfasts, restaurants, stores?)
- e. Do new residents move in? (e.g. 外地人, 外国人, 等)

H8. 文物保护政策对社区的社会构成有哪些影响?

- a. 老居民纷纷搬离?
- b. 原物业升值?
- c. 社区发生外观上的变化?
- d. 新的商业搬入? (如旅馆, 饭店, 商店等)
- e. 新居民搬入? (如外地人, 外国人, 等)

H9. Can you give me details of one specific neighborhood with which you are familiar?

- a. Does the neighborhood have protected status or protected sites within it?
- b. Has any designation or protection involved local residents/businesses?
- c. Is the neighborhood sufficiently intact in your opinion?
- d. Have locals been supportive of the decision and status?
- e. What changes have you noticed in the neighborhood?

H9. 能否举一个你比较熟悉的社区的具体例子?

- a. 社区里有被保护的建筑物或是遗址?
- b. 有什么文物的提名或是保护工作有当地居民的参与?
- c. 你觉得社区是否得到充分的保护?
- d. 当地居民是否支持这些决定?
- e. 你注意到社区里有些什么变化?

H10. Why do you think some neighborhoods survive largely intact today?

H10. 你觉得有些社区能被大部分地保存下来的原因是什么?

H11. What do you think are the largest threats to historic neighborhoods today?

H11. 你觉得现在对历史传统社区最大的威胁是什么?

H12. Why do you think so many other neighborhoods have been redeveloped?

H12. 你觉得其他很多社区被重新开发的原因是什么呢?

H13. What are your thoughts on redevelopment and relocation (拆迁) of historic neighborhoods?

H13. 你是如何看待历史传统社区被拆迁及重新开发呢?

H14. What do you think works best about the current policy and protection process?

H14.目前的文物保护政策及流程最有用的是什么？

H15. What do you think needs improvement in the current policy and protection process?

H15.目前的文物保护政策和流程最需要改进又是什么呢？

H16. Do you have any other thoughts about urban preservation and historic neighborhoods?

H16.关于历史传统城区的保护方面你还有什么想法吗？

Appendix G – Survey Codebook

Attachment

Comfort - Accustomed to place. Finds home comfortable.

Home - Sense of home. Multiple generations, grew up there. Long-time residence.

Community

Interactions - Community interacts.

Little interaction - Little social interaction.

Outsiders - Presence of outsiders, foreigners. New arrivals to neighborhoods.

Dissociation

Don't own - Lack of association to place because lack of ownership.

Foreigner - Either has little association to place or lack of power as outsider.

No association

No hukou

Public housing - Lack of attachment since government housing.

Unsure

Economics

Compensation - Wants compensation to relocate. Negotiation required.

Economic security - Investment. Financial stability and freedom. Also, legacy for children.

High income

High rent

Low employment - Few employment opportunities in neighborhood.

Low salary - Poor work opportunities.

Poor business

Heritage

Preservation - Protection of historic and/or valued buildings and neighborhoods.

Tourism - Influence of tourism industry. Tourists and visitors present.

Housing Complaint

Demolish/Relocate - Prefers to demolish and leave house/neighborhood. A few people specify demolish only, but most refer to *chaiqian*, which may not necessarily reflect demolition, but just a desire to relocate.

Insufficient/Dislike - House has problems. Too small, too old, neglected, poor circulation, etc.

Modern preference - Prefer modern housing to current. Want to move to highrise.

Neighborhood

Busy/Crowded - Overcrowded. Too busy. Too much traffic.

Commercialization - More businesses, shops in neighborhood. Change to neighborhood.

Convenient - Convenience in location and/or environment.

Improvement - positive neighborhood development, improvement of facilities, updating.

Inconvenient - Too far from work/school. Inadequate services.

Resignation

Few options - Few other options for housing. Relates to powerlessness, but may actually mean there are few other housing options and explain resistance/protest.

Obey - Heed government decision.

Powerlessness - Rhetoric around lack of power or influence. Minimal influence of one person/individual.

Trust govt - Believe in government policy or approaches. Have faith that government will find best solution. Can also be blind faith.

Adapt - Make do with whatever happens. Adapt to situation.

Resistance

Community voice - Power of community action.

Impact - Have influence over decision-making and government. History of impact through cited activities.

Media

Protect rights - Focus on individual rights and personal freedom.

Refusal - Refuse to leave or obey government

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