

Heritage and Neighborhood Communities in the Context of Urban Renewal

— Case study of a Beijing hutong neighborhood

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Abstract

This thesis attempts to explore the heritage issues on the neighborhood level in the context of rapid urban renewal through the field study of a Beijing hutong neighborhood. It begins by arguing three main scopes of heritage understanding: heritage is the contemporary use of the past thus is present-centered and used for political, cultural or economic purposes; heritage has multiple producers and consumers thus various actors, their roles, perceptions and interests regarding heritage interact with each other in a dissonant manner; The qualification as heritage has consequences on the cultural, physical and social changes of the neighborhood communities, linking to processes of gentrification, environmental nuisance and social exclusion. Based on the three assumptions, a discursive heritage method is used to analyze the conflicts and power relations underlying the selection, management and communication of the neighborhood cultural landscape. Moreover, to clarify the positioning of this study, a multi-layer and multi-dimension frame is developed.

To gain a deeper understanding of the heritage situation in the selected neighborhood, this thesis continues with contextual analysis. It ranges from the Beijing municipal level “conflicted heritage preservation and urban redevelopment” discourse to the local neighborhood level seemingly “well-preserved” discourse. Further on, storylines are used as narrative mean to illustrate the discursive heritage practice manifested on the historic hutong and courtyard houses neighborhood. Two broad genres of storylines are generalized—separately the conflicting preservation and redevelopment and the other social exclusion. They contain themes of preservation, redevelopment, adaptive reuse, instrumental role of heritage and social and physical transformation of the neighborhood communities.

The thesis concludes that though the official and expert dominant discourse is to preserve the hutong and courtyards, the preservation policy coupled with urban renewal results in large-scale redevelopment instead of careful preservation. This opportunistic use of heritage is aggravated by the unregulated, disengaged and fragmented heritage governance. All these have consequences on the historic neighborhood communities, with their decreasing livability and sense of community.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Research topic and research problem

This thesis will identify various functions, roles, actors and values regarding heritage in the historic neighborhood communities with emphasis on the underlying power relations and in the context of rapid urban renewal of a Chinese neighborhood, Beijing and China.

Heritage is not merely a physical entity but more a process of selecting perceived “valuable” or “representable” past for the contemporary uses. Those uses consist of not only education, information and tourism but also negotiation of social and cultural change within the heritage community (Smith, 2006, p.7). And in engaging with heritage particularly, people are constructing a sense of their own identities with positions of divergent opinions and values (Dicks, 2007). It is a process, in which social and cultural meanings and values are identified, considered, recreated, rejected or otherwise negotiated (Gibson & Pendlebury, 2009, p.35). It is a matter of agreement, to qualify a neighborhood as heritage site. The area is endowed with values and meanings while making decision in the present about selecting bits of the past to preserve for the future (Ashworth et al., 2007, p.35-50).

The identification of historic places as heritage, their preservation and management as well as their interpretation to the public, are currently dominated by what people regard as “authorities” or social elites. This dominant way of thinking, talking about and valuing heritage is thus, as referred to Smith (2006), Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD), in which central ideas about values and meanings of heritage are constituted, constructed, mediated and regulated by discourses (p.4). The discursive construction of heritage involves actors and their values on a wider spatial scale, but imposes on the neighborhood communities which have constraints on their cultural, social and physical changes.

As stated above, the heritage process has consequences on the neighborhood communities of local level, which can be positive or negative, linking to processes of neighborhood’s physical, social and economic changes such as urban renewal, community participation and gentrification. The thesis focuses on neighborhood level because those changes imposed by heritage process have effects on the neighborhood communities. The heritage neighborhood

represents an image of past, but functions as contemporary daily life and its related social activities of the communities. After qualification as heritage, the neighborhood is subject to preservation and management, thus the social activities of the neighborhood communities who are hosting the heritage are enduring gradual or dramatic changes.

Besides, investment in preserving the heritage symbols are not without any costs so questions rise as to who shall pay for it and whose heritage it is. The international or national heritage agencies, NGOs and other social elites appeal for the preservation of cultural heritage. Local communities, the other way round, are expecting improvement of spatial quality. For developers and local government bodies, the motivation for shaping or protecting the historic environment is probably initiated by exploiting economic, political or identity and community building opportunities.

With China's rapid property development from the 1990s, the urban areas are enduring continuous regeneration. Beijing, as China's capital city and with its substantial cultural heritage in the inner city area, is rather typical in its process of renewing the historical neighborhoods. The preservation of heritage, the revitalization of houses and the expropriation of land for development and their related social changes of gentrification are in great tension. The Beijing courtyard house and Hutong is a traditional and unique type of residential neighborhood originally built hundreds years ago which symbolize old Beijing. They are cultural, physical and social representations of Old Beijing and recognized as heritage. It is appreciated by its architectural aesthetic values and its attached living style with social and cultural meanings. The conservation of heritage is on the agenda of discourses so as to protect valuable sites of national, regional and local importance and designated protection zones.

Meanwhile, the political aspiration in line with the wish of those residing the old courtyard houses to improve the housing condition in Beijing leads to large-scale housing renewal programs. Moreover, Beijing's ambition to develop cultural industry conforming to its enormous historical resources results in lots of infrastructural and housing renewals. The booming of real estate development since 1990s in Beijing stimulates the urban renewal as a way of profit pursuing rather than community quality improving. Displacement and exclusion appear to be inevitable result of the preservation policy which is coupled with large-scale renewal program.

As a result, those historical places are becoming physically fragmented with contrast of high-rise buildings and courtyard houses in the inner city area, as well as socially dissociate communities and their social relations (Goldman, 2003; Abramson, 2001).

The wider context of heritage-related discourse and practices are closely linked to the heritage neighborhood dynamics, where problems of demolition, displacement, gentrification and other types of social exclusion will be identified.

1.2 Research question

The objective of this study is to identify the diversity of perceptions and interests in the uses of heritage by various users of these neighborhoods. This is particularly interesting because the entitlement of the heritage has consequences on these neighborhoods and the other way around, the communities' social practices have influences on the robustness and dynamics of the heritage. There are many stakeholders in this heritage planning process, such as the affected community, the government, the developers, the academics, NGOs. How in this process different stakeholders prioritize their interpreted image of heritage and use their power to practice it respectively will to a large extent shape the neighborhood cultural landscape.

To address the above issue in a spatial context, a Beijing courtyard residential neighborhood (Hutongs) is selected as the field study area. This neighborhood is regarded as one of the most well-preserved hutongs by various professional and popular discourses, in contrast to the massive demolition and redevelopment in modern Beijing. Hutong, as a cultural heritage, symbols the meaning of the old Beijing but remains a living style for the current people residing there. For the residents in hutongs heritage has different social and cultural meanings to them from what the outsiders perceive.

For some people hutongs and courtyards represent cultural identity of Beijing but for others they are way of inhabitancy and so forth. Therefore how different stakeholders interpret and use the historical neighborhood (hutong) and what is the capacity of the neighborhood communities to respond to changing forms and functions of heritage are interesting to be explored. With regards to above problems, the main research question is formulated as: How are actors interacting with the heritage neighborhood and to what extent it has consequences

on the neighborhood communities in face of urban renewal?—case study of a Beijing Hutong neighborhood. Sub questions are listed as follows:

1. What are the meanings of heritage to relevant actors?
2. How do different actors interpret and use heritage at the neighborhood level?
3. What are the consequences of these functions of heritage on the neighborhood communities?

1.3 Overview of thesis

Chapter 1 introduced the general topic of the thesis, identifies research problems and put forward research questions to be answered by this thesis.

Chapter 2 will review relevant literature on the debate of heritage and come up with a theoretical framework including notions of heritage and discourse. Finally a conceptual model is developed.

Chapter 3 will bring up the multi-layer and multi-scale context of the heritage process of this paper, from the wider context of Beijing heritage preservation and urban renewal. In addition, the field study of Nanluoguxiang neighborhood will be introduced followed by neighborhood context analysis.

Chapter 4 will use the storyline as a way of telling the dynamics of the neighborhood from perspective of conflicting preservation and redevelopment. Different heritage sites are chose as examples to elaborate the contradiction between preserving the past and seeking new opportunities. A government-led large-scale redevelopment is illustrated to discuss issues of gentrification. Later on the adaptive reuse of heritage is described, followed by a conclusion of the chapter.

Chapter 5 will use the storyline of encounters of local communities, namely social exclusion, regarding to their livability, sense of community and participation.

Chapter 6 will conclude the underlying implications of the dynamics in reflection to the theoretical framework, thus addressing the emergent issues that are evident from the empirical research and give recommendations for solving the problems.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, first of all, a literature review of main theoretical debates on heritage studies, especially on the neighborhood level, will be discussed. Secondly, regarding to the issues addressed in Chapter 1 and combining with the major theoretical debates, a framework will be developed as well as a conceptual model be established to frame this study.

2.1 Literature review on heritage studies

The scope of heritage studies entails wide and long-time ranges. This thesis focuses on the very recent date of heritage studies demonstrated by many researchers with the central argument that heritage is present-centered, a value-loaded and conflicted process rather than simply a physical artifact or record inherited from history.

The concept of heritage is loaded with value, “locked into wider frameworks of dominant and subversive ideologies” and subject to different interpretations in particular contexts (Hardy, 1988, p.333). Schouten (1995) defined heritage as “the past processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas, or just plain marketing into a commodity” (cited by Munasinghe, 2006, p. 259). Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996, p.6) regard heritage as selection from an imagined past for present use which bequeath to an imagined future. It is treated as political, cultural and economic resource by intended actors. Lowenthal (1998, p.87) stated “All of us--as individuals, as nations, as ethnic and other entities adapt the past to our presumed advantage, thus we deform history for heritage aims and heritage is further corrupted by being popularized, commoditized, and politicized”. Harvey (2001) suggests the understanding of heritage as a process, or a verb which relates to human action and agency and as an instrument of cultural power rather than a single movement. These ideas illustrate the intrinsic heritage as related to the past and the extrinsic heritage as instrumental use of the present. Above all, heritage is present-centered with contemporary cultural, economic and political functions, which were open to constant revision and change (Ashworth et al., 2007, p.35). This also corresponds to the heritage cycle as intrinsic, instrumental and institutional value of heritage which focuses attention on phases of understanding, valuing, caring-for, and

enjoying aspects of the historic environment (Koerner & Russell, 2010, Chapter 22). Above all, this thesis assumes that heritage studies conceptualize heritage as more subjective than objective, more process-orientated than outcome-orientated, attached with values and positions of multiple actors. Heritage is not only about history or past, but a process that contemporary people shape past, reflecting a contemporary terrain of cultural power relations. It has cultural and economic scopes related to political aspirations and actions of commodification.

Heritage, at an abstract level, can be understood as discursive information on historic notions and action (Munasinghe, 2006). Smith (2006) inherited from previous studies of heritage a process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present rather than only material artifacts. She noticed that “The Western ‘authorized heritage discourse’, which is reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenity societies” (Smith, 2006, p.11). This diversification of the heritage discourse could lead to the worsen situation of the less-affluent locals (Munasinghe, 2006).

The notion of “community heritage” is put forward to discuss the emerging tensions between different groups in their attempts to define heritage and the consequences for community groups seeking to assert alternative understanding of heritage (Waterton and Smith, 2010). The functions of heritage are directly related to reinforcing place identity through which a diversity of community feelings is created (Koerner & Russell, 2010, Chapter 22). Thus the conservation is not only for the heritage’s physical structure but also for the people who can sustain the heritage. And managing conflicts over heritage items and places shall not only include expert-driven and professional value and meaning but also include local knowledge and communities’ aspiration (Smith et al., 2003). The parallel urban renewal coupled with heritage process results in physical and social transformations of local areas and possibly brings in problems of inequity and social exclusion (Pendlebury et al., 2004). Kuipers (2005) found that while the national government designates urban conservation areas and local authorities value their historical and aesthetic qualities, the residents may place little or no value on the historicity of the areas as ascribed by outsiders (p.152). The recent attention of urban policy

makers focuses on the social exclusion of local communities in conservation of cultural built heritage by state intervention, especially the deprived residential neighborhoods. It is thus proposed that government bodies can engage with heritage conservation and preservation to promote the greater inclusion of a range of often-marginalized stakeholder groups into the management process (Waterton et al., 2006).

Within the heritage scope, the conservation of historic residential areas and historic city centers which equally represent the urban heritage is different from conservation of single monuments. On the neighborhood level, the historical residential areas involve not only physical changes such as demolition but also social and economic dynamics such as rehabilitation and revitalization. Accompanying the changes, lower-income families have physical, social, economic and cultural values different from, and beyond the perceptions of, bureaucrats or planners (Steinberg, 1996). Heritage is not seen as a thing, but rather what happens at and with those sites. From this perspective, this thesis is positioned in heritage studies on the neighborhood level, or to say historical residential neighborhood, to see what encounters with heritage in the preserved area. Other studies use “cultural landscape” instead of “historical environment” (Gibson & Pendlebury, 2009, p.71-72) because the previous one emphasis heritage as a process subjected to contemporary and wider political, economic and cultural changes. Besides, cultural representations of heritage are multi-produced and multi-consumed by a multiplicity of groups, even within the same bounded place (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000, p.81-83). Therefore, a defined spatial context of this thesis will be the neighborhood cultural landscape at the very local level in face of urban changes. The scale of study overlaps global, national, regional, local and individual levels. Heritage is mostly defined in the national domain while the implementation of policies and their direct management is likely to be conducted at the more local scale.

In conclusion, this thesis is positioned in the scope of heritage studies, on which contribution is made from the perspective of neighborhood heritage aiming at identifying various actors, their roles, positions and conflicts imposing on the neighborhood scale.

2.2 Methodology—discursive heritage practice

To analyze potential conflicts and power structures embedding heritage neighborhood, a theoretical framework is built up in this part to strengthen the grounds for this thesis. Heritage becomes more about meanings and values than material artifacts, with its management practices by and large discursively constructed. Thus the way we create, discuss, talk about and assess heritage issues does matter. Moreover the embedding meanings underlying these discursive heritage practices are even more important. According to Smith (2006), “Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offers a theoretical platform and methodological approach that aims to illuminate the links between discourse and practice”. Beyond paraphrasing the content of text and speech towards understanding what is in operation, it develops a way of understand meanings underlying discourse of different actors in the pursuit of progressive, emancipatory and empowering social agendas (Smith, 2006; Waterton et al., 2006). It also provides a tool to relate discourse to power and domination (Smith, 2006, p. 16). Spaces are socially constructed in different ways by different people, and their power struggles and conflicts in specific contexts (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). Power is dispersed among a plurality of organizations and interests and embedded in systems of defined rules, flows of resources and frames of people’s use (Healey, 1997, p.259). The conflicts and power struggles between multiple users of heritage are therefore the central concern of this thesis.

Discourse and power

To Foucault, discourse meant more than only language, but a system of representation, a way of representing knowledge and meaning, about the production of knowledge and meaning through language. And the rules and practices that produced meaningful statements and regulated discourse in different historical periods are interesting to capture (Hall, 2001, p.72). Therefore it is beyond the conventional textual analysis, about the rules produced by knowledge through language and its influence over what we do (practice) (Waitt, 2005, Chapter 11). Discourse defines ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena and produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices. Distinct positioned actors exercise power through trying to impose particular discourse onto a

heritage discussion (Hajer and Versteeg, 2005). For Fairclough (1992, p.71-73), discourse is three dimensional, namely text, discursive practices and social practices. Power is implicit within everyday social practices which are pervasively distributed at everyday level in all domains of social life thus features of social and cultural circumstances are crucial. The interpretative social setting is a background context for analyzing the discourse conducted in that setting (Lees, 2004). The discursive interaction can also create new meanings and new identities which lead to changes (Hajer, 1995, p. 59).

Therefore, the discursive approach utilized in this thesis is from the point of view that discourse is about language and practice, about where meanings come from. New discourses with power and authority come in a historic moment to regulate social practices in new ways (Hall, 2001, p.74). Discursive practice has a historical and cultural context thus can be interpreted by different subjects in different ways. "The subject is produced within discourse. This subject of discourse cannot be outside discourse, because it must be subjected to discourse. It must be rules and conventions, to its dispositions of power/knowledge (Hall, 2001, p.79). Based on this understanding of discourse, this thesis is trying to analyze the subjects, their positions, the rules, meanings and regulations they are subject to, the power they have produced.

Heritage as a discursive practice

Heritage as a knowledge is both economic and cultural capital and it is accompanied by a complex potential conflicts not least when it is involved in issues of legitimization of power structures (Graham, 2002). Selected historical resources are converted into cultural and economic products through interpretation and packaging. Then questions rise up as to who is making such decisions, managing the process and thus producing heritage and who shall invest. Different actors may have different motives and actions and their interaction with heritage may inevitably reflect the perception of dominant political, social, religious or ethnic groups. It could formulate a ubiquitous message in the common understanding of heritage by forms of state heritage offices, government policy and national legislation to promote conservation of heritage. As Smith (2006) points out, any attempts at engaging community or stakeholders must take into account the power relations that underlie the dominant heritage discourse, as these

may inadvertently work to discourage the equitable participation of those groups whose understandings of the nature of heritage are excluded from that discourse. The power relations that underlie the dominant heritage discourse thus may hinder the engagement of often-marginalized communities and stakeholder groups into the management of heritage (Waterton et al., 2006).

The discursive heritage practice is implicit in everyday level, thus can be reflected by different stakeholders' interaction with the neighborhood. According to Hajer (1995), to operationalize the effect of this discursive practice, there is a perspective named "social-interactive" discourse theory. Here human interaction is related to discursive practices in which people are provided with what they call "subject-positions". Persons, constituted by discursive practices, through this interaction and positioning, are able to make sense of reality. Actors in the heritage thus in fact constantly practice their argumentative meaning and position other actors as well (Hajer, 1995, p.52-54). Therefore, the subject can be studied as actively involved in the transformation of discourse through this social-interactive discourse theory (p.55). Story-lines are narratives on social reality through which actors can upon various discursive categories to give meaning to specific social phenomena, and suggest unity in separate discursive component parts of a problem (p.56) like heritage. In this sense, storylines are helpful in identifying positions of actors at the neighborhood level, and their perceptions, values and practices that transform the physical and social landscape of the neighborhood. Another perspective is to study power structure of society through discourse, which has interesting consequences for the research of politics and policy making and analyzing interpersonal communication (p. 55). The discursive practices create the communicative networks among actors with different or at best overlapping perceptions and understandings, and are prime vehicles of change. Heritage discourses and practices from different scales, with their distinctly conflicting motives and goals, can be categorized into different storylines by analyzing actors' discursive talks, policy documents and reports. Therefore, this thesis will utilize the storyline approach as an analytic tool to uncover the multi-actor subject positions and power structures in the heritage neighborhood.

2.3 Conceptual model

Combining the research questions (see chapter 1.3) and theoretical framework, a conceptual model is formulated in this part to guide this thesis. First and foremost to analyze the issue of heritage on the neighborhood level, it cannot be understood independently from its geographical context and the point in time. Space is socially produced which includes economic, political and cultural features, and an artefact of historically specific socio-spatial relations between humans instead of a natural objective entity (Portugali, 2006). Heritage space is particularly fitting this picture because of its essence of inter-subjective process rather than purely physical status quo. As discussed above, multi-actors are engaging in the heritage process and their positions and discursive practices will be uncovered in this study. To uncover these, a multi-layer analysis will be helpful because actors can range from individuals to communities, from groups to a wide variety of societal members, all of which constitute a multi-layer network. And their discursive practice ranges from personal communications to organizational policy-making documents, which both influence the material world. Thus in this case the situation can be reduced and categorized into macro, meso and micro levels and from dimensions of material, organizational and institutional world (Geels, 2002; Gert, 1999 cited by Ovink and Wierenga 2011, see figure 1).

A multi-layer and multi-dimensional mind frame

The research issue of “heritage neighborhood” in this study can be abstracted as a planning situation. Hence a “layered perspective” is used here to deconstruct a complex situation as explained below. In the situation of this thesis, macro level is the context of the heritage neighborhood, such as international flows of organizations and values into the neighborhood; national agencies, legislation and identities regarding heritage; municipal government, policies, plans, regulations, programs and projects that are manifested on the neighborhood; local institutions, enterprises, programs and projects that are shaping the physical and social changes of the neighborhood. Micro level identifies individual cases and perceptions of groups of interests which are examined by direct communications with various actors. In this thesis, meso level is the neighborhood level, where material meets institutional, where collective meets the

individual and where physical and social changes are most manifested. The meso level in the material world is the combination that would be the core analysis in this thesis. Among the three dimensions, material world includes factors and actors, or to say physical and social phenomenon; Institutional means political and cultural discourse such as cultural identity and policy making; organizational is the level where things operate involving actors and their organizations. Therefore, this multi-layer and multi-dimension model can frame and position our thinking through the specific boundaries. This model helps build a mind frame so that different positioning actors can be identified and fit into the picture. Besides, a multiplicity of discursive practices from various aspects, such as individual talks and institutional policy settings. The last advantage of this model is that it helps define the spatial and territory scope of discussion for this study as labeled in the figure.

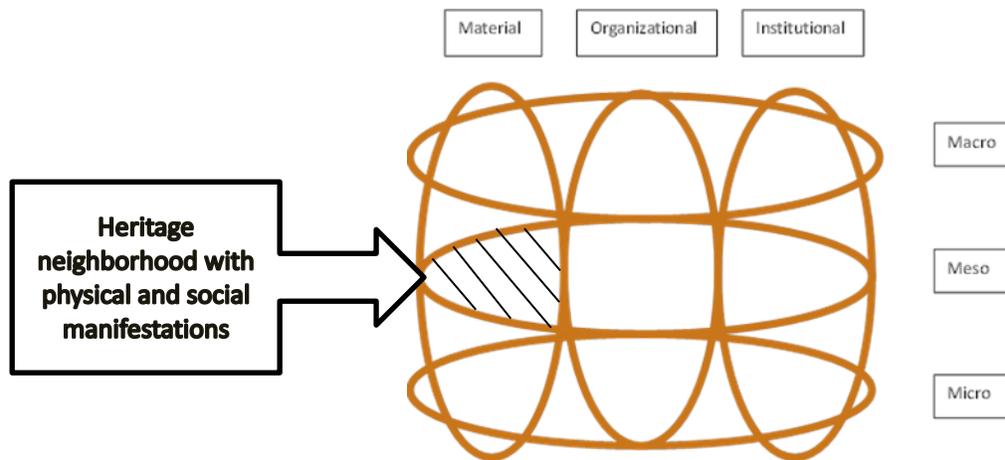


Figure 1. The Frame of the Heritage Neighborhood and its context

Note. From "Regions in Transition, Designing for adaptivity" edited by Ovink, H., &Wierenga, E. (2011), Rotterdam, 010 Publishers, P.39

Chapter 3 Background of hutongs and Courtyard houses

3.1 The conflicted “preserved” story of courtyard houses in Beijing

From a wider perspective, hutong as Beijing’s common heritage, its implications on the neighborhood level are closely related to the cultural, economic and political context in Beijing and even China. This part will generalize the heritage context of Beijing as a whole.

Courtyard (Si He Yuan in Chinese), a typical example of traditional vernacular Chinese residential architecture, refers to a square or rectangular one-story courtyard compound usually with four houses built on each side (see figure 2, left) and hutong refers to the small and narrow alleyways between rows of courtyards (see figure 2, right). They altogether formulate a cultural landscape in the inner city of Beijing that is quite unique and highly appreciated both at home and abroad. Though originated during the construction campaign of this capital city in China's Yuan Dynasty (1271 - 1368), hutongs and courtyard houses are valued for their living style rather than mere architectural beauty. And the vernacular courtyards, largely still in residential use today, are hosting many old Beijingers. Their daily life is practiced in the historic neighborhood, which represents traditional Chinese’s harmonious family and community lifestyle. The cultural landscape is by no means static but evolving with societal changes.

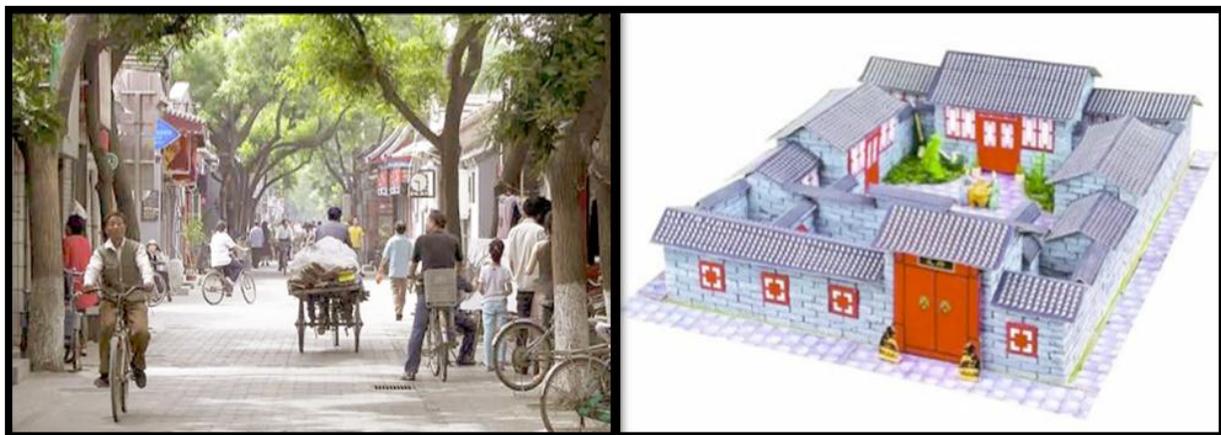


Figure 2. Layout of a courtyard house (right) and hutong (left)

Note. [Online] <http://djadchina.wordpress.com/module-outline/block-one-rise-of-the-middle-kingdom/%E4%BA%8C-the-modernisation-of-beijing/week-2-hutong-life/>

Courtyard houses have been designated for preservation since 1984 after the State Council proclaimed the branding of Beijing as a “Renowned Historic and Cultural City” and since then hundreds of protected sites of national-level, municipal-level and district-level importance have been listed and under the force of 1982 Cultural Assets Protection Law. In 1985 Regulations on Building Heights and the 1987 Controls on Land-use and Floor Area Ratio were instituted to ensure that new development was stylistically harmony with the historical environment in respond to the national preservation legislation although no specific “style” and “harmony” is defined (Abramson, 2007; Chen, 2003). Above all the preservation discourse has been prevailing among policies, academics and popular press, nevertheless, the discourse of the preservation of Old city of Beijing involves national-cultural, political and ideological symbolism of monumental aspects, while ignoring the preservation of vernacular housing and socioeconomic dimension of courtyard housing (Abramson, 2001). That is to say, while the independent significant imperial palace and former residences of celebrities are kept well, the preservation of historical districts and residential areas around the old city are not on the priority (see figure 3). Except for the architectural value, this contrast is also due to monument’s utility as national symbolism while vernacular housing’s function as ordinary housing which is supposed to be maintained by residents themselves.



Figure 3. Comparably well-preserved former residence of a famous contemporary Chinese painter Qibaishi (left) and the destruction of inner-city neighborhoods replaced by high-rise modern buildings (right)

From 1990 the 25 spatially undefined preserved districts were nominated finally till 2002, “25 Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Districts Plan ” was appraised by the municipal government, in which specific preservation zones were designated, the principles of protection and renewal were emphasized and courtyards were prescribed as the basic unit of preservation in the old city. The master plan also incorporates heritage preservation by strengthening the inner-city revitalization where mostly courtyard houses locate (Beijing Historical and Cultural City Preservation Plan, 2002). However, this historical district concept came too late to influence Beijing’s rapid development in the 1990s. So redevelopment in the Old City of Beijing reached a peak of destructiveness in 2001. And when redevelopment has occurred, height limits were broken. The official provision was not forceful at all, resulting in the old city’s inharmonic and fragmented cultural landscape. Later on, 42% of the Old City (within the second ring) was regulated and provided for preservation within which area no large-scale, clearance-style redevelopment is supposed to occur. Nevertheless, Nanchizi hutong neighborhood continued to be demolished and reconstructed (Abramson, 2007). As denoted by Qian (2008), both heritage legislations and planning scheme appear ambiguous in terms of the demolition and rebuilding in the listed precincts so none of the above has prevented the massive demolition in a listed historic neighborhood like Nanchizi. Particularly in 2003, a specific master plan “People’s Olympic Historic Preservation Plan” was launched by the municipality aiming at enhancing the overall historic appearance of the city’s heritage areas before the 2008 Beijing Olympics (Su, 2008).

Hutongs and courtyard houses as heritage representations of the past still remain a living style for the residents in the neighborhood. The living condition of these Hutong residents is rather below the average standard living in Beijing. Since the old courtyard houses are too decayed, crowded and lack of facilities, the need for modern renovated facility and bigger living space is a common wish for those residing in bad condition courtyards. In 1990 The People’s Municipal Government launched Beijing’s Old and Dilapidated Housing Renewal Program (ODHR) (Lü, 1997). In addition, Beijing has to implement urban renewal and reconstruction program to equip the city with excellent infrastructure and good environment for business and living in the face of rapid social-economic development and globalization (Gu and Shen, 2003).

Nevertheless, the housing renewal program quickly became a large-scale speculative form of development involving massive demolition and ruthless displacement, resulting in an enormous loss in social and cultural values of this ancient city. Local government (district authorities) with political resource of allocating land and developers with financial resources for investment in renewal projects formed alignment to maximize their profit instead of benefiting the residents. Between 1990 and 1998, the city of Beijing demolished 4.2 million square meters of housing in the old city (Zhang and Fang, 2003, 2004) and hundreds of thousands residents were relocated.

Rise of real estate market

The unsuccessful preserved story has another significant trigger—the rise of real estate market. Under the big context of China’s socialist transformation movement in the 1950s, Private-owned or private-rented housing was substituted by state-owned or collectively-owned (Wu, 1996). Thus before the opening-up and reform policy in 1978, China was under a bureaucratic housing-allocation system. After the 1980s land reform and housing reform introduces the market force with emergence of non-state sectors (Abramson, 2001; Wu, 2001). The booming market of land and housing in the 1990s triggers more market actors to have effect on the old city. Municipalities and district governments capitalize on land values in the old central neighborhoods as short-term source of income for all manner of urban improvements (Abramson, 2001). This opportunity was rapidly grabbed by local government and real estate developers to redevelop the old neighborhoods, resulting in gentrification and fragmented landscape. The emergence of land market and decentralization of redevelopment decision-making power to the district level government while the responsibility for protection is articulated more vigorously on the national and municipal level than local level, are the underlying power structure.

And about the housing access, still, there is a large proportion of public rental housing in Beijing¹, notably 33.82% by 2000 and over 20% collective living (Logan et al., 2009), which is the legacy of previous socialist housing allocation system. The collective living is owned by work unit, or in Chinese, Danwei². Thus there is more public-owned housing than private-owned

housing by 2000. The phenomenon is particularly prevailing in the Old Beijing neighborhoods because the majority of these courtyards were built or rebuilt earlier than the reform. The large percentage of public houses instead of private houses makes it more accessible to land and housing expropriation by government and developers in case of a development project. In addition, the nominal rent collected did not even cover the cost of basic maintenance of those public houses, so there was little incentive for housing investment and improvement (Deng et al., 2011).

Displacement and exclusion

Displacement and exclusion appear to be inevitable result of a preservation policy which is coupled with large-scale renewal program. Heritage is valued only in its interior detailing and spatial layout (Abramson, 2001). Gentrification is systematically defined by Smith (1996) as “the neighborhood-scale dynamics produced by local housing market and intimately connected to wider global and national political-economic change” (Smith, 1996, p.75). In a narrow sense, it is “the invasion and succession of a neighborhood occupied by members of one social rank or class (specially the displacement of working class households) by those of another and higher class (specially of middle and upper income professional households)” (Bourne, 1993). The historic neighborhoods in the form of hutongs are largely located in the central city where land price is comparably much higher than fringes. In this area thus a huge amount of investment came in and the increasing popularity of traditional Chinese architecture attracts a growing demand. Consequently, whole communities were relocated to distant suburban sites replaced by increasingly higher and denser high-rise buildings, or replicated courtyards. These were later occupied by wealthy companies or powerful agencies and their employees (Abramson, 2001).

Overall from 1990s, the Old Beijing began to transform from hutong and courtyard houses to high-rise buildings or imitating courtyards, a redevelopment process criticized being destructive of historic fabric, inappropriate construction and too much relocation (Goldman, 2003). In conclusion, the political establishment’s profit-seeking visions for the city center, the aspirations of residents to improve their living conditions and the boom in real estate while the preservation concern by the elite are the different forces that change the historic Beijing center and shape the cultural landscape, especially since 1990s (Abramson, 2001; Lü, 1997).

3.2 Fieldwork research—interviews in a Beijing hutong neighborhood

To demonstrate the heritage process at the neighborhood level as hypothesized by the conceptual model (see chapter 2.3), empirical fieldwork was conducted by the author in Beijing. The fieldwork was carried out in a historical neighborhood named “Nanluoguxiang” in May, 2012. This neighborhood is selected as the case study area for several reasons. Firstly because it is among one of the 25 specified preserved area (see chapter 3.1) that is comparably well-preserved and enjoys a rising fame in academic and popular discourse for its unique cultural landscape. And some common issues and cases are identified that can manifest the spatial, social and economic processes in this historical neighborhood, such as preservation of heritage, gentrification, cultural industry, quality demand and so on.

The empirical data was gathered through observations, face-to-face interviews and informal conversations. To get a comprehensive understanding from various perspectives, 19 semi-structured in-depth interviews (see interview questions in the appendix 1) with actors from different backgrounds were conducted. They are ordinary hutong residents, site managers, some business runners, local government officials, academics and staff from NGO (see table 1). There are also some useful conversations with the public. Other sources range from academic papers to popular news. Sources of information come from literature by the NGO Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center (CHP), local and municipal official website, and other journal or newspaper reports. Some general statistics of the area are referred to Professor Lü Bin and his research team’s planning documents. The locations of the site interviews are evenly distributed in the area of Nanluoguxiang (see figure 4), except the interviews with NGO and the academia.

Table 1

General Information and Referred Numbers of Interviewees

Categories	Amount	Number	Identities
Local Residents	11	Interview 11& 19	Private-owned housing Others public-owned and Danwei-owned housing
Business runners	3	Interview 15 Interview 17 Interview 4	A Café owner from Europe A manager of the oldest bar Guoke A shop runner from an elderly workshop
Site managers	2	Interview 9 Interview 8	Manager of Former Residence of Qibaishi Gate keeper of a well-preserved courtyard
NGO	1	Interview 18	Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center
Local Government Official	1	Interview 10	Jiaodaokou Street Committee Director
Academic	1	Interview 1	Professor Lü Bin from Peking University
Informal conversations	6		

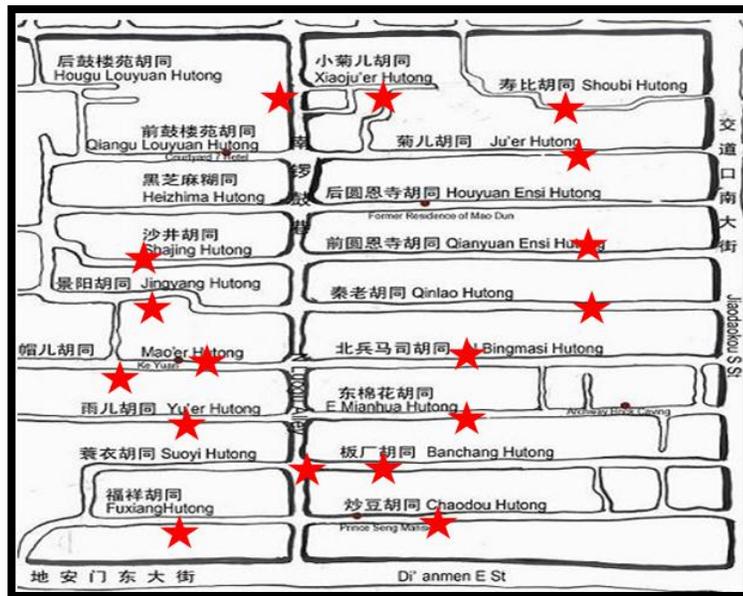


Figure 4. The location of interviewees

Note. Source. Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center. [Online] Available at:
http://en.bjchp.org/?page_id=4336

3.3 The “well-preserved” neighborhood Nanluoguxiang

The changes of the meso spatial features are closely linked to the macro aspects of Beijing, but the meso hutong neighborhood itself has its specific identities, social and physical characters, which will be discussed in this part. Nanluoguxiang, also named South Luogu Lane, is one of the oldest alleyways (hutongs) in the Beijing city center. It is 800 meters long vertically and located on the northeast of the Forbidden City and has a population of more than 50,000. In the neighborhood, there are 16 hutongs stretching horizontally and a main street called South Luogu Lane vertically right across the middle (see figure 5). In 1990, the neighborhood was listed into the first 25 historical cultural protected areas approved by the Beijing municipal government. The neighborhood, rather than appreciated by its single ancient architecture unit, or “monuments”, is preserved as a “protected area” for its totality of “courtyard landscape”. It was designated as important protected area so that its heritage conservation and physical construction is under the restriction of legislation and regulations as well as exceptional policies³. For example, the integral historic relic and landscape of the lanes shall be kept; the living condition of the residents shall be improved and the preservation duty shall encourage public participation and so on.

while the interests of the residents (the intended beneficiaries) who have had little voice in the redevelopment process, were largely sacrificed (Zhang & Fang, 2003).

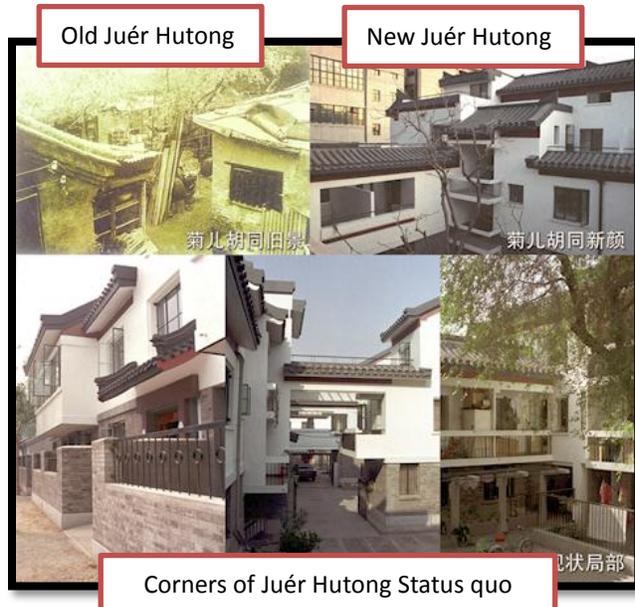


Figure 6. The transformation of Juér Hutong project

Note. Source: <http://www.shigongjishu.cn/Item/10950.aspx>

Since 2005, the research team led by Prof. Lü Bin of Peking University has been working on the Nanluoguxiang Protection and Development Plan (NPDP) (2006-2020) aided by the neighborhood government (Jiaodaokou Street Committee) to foster heritage preservation, improve living environment and prompt cultural creative industry in the hutong complex (Middle-term Evaluation Report, 2010). Meanwhile, the neighborhood is evolving into a heritage tourism hotspot accompanying with its economic, demographic and social impacts on the communities. The Beijing Olympic game, especially, brought great opportunities for the neighborhood's renewal and rise as a tourism hot spot. Based on the funding from this program (see chapter 3.1), the neighborhood façade was renewed which greatly enhanced its outlook and impressed the residents.

The hutong communities, mixed now with the original residents, tenants and business runners, are facing gigantic transformation including commercialization, displacement, gentrification and other physical and social changes more than ever before. The interaction of

different positioning actors, government, academics, developers, communities, shop runners and tourists are continually shaping the place. After valued and selected as heritage, the hutongs prosper due to tourism industry along with improvement of infrastructure. Simultaneously there is cost for local communities with regards to their vulnerable displacement.

Above all, the imaginary “well-preserved” Nanluoguxiang, its threatened demolition and the extended social-economic dynamics are the dominant discourse among politics, academics and popular media that drives the transformation of the area. However, how this dominant discourse is conflicting with the perceptions, roles and practices of various actors and how it is connected to the practice of heritage process in the neighborhood will be analyzed in the following chapters using storylines as narrative means.

Chapter 4 Storyline of conflicting preservation and redevelopment

The variety of objectives and diversity of uses of heritage involve large numbers of organizations and concerned individuals with an interest in or responsibility for heritage. Whose heritage, who shall invest and who benefits are the tensions that prevent the application of AHD to practice. As a “preserved zone” and “heritage sites” prescribed by AHD, it has regulations regarding construction control thus redevelopment in the area and some sites are subject to the protection of heritage laws and regulations. Meanwhile there have been many threats of demolition. In the neighborhood, the contrast between preservation and destruction is obviously observed from the physical appearance. Many courtyard houses have already been torn down and replaced by modern high-rise buildings.

4.1 The protective story of Keyuan and Qibaishi former residence

Keyuan (in English “the favored garden”), located in Mao’er Hutong (one of the 16 horizontal hutongs as mentioned in Chapter 3.3), is a cultural relic site of national importance due to its historical and architectural value. It was originally built in the mid-19th century by renowned scholar-official, Wen Yu, as part of his courtyard residence with an area of 10,000 m² and four courtyards in total. In 2001, two of the courtyards were announced as Cultural Relic of National Importance by the State Council (State Administration of Cultural Heritage, 2001). The preservation of them shall be enforced by the national heritage legislation as “forbidden destruction” and all renovations need to be approved through legally defined proceedings (Law of People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics, Article 6). However, the current property owner of the courtyard houses is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) after the socialist movement (see chapter 3.1). The heritage was and is still used as office, hotel and staff dormitory and closed to public. However, MFA initiated the plan to destruct the heritage site in 2008. More surprisingly, the proposal for a project on the heritage site was officially approved by the Real Estate Administrative Bureau of the East District. From then, the NGO

Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center (CHP⁵) published several online articles to urge MFA to abandon its proposal to demolish Keyuan⁶. It also tried to make appeals to potential readers to raise their awareness and gain their support. The CHP, working with foreign media (for example, Bloomberg⁷), published a series of online articles to raise the attention of relevant administrative departments⁸. The online appears succeeded in attracting public and official attention, which can be proved from the MFA spokesperson, Mr. Qin Gang, when he answered questions from journalists on November 25, 2008. He claimed that the MFA had decided with approval from the Beijing Heritage Bureau (BHB) to renovate this estate rather than destruct it and open it to the public later on. Until now, however, Keyuan is neither developed or demolished or open to the public (see Figure 7) (CHP, 2008a, 2008b, 2010).



Figure 7. The “closed” favored garden Keyuan (left) and the “open” Qibaishi former residence (right)

The protective story of former residence of Qiabaishi (see figure 7), however, has an opposite outcome. This heritage site is owned by a public institution named Beijing Painting Academy (BPA) and listed as heritage of Dongcheng district importance, much less important and valuable compared to Keyuan. However, BPA made efforts to apply for the national funding to renovate the heritage site and open to public for visit. As the site manager said,

This place has always been an idle and a painting place with no residence. The government is also paying attention to this part. So they decided to conduct a comprehensive repair, invest lot of money and go through lots of procedures. This is the right time and opportunity due to the central government's policy emphasizing on Cultural Prosperity, so the art of Qibaishi needs to catch this chance to strive. It is also related to the development of Nanluoguxiang. There are many tourists here. Renovation and open to public stimulates the publicity of Qibaishi's work. This restoration was proposed by our dean and he managed to apply for the funding from state finances (Mr. Sang, interview 9, May 16, 2012).

The national heritage legislation and regulation for procedures, in this situation, are not forceful to the MFA at all. MFA as the property owner of the heritage site has its own interest of redeveloping the estate, which is basically violating the rules. However it managed to get its proposal approval from local land administration and skip the examination from National Heritage Bureau (NHB). Till the public is aware of the intended destruction of heritage through the propagation of NGO and media, MFA has to respond to the media and promise its maintenance of heritage. MFA both as a government authority and heritage property owner can ignore the regulated procedure and got illegal approval from the local government. As said by one interviewee (Mr. Sang, interview 9, May 16, 2012), "there are far more things with higher priorities than preservation, and there are a lot more powerful departments than NHB". NHB does not have a systematic preservation and management approach. It only gives intervention until receiving notification of threatening destruction. The ownership of the property and its function also makes a difference. Different relevant authorities don't have a shared responsibility and common discourse over the preservation and management of heritage site. There is another courtyard heritage of Dongcheng district importance in the neighborhood that has similar situation according to the interviewee.

This courtyard belongs to Ministry of Healthy and they don't care because they have more buildings elsewhere. The Housing Administrative Office (HAO) is not willing to fund at all because they only repaired the façade but not the inside of this courtyard. And not

to mention the Dongcheng District Heritage Office, there are only five staff members, what can you expect from them (Mr. Wang, interview 20, May 16, 2012)?

According to both cases, the capability of preservation largely depends on the motives and interests of the owners (the so-called powerful Danweis) while the governance on heritage is unregulated and disengaged. The rising influence of NGO by communicating, informing and educating on heritage and its engagement with public is noteworthy. A staff in CHP mentioned the function of her organization:

It builds a platform through which the local residents and public could be informed of our cultural heritage and even can give their own opinions by this channel. Its main function is to publicize, educate and stimulate the attention and reflection of the public (Miss Zhang, interview 18, May 14, 2012).

4.2 Government-led large-scale redevelopment and gentrification

The rising popularity of the neighborhood cultural tourism accelerates the transformation of the area and attracts various economic and political opportunities which would be explored by potential actors. The initially preservation-oriented AHD, in face of urban renewal at all levels, ends up in redevelopment projects. Through these projects heritage is utilized as cultural, political and economic resources for the purposes of multiple users, particularly local government and real estate developers. Two large-scale on-going projects in the neighborhood were observed and informed during the fieldwork. One is “Jade River Transformation Program” and the other is the subway station construction. The first one demolished large-areas of old and original courtyards and replicated new prototype courtyards along the 1000-meter long Jade Canal to “restore to its historical landscape” (see figure 8). To accomplish this project, 540 households were planned to be relocated⁹. The Dongcheng district government as the initiative of this project put forward the principle of “preservation of original buildings” in the beginning of the project. Finally, it made coalitions with local State-owned Enterprises (SoE) and

“experts”¹⁰, under the “permission” of the municipal government, turning the project into large-scale redevelopment. Original residents were relocated and replaced by wealthy companies, individuals and business, which is definitely a process of gentrification. One of the locals revealed the story he knew about and gave his opinion on the renewal project. It seemed to him this kind of demolition and relocation phenomena is quite visible around the area.

Q: do you know anything about resettlement in the Jade River?

A: I am not so clear. I know someone living there before. But they have extra houses and the government would pay them compensation. Some moved to six rings and never can come back. It is also a pity. (Mr. Yan, Interview 19, May 15, 2012)



Figure 8. Jade Canal Transformation Project (before and after)

The latter project was planned and implemented by the municipal level government and SoEs to improve the transportation infrastructure in the city scale. Subway line 6 and line 8 will intersect in the front of the neighborhood so a subway station will be built there with the consequences of 30 courtyards from the neighborhood demolished. In an era of rapid urban development, both dominant discourse and those unaffected are happy and proud of this kind of enhancement of infrastructural construction whereas its social loss is neglected or considered “shall be sacrificed for the majority”. Although the neighborhood is a “preserved

zone”, its position as heritage is quite fragile in face of urban renewal.

Those two projects are both government initiated, collaborating with SoEs, for the purpose of “improving urban quality” and with the consequences of gentrification. And the locals are quite aware of these consequences according the interviews.

Cultural heritage is about rich people moving in and the poor moving out (Runner of the Guoke Bar, Interview 17, May 14, 2012).

Now demolition is all about rich people moving in and poor people moving out to suburbs (Mr. Fan, Interview 11, May 10, 2012).

Those are golden locations where only rich people can come in and poor people have to move out (A security guard, Informal conversation, May 11, 2012).

The appreciation of courtyard houses creates market for “new courtyard prototype”-- the demolition of old courtyard houses and the replication on its original site, which change the social structure of the neighborhood. The demolition and replacement of a new courtyard appearance with modern facility result in the displacement of the existing residents and even an entire neighborhood to the far suburbs. The real estate developers’ motive for profit-seeking, combining with local government’s longing for political achievements and land economy¹¹, are in many cases the intriguing factors for developmental projects in the old neighborhood. Many of the developers, surprisingly, are state-owned or state stock holding enterprises so that they can make use of both political and financial resources to achieve their purpose. The Residential committee or Street Committee are indeed dispatched government sub (-lower) branch, who cannot really represent and stand for the residents because of the pressure from higher officials¹². And again¹² the same problem emerges, in face of powerful institutions or government departments, the ambiguous legislation, regulation or plans of dominant heritage discourse and heritage offices of various levels are used as a tool by intended actors to create their interpretative discourse for their own benefits. These benefits include using preservation as an excuse to develop land for commercial or residential transactions.

4.3 Self-organized adaptive reuse of heritage: a future prospect?

The spatial development in the Lane is potential in its cultural landscape and its associated leisure economy which has a national and international appeal. And local self-organized innovations are thriving in the area. There were only a few bars in the area 5 years ago, but then the scale enlarged by itself without any direct government policy induces. An economic agglomeration appeared and then attracted other relevant leisure activities in the area. Now bars, Cafes, Tea houses, restaurants and all kinds of other activities arise in the area that take advantage of the cultural landscape to attract customers (see figure 9). They are important factors that keep the area alive. In the interview with Prof. Lü, his major planning idea is “organic renewal and sustainable regeneration”, or to say continuity of hutong’s form as historical outlook and function as social activities and maintenance of social structure instead of huge demolition and reconstruction. He discovered the area’s spontaneous liveliness and business concentration so that combination of creative industry and cultural atmosphere can be applied (Prof. Lü, interview 1, May 3, 2012).



Figure 9. A café and bar as examples of adaptive reuse

After popularized by heritage tourism, the commodification of the neighborhood seems inevitable. Heritage is an economic activity in itself, an industry that commodifies past structures, associations and cultural productivity and trades these for an economic return and more directly heritage in various manifestations can be used in the creation and promotion of

place images for dominantly economic purposes (Graham et al., 2000, p 156-157). Identification as heritage attaches the place “peculiar” and “cultural” which creates the background and attract visitors for thriving of economic activities. Thus economic activities or “heritage industry” accumulate in the area and attract more businesses. Those businesses have to adapt to the physical character, cultural atmosphere and particularly new use. In interviews with the adaptive shops in the area, it was found that the shop runners had invested in renewing the courtyards and they enjoyed the cultural atmosphere. As one interviewee puts it, “we have to compromise between preserving the traditional architecture and redecorating with toilets, internet and so on” (Filip, interview 15, May 13, 2012). They have to keep the old architectural and cultural style so as to conform to the cultural landscape and attract consumers, which is a win-win situation for heritage and economy. The locals can rent their houses for business or undertake business activities themselves to make some profits thus the physical and social structure is kept or in gradual transformation and large-scale dramatic change is avoided. The only obstacle is the housing is mostly public-owned in the neighborhood and the majority of residents can’t change the use of housing without permission. As a result, residents have almost no motive to improve the quality and maintain the dynamics of the neighborhood. The renovation of courtyard housing requires more money and expertise than simply reconstruction thus lower-class locals without exterior technique support can hardly restore the courtyard in an elegant way.

4.4 The instrumental and opportunistic use of heritage

Heritage buildings, sites and areas, once recognized and publicized by political, academic and popular discourses, are continuously attracting all kinds of business activities and are open to rapid changes. The term “preservation” is not simply keeping a physical structure as it is, but in practice, ending up with multiple instrumental uses in the name of preservation. In the neighborhood, those heritage sites accommodate many diverse economic activities located there for numerous different reasons, whether large-scale projects or small-scale creative businesses, whether resulting in preservation or destruction, depending on the interests of the actors/institutions and their powers. As Ashworth (1991) puts it when he tried to distinguish

different meanings of terms used in heritage studies, “Preservation is protection from harm by implicate care and maintenance of artefacts; conservation is conceptually wider because it emphasis both function and form as central consideration in selection and management of sites; heritage assumes a demand oriented approach in what not only objects but the organizations engaged/consumers are considered” (Ashworth, 1991, p 2-3). Therefore, in the scope of heritage, it is produced for multiple uses, thus the market plays an important role.

Due to the immature governance of heritage from macro, meso and micro levels regarding both institutional and organizational capacity, the driving forces behind the changes of the heritage area (gentrification, commodification ect.) are actor-oriented and power imbalanced in relation to their control of resources and motives. In the context of urban renewal, heritage is basically treated as commodity that can bring economic opportunities. It is notable that many interviewees mentioned “opportunistic preservation” as a way of image-building and city-branding in special occasions.

Several years ago premier Wen Jiabao came to visit Yu'er hutong and he went to the Street Committee. Before he came, all the walls and gates along the facade were renewed. Our country is all about ‘superficial project’ (Mr. Fan, interview 11, May 10, 2012).

Before the Olympics the house was especially dilapidated, not like now. They were all repaired before the opening of Olympics. And no more repair after it (Mr. Wang, interview 20, May 16, 2012).

Prince Gong's Mansion was open because the Olympics at that time, around four or five work units occupied the backyard of the Mansion and all those are big and powerful work units (Mr. Liu, interview 8, May 9, 2012).

The gates of courtyard houses were all transformed before the Olympics and never changed at all ever since (Mr. Yan, Interview 19, May 15, 2012).

In 2008 Olympic Games they were afraid of outsiders to visit so give repair. Lots of houses were repaired at that time. Inside the courtyard is not changed (Ms. Yang, interview 5, May 8, 2012).

Moreover, the institutional heritage discourse is ambiguous in its essence so can be implemented according to the interests of powerful actors. Local government in hold of land resources, made coalition with SoEs or private developers with financial resources to redevelop the heritage area for sale or lease so as to maximize their economic benefits or political achievements. Real estate market, in collaboration with local government, makes use of heritage as property and seeks for short-term benefits with large-scale redevelopment of the neighborhood instead of careful and delicate preservation. The heritage authorities, on the other hand, have limited resources and power in implementing laws, policies and plans at all levels. Especially the heritage planning of the neighborhood is integrated into economy or construction authorities rather than heritage authorities.

The management agencies related to heritage are fragmented. The Housing Administrative Office (HAO) is responsible for the management of residential houses that are public-owned, including properties; the heritage office is supervising the management of single heritage site but not investing in any preservation; the transformation of exterior building form has to be appraised by the Construction and Management Office; the residential committee is not managing heritage at all; Whoever owns the property has to be responsible for management of his own houses and so forth. Different departments do not collaborate with each other but work separately. NGOs are a newly-rising social force in promoting public awareness but they are far away from communities. NGO is taking a part in educating, informing and consulting but limited power in interference directly with neighborhood projects.

Ownership does matter because public houses are under strict limit of transformation while private houses or work unit-owned houses have more initiatives to transform the structure and use. In face of powerful institutional owners of heritage, the heritage authorities and rules are not forceful like the case of Keyuan. According to the interviews, private owners have managed to improve their housing property while public renters are not willing to invest into their renting houses. There is an exceptional well-preserved private courtyard due to the position of the owner as a Chinese culture researcher and his ability and willingness to invest in maintenance. While another private owner managed to get appraisal to rebuild two-story modern buildings in his courtyard. He put it, "In fact, if managed strictly, should be "rebuild old as old" and we were

not allowed to rebuild like this, but anyway this is my private house and it is all a matter of Guanxi¹³” (Mr. Yan, Interview 19, May 15, 2012). There are many more examples like this, and those in hold of more resources have larger opportunity to transform the form and function of heritage according to their wishes. This could be the one of the possible reasons that there were still many modern buildings appearing in the neighborhood after the promulgation of construction control policies.

Chapter 5 Storyline of social exclusion

5.1 Whose housing heritage?

Hutongs and courtyard houses are heritage that not only represents past (old Beijing) but also keep contemporary living forms for the local residents. Over 70% houses in the area are for residential use (NPDP, 2006), which distinguishes its essence from the preserved museums such as the Forbidden City. Thus spatial quality of the neighborhood is an indispensable concern apart from its aesthetic and historic value in understanding the heritage. Spatial quality is about the societal demand for well-being from individuals and groups. The value of space is determined not only by basic needs such as housing, accessibility, facilities, land prices, but also by concepts as identity, safety, a sense of security, interaction and sustainability (Ovink and Wierenga, p.20-40).

Some people perceive a sense of pride of their neighborhood acknowledged as heritage, while a great many others regard their courtyards as “lodge”, an ordinary accommodation, or even slums. Their expectation of living in modern high-rise buildings is in great contrast with the value augmentation of the place. Along with social changes over the years, the original one courtyard for one family accommodation is now a yard crowded with as many as ten times and even more households, with one person less than 10 meters of living space. Besides, the leaking roof, public toilet and lack of heating facility are the common problems facing the residents that threaten their livability (see figure 10), especially in those state-owned or collectively-owned houses. In the informal conversations with local residents, some of them refused the interview because they said in an ironic way that their courtyards are slums rather than heritage.



Figure 10. The decayed and crowded courtyard houses

In this case, the management of the house is usually by the Dongcheng District HAO or the Danwei itself, who are not always enthusiastic to maintain the house regularly (see table 2). Similarly, the residents themselves are not willing to invest in the maintenance of the houses as well because in their mind it is not their property. The selection as heritage by the authorities is supposed to improve preservation, but in practice, the preservation and housing improving programs are quite partial and superficial. The disparate management between public or collective housing and private housing is one reason that accounts for housing condition. According to statistics, 12% of the property is owned by the Military, 36% by work unites and 35% by local district HAO and only 13% is private-owned. The private courtyard houses are managed by the residents themselves and are generally in good condition. Residents are willing to invest in renovating, maintaining or rebuilding their courtyard house (see table 2). Through the comparison, it can be deducted that ownership plays an important role in the condition of those residential courtyard houses. As more than half of courtyards are owned publicly or collectively, the management maintenance depends largely on HAO or Danwei (government authorities or institutions), which are powerful decision-makers on the housing heritage. The symbolic rent paid by tenants every month is far from enough to maintain the property in a good condition and the HAO or Danwei has to invest in repair, so in this case, they only repair the housing when it is uninhabitable or endangered.

Table 2

Repair and Maintenance of courtyard houses

Interview	Property right	Repair/ Maintenance
Interview 13, Mr. Zhang, May 11, 2012	Public	“The HAO did not give special repair and the Heritage Bureau cannot help as well.”
Interview 5, Ms. Yang, May 8, 2012	Public	“So many years it has not been renovated. HAO had said it would repair, but not yet.”
Interview 6, Mr. Liu, May 6, 2012	Public	“Because of the low rental cost, the maintenance is difficult and the residents feel not safe. The house has not been revitalized, and the electricity is not safe as well, it would be dangerous too.”
Interview 3, Mr. Cai, May 7, 2012	Danwei (Ministry of construction)	“If government does not pay, Ministry of Construction is not willing to help you. This is your residential house why should someone repair it for you. Only if the house can't live, they come to you.”
Interview 20, Mr. Wang, May 16, 2012	Danwei (Ministry of Healthy)	“In our yard the sewer is lower than the outside street so when it rains the water from the sewer would come above and won't run out. Like this was not repaired as well.”
Interview 8, Mr. Liu, May 9, 2012	Private	“All the relevant management like maintenance and repairs are done by ourselves. The owner wants to keep the housing condition very well”
Interview 11, Mr. Fan, May 10, 2012	Private	“Before paralyzed I renovated this house and was planning to build it two-story high.”

As many appreciate the cultural and aesthetic value of courtyard houses and hutongs, the residents inside, in the other way around, complain a great deal about their low living condition compared to modern high-rise buildings (see table 3). Moreover, the rising reputation of the neighborhood as a heritage tourism site brings more business to the area, which increases the conflict between different actors. The residents have negative attitude towards the shop runners referring to the problems of noise, heavy traffic and limited parking place; and their complaints toward the tourists are the insecurity because of outsider' invasion into their private

courtyards (now many have tags on the front gate “no visitors”) and over-crowdedness in the hutongs. Besides, the influx of business and tourists increases the price of commodity and the migration of floating population.

Table 3

Residents' complain about the changes of the neighborhood

Interviewee	Complaints
Interview 11, Mr. Fan, May 10, 2012	“More and more people cause inconvenience to walk.”
Interview 16, Miss Yin, May 14, 2012	“But one thing annoying here is it is very noisy. Most residents here are elderly and the noise makes them sleepless. There are more and more vehicles and the cars of shop owners and tourists take our parking place often.”
Interview 17, Runner of Guoke Bar, May 14, 2012	“The development of Nanluoguxiang did not benefit the residents except for those that can lease houses out. The price of commodity has raised a lot.”
Interview 20, Mr Wang, May 16, 2012	“I don't like it. It is hard to ride a bike after or before work. I can't benefit from the change.”
Interview 4, elderly workshop, May 7, 2012	“But now there are too many tourists. Many cars on the street affect the pedestrians' walk.”
Informal conversation with an old couple, May 2012	The government and media made Nanluoguxiang too hot and popular and it became more and more commercialized. This seriously destroys our living quality. We cannot sleep because of the noise from the bars

While the local government tries to facilitate new investment, the residents have reasons to object the commercialization of the neighborhood. Some of the residential houses are gradually transforming into commercial use. Those located close to the main street have already turned into shops, bars or other commercial venues. Based on the initiated AHD, along with market triggers, the neighborhood is continually transforming in its physical and social dynamics but the majority of local residents become victims of gentrification and commodification instead of beneficiaries from its cultural industry development.

Firstly, the housing as heritage has its internal contradicted identity. On the one hand,

there is need to protect existing residential neighborhoods but simultaneously people are living in homes that respond to changing needs and preferences (Gibson & Pendlebury, 2009, chapter 10). As one interviewee put it, “you have to respect the local culture and architecture but of course you also need some modern elements,” (Filip, interview 15, May 13, 2012) but in this case, the needs of the local residents are often neglected. Secondly, the multiple property ownership structure in the neighborhood makes the management more complex. The rights of the tenants are not well defended and their voice is not heard in decision-making processes. Thirdly, the dominant discourse is concentrating on preserving the architectural value of the historical neighborhood while the cultural and social value embedding residents’ daily practice is paid insufficient attention.

5.2 Storyline of changing community life

As conceptualized in the theoretical part (see chapter 2.1), ideas of community have become intertwined with heritage discourses and practice in the sense that communities can be subject to heritage management and preservation while themselves are neglected (Waterton and Smith, 2010). In the neighborhood, the consequences of the AHD and its practice on the communities are the physical and social transformation linking to processes of gentrification and commodification. These processes threaten not only local residents’ livability and but also their community life. Gentrification, in this case, changes the social structure of the communities and in the most extreme situation, resulting in the breakdown of the whole community in a dramatic way. Commodification, the other way around, is shaping the place gradually with basically more invasions of outsiders into the community like shops and visitors.

In the interviews with local residents about their willingness to move and their preference of living style, it is found that the traditional community lifestyle is important to people, especially those old people, but most people are thinking more pragmatically such as level of living condition, accessibility and amount of compensation (see table 4). Local residents are attached to the place to some extent for the reasons of familiarity to bungalow building and attached living style, harmonious community relationship and convenience as to schools and hospitals. However, most people don’t object to moving out as long as they get enough compensation to

afford a modern house within the city. It can be seen that since the rise of heritage industry, the community life is changing and people's commitment to the neighborhood and satisfaction with it is not as strong as before. As defined by McMillan (1986), sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, mattering to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together. The worsen living condition, the environment nuisance and the flowing population and so on lessen local residents' sense of community, and their expectation to move out for better livability is thus reasonable. The local residents don't have so much community identity

Table 4.

Interviewee's attitude towards moving or not

Interviews	Willingness to move and preferences
Interview 11, Mr. Fan, May 10, 2012	"If they ask me to move then I have to, in the condition that compensation is reasonable. The very old residents already moved away to the suburban areas. Because it is very crowded here and several people in the family share the same room, they want to live somewhere more spacious."
Interview 12, Mr. Hao, May 10, 2012	"If the government gives me a house for compensation then I would like to move."
Interview 16, Miss Yin, May 14, 2012	"Someone wants more compensation so they don't move. If it is me, they have to compensate me with house to give me a place to live." "I would like it if the country plans resettlement in the future. As long as they give me a place to live within the five rings I would happy with it; it is better to live in buildings at least when becoming old it is more convenient to go to the toilet."
Interview 3, Mr. Cai, May 7, 2012	"Some people live in bad conditions are willing to move and the difference between various alleys here is fairly large, but I'm not willing to move because it is very convenient here."
Interview 2, Mr. Geng, May 6, 2012	"I want compensation for moving, money to buy a house, and can't move too far, shall be convenient."
Interview 5, Ms. Yang,	"If the government doesn't need this house, I would have been living here instead of moving away. Surrounding neighborhood has been known for many years, we are a

May 8, 2012	harmonious community, all relationships are very good, are also locals.”
Interview 6, Mr. Liu, May 6, 2012	“If demolished now, compensation is 130, 000 yuan per square meters, but with that money I can't buy a house in Beijing. And we don't want to move to remote place outside the fourth or fifth ring.”
Interview 7, Ms. Wang, May 9, 2012	“The residents would only move if they are compensated houses, moving fee and sometimes decoration money.”
Interview 13, Mr. Zhang, May 11, 2012	“I don't care how it becomes. Whether it's courtyard or high-rise buildings, I can fit in. but I am not willing to move outside the five rings. If I have to move I only ask for a house as compensation.”
Interview 17, Runner of Guoke Bar, May 14, 2012	“I get sick of Nanluoguxiang, but I feel attached to my bar and my kid is going to school here.”

5.3 Storyline of community engagement

By analyzing the discourse of the local residents, it is found contradicting with AHD. AHD at all levels and its function on the neighborhood gives recognition on the vitality of the heritage preservation instead of the neighborhood communities, although in practice neither is preserved. Heritage is losing its authenticity and meanwhile value of community is disappearing caused by over-commodification and redevelopment. The dramatic change of social composites of the neighborhood with the disruption of old Hutong communities is prevailing in the preserved zone and residents have their individual preferences as discovered above. In the light of heritage planning in the Netherlands, community involvement is essential because a city's inhabitants are those directly affected by the processes and decisions made (Ashe, 2007). In Singapore, in the absence of a strong civil society, the government-aided focus group method of participation offers one way of introducing and including the community in the planning process deliberation (Y. Soh et al., 2006). Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter (1999) connects cultural significance of a place to its communities, signifying social value and the need to consult and

involve people (Articles 2.0 and 12). All these international experiences bring some insight into the social inclusion of heritage communities in the management of their surroundings.

As to the neighborhood, there are some trials as to the inclusion of individuals or organizations into the heritage process. One example is an “elderly workshop”. The elderly workshop was initiated by the previous chairman of the trade union and director of the neighborhood committees Mr Li Tiesheng. He writes a book about South Luogu Lane and is very concerned about the preservation of heritage. The neighborhood committee applied one street-facing shop to encourage the elderly in the neighborhood to bring their hand-made crafts for sale. The objective is to create a public space and activity for those elderly and meanwhile spread the intangible cultural heritage of old Beijing. Moreover 25% of profit is used as public funds to help poor people in the community. This enables the participatory management of the community and enhances the spread of cultural valuables. As commented by Prof. Lü, “the committee is doing a great job in that they take one room to build a social workshop. The committee invites the disabled and old people to sell their hand-made traditional crafts, like hand-made knitting, some of the profits are used for social beneficial activities. This way of engaging public avoids many conflicts and guarantees the benefits of the majority” (Prof. Lü, interview 1, May 3, 2012). However, since this small program was organized by officials from local committee government, after his position substituted by other officials, the management of the workshop is not on the privileged political agenda. And the workshop has a tendency of selling imitating commodity instead of hand crafts from locals (Interview 4, elderly workshop, May 7, 2012).

Another form of engaging the community is during the field surveys of the neighborhood, Prof. Lü and his team had focus group meetings in the mid-term evaluation with local people, as he said, “In the planning process, we insist the participation of community and negotiation planning. We build good connections with the community committee and we have focus group meetings with residents and shop owners.” (Prof. Lü, interview 1, May 3, 2012). The third example is put forward by the local Street Committee government as the dean mentioned “For example, the subway No.6 and 8 is under construction near the entrance of Nanluoguxiang. Before the construction, there are some residents and shops in the area that need to be

relocated. It is announced in public before the construction and the residence committee consulted the affected people” (Government official, interview 10, May 2012). The Jiadaokou Street Committee also held some cultural activities and they opened an online official website¹⁴ of Nanluoguxiang with practical information of the neighborhood and activities. The NGO CHP is also regarding itself supporting communities to protect their own heritage¹⁵ and according to the stuff in CHP, “Public participation is one of the three parts of our organization. Except for propaganda by internet and media, we contact the community committee as well to inform more people. It builds a platform through which the local residents and public could be informed of our cultural heritage and even can give their own opinions by this channel.”

All these forms of engaging the communities, as can be identified, are from the perspectives of local government, professionals, NGO and initiated by them. However, the NGO is not based on the neighborhood communities instead its responsible institution is Beijing Municipality Heritage Bureau. Therefore, the heritage preservation is still the game of the social elite and educated, while the surrounding communities are not included in the management process. Moreover, for the residents themselves, the feeling of participating and being important in the decision-making of the neighborhood is rather disappointing (see table 5).

Table 5

Feelings of participation of local residents

Interviews	Sense of participation
Interview 17, Runner of Guoke Bar, May 14, 2012	Q: do you think you participate in the heritage? “A: I am not that noble by myself. The Committee is the game of minority, no sense of public participation and no practical things done.”
Interview 11, Mr. Fan, May 10, 2012	“Q: do you think you participate in the preservation of hutongs?” “A: no, and I am not able to. The residents have nearly no participation. As residents we know nothing about the policy because the street office only executes the top order but no consultation with residents. .”
Interview 13,	“Q: do you think you participate in preservation? ”

Mr. Zhang, "A: not at all and I am not able to and I don't care."

May 11, 2012

Interview 16, Q: Do you think you participate in the heritage protection?

Miss Yin, A: yes I think so. I am interested and I would go to many meetings about heritage.

May 14, 2012

Interview 19, Q: do you think you participate in the heritage protection?

Mr. Yan, May A: I didn't. This is the matter of the government.

15, 2012

Interview 7, Q: do you think yourself participating in the hutong preservation?

Ms. Wang, A: I have heard of it but never participated.

May 9, 2012

Compared to the civil society in the West, the sense of participation and ability to participate in the Beijing hutong neighborhood is very weak. There is no spontaneous organization based on the communities themselves to defend their right. Besides, the residents in the neighborhood, mostly working class, lower education and elderly, have limited discursive capacity. Experts and NGOs have stronger sense of engaging community but they are formally or informally connected to the government, thus their credibility in really reflecting community's needs in the policy is questionable, and even they are able to include community in the policy, the implementation phase could still disadvantage communities.

5.4 Exclusion of community in the heritage process

The discursive practices from authorities (government, professions, NGOs and so forth), elites (politics, activists, experts and so forth) and media attach great value to the neighborhood, while the local communities are not participating in this process. Their livability is threatened when tourism thrives in the area. Though the housing condition has already decayed, there is seldom any investment from housing administration, work units or heritage offices to maintain the vernacular residences. The other way around, the residents confront with loads of problems such as rising price of commodity, crowded tourists and lack of parking space and so on.

On the other hand, with the boom of real estate market and more land and housing transactions in the area, communities are breaking up. Original residents are moving out and there is an increasing proportion of flowing population. For the remaining residents, sense of community is reducing and for most people, their willingness to move depends largely on their amount of compensation received. In contrast with impressions from outside elites, their attachment to the historic place has little connection to the value of the heritage, but rather that they get accustomed to the place or find it convenient to live.

As to community participation, by definition, it refers to a form of voluntary action in which individuals confront opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship (Tosun, 2000). There are some forms of actions trying to engage the community members in making use of opportunities of heritage tourism initiated by the neighborhood committee. And some of the planners try to use focus group to inform and consult the local committee. Above all, to some extent, it is so called manipulative participation or passive participation guided by government or academia rather than proactive participation initiated by communities themselves. In addition, as discovered from the opinions of residents, they don't have the feelings of being engaged neither do they feel the necessity to. In conclusion, residents and other stakeholders participating in decision-making has not been recognized as important in practice.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Discursive heritage and its practice

In this thesis, various issues of embedding the heritage process are analyzed in the context of rapid urban renewal in Beijing. Power relations and actors' interaction on various levels are explored, centering around their manifestations on the neighborhood level. Research questions are answered with regard to the meanings and value of heritage to relevant actors; the interpretation and uses of heritage by different actors manifested on the neighborhood level and the consequences of these forms and functions of heritage on the neighborhood communities. The three aspects of heritage neighborhood are explored through methodology of analyzing discursive statement of actors. Throughout the thesis, heritage issue is framed from multiple scales (micro, meso and macro) and dimensions (institutional, organizational and physical).

By looking at the dynamics of heritage process in the neighborhoods, it can be deduced that though heritage is highly valued and preserved by AHD the practice of preservation is not so satisfying in line with the rapid urban renewal. Legislation and official policy of various levels use AHD as a way of fostering national identity, political stability and so forth. Indeed the practice emphasizes a great more on the superficial level rather than the interior preservation of courtyard houses; more single monuments with symbolic meaning rather than the entire residential neighborhood and more physical artefacts than social dynamics of communities. These outcomes can be fundamentally traced to the discursive heritage interaction of related actors and interest groups whose power is imbalanced. The heritage governance in the neighborhood is quite opportunistic. The local government is not willing to provide financial support to improve spatial qualities of the neighborhood in case of non-profitable preservation, except in specific situations like Olympics. Various levels and departments of government are not collaborating with each other to manage the heritage neighborhood. The heritage agencies, the housing agencies, the construction agencies and the work units are the related government branches, but they work independently and there is lack of integrated decision-making. The

heritage bureaus have narrow capacity in implementing heritage legislations, plans and programs in face of powerful government institutions from other departments.

The local government authorities make use of redevelopment opportunities to attract investment for their own benefits. The residents, with their well-being encroached, have little voice in preventing the adverse impacts. Thus, so far as noticed, the heritage process has not enough concern and social inclusion on the heritage communities. The communities are the one that keep heritage robust, but are now disadvantaged, marginalized, shrinking and even in the extreme case, disappearing. The changing dynamics of the heritage neighborhood, exerted by multiple producers and consumers, attract different opportunities and again reinforce the transformation of social, economic and physical characters. The interrelated and interacted heritage and community confirm that preservation is more than making use of the symbols of the past but also keeping the communities robust.

Besides, the heritage preservation coupled with large-scale urban renewal projects results in transformations in cultural landscape and social dynamics. Enormous demolition is continuing in the historical neighborhoods because of motives from private developers and local government's profit-seeking aspirations. The demolition and redevelopment also results in a process of gentrification, in which case original inhabitants were displaced and new comers occupy part of the neighborhoods. The process of changing physical and social composites of the heritage communities seems to be a destiny. In case of Hutong, it is still used a residential living style for the residents. Heritage with its increasing appreciation, fame and attached value has consequences on the neighborhood communities. It can have positive effects, like the integration of the communities and their common identity strengthened. Nevertheless, the heritage entitlement to the neighborhood has more negative constraints on the local communities. Accompanying with increased value of heritage is the increasing price of housing and other commodities. The real estate market seeks opportunities to redevelop the neighborhood and makes profits by developing potential commercial uses of heritage, resulting in the enormous social change of the neighborhood which gradually breaks down communities and their social cohesions.

The reality is the expanded cultural industry promoted by local government and experts is having huge impacts on the local residents. Worsen living condition and increasing environment nuisance motivate many residents' expectation to move as long as compensation is enough for a modern living style. Heritage thus is perceived and used hugely different between host communities and outsiders, along with visitors' increasing appreciation is locals' increasingly losing confidence. Heritage is also used by different actors for different reasons on a shared space in pursuit for economic, political or livable interest. But some of the related actors, like the residents, are excluded in this process. NGOs and media are having an increasing influence on the cultural policy by publicizing the public and putting pressure on the government officials. But in the case of Beijing hutong neighborhood NGO is more an elite-oriented organization formulated by educated people and foreigners. Moreover NGO with limited power cannot interfere with the local preservation directly, but instead informing and conveying ideas to raise attention of the public. Local government, academics and NGOs made some efforts to engage the communities from their own perspectives, but the local communities have little knowledge and consciousness of participation.

In conclusion, Real estate market and local government make use of heritage as property and seek for short-term benefits with large-scale redevelopment of the neighborhood instead of careful preservation. The unregulated, disengaged and fragmented governance with its embedding AHD are the main drivers of the changing dynamics of the heritage neighborhoods. AHD on all scales stresses the fuzzy notion of "heritage preservation" but along with the housing renewal and infrastructural renewal discourse, the interpretation of the notion is used as a tool for different government departments to carry out their own plans. The regulations on heritage are not delicate, lacking details on preservation, responsibilities of agents and so on and the local government is not engaged in preservation in face of benefits from large-scale redevelopment projects. Fragmented management is seen in that the heritage office is not cooperating with housing administration to restore the decayed heritage houses. None of sectors are investing unless there are beneficial opportunities. The community is excluded from the preservation and development process. After being qualified as heritage neighborhood, the spatial quality of the neighborhood is not increasing: local residents are still in poor housing,

low income, environmental nuisance, expensive commodity, community breakdown and the possibility of displacement. They are not engaged in the heritage decision-making process as well.

6.2 Retrospect and prospect

In retrospect to the previous studies on heritage, similar topics can be found such as “AHD”, “Heritage and community engagement”, “historical neighborhood”, “housing heritage” and so on. In relation to these topics, this research is specifically positioned on the neighborhood meso level instead of focusing on purely physical heritage objects or institutional policy analysis on the macro scale because of its multiple manifestations of the social entities. There are more stakeholders, thus more conflicts on this level; it is where the national meets the local; it is where the communities conduct their social practice. The neighborhood level can connect the national and municipal institutional, organizational and material context with the micro individual’s needs.

It is common-sense understanding that heritage shall be preserved; meanwhile who is going to invest remains a dilemma. The private sector prefers profit-seeking opportunities such as investment in constructing higher buildings. It can possibly contribute to the creative way of using heritage and preserving, but it is tricky in its unwillingness to fund residential livelihood. The public sector is financially unwilling to fund delicate restoration of courtyards so the authorities instead create environment for large-scale redevelopment projects. There needs to be a clear responsibility and collaboration of various actors in the selection, preservation and management process of heritage. Respect to organizational arrangement, a large number of authorities, with different objectives and working methods, have responsibility for various stages of the process so public-public partnership is necessary (Ashworth, 1991, p.81). However, in practice shaping and operation of the heritage city would be incomplete without a combination of public and private interventions (Ashworth, 1991, p. 79), especially in the case that the designated area has a complexity of property rights and a transaction property market. An important resource of investment supporting conservation comes from owner occupiers such as private owners, Danwei and relevant departments. Public-private partnership can help

in the sense that government subsidy in maintaining courtyards jointly collaborate with individual residential investment in the premise that property right is guaranteed.

The rising consciousness of civil public in preserving heritage and their influence is noteworthy. To what extent can the community be engaged in this context remains a question. As found by Tosun (2000), there are operational, structural and cultural limits to community participation in the community participation in the tourism development process in many developing countries. It is the same case in the heritage planning here because a civil society is not yet strong in China, and under the hierarchy political system, spontaneous community-based organization or committee have not enough capacity to grow. Moreover, the lower level of education limits the knowledge and information of residents thus their discursive space is very limited. The community has to rely on outside facilitator, like NGOs or planners, to guide them to build a bridge between residents and developers or government. As to the role of the planners, they can identify the self-organized cultural and economic activities and facilitate the small-scale adaptive reuse of heritage gradually which can preserve heritage and keep the place robust. The expert-driven approach is one-sided from the perspective of experts and government but the real needs of local residents could be excluded. Furthermore, participatory and community-oriented approaches are becoming popular because of increasing influence of Western urban professional paradigms (Acharya, 2005). However, whether Western ideology is appropriate in the different cultural and political context of China is questionable. And in my opinion, the agreeable and ideal understanding of a communicative, negotiated and equal-discursive heritage process is far from reality in China.

This thesis, after all, is trying to analyze the heritage neighborhood from a critical perspective. My work is reflecting the power imbalance, focusing on the local communities and power practices by various levels functioned on built heritage place. In the absence of a participatory planning process, the local perspective of appreciating and using heritage, which is somewhat different from perceptions of outside experts, is continuously being neglected. This threatens the role of heritage to strengthen social cohesion and stability, rather, the other way around, intensifies the internal contradiction of societal entities in their pursuit for meanings of heritage. In reality, the fragmented discursive heritage process is still dominating in which

different positioning actors have contradictory discourses due to their differentiated values of interests over meanings and uses of heritage. Therefore, a common discourse and understanding of value of heritage is needed. It is necessary to unify the discourse, especially to include the communities in this picture.

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Footnotes

- 1 In many cases, residents pay a little bit symbolized rent every month and maybe live for more than 50 years.
- 2 Know more in “Danwei, or work unit is a generic term denoting the Chinese socialist workplace and the specific range of practices that it embodies. It takes on a wide range of political, judicial, civil, and social functions which has become the principal source of identity for urban residents”, David Bray, 2005, chapter 1 page 1-15, *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System From Origins*.
- 3 The Dongcheng district government has the development strategy of “Cultural Leading Area” and lists the South Luogu Lane’s cultural and leisure street prospect into next five years’ planning outline.
- 4 TimeTravel, Beijing 10 things to do; OpenDemocracy (2006) Beijing’s urban makeover: the “Hutong” destruction; The Atlantic (2012) Razing History: The Tragic Story of a Beijing Neighborhood’s Destruction; The Telegraphy (2010) Beijing’s hutong saved after heritage groups campaign.
- 5 Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center (CHP) is a small grassroots, legally-registered NGO working to protect cultural heritage across China. See their website http://en.bjchp.org/?page_id=2636
- 6 See the official website of Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center, Keyuan, http://en.bjchp.org/?page_id=2636
- 7 Bloomberg: Beijing Preservation Group Questions Foreign Ministry Project, 2008 by Dune Lawrence, <http://en.bjchp.org/?cat=21&paged=17>
- 8 CHP articles about Keyuan: 1. Qing Dynasty treasure endangered: Appeal to Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Preservation (November 2008); 2. Keyuan: conserved or destroyed? (December 2008)3. Keyuan, Beijing’s secret garden, remains locked (April 2010).
- 9 See online news (in Chinese): <http://news.sohu.com/20051106/n227404048.shtml>; <http://chinaup.info/2011/12/3143.html>; interviews with residents who are aware of the project interview 3, 7, 11, 12 and 19.

10 An officer from State Administration of Cultural Heritage said “Restoration of Jade canal resembles urban renewal in UK, traditional architecture can be preserved and outstanding ones can be restored.”

11 Land Administration Law of P.R.C—Chapter 2, Article 8: Land in urban districts shall be owned by the State, the local government can rent the land to developers for profits.

12 Also mentioned by Abramson, 1997, “Marketization and institutions in Chinese inner-city redevelopment”.

13 Commonly used word in Chinese, referring to personalized networks of influence, is a central idea in Chinese society.

14 See <http://www.nanluoguxiang.com/>

15 See the English title on website <http://en.bjchp.org/>

16 Note the interview texts are translated from Chinese to English. I am aware of the difficulty in interpreting the precise meaning from my interviewees. And to make them understandable and fluent, it includes my subjective interpretation.

Appendix 1

Interview questions:

1 Property and living condition

How long have you lived here? Is this rent or owner-occupied house? Is this public, Danwei or individual-owned? Is this house in good living condition? Is it well-preserved and recently innovated or too old and poor facility? etc.

2 Hutong communities: preference (do you like living here? What do you like about and dislike about? Do you prefer the courtyard houses or high-rise modern buildings? etc.); heritage (is hutong important for you? Do you regard it a heritage that you want to protect it from being poured down? etc.); willingness to move (if possible you want to move out or stay? Why? etc.)

4 Stakeholders: Regulations (any regulations or restrictions for rebuilding to preserve the area? Is there any funding to restore the dilapidated condition? Is it Co-management?); Agency (Which government agency is in charge of housing heritage? what government did? Or ask you to do? how do you think of the governance?); Relocation (any construction that you have to leave this house? Or did you hear any of that? Do you want to leave this house if forced by the construction?) etc.

5 Participation (did you ever participate in any meeting to discuss the development of the neighborhood? Would you like to have a right in deciding what they can do to the neighborhood? What do you think if they are going to tear down the courtyard houses whether for redevelopment or big infrastructure projects? Have you ever heard any of the projects or demolition? Do you want to participate in preserving our heritage?) etc.

6 changes, Influence and advice

Do you feel any changes in the neighborhood in recent years? What do those changes influence your life? Is it in a good way or bad way? What do you wish for the future? Do you have any suggestions for the government or other organizations? etc.