

Reconstructing Tradition: Modernity and Heritage-protected Tourist

Destinations in China

Xiaoyan Su

Student Number: 21449346

BEd. Zhengzhou University, 2003

MSc. Shenyang Normal University, 2006

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Abstract

In 1972 UNESCO issued the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (CCPWCNH). In response, the Chinese government post-1978 also issued policies to protect cultural heritage in China. The Chinese initiated heritage policies carried with them the expectation that formal heritage authorization would, in principle, strengthen Chinese national identity and bring economic benefits through inbound tourism. Under China's post-1978 policy of decentralization, which gave local governments more decision-making power, heritage authorization has indeed been closely associated with tourism development at the local level. The ongoing debate which centers on the diverse purposes of heritage authorization emerges at the intersection between international agencies, central and local governments and local residents in tourism sites. The broad aim of this exploratory study is to investigate Interaction between Heritage Authorization and Tourism Development (IHATD) in China, and show how this influences the transformative processes of two heritage-protected tourist destinations. In particular, the study examines how external agents (including heritage experts, tourists and external tourism investors) involved in heritage authorization and tourism development interact with local actors (such as local governments and local residents) in the transformative processes, and how local residents are economically, spatially, and culturally disempowered. The overarching research question is 'how has the IHATD shaped the transformative processes in heritage-protected tourist destinations in Post-Mao era in China'? Two UNESCO World Cultural Heritage sites, Shaolin Scenic Area (SSA) and Ancient City of Pingyao (ACP) have been selected as case studies to explore this research question. Based on a qualitative methodology and a constructivist paradigm, the research employs participant observation and semi-structured interviews to explore the research question in two field sites. Anthony Giddens' theories of modernity, which draw on the concepts of time-space distanciation, disembedding, and reflexivity, are employed to analyze the transformative processes in heritage-protected tourist destinations. In this study I argue that the reconstruction of 'tradition-style culture' has been a critical contributor to the transformative processes within these sites. Tradition-style culture is different from 'traditional culture' in that the former refers to cultural forms which are purposely (re)constructed to serve contemporary political or economic needs. The latter refers to cultural forms which are naturally rooted in the local contexts of pre-modern societies. Tradition-style culture is the product of the interaction between heritage authorization and tourism development. One of the impacts of the

reconstruction of tradition-style culture at both SSA and PAC heritage sites is the emergence of elements of a commercialized, theme-park environment. This situation problematizes the notion of authenticity which is claimed in authorized concepts of heritage. Furthermore, this has led to a situation in which experts and local residents are positioned in unequal relations of power. There are three overarching findings that emerge from this study. Firstly, there is little space for expressions of local cultural and historical identities (of local residents) within the homogenizing official discourse of 'heritage'. Secondly, local residents have been disempowered spatially through relocation policies and having to share culturally significant public spaces with tourists. Thirdly, local residents have been financially disempowered because they have been limited in their ability to benefit from heritage-based tourism development.

Candidate's Declaration

This thesis **does not contain** work that I have published, nor work under review for publication.

Acknowledgement

Unlike many other PhD students my PhD journey took place in two countries, in University College Cork (UCC) in Ireland and University of Western Australia (UWA) in Australia. In September 2012 I began my PhD research in University College Cork based on an agreement between China Scholarship Council (CSC) and National University of Ireland. I later followed my supervisor Professor Fan Hong to Australia and transferred my PhD enrollment from UCC to UWA at the end of 2013. Now, as I complete this research project, I would like to take this opportunity to thank people who have supported me throughout my PhD journey.

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Glossary

ACP: Ancient City of Pingyao

APA: Ancient Performance Activities

ASMQD: Ancient Street of Ming and Qing Dynasty (*Mingqing yitiaojie*)

CCPWCNH: Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage

CHA: Cultural Heritage Administration

CITS: China International Travel Service

CNTA: China National Tourism Administration

CPC: Communist Party of China

CSFP: Chinese Spring Festival of Pingyao

CSICH: Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

CTB: Chinese Travel Bureau

CTINHKL: China Travel International Investment Hong Kong Limited

CTSGC: China Travel Service (HK) Group Corporation

CTSHKSSCTL: CTS HK-Dengfeng Songshan Shaolin Cultural Tourism Limited

DFTDLC: Dengfeng Shaolin Tourism Development Limited Company

HCN: Historical and Cultural Neighborhood

HPSTRLT: Henan Provincial Shaolin Temple Repair Leader Team

HSTIDCL: Henan Shaolin Temple Industrial Development Co., Ltd

ICHL: Intangible Cultural Heritage Law

ICHLPRC: Intangible Cultural Heritage Law of PRC

ICSICH: International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

IHATD: Interaction between Heritage Authorization and Tourism Development

Japan WSKO: Japan World Shorinji Kempo Organization

LPCHPRC: Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the People's Republic of China

MHURD: Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development

MOIHH: Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage Humanity

MPP: Master Plan of Pingyao

NHCC: National Historical and Cultural City (*Lishi wenhua mingcheng*)

NKCRP: National Key Cultural Relics Protection Units (*Guojia zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei*)

NSA: National Scenic Areas (*Guojia fengjing mingshengqu*)

OGIWHC: Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention

PGT: Pingyao Grand Theater

PIPF: Pingyao International Photography Festival

PKCRU: Provincial Key Cultural Relics Units

PRSKC: Proposal of Restoring Shaolin Kernel Compound (*Shaolinsi Changzhuyuan zhengxiu yu huangjing zhengzhi fangan*)

PTDLC: Pingyao Tourism Development Limited Company

SACH: State Administration of Cultural Heritage

SMAME: Shaolin Martial Arts/Medicine Esoterica (Shaolin Wugong/yizong miji)

SSA: Shaolin Scenic Area

SSWTC: Songshan Shaolin Wushu Training Center

SWMC: Shaolin Warrior Monk Corps (*Shaolin wusengtuan*)

SWT: Shaolin Wushu Team (*Shaolin wushudui*)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WCH: World Cultural Heritage

WFWB: Who funds who benefits (*shuitouzi shuishouyi*)

WH: World Heritage

WHC: World Heritage Convention (referring to CCPWCNH)

WICH: World Intangible Cultural Heritage

ZISWF: Zhengzhou International Shaolin Wushu Festival (*Zhengzhou guoji Shaolin wushujie*)

Chapter One: Introduction

This research is an exploratory investigation into the impact of the interaction between heritage authorization and tourism development on the transformative processes of heritage-protected tourist destinations, and in particular, the different roles of external agents (such as heritage experts, tourists, and external tourism investors) and local actors (such as local governments and local residents) in driving the transformative processes. Employing a constructivism paradigm and qualitative approach, this study purposely selects two WCH sites as case areas to explore the research questions relating to the processes of modernity culturally, economically, and spatially.

This chapter includes two main sections, first an introduction to the thesis and secondly a description of the methodology. The first section introduces the thesis focus, the research questions and argument; outlines the scope of the study, its significance and originality; and provides a discussion of key terms and an overview of the chapters in the thesis. The second section relating to the methodology outlines the choice of paradigm and a description of the qualitative approach that has been used, the research procedure, research methods and data analysis, reliability/validity, and ethical considerations.

1.1 Introduction to the Thesis

1.1.1 Thesis Focus, the Research Question(s) and Argument

Recently, the conflict between heritage preservation and tourism development has increasingly attracted the attention of researchers in the heritage and tourism fields in China. UNESCO has, in the past, issued several significant international laws on the protection of heritage, including the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (CCPWCNH) in 1972 and the International Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICSICH) in 2003. China also issued laws relating to the protection of cultural heritage and intangible cultural heritage to strengthen national identity and patriotism. These included the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the People's Republic of China (LPCHPRC) in 1982 and the Intangible Cultural Heritage Law (ICHL) of the PRC in 2011. Intrinsic to these international and national heritage laws and policies, is the principle that heritage authorization has been formally constituted as the most

legitimate approach to prioritizing heritage protection through the commercialization of heritage, such as heritage-based tourism development. With the gradual decentralization of political authority in China, local governments gained greater decision making powers in relation to the local economy. For this reason issues relating to heritage authorization have been closely associated with tourism development at a local level since the 1990s. The debate around the different purposes of heritage authorization is located at the interface between international agencies, central and local governments and local residents at tourism sites¹.

The aim of this research is to better understand the interaction between heritage authorization and tourism development (IHATD) and their impact on local residents and the commercial development of two UNESCO World Cultural Heritage (WCH) sites, the Shaolin Scenic Area (SSA) and the Ancient City of Pingyao (ACP) in China. From now on, I will use IHATD to refer to the interaction between heritage authorization and tourism development in this thesis. This research specifically examines how external non-local agents involved in heritage authorization and tourism development interact with local actors in this transformative process. It also explores how local residents have been economically, spatially, and culturally disempowered in this process. In light of this the research questions are:

Main research question: *How has the interaction between heritage authorization and tourism development shaped processes of modernity in heritage-protected tourist destinations in post-Mao era China?*

Sub-question 1: *How has heritage authorization interacted with tourism development in the post-Mao era?*

Sub-question 2: *Who are the main stakeholders involved in heritage authorization and tourism development in the post-Mao era? What is the nature of their interaction with each other?*

Sub-question 3: *What role does reflexivity play in heritage authorization and tourism development?*

¹ Yiping Li. "Heritage tourism: The Contradictions between Conservation and Change." *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4, no. 3 (2003): 247-261.

The principal argument in this thesis is that the reconstruction of ‘tradition-style culture’ has been a critical contributor to the transformative processes within heritage-protected tourist sites. Tradition-style culture is different from ‘traditional culture’ in that the former refers to cultural forms which are purposely (re)constructed to serve contemporary political or economic needs. The latter refers to cultural forms which are rooted in local contexts of pre-modern societies. Tradition-style culture is the product of the IHATD. One of the impacts of the reconstruction of tradition-style culture at both the SSA and the ACP heritage sites is the emergence of elements of a commercialized, theme-park environment. This situation problematizes the notion of authenticity which is claimed in authorized concepts of heritage. Furthermore, this has created a situation in which experts and local residents are positioned in unequal positions of power. In particular, external agents (such as heritage experts, tourists and external tourism investors) and local actors (such as local governments and local residents) demonstrate unequal positions of power economically, spatially and culturally. The reconstruction of tradition-style culture links external agents to local actors both in terms of heritage authorization and tourism development, a situation which has led to the disempowerment of local residents. Some external agents, such as UNESCO and China’s central government, realize the negative aspects of earlier modernity; in particular the prioritizing of economic development. In response, they have attempted to redress these negative aspects of early modernity by issuing relevant heritage conventions and policies. Nevertheless the implementation of these policies at the local government level has shown no institutional reflexivity, and paradoxically has led to a situation which actually reproduces features similar to earlier modernity. Some local residents also realized the negative aspects emerging from the processes of modernity occurring in their communities, thus demonstrating their individual reflexivity. They have not, however, had the ability to change their situation. There are three overarching findings that emerge from this study. Firstly, there is little space for expressions of local cultural and historical identities (specifically in relation to local residents) within the hegemony of the official discourse of ‘heritage’. Secondly, local residents have been spatially marginalized through relocation policies and having to share culturally significant public spaces with tourists. Thirdly, local residents have been financially disempowered because they have been limited in their ability to benefit from heritage-based tourism development.

1.1.2 Scope of the Study

In order to answer the research questions, this study has employed a case study approach. Two WCH sites, the Shaolin Scenic Area (SSA) and the Ancient City of Pingyao (ACP) have been selected. These sites have different experiences of heritage authorization and tourism development, different types of local heritage and cultural forms, and clear differences in terms of local actors. For instance, local development in the SSA was firstly driven by tourism development during the era from 1978 to around 2000. The ACP, on the other hand, was principally shaped by processes of heritage authorization during this time. Post-2000, the SSA was heavily impacted by the WCH listing, whilst the ACP was more affected by heritage-based tourism development. Secondly, the nature of 'heritage' in the SSA and the ACP is different both in relation to their tangible and intangible aspects. In regard to intangible aspects, heritage in the SSA is based on Chan Buddhism and the history of the Shaolin temple, whilst heritage in the ACP relates more to Confucian culture which is projected in the architecture of traditional buildings and the social history of the Pingyao Merchants. In regard to tangible aspects, built heritage in the SSA is predominantly 'reconstructed' whilst built heritage in the ACP is predominantly 'restored'. Thirdly, the Shaolin monks, as a religious and cultural group, have undertaken a significant role in the broader Shaolin community. No similar organization with such a strong collective identity exists in the ACP.

1.1.3 Significance and Originality

Various scholarly studies published in English have focused on tradition, heritage, tourism, and modernity in China. Early studies on tourism and modernity in China include Tim Oakes' book "Tourism and Modernity in China" (1998) which explored the nature of modernity stemming from tourism development in China. Oakes examined local residents' perceptions of modernity (a so-called 'false modernity') in Guizhou province, a Southwestern province with a distinct ethnic minority culture in China². Oakes and other researchers have written about the interaction between tradition, tourism, and modernity in cultural tourist destinations in minority areas in China³. These studies predominantly explore the nature of cultural performances created for tourists, and the

² Tim Oakes. *Tourism and Modernity in China*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 1-20.

³ Eileen Rose Walsh and Margaret Byrne Swain. "Creating Modernity by Touring Paradise: Domestic Ethnic Tourism in Yunnan, China." *Tourism Recreation Research* 29, no. 2 (2004): 59-68; Timothy Steven Oakes. "The Cultural Space of Modernity: Ethnic Tourism and Place Identity in China." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11 (1993): 47-66; Ben Hillman. "Paradise under Construction: Minorities, Myths and Modernity in Northwest Yunnan." *Asian Ethnicity* 4, no. 2 (2003): 175-188.

impact of tourism on local residents. More recently, work has also been undertaken on heritage and tourism, including Su and Teo's book "The Politics of Heritage Tourism in China: A view from Lijiang" (2009), which explores the politics of heritage tourism in Lijiang, an important heritage site in China⁴. Shepherd and Yu's book "Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present" (2013), examines the political, economic, and social impacts of heritage in China⁵ and Shepherd's book "Faith in Heritage: Displacement, Development, and Religious Tourism in Contemporary China" (2013), explores the displacement of local residents caused by World Heritage listing in Wutai Shan, a Taoist religious area in China⁶. There are also several journal articles about heritage and tourism in China that explore the connection and conflict between heritage authorization/conservation and tourism development⁷.

Following from these previous studies, this research aims to contribute to a theoretical understanding of the IHATD in heritage-protected tourist destinations. It is the first attempt to theorize the IHATD in China through the application of Giddens' theory of modernity. This work is original in line with four aspects outlined below. The first three involve contributions to theory, whilst the final aspect relates to data and the field sites themselves.

First, this research examines how notions of heritage emerging from Europe have influenced heritage authorization in China via international laws such as the CCPWCNH and the ICSICH. This research traces the introduction of ideas on European heritage into China during the 1930s through the work of the Chinese architect Liang Sicheng. Sicheng studied European built heritage principles in America and then returned to China to explore the features of traditional buildings in China in a

⁴ Xiaobo Su and Peggy Teo. *The Politics of Heritage Tourism in China: A View from Lijiang*. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).

⁵ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013).

⁶ Robert J. Shepherd. *Faith in Heritage: Displacement, Development, and Religious Tourism in Contemporary China*. (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013).

⁷ Takayoshi Yamamura and D. R. Hall. "Authenticity, Ethnicity and Social transformation at World Heritage Sites: Tourism, Retailing and Cultural change in Lijiang, China." in *Tourism and Transition: Governance, Transformation and Development* ed. Derek Hall. (Cambridge, MA: CABI Publishing, 2004): 185-200; Chih-Hai Yang, Hui-Lin Lin, and Chia-Chun Han. "Analysis of international tourist arrivals in China: The Role of World Heritage Sites." *Tourism Management* 31, no. 6 (2010): 827-837; Tianyu Ying and Yongguang Zhou. "Community, Governments and External Capitals in China's Rural Cultural Tourism: A Comparative Study of Two Adjacent Villages." *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007): 96-107; Yi Wang and Bill Bramwell. "Heritage Protection and Tourism Development Priorities in Hangzhou, China: A Political Economy and Governance Perspective." *Tourism Management* 33, no. 4 (2012): 988-998; Mimi Li, Bihu Wu, and Liping Cai. "Tourism Development of World Heritage Sites in China: A Geographic Perspective." *Tourism Management* 29, no. 2 (2008): 308-319; Robert Shepherd, Larry Yu, and Gu Huimin. "Tourism, Heritage, and Sacred Space: Wutai Shan, China." *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 7, no. 2 (2012): 145-161.

European way⁸. His work had a profound influence on China's view of heritage as his then students have since achieved important positions in heritage administration in China. This research examines how UNESCO-World Heritage listing institutions influence Chinese heritage in both principle and practice by tracing the Westernization of Chinese heritage as well as the preferences of heritage experts.

The CCPWCNH is based on styles of heritage which originated in Europe and has had a significant influence on Chinese heritage since 1985. As a western institution, CCPWCNH influences Chinese cultural heritage by obliging actors to protect heritage in line with its regulated criteria; These criteria include 'authenticity' and 'integrity' while the former one, objective authenticity, has no cultural roots in China and is not translated accurately⁹. Heritage experts, as influential external actors linking CCPWCNH to local practice, have the ability to interpret these criteria and thus influence local development and local actors. Because of this, 'local space', in which social relations are embedded within the local community, has been transformed into 'heritage space' where new social relations are established between external experts and local actors. This demonstrates a spatial transformation from the traditional to the modern. Social relations are hereby influenced more by geographically distant factors which evidence Giddens' idea of time-space distancing. Furthermore, the CCPWCNH, as an international instrument, disrupts social relations embedded solely in a local context transforming them into a more dynamic system operating between external and local actors; a transformation which evidences Giddens' notion of disembedding mechanics.

Secondly, this research explores how processes of Chinese heritage authorization shaped by UNESCO-World Heritage listing are related to tourism development in China. It is a situation which has influenced local development as well as the fortunes of local actors in the two case-study areas. Furthermore, Giddens' theory of modernity, time-space distancing, disembedding mechanics and reflexivity are employed to analyze the social relationships between social structure and actors underpinned within the IHATD. In other words, the IHATD and its implications for social relationships at these sites are theorized within the processes of modernity in the Chinese context.

⁸ Shiqiao Li. "Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History: Liang Sicheng and Liang Qichao." *Journal of Architectural Education* 56, no. 1 (2002): 35-45.

⁹ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 41-42.

Since China adopted an open-door policy in 1978 tourism development has significantly influenced the development of heritage sites. Inbound and domestic tourists have accelerated the local transformation of cultural tourism sites economically, spatially and culturally. The increase in the numbers of tourists has transformed the local economy. Local space, in which social relationships were principally embedded in the local community, has been transformed into a touristic space where new forms of social relationships exist between tourists and local actors. This process also evidences time-space distancing and disembedding mechanics associated with Giddens' theory of modernity.

Thirdly, this research explores how local residents have been disempowered in the IHATD. Both the heritage authorization and tourism development drive the transformative processes of heritage-protected tourist destinations. Tradition-style culture has been the product of the IHATD. Heritage authorization legitimizes the dominance of external heritage experts who link the CCPWCNH to local practice. External tourists drive spatial transformation which is shaped by commercialization in that the public living spaces of local residents are reconstructed as commercial and tourist spaces which are inhabited solely by tourists. By examining the inequality that emerges between experts and non-experts in Giddens' theory of modernity this research attempts to better understand the marginalization of local residents. In other words, it is original research on the theoretical exploration of how the involved actors demonstrate the hierarchy of their power relationships within the IHATD.

Fourthly, the data emerging from the fieldwork conducted in the two case study areas are original. The semi-structured interviews undertaken with heritage experts and tourism experts, local residents, and governmental officials in the two sites form the first body of data to emerge from these specific contexts. In particular, no academic research has focused on the IHATD in the SSA. In other words, the case of the SSA is the first exploratory research of how heritage and culture have been constructed and reconstructed unequally by different actors in the processes of modernity.

1.1.4 Key Terms

Culture, Traditional Culture and Tradition-style Culture

Culture is defined as consisting of “the values the members of a given group hold, the norms they follow, and the material goods they create”¹⁰. Cultural forms usually have close connections with values and norms in a specific society in that the values and norms are usually projected into cultural forms. For example, some built environments or buildings have symbolic meanings or values derived from local culture. In this thesis, the term culture includes both *culture* (value, norms, and material goods) and *cultural forms* (symbolic buildings). This means culture is conceptualized as those values the members of a given group hold and their corresponding cultural forms.

Cultural forms were consistent with values and norms within the context of time and space in pre-modern societies, while cultural forms might be inconsistent with values and norms in contemporary societies because of modernity¹¹. In this thesis, traditional culture refers to both values/norms in pre-modern societies, and cultural forms which are naturally rooted in the local contexts of pre-modern societies. Specifically, Chinese traditional culture refers to both Chinese traditional values/norms (Confucianism together with Chan Buddhism and Taoism), and cultural forms naturally rooted in the local contexts of pre-modern societies of China.

Following from the concept of culture, ‘tradition-style culture’ refers to cultural forms which superficially appear in traditional forms, but are purposefully (re)constructed to serve contemporary political or economic needs. For example, the potential role of six historical theme parks administered by semi-government authorities or boards of trustees for historical societies in Australia are providing domestic tourists with an ‘authentic’ insight into their history and culture that are actually reproduced¹². The major goal for promoting these ‘authentic’ historic theme parks is not economic profit but the education of public. Many cases demonstrate the political purpose of reconstructing the past by the practice of reifying some local events into national processes ideologically¹³. Similarly, it is also common for tourism entrepreneurs, including some local

¹⁰ Antony Giddens. *Sociology*. rev. (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1993):31.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹² Moscardo, Gianna M. and Philip L. Pearce. “Historic Theme Parks: An Australian Experience in Authenticity.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 13, no. 3 (1986): 467-479.

¹³ Nuala C. Johnson. “Framing the Past: Time, Space and the Politics of Heritage Tourism in Ireland.” *Political*

residents in tourist destinations, to perform invented cultural forms that are not embedded in the local community for economic benefit. The newly invented cultural forms in these situations are what I call ‘reconstructed tradition-style culture’.

Protection, Preservation and Conservation of Heritage

The protection, preservation, and conservation of tangible heritage have elicited different views and implications. For example, although UNESCO uses the word ‘protection’ in the CCWCNH, the concept of protection itself is ambiguous in its implications for both the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage. Essentially there are two schools of thought in relation to the concept of protection in the discourse of tangible heritage; these are object-centrism and functionalism¹⁴. The preservation of heritage is based on the object-centrism view that disregards the possible economic benefits of cultural heritage and provides a strict framework for protection. Under this protection framework, cultural heritage has a value in its own right, independent of people. From the object-centrism perspective, heritage should be left untouched rather than risking its destruction through interaction with it. The conservation of heritage is based on the functional notion of heritage focusing on the cultural and social *uses* of heritage in which the intention of heritage protection is to “support societal processes of acculturation and socialization” - such as presenting tangible forms of earlier cultural and human development¹⁵. The functionalism-based view of heritage conservation acknowledges heritage’s potential for political and economic purposes. This might include such things as cultural nationalism for building nation-states and tourism-oriented heritage conservation for economic benefits. Following this logic, *heritage preservation* is much stricter than *heritage conservation* in that the former implies the least amount of intervention with little use of heritage, while the latter means ‘protecting’ heritage to ensure it is used properly for a variety of purposes.

Based on these different views of heritage protection, debate is ongoing in relation to the conservation of built heritage. The two most significant conservation principles for built

Geography 18, no. 2 (1999): 187-207; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹⁴ Markus M. Müller. “Cultural Heritage Protection: Legitimacy, Property, and Functionalism.” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 7, no. 2 (1998): 395-409.

¹⁵ Markus M. Müller. “Cultural Heritage Protection: Legitimacy, Property, and Functionalism.” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 7, no. 2 (1998): 395-409.

heritage include the *restoration principle* and the *preservation principle*. The distinction between the two rests mostly in the extent of the intervention which is applied in the protection of heritage. The restoration principle was popular in France as a form of ‘stylistic restoration’ during the nineteenth century, whilst the preservation principle emerged in the United Kingdom and demonstrated what could probably be considered the least intrusive in terms of intervention in built heritage¹⁶. The restoration principle, also called ‘stylistic restoration’ in France, asserts that historic buildings should be ‘restored’ to their ‘original’ condition by removing later additions or adaptations. The preservation principle advocates minimal intervention in the fabric of buildings through ‘conservation repair’ as a means to prevent decay. In this regard, preservation points to the protection of heritage from harm and intervention; whilst restoration leans more towards the reconstruction of the built heritage in a ‘tradition-style’ or in its ‘ancient state’.

The difference between heritage preservation and conservation (or purposeful preservation) becomes more complicated with the expansion of the concept of ‘heritage’ from monuments to people, and from objects to functions (from tangible to intangible aspects)¹⁷. European ideas of heritage include the recognition of cultural information and significance, often encoded under the term ‘traditional culture’. In other words, preservation includes this notion of traditional culture (usually based on the Eurocentric idea)¹⁸. From a functionalist view, heritage reflects a social construction of “the contemporary purposes of the past” or “that part of the past that we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social”¹⁹. This understanding heritage is conceptualized as “the meanings attached in the present to the past and is regarded as a knowledge defined within social, political and cultural contexts”²⁰. In other words, heritage has aspects which are both tangible and intangible. In this thesis, I employ the broad concept of cultural heritage to include both the tangible and intangible aspects of culture. Heritage includes not only physical heritage (mainly immovable heritage) but also intangible heritage (meanings and cultures that are reconstructed for economic, social, political, and cultural purposes).

¹⁶ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 18-21.

¹⁷ Tolina Loulanski. “Revising the Concept for Cultural Heritage: the Argument for a Functional Approach.” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 13, no. 2 (2006): 207-233.

¹⁸ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 22-23.

¹⁹ Brian Graham, Ashworth, G. and Tunbridge, J. *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, (London: Arnold, 2000), 2.

²⁰ Brian Graham. “Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?.” *Urban Studies* 39, no. 5/6 (2002): 1003.

Heritage Authorization, Heritage Experts, and Tourism-driven Heritage Authorization

In this thesis I employ Laurajane Smith's Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) to establish my understanding of heritage authorization and heritage experts. AHD refers to a hegemonic heritage discourse that is dependent on the power/knowledge of relevant 'experts' and institutions in state-cultural agencies²¹. Furthermore, AHD points to "a Western discourse about heritage" that now dominates the understanding of heritage around the world²². Therefore, heritage authorization in this thesis refers to a process of officially authorizing and preserving tangible and intangible Chinese culture as 'heritage' based on a hegemonic western discourse of heritage. Furthermore, relevant experts who have recognized knowledge and expertise that lay people do not have engage in this authorizing process in line with international and national heritage laws. As a result, these experts, as the intermediate agents both linking and applying international and national heritage laws to local practice, have the legitimate power to influence the authorization of heritage and public opinion on the issue of heritage. Specifically, in the Chinese context, those heritage experts that are responsible for authorizing intangible and intangible heritage are usually positioned in the heritage administrations, universities, and other government-owned institutions. In other words, the legitimacy of heritage experts in China originates from both expertise power and legal power to influence heritage authorization.

Following the functionalist view of heritage protection, the political and economic functions of heritage authorization have become more critical in the post-Mao era. Tourism heritage authorization serves to strengthen the national identity of Chinese citizens and enhance the image of Chinese culture globally (through, for example, WCH inscription). In economic terms tourism-driven heritage authorization is expected by local government to benefit the local economy, given the fact that WHC authorization could enhance the reputation and attraction of heritage sites for potential tourists. In addition, tourism-driven heritage authorization is also viewed by local officials as an efficient way to promote their political positions, since the promotion of local officials in China is influenced by improvements in the local economy.

²¹ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006),11.

²² *Ibid.*, 4.

1.1.5 Overview of Chapters

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter one includes two parts, the introduction of the thesis and the methodology. In the first part of this chapter one introduce the thesis focus, the research questions, the overall argument, the scope of this study, its significance and the originality of this research, key terms and an overview of the chapters. The methodology part of this chapter presents the methodological content of this research including the paradigm, research procedure, research methods, data analysis, reliability and validity, and ethical considerations.

Chapter two establishes the theoretical framework for the study. This research draws on modernity theory and in particular the application of Giddens' modernity theory to the heritage and tourism field. First, modernity theory is reviewed taking into account the thoughts of classical and more contemporary sociologists. Giddens' modernity theory, which draws on the three aspects of *time-space distanciation, disembedding, and reflexivity*, is employed in this exploratory study. Secondly, Chapter two outlines the relationship between Giddens' modernity theory and the heritage and tourism fields. Thirdly, a theoretical framework is established for this study.

Chapter three will examine the process of the westernization of Chinese heritage and its connection to tourism development in the Chinese context. First, the chapter presents the historical background (from 1911 to the present) to the westernization of Chinese heritage and the increasingly close connection between heritage authorization and tourism under Chinese decentralization. Four historical eras, 1911 to 1949; 1949 to 1978, 1978 to 1997 and 1998 to the present have been identified in line with evolving political and economic models in China. Secondly, Chapter three provides an analysis of the process of reconstruction of tradition-style culture and its influence on local residents emerging from the IHATD. This chapter contributes to answering the main research question in a broader context rather than in the more specific context of the case study areas.

Chapters four and five will provide the two case studies. Chapter four demonstrates the transformative process of the SSA driven primarily by tourism development and then by heritage authorization. Chapter five demonstrates the transformative process of the ACP which was initially driven by heritage authorization and then by tourism development. Both cases indicate that external

actors and local actors have established new social dynamics outside of the local context while the local residents have been marginalized or disempowered economically, spatially and culturally. The final section of both chapters describes how the theoretical framework established in Chapter two is applied to analyze the transformative processes in the two case sites.

Chapter six will analyze the similarities and differences between the two cases theoretically. The similarities are summarized in line with the theoretical dimensions, such as expert systems for heritage, expert systems for tourism, expert systems in heritage-protected tourist sites, and reflexivity. The differences are analyzed to strengthen the main arguments on the theoretical implications of the reconstruction of tradition-style culture and its impacts on heritage sites as well as local residents.

Chapter seven will elaborate on the main findings by answering the research questions and will consider the generalization of the case findings as well as the study's contributions, limitations, and future research directions. The main findings are summarized in the similarities and differences of the two case sites by answering the research questions. The main argument is that reconstruction of tradition-style culture has been a critical contributor of the processes of modernity in the two case sites. This has resulted in two consequences. One is the tendency for the commercialization of heritage sites and the other is the disempowerment of local residents.

1.2 Methodology

This section will establish the methodology of this research in accordance with the specifics of the research questions and aims. It will discuss a series of methodological questions, including the ontological and epistemological stance, methods of data collection and data analysis, reliability and validity, and ethical considerations. First, it selects the appropriate paradigm and approach for this study by applying constructivism, qualitative approaches, and a case study approach to analyze the research questions. Secondly, it introduces the research procedure, which is divided into five steps. Thirdly, it elaborates on the research methods and data collection, such as documentation, archival records, direct/participant observations, and semi-standardized interviews. Fourthly, it describes the use of the thematic analysis for this study. Finally, it briefly introduces the reliability, validity, and ethical considerations of this study.

1.2.1 Choice of Paradigm and Qualitative Approach

This section aims to identify the paradigm and approach that have been applied in this research. Generally, there are four paradigms in line with different stands of ontology and epistemology: positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructivism. This section justifies why constructivism is the appropriate paradigm for this study by analyzing the research questions within this paradigm. Accordingly, a qualitative approach and case study were selected to answer the research questions.

Four Paradigms

As indicated by Guba and Lincoln, methods are selected appropriately in accordance with any paradigm²³. For them, paradigm is the basic belief system that determines how researchers view the world in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways. Our ontological and epistemological positions shape our answers to research questions²⁴. Therefore, an appropriate paradigm is considered as key to answering the research questions. This section illustrates four paradigms in general to support the selection of a suitable paradigm for this study.

A paradigm provides the framework that links researchers' answers to the ontology, epistemology, and methodology²⁵. Thus, the components of the paradigm involve three questions, the ontological question, the epistemological question, and the methodological question. Ontology is the starting point for all researchers and it asks "what is the form and nature of the reality and, therefore, what is there that can be known about it?"²⁶ Epistemology is a philosophical inquiry into the nature of knowledge and it asks "what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?"²⁷ Methodology is constrained by ontology and epistemology and it asks "How can the inquirer go about finding out if whatever he or she believes can be known?"²⁸ Methodology cannot be simplified to some methods while methods have to be suited to a

²³ Yvonna S Lincoln, and Egon G. Guba. "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research." in *Handbook of Qualitative Research* ed. N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994): 105.

²⁴ Jonathan Grix. "Introducing Students to the Generic Terminology of Social Research." *Politics* 22, no. 3 (2002): 175-186.

²⁵ Yvonna S Lincoln, and Egon G. Guba. "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research." in *Handbook of Qualitative Research* ed. N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994): 108.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

pre-determined methodology. Four main paradigms are distinguished in line with different forms of ontology, epistemology, and methodology, as indicated in appendix one²⁹.

Positivism is heavily grounded in the natural sciences and has dominated the formal discourse in the realm of sciences and social sciences for approximately 400 years. Positivists believe there is a 'real' social reality that is governed by universal laws and truths³⁰. These universal truths can be discovered and replicated through observing social behaviors, manipulating experiments and quantitative methods³¹. An objectivist approach, independent of subjective values, is adopted by positivists with strict procedures in which researchers are able to undertake research without influencing the result and being influenced by it³².

Post-positivism emerged as a critique of positivism. It admits there exists a 'real' reality but it is difficult to apprehend due to our intellectual limitations and the complicated nature of phenomena³³. Epistemologically, establishes the subjective relations between researchers and the reality, while researchers are not free from the knowledge of his/her own social settings. The methodology of post-positivism focuses on the participation of the researcher in discovering and understanding social behaviors and relationships and theories can be established through collecting data and testing hypotheses³⁴.

Critical theory includes several alternative paradigms, such as neo-Marxism, feminism. Critical theory and its related ideological positions assert that a historical reality exists and can be apprehended within the context of historical time. That is, ontologically, the reality is shaped by a series of social, political, cultural, economic, and other related factors while this reality may be inappropriately regarded as 'real' now.³⁵. This paradigm is transactional and subjective as it accounts for the value-oriented settings of the researcher. In other words, critical theory posits that the

²⁹ Ibid., 109.

³⁰ Norman Blaikie. *Approaches to Social Enquiry: Advancing Knowledge*. (Cambridge UK: Polity, 2007): 15.

³¹ Paul Furlong and David Marsh. "A Skin Not A Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science." in *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. rev. ed. D. Marsh and G. Stoker. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010).

³² Bob Matthews and Liz Ross. *Research Methods: A Practical Guide for the Social Sciences*. (Essex: Pearson Education, 2010): 27.

³³ Yvonna S Lincoln, and Egon G. Guba. "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research." in *Handbook of Qualitative Research* ed. N.K.Denzin and Y.S.Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994): 110.

³⁴ Russell Keat and John Urry. *Social Theory as Science*. (London and Boston: Routledge, 2011).

³⁵ Yvonna S Lincoln, and Egon G. Guba. "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research." in *Handbook of Qualitative Research* ed. N.K.Denzin and Y.S.Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994): 110.

knowledge of the researcher is subjective and can be divided into a number of domains in which some are structured independent of reality³⁶. Thus, the findings are partly value mediated and structure-determined. Critical theory is mostly inductive in that the researcher is positioned as a transformational inquirer providing the intellectual support to transform the social world through uncovering subjugated and often controversial knowledge³⁷. Therefore, as transformational inquirers, critical researchers have the potential to provide “transformational leadership”³⁸.

Constructivism holds a relativist ontology viewing the world as constructed of multiple and dynamic realities, none of which holds priority over others³⁹. Realities can be apprehended in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions while the constructions are formed socially locally⁴⁰. Furthermore, these constructions are dependent on social groups and individuals, who have different subjective interpretations and understandings of the same social reality⁴¹. Epistemologically, there is a subjective relationship between the researcher and any given social reality. The investigator and the object of investigation are assumed to be interactively linked. Findings are literally created under the methodology of dialectics and hermeneutics, usually in the form of induction. Under constructivism, the distinction between ontology and epistemology disappears, as in the case of critical theory. It also advocates the deconstruction of the essential features of any social phenomena.

In summary, positivism, post-positivism, and critical theory share the same view of ontology in that there is an objective reality somewhere ‘out there’. The difference is that positivism considers the objective reality can be discovered through time-free, linear causality, context-free and value-free inquiry, while post-positivism and critical theory consider the objective reality can never be fully or completely apprehended. Constructivism admits that social realities are the product of negotiated meaning and that these social realities can change in place and overtime. Epistemologically, positivism and post-positivism assume investigators can ‘know’ objective reality while critical

³⁶ Norman Blaikie. *Designing Social Research: the Logic of Anticipation*. (Cambridge UK and Oxford UK and Malden MA: Polity Press, 2000).

³⁷ Henry A. Giroux. *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life: Critical Pedagogy in the Modern Age*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988): 213.

³⁸ James MacGregor Burns. *Leadership*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1978).

³⁹ Norman Blaikie. *Designing Social Research: the Logic of Anticipation*. (Cambridge UK and Oxford UK and Malden MA: Polity Press, 2000).

⁴⁰ Yvonna S Lincoln, and Egon G. Guba. “Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research.” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research* ed. N.K.Denzin and Y.S.Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994): 110.

⁴¹ Jerome Seymour Bruner and George Allen Austin. *A Study of Thinking*. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1986); Thomas A. Schwandt. “Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry.” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. ed. N.K.Denzin and Y.S.Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), 125.

theory and constructivism regard that knowledge is value-dependent. Methodologically, positivism and post-positivism focus on verification or falsification of a hypothesis through an experimental methodology, while critical theory and constructivism aim to unearth social processes through a dialectical or hermeneutic methodology.

Constructivism

Various researchers have developed different understandings of or extended the application of these paradigms to different issues. For example, Oakley has brought to our attention the central debate on paradigms and methodology in feminist social science, in which “a social and historical understanding of ways of knowing gives us the problem not of gender and methodology, but of the gendering of methodology as itself a social construction”⁴². This indicates that even in the confines of one paradigm, for example what Lincoln and Guba classified as “critical theory”, there exists a variety of views and claims. Based on the above review of the four paradigms and in light of the research questions, this research utilizes the constructivism paradigm and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis.

This research aims to explore how European-originated heritage ideas have influenced notions of heritage in post-Mao China, and how tourism development, a as significant way of using heritage, has shaped processes of modernity in heritage-protected areas in China. The research question is: ‘how has the IHATD shaped the transformative processes in heritage-protected tourist destinations in the post-Mao era in China?’. Intrinsically, this study concerns the globalization of heritage and the impact of this on local actors. This research is concerned with the problem of structure and agency and focuses on the concept of heritage in specific time-place settings (locally constructed realities). Internationally, in the UNESCO-CCPWCNH, World Heritage is supposed to have “outstanding universal value” and the evaluation work involves heritage experts who are positioned as influential external agents linking international understandings of heritage to local practice. The national policy on heritage authorization and conservation is also value-based. Furthermore, the concept of cultural heritage itself extends from tangible cultural heritage to intangible cultural heritage⁴³. In China,

⁴² Ann Oakley. “Gender, Methodology and People’s Ways of Knowing: Some Problems with Feminism and the Paradigm Debate in Social Science.” *Sociology* 32, no. 4 (1998): 707.

⁴³ Richard Kurin. “Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A Critical Appraisal.” *Museum International* 56, no. 1/2 (2004): 66-77.

traditional culture and some traditional cultural forms, as significant components of intangible cultural heritage, were devalued during the period from 1949 to 1978, while currently a narrow and select form of traditional culture is highly valued and listed as intangible cultural heritage. Furthermore, the ‘purpose’ of heritage for local governments is different from that of the central government in China. The purpose of using heritage also influences our understanding of the concept of heritage. Thus, heritage is a constructed concept subject to construction and (re)construction in time and place⁴⁴. It means that the concept of heritage is socially, locally and specifically constructed. This reflects the constructivist paradigm which asserts that social realities are understood socially, locally and specifically.

Heritage authorization and conservation in heritage-protected tourist destinations in China involves heritage experts, government officials, tourism-related business people, local residents, tourists, and some organizations. All of the stakeholders have different understandings of and abilities to influence authorized heritage⁴⁵. Different stakeholders at heritage protected sites construct their own understandings of heritage and attempt to translate this understanding into a corresponding social reality. As a result, some stakeholders are in a better position to achieve their desired social reality. This is just what the constructivist paradigm indicates, the constructions are dependent on groups and individual persons⁴⁶.

From the above analysis it is clear that the concept of heritage is constructed and (re)constructed in line with diverse understandings of heritage emerging from different social actors. Heritage authorization and conservation is a social reality based on the concept of constructed heritage. In this consideration the constructivist paradigm is most suitable for this research.

Qualitative Approach

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Crooke. “The Politics of Community Heritage: Motivations, Authority and Control.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 1/2 (2010): 16-29; Mary Ann Levine, Kelly M. Britt, and James A. Delle. “Heritage Tourism and Community Outreach: Public Archaeology at the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Site in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, USA.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11, no. 5 (2005): 399-414.

⁴⁵ Edward M. Bruner. “Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism.” *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 2 (1994): 408; Gianna M. Moscardo and Philip L. Pearce. “Historic Theme Parks: An Australian Experience in Authenticity.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 13, no. 3 (1986): 467-479.

⁴⁶ Jerome Seymour Bruner and George Allen Austin. *A Study of Thinking*. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1986); Thomas A. Schwandt. “Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry.” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. ed. N.K.Denzin and Y.S.Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), 125.

The previous section elaborated on the constructivist paradigm which informs this research. This section will explain the selection of a qualitative approach for this research. Research methods are significant for collecting and analyzing data. Generally, a social science research approach is classified into two categories; it is either qualitative or quantitative. Quantitative methods are mostly employed by researchers who are more committed to a positivist paradigm and produce casual explanations or general laws. Within tourism studies, some quantitative methods are employed, particularly in studies of tourism economics and tourist behavior studies which employ statistical testing techniques, regression analysis, demand modeling and forecasting, input-output analysis, factor analysis, cluster analysis⁴⁷. The advantages of quantitative research are that the data is easy to replicate and the results can easily be ‘generalized’⁴⁸. However, research involving the social world and cultural studies in specific contexts cannot be measured and counted and reduced to numbers. Some qualitative methods are also utilized widely within tourism studies, specifically in ethnographies, including grounded theory building, community case studies, participant observation and cross-culture studies⁴⁹. Qualitative researchers attempt to gain a better understanding of how social realities are constructed in specific cultural contexts. For this study of heritage authorization, focusing on the influences of international heritage conventions on local practices and social actors’ construction/reconstruction in specific time-place settings in China, the selection of a qualitative approach is determined by the researcher’s constructivist paradigm, as well as the nature of the research questions.

Creswell states that a qualitative study is “an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in a natural setting”⁵⁰. A quantitative study is “an inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers and analyzed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predictive generalizations of the theory hold true”⁵¹. Qualitative studies focus on understanding and interpreting social realities in

⁴⁷ Larry Dwyer, Alison Gill, and Neelu Seetaram, eds. *Handbook of Research Methods in Tourism: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2012).

⁴⁸ Nicholas Walliman. *Social Research Methods*. (London and Thousand Oaks, California and New Delhi: Sage, 2006): 54.

⁴⁹ Larry Dwyer, Alison Gill, and Neelu Seetaram, eds. *Handbook of Research Methods in Tourism: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2012).

⁵⁰ John W. Creswell. *Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994): 1-2

⁵¹ John W. Creswell. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998): 15.

terms of a dialectic way, while quantitative studies emphasize explaining social realities through measurement and quantification. For Creswell, the difference between the two approaches is presented as follows. The ontological assumption of the quantitative approach is objectivist and the outcomes of the research are independent of the researcher. The qualitative approach is interpretivist and the researcher is positioned in such a way as to have an influence on the research findings. Methodologically, quantitative research is deductive and is undertaken in a setting in which the localised context has no impact on the outcomes of the research; whilst qualitative research is inductive and occurs in a context-bound setting⁵².

A qualitative approach is consistent with the adoption of a constructivism paradigm. This is the rationale for the selection of the qualitative approach for this research. Moreover, the research aim of understanding the process of heritage-protected tourist destinations driven by heritage authorization and tourism development in the context of China is only achievable through the adoption of a qualitative approach. There are two reasons for this. First, this research is context bound in that the understanding of heritage varies in different countries as do heritage protection policies. Heritage is the recognition and authorization of a past culture which is context bound. In addition, heritage itself is a contemporary cultural process⁵³. Secondly, heritage cannot avoid the intervention of values in that heritage itself is determined through the assignation of importance to the past. For these reasons a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis has been adopted for this research project.

Case Study

According to Creswell, case study research is one of the five qualitative approaches to social inquiry⁵⁴. Case study research presents a qualitative approach in which the inquirer explores:

[a] bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes⁵⁵.

⁵² John W. Creswell. *Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994): 5.

⁵³ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁵⁴ John W. Creswell. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998)

⁵⁵ John W. Creswell. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006): 73.

Yin indicates that multiple case studies utilize the logic of replication, in which the researcher replicates the procedures for each case⁵⁶. Multiple case studies can “mobilize knowledge from individual case studies”⁵⁷. Generally, researchers need to select cases so that some general patterns can be revealed across different contexts. In this study of the transformative process of heritage-protected tourist destinations driven by the IHATD, I have selected two case study sites, the Shaolin Scenic Area (SSA) and the Ancient City of Pingyao (ACP). They offer different specific contexts in terms of different positioning between heritage authorization and tourism development during the same era, cultural heritage types, and different local actors. The case areas in this research are purposely selected in that the differences between the two cases have some theoretical implications in answering the research questions in different specific contexts. This will be further explored in section 6.3. By this, some general patterns underlying different contexts are summarized theoretically to create ‘new knowledge’.

The development of the SSA was first driven by tourism whilst the ACP was first restored /developed because it was part of a heritage authorization process rather than being affected by tourism. That is, when the SSA experienced a boom in tourism development from 1978 to the 1990s under a centrally-planned economic model in China, the ACP obtained financial support from the central government through its status as an important heritage site. The period after the 1990s saw local governments in China gain more power in making decisions at the local level. The local government representing the SSA made preparations for World Heritage site listing whilst the local government in the ACP engaged in heritage-based tourism development. Through an analysis of these differences, processes of modernity driven by both tourism development and heritage authorization in different central-local models in the post-Mao era will be explored.

Secondly, Shaolin heritage and Pingyao heritage have different cultural features, both in relation to their tangible and intangible aspects. In a tangible sense almost all the buildings in the Shaolin temple were rebuilt while buildings in the ACP were principally restored and conserved. In relation to intangible heritage, cultural forms in the SSA are focused on Shaolin martial arts and Shaolin

⁵⁶ Robert K. Yin. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (Los Angeles and London and New Delhi and Singapore and Washington DC: Sage, 2014).

⁵⁷ Samia Khan and Robert VanWynsberghe. “Cultivating the Under-Mined: Cross-Case Analysis as Knowledge Mobilization.” *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 9, no. 1 (2008): 1-21.

Chinese medicine, claimed by the Shaolin monks as their heritage. In the ACP, intangible heritage is mostly constituted around the spirit of the Pingyao merchants (traditional local elites) and local handicrafts. Furthermore, Shaolin culture is a historical and religious culture emerging from Chan Buddhism while Pingyao culture is historically and civilly informed by the social context of an important and unique ancient county. Both case areas demonstrate distinct features in heritage and in cultural forms. Furthermore, tourists visit the SSA to experience Shaolin martial arts (intangible heritage) while they visit the ACP to explore its buildings and the physical layout of the city as a model of an ancient county for Han ethnicity (tangible heritage).

Thirdly, the Shaolin monks, as a religious and cultural organization, undertake a 'semi-expert' role within the Shaolin community. No such organization with such a strong identity exists in the ACP. The Shaolin monks undertake influential roles in heritage authorization and tourism development, in particular the Abbot. This organization also takes a contested role of reviving and reconstructing heritage and culture with local government and residents. For example, the Shaolin monks claim that they are the inheritors of 'authentic' Shaolin culture. In fact, the question of 'whose heritage' is critical in a context where different local and external actors engage in the reconstruction of tradition-style culture within their claimed yet often contested legitimacy. In the local context of the ACP, the local government has the whole legitimacy together with external experts in terms of reconstructing heritage and culture. The different levels of legitimacy assigned to different local actors signals the existence of a hierarchy of local actors; an understanding of which helps to better understand the disempowered situation of local residents.

In summary, a constructivism paradigm has been selected from the four major paradigms of research. Under the constructivist paradigm, a qualitative approach is most suited to this research. Specifically, a multiple case study approach has been chosen to explore the research questions presented in section 1.1.1.

1.2.2 Research Design

As indicated by Creswell, the procedure for conducting case studies includes five steps⁵⁸. These five steps are illustrated with consideration of this research as shown in Figure 1.1. First, researchers

⁵⁸ John W. Creswell. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006): 74-75.

determine if a case study approach is appropriate to the research question. This is based on an in-depth understanding of the cases, or a comparison of several cases. For this research, section 1.2.1 analyzed why the constructivism paradigm, qualitative approach and case study methodology were selected.

Secondly, researchers need to identify their case, or cases, and conduct a sampling exercise to unearth different perspectives on the problem, process, or event. Because the research question points to an investigation of the transformative processes influenced by heritage authorization and tourism development, section 1.2.1 provides a justification for the selection of two case areas.

Third, data collection in the case study draws on multiple sources of information including documents, interviews, participant-observations, direct observations, archival records, and physical artifacts. Considering the specific areas involving heritage authorization and tourism development, documentation, archival records, interviews, and participant/direct observations as principal data sources in two case areas were selected for this research. This will be further detailed in section 1.2.3.

Fourth, data analysis is conducted after data are collected. For a study based on a constructivist paradigm, the aim of data analysis is to gain a contextual and analogical understanding of the data in order to answer the research questions. Data analysis can be *holistic* or *embedded*. Holistic analysis is used to examine “the global nature of the program” while embedded analysis is chosen to analyze “outcomes from individual projects within the program”⁵⁹. For this research involving the globalization of heritage, both holistic analysis and embedded analysis are necessary in that the embedded context is influenced by the holistic context. Furthermore, a thematic analysis is applied which is informed by the theoretical framework. The process of data analysis used in this research will be further illustrated in section 1.2.4.

Fifth, the researcher presents the final interpretation and findings of the research. For this research, Chapter 6 presents the discussions based on the similarities and differences between the two cases.

⁵⁹ Robert K. Yin. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (Los Angeles and London and New Delhi and Singapore and Washington DC: Sage, 1989), 49.

Chapter 7 provides the final findings, and the contributions of this research along with future directions for research.

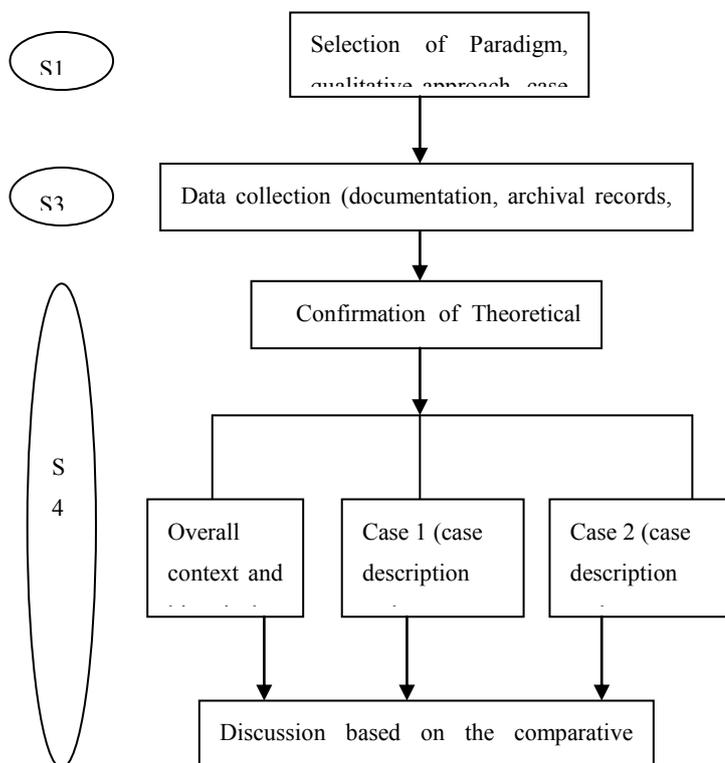


Figure 1.1 Research procedure of this research (“S” referring to “Step”)

1.2.3 Research Methods and Data Collection

The data provides evidence for the arguments researchers put forward and the research should use multiple sources of evidence⁶⁰. Yin listed six possible data sources for case studies, these include documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observations, and physical artifacts⁶¹. In this research, four kinds of data have been used: *documentation*, *archival records*, *participant/direct observation*, and *interviews*. This section justifies the use of these four data sources as well as the data collection procedures used in this research.

Documentation

As indicated by Yin, documentary information includes letters and memoranda, agendas, administrative documents, formal studies or evaluations of the same ‘site’ under study, news

⁶⁰ Robert K. Yin. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989), 95.
⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 85-95.

clippings and other articles drawn from mass media⁶². Documents must be carefully selected and should be corroborated with other sources such as interview sources or participant observation. This research collected documentary information such as newspaper articles about cultural activities and tourism, administrative documents on heritage and tourism. In particular, some proposals and formal administrative documents, such as tourism planning and master plans of the two case areas were collected from relevant governmental administrations. These documentary data have been analyzed in conjunction with my own observations and interviews with local residents and organizations.

The primary documents used in this research consist of official documents and some newspaper articles on both case areas. With the transition towards a more market-oriented economy, local governments in China have more power in policy-making for local development in recent years⁶³. Local government heritage policies have typically been formulated in line with policies relating to heritage administration deriving from the central government; yet tourism development policies in both case sites are nearly always formulated by local governments. In this regard, documents of heritage policies include policies from the central government and the implemented local heritage policies. Some of these policies were accessible online while others were collected from relevant government departments in both case areas. Specifically I was able to collect the heritage policies relating to the ACP, the master plan of the SSA, festival and cultural policies in the ACP, cultural policies in the SSA, relocation policies in the SSA and ACP, tourism-related business policies in SSA and residential house policies in the ACP.

Archival Records

Archival records typically consist of service records (numbers of clients); organizational records (organizational charts and budgets); maps and charts (geographical characteristics of a place); lists of names other relevant commodities; survey data (census or other data collected previously); and personal records (diaries or calendars)⁶⁴. It is clear that archival records principally involve data from persons or organizations relevant to one's research. This research involves tourism-related businesses including tourism souvenirs sales, tourism performance companies, and a variety of other

⁶² Ibid., 85.

⁶³ Fulong Wu. "China's Changing Urban Governance in the Transition towards a More Market-oriented Economy." *Urban Studies* 39, no. 7 (2002): 1071-1093.

⁶⁴ Robert K. Yin. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989), 87.

tourism businesses. Thus, archival records were collected for this research. In both case areas, I collected the archival records from tourism-related businesses. In the Shaolin case, I collected archival records from five tourism-related businesses, including two souvenir stores, two vendors' businesses, and one hotel. In the ACP, I collected archival records from six tourist-related businesses, including three souvenir stores, one vendor businesses, and two inns. As in the case of documentary data, archival records should also be used in conjunction with other data sources. In this research, I corroborated archival records from tourism-related businesses with interview data, documents, and participant observation.

Direct or Participant Observation

As Marshall and Rossman have indicated, participant observation is central to qualitative research⁶⁵. For case studies, fieldwork provides the opportunity for direct observation. In direct observations, what the researchers observe includes buildings, relevant behaviors, and physical environment. In light of the research questions all of these forms of observation were employed to better understand the influence of heritage authorization and tourism development on the lifestyles and work practices of local residents'. Furthermore, I visited the case areas to observe local residents' spatial-cultural preferences and to further understand their attitudes toward traditional and 'newly-invented' festivals.

In conducting participant observation in field research the researcher is situated as both a participant and an observer⁶⁶. Participant observation is a special kind of observation in which the researcher may undertake certain roles in the society or community and take part in the events being studied⁶⁷. Participant observation provides the opportunity for the researcher to become immersed in the community and produce personal reflections on the themes under investigation. These personal reflections make the 'strange familiar and the familiar strange'⁶⁸. Participant observation was conducted when I took part in activities for tourists in the case areas. For example, when I visited the ACP in the Spring Festival of 2015, I participated in making dumplings, making local foods, playing

⁶⁵ Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*. (Los Angeles and London and New Delhi and Singapore and Washington DC: Sage, 2010): 139.

⁶⁶ Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*. (Los Angeles and London and New Delhi and Singapore and Washington DC: Sage, 2010): 140.

⁶⁷ Robert K. Yin. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989), 92.

⁶⁸ Corrine Glesne and Alan Peshkin. *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction*. (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1992).

cards, and learning to make local souvenirs with local residents who operated traditional inns for tourists.

Semi-standardized Interviews

Steinar suggests that interviews exist as the “construction site of knowledge”⁶⁹. Interviews have been variously described as “the overall strategy or only one of several methods employed” in qualitative research⁷⁰. The most distinctive feature of interviews is that they facilitate direct communication between the researcher and the researched; either face-to-face or at a distance via telephone or the internet. Interviews allow the researcher to obtain information, feelings, and opinions from the interviewees through questions and interactive dialogue⁷¹.

According to the degree of control exercised by the researcher, interviews can be divided into three general categories, *standardized interviews*, *semi-standardized interviews*, and *un-standardized interviews*⁷². Willis argues that “[t]he world view within which you are conducting research plays a defining role in how you prepare for the interview, who you choose as interviewee, what questions you ask, how you structure the interview, and how you interpret the data”⁷³. Standardized interviews speak more to the positivist requirement of preciseness and replicability of the interview process, as well as interviewers’ value-free position. Accordingly, standardized interviews are carefully ‘scripted’ and usually aimed at measuring the relevant variables and concepts. The questions are asked in the same words and probes. In the case of standardized interviews the interviewees are presented with a complement of answers from which to choose⁷⁴. In contrast, semi-standardized interviews and un-standardized interviews are based on paradigms such as post-positivism and constructivism. They emphasize the significance of dialectic interactions between the researcher and subject. Specifically, un-standardized interviews focus on a broad area of discussion which enables interviewees to express their experiences and thoughts in their own way. Semi-standardized

⁶⁹ Kvale Steinar. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996): 2.

⁷⁰ Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*. (Los Angeles and London and New Delhi and Singapore and Washington DC: Sage, 2010): 142.

⁷¹ Bob Matthews and Liz Ross. *Research Methods: A Practical Guide for the Social Sciences*. (Essex: Pearson Education, 2010): 219.

⁷² Bruce Lawrence Berg and Howard Lune. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. rev. (Boston MA: Pearson, 2004): 41-59.

⁷³ Jerry W. Willis. *Foundations of Qualitative Research: Interpretive and Critical Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007): 245.

⁷⁴ Bob Matthews and Liz Ross. *Research Methods: A Practical Guide for the Social Sciences*. (Essex: Pearson Education, 2010): 221.

interviews follow a common set of topics or questions for each interview yet allow space for the interviewees to answer the questions in their own way using their own words⁷⁵.

Because this study primarily focuses on the IHATD, heritage experts, local officials, and local residents constitute the three main interviewee cohorts. Heritage experts, as the most influential agents in the heritage authorization process, are usually employed in universities, government-related research institutions, and relevant governmental administrations. They undertake heritage authorization work as consultants for governments or they themselves are government officials in heritage administrations by linking international heritage conventions to local practices in China. Local officials, as political leaders of counties (or cities or provinces) or leaders of relevant government administrations of counties (or cities or provinces), also fill influential roles in local development projects, particularly in the post-Deng era. Although heritage experts and local officials are significant to this study on local development, their views on heritage and tourism development are also reflected in their published articles and government reports. Therefore, interview data from experts and government officials will be corroborated with their arguments presented in articles and various documents. As for local residents, the interview data was critical for discerning their attitudes and feelings about heritage authorization processes and local tourism development.

Semi-standardized interviews were predominantly employed in this study. Through semi-standardized interviews I found that the participants could more comfortably articulate their experiences, behavior, values, and understandings. Furthermore, they were able to respond using their own terms. When compared to standardized interviews I found that semi-standardized interviews allowed the participants to respond ‘on their own terms’ and focus on the themes I was most interested in learning about. For these reasons I selected semi-structured interviews to conduct the fieldwork in both case areas. Considering the research question, I identified three groups to conduct semi-standardized interviews with for this study. Please see appendix two for sampling strategy including interviewee groups and sample size.

1.2.4 Data Analysis

Marshall and Rossman, claim that “once the researcher has settled on a strategy, chosen a site,

⁷⁵ Ibid.

selected the methods to be adopted for collecting data, she should discuss how she will record, manage, analyze, and interpret the data”⁷⁶. The process of analyzing and interpreting the collected data is messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative, and fascinating⁷⁷. In qualitative research data analysis is broadly aimed at identifying interviewee statements about relationships and underlying themes⁷⁸. Usually, qualitative research aims to describe and explain a pattern of relationships informed by specified analytic categories (themes)⁷⁹. Through an analysis of the two case study sites this research explores the theoretical underpinnings and patterns of transformative social change driven by the IHATD in heritage-protected tourist destinations in China. A thematic analysis is employed in this research to code the collected data, identify the themes, and explore the patterns which emerge through an interrogation of the data.

Because the data has been collected at two case study sites, a ‘within-case analysis’ has been conducted in conjunction with the thematic analysis. The thematic analysis involves two levels of analysis, *description* (the ‘what and how’) and *explanation* (the ‘why’)⁸⁰. Based on the data, description focuses on obtaining a foundational understanding of the social processes –understanding what is occurring but not necessarily why it is occurring. This means “making complicated things understandable by reducing them to their component parts”⁸¹. It is also called “data reduction”⁸². Explanation, on the other hand, involves why things happen. As Kaplan indicates, an explanation, whether cast in “purposive” or straightforwardly historical terms, is in effect a “concatenated description” that puts one fact or law in relation to others, making the description intelligible⁸³. Explanation often involves, the application of theory to explain the phenomena described previously in this process. Themes from the coded data are generated with theoretical thinking and patterns are found. For multiple case analysis, a typical format is to first provide a detailed description of each case, and then establish a set of themes within that case. This is called “within-case analysis”. A thematic analysis across the cases, called “cross-case analysis”, then

⁷⁶ Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*. (London: Sage, 2010): 205.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁷⁹ Elliot G. Mishler. “Validation in Inquiry-guided Research: The Role of Exemplars in Narrative Studies.” *Harvard Educational Review* 60, no. 4 (1990): 415-443.

⁸⁰ A. Michael Huberman, and Matthew B. Miles. “Data Management and Analysis Methods.” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. ed. N.K.Denzin and Y.S.Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), 432.

⁸¹ Harvey Russell Bernard. *Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988): 317.

⁸² Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*. (Los Angeles and London and New Delhi and Singapore and Washington DC: Sage, 2010): 209-210.

⁸³ Abraham Kaplan. *The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science*. (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1998).

follows⁸⁴. Within-case analysis and replication logic are unique to inductive and case-oriented processes⁸⁵. In this research, data analysis is first conducted as a within-case analysis, and secondly through a cross-case analysis. The process of data analysis in this research is indicated as following.

A theoretical framework is established to direct the themes of this research (Chapter 2). The context of this research, consisting of a historical overview of westernizing Chinese heritage and its connection to tourism, is illustrated in Chapter 3, which furthers the analysis as indicated in section 1.2.2. Based on these “relatively uncontested data” from holistic analysis⁸⁶, some themes from the collected and coded data are selected to understand the complexity of the social issues occurring within each case. At the same time, the selection of these themes also considers the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2. Hence, these themes have been identified via the combination of the collected data and the theoretical framework prior to the coding process. In detail, the themes developed in this study include *heritage authorization* (heritage expert systems as a disembedding mechanic) and *tourism development* (another disembedding mechanic). Furthermore, social actors, such as heritage experts, tourists, local officials, and local actors, are also analyzed within these themes.

Then, the two cases are presented in Chapters 4 and 5. In these chapters, a detailed description of each case will be presented in terms of aspects including the history of local culture, the specific policies of heritage authorization and tourism development of the different eras, the responses of local residents to the relevant policies. At the end of each case chapter, the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2 is applied to analyze each case for the within-case thematic analysis. Then, Chapter 6 illustrates the theoretical analysis of the similarities and differences of the two cases for the cross-case analysis. Furthermore, theoretical features of the two cases are applied to answer the research question and sub-questions in Chapter 6.

⁸⁴ John W. Cresswell. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006): 75.

⁸⁵ Kathleen M. Eisenhardt. “Building Theories from Case Study Research.” *Academy of Management Review* 14, no. 4 (1989): 532-550.

⁸⁶ Robert E. Stake. *The Art of Case Study Research*. (Thousand Oaks, California and London and New Delhi: Sage, 1995): 123.

1.2.5 Reliability, Validity and Their Application in Qualitative Research

The topics discussed in the previous sections of this chapter have focused on the research paradigm and research methods; mainly involving the planning and operation of this research. This section discusses the issue of *reliability* and *validity*. Reliability and validity raise questions about the criteria for assessing the process and results of a particular study, and how the researcher controls the quality of the study by complying with these evaluative criteria. Generally, reliability and validity are tools of an essentially positivist epistemology⁸⁷. Within the positivist paradigm, these two concepts traditionally resided with many other concepts such as ‘universal laws’, objectivity, truth, deduction and mathematical data⁸⁸. These positivist assessment criteria, however, may not apply to studies using a constructivist paradigm, which aim to better understanding social processes or issues, rather than universal laws⁸⁹. In a study using a constructivist paradigm, reliability and validity are viewed as measures of the quality, rigor, and wider potential of a research study. They are achieved through adherence to certain methodological and disciplinary conventions and principles⁹⁰.

This study, as a study in the constructivism paradigm using a case study approach, must be assessed by criteria other than reliability and validity. Constructivism claims “knowledge, even the knowledge process, is without grounding, without authority...”⁹¹ In other words, all knowledge is socially constructed and there is no generic notion of validity that can be applied to this knowledge. This is the reflexive thinking (or reflexivity) of reliability and validity for assessing the research. In this regard, the importance of reflexivity should be recognized throughout the process of research. In data collection and data analysis, a reflexive researcher is clear about the premises upon which the study is built and can make claims: what is the researcher able to ‘know’? How can the researcher ‘know’? And how does the researcher know that he or she has known? In terms of this study, the researcher is aware that different groups have different understandings and views of heritage protection and tourism development within heritage-protected areas. In data analysis, the researcher

⁸⁷ Neil Simco and Jo Warin. “Validity in Image - based Research: An Elaborated Illustration of the Issues.” *British Educational Research Journal* 23, no. 5 (1997): 661-672.

⁸⁸ Glyn Winter. “A Comparative Discussion of the Notion of Validity in Qualitative and Quantitative Research.” *The Qualitative Report* 4, no. 3 (2000): 4.

⁸⁹ Jerry W. Willis. *Foundations of Qualitative Research: Interpretive and Critical Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007): 216.

⁹⁰ Jennifer Mason. *Qualitative Researching*. (Thousand Oaks, California and London and New Delhi: Sage, 1996): 21.

⁹¹ David L. Altheide and John M. Johnson. “Criteria for Assessing Interpretive Validity in Qualitative Research.” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. ed. N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994): 487.

is also aware that what they think about heritage protection and tourism development is important, but what is more important is how and why they have developed these ideas. According to Gadamer, admitting cognitive limitations is a primary step in the iterative process of understanding⁹².

As qualitative researchers work within a constructivist paradigm we must consider whether our way of framing the research questions is fruitful and meaningful? That is, a key validity criterion has to consider not only 'is it right?' but also 'is it useful' and 'is it illuminating?' A dialectic view of 'truth' must also include the notion that there are always emerging possibilities which are not yet visible. This requires a bold shift in evaluating the validity of knowledge, from 'Does this research correspond with the observable facts?' to '[t]o what extent does this research present new possibilities for social action?' and '[d]oes it stimulate normative dialogue about how we can and should organize ourselves?'

It is clear that 'new possibilities' emerge from the presence of critical views of taken-for-granted assumptions. This, then, becomes another criterion for assessing the validity of qualitative research. This research aims to better understand the transformative process of heritage-protected tourist destinations in the context of China by investigating two WCH sites. In this regard heritage protection has been authorized and legitimized by the central government of China for approximately the last 40 years. It is a 'taken-for-granted' assumption that it is 'right' to protect heritage. This research, however, traces the origin of protecting built heritage in European countries and reviews how this idea spread to China and has since influenced heritage protection. In other words, this research provides 'new possibilities' in understandings of how and why heritage protection currently operates in China.

The concepts of reliability and validity are also of particular concern for translating the research findings to other contexts or broader theories, a process called 'generalization'⁹³. This research takes a case study approach and therefore the justification for being able to generalize findings from the specific case areas to a broader context will also be mentioned in Chapter 7. This section focuses on

⁹² Hans-Georg Gadamer. *Philosophical Hermeneutics*. (California: University of California Press, 2008).

⁹³ Jane Lewis and Jane Ritchie. "Generalising from Qualitative Research." in *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. ed. Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis (London and Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 2003): 270.

the requirements in fieldwork for further generalization.

Lewis and Ritchie indicate three related yet outwardly distinct concepts involving the generalization of a specific study; these are *representational* generalization, *inferential* generalization, and *theoretical* generalization⁹⁴. Representational generalization refers to the question of whether the research sample could be generalized to other or wider populations from which the sample is drawn. Inferential generalization concerns whether the findings from a specific study can be applied to a broader context beyond the sampled one. Theoretical generalization relates to the question of whether the theoretical propositions, principles, or statements from the findings can be generalized to a broader application. The following section will justify the generalization of this research from these three aspects.

This research aims to explore the research question in depth and examine the degree to which the data from the research supports or fits an existing theory or theories. It will develop the existing theory by examining its applicability in different contexts rather than establishing a theory. Specifically, Giddens' modernity concepts, originating in capitalist countries, will be applied to analyze the underlying social processes for the transformative process driven by heritage authorization and tourism development in the two case areas in a socialist country, China. As for inferential generalization, the transferability of research findings depends on the extent of congruence between the 'sending context' where the research is conducted, and the 'receiving context' where the research findings are to be applied⁹⁵. The historical background on internationalizing Chinese heritage and its connection to tourism as well as the case context will be examined in detail so that the reader can gauge the relevance of the research findings to other contexts. Two broad factors are recommended to assess referential generalization in qualitative studies⁹⁶. The first is the accuracy with which the phenomena are captured and interpreted and the second is whether the sample could provide the diverse dimensions of explanation. These depend on

⁹⁴ Jane Lewis and Jane Ritchie. "Generalising from Qualitative Research." in *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. ed. Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis (London and Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 2003): 264.

⁹⁵ Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba. "The Only Generalization Is: There Is No Generalization." in *Case Study Method* ed. Roger Gomm, Martyn Hammersley, and Peter Foster. (London and Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: 2000): 27-44.

⁹⁶ Jane Lewis and Jane Ritchie. "Generalising from Qualitative Research." in *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. ed. Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis (London and Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 2003): 269-270.

the quality of fieldwork and its analysis. In this research, the researcher selects representative samples who are involved in heritage authorization and tourism development and are from different backgrounds so that interviewees could provide sufficient information with diverse dimensions for further analysis.

Another issue involves the use of published Chinese articles in this study. Some academic publications referenced in this study were written by Chinese scholars. In China, an academic paper is always required to pass political censorship prior to publication. This situation can lead to a certain bias on the part of the authors. For example, the authors will not be critical of anything that might 'offend' the government. This leads to a reluctance to examine certain issues that are recognized as being politically sensitive. To mitigate this potential bias, I conducted a critical examination of such documents before deciding whether or not to include them in the research. In terms of media documents, the large volume available online and in print meant that I had to target the most important and relevant articles from official and reliable websites. I then cross checked their credibility via other data sources or the internet. In summary, the documents and referenced articles selected to inform this study were examined carefully to guarantee the reliability of the data and literature in this research.

1.2.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethics are a significant issue associated with any academic study. Ethics refers to whether the research is socially and morally acceptable⁹⁷. In qualitative research, researchers who use human participants can encounter complex ethical issues. Because this study employed participant observation and informant interviews the potential for ethical dilemmas was present. As a researcher I was always aware that "extreme care must be taken to avoid any harm to them"⁹⁸. Thus, ethical issues have been carefully considered in this study.

In order to mitigate potential ethical problems the following principles were observed; *informed consent* (consent received from the subject after he or she has been carefully and truthfully informed about the research), *right to privacy* (protecting the identity of the subject) and *protection from harm*

⁹⁷ Chris Gratton and Ian Jones. *Research Methods for Sports Studies*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004): 110.

⁹⁸ Andre Fontana and James Frey. "Interviewing: the Art of Science." in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. ed. N.K.Denzin and Y.S.Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), 372.

(physical, emotional, or any other kind)⁹⁹. This study has conformed to the University of Western Australia's Human Research Ethics approval process. The data collected for this study were gathered strictly on the basis of informed consent. Before commencing the semi-structured interviews, each participant was made aware of my role as a research student at UWA and was provided with a Participant Consent Form (PCF) to sign. I also provided my research subjects with a Participant Information Form (PIF) and introduced the nature of the study and how the data would be used. Only after I obtained the signed PCF would the interview be conducted. The participants were also informed that the conversation could be stopped at any time if they wished to do so. The participants were told that my interview with them would be audio recorded and that they could ask me to stop the recording at any time. They were also told they could withdraw their consent to participate in the study at any time without providing an explanation. They could also refuse to answer a particular question if they felt inclined. All participants were guaranteed anonymity and told that only my supervisors and I would have access to the research data after the interviews. Since some interviewees in this research undertake several roles in government and Non-Government Organizations as well as universities, all the personal information and positions for interviewees are confidential in this thesis to protect the participants from the potential harm.

In addition, this research not only involves interviews but also participant observation in both case areas. In particular, the Shaolin temple exists as a religious area. Religious areas are usually involved in ethical issues. For example, Humphreys notes that some fields of sociological research including religion are sensitive catalogues that should be avoided¹⁰⁰. This research involves the observation of religious area, such as cultural activities and cultural forms based on Chan Buddhism, but the research is not involved in religion and the actors' religious belief. Stressing the need for careful consideration when doing fieldwork at religious sites, I observed only the public places and cultural activities which are held for the public and tourists.

In addition to the ethical issues in the SSA, I was also careful about ethical issues involved in the direct and participant observations of local residents. When interacting with participants in private

⁹⁹ Andre Fontana and James Frey. "Interviewing: the Art of Science." in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. ed. N.K.Denzin and Y.S.Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), 372.

¹⁰⁰ Laud Humphreys. *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places*. Enlarged Edition. (Piscataway, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1975): 167-168.

spaces, such as houses in the ACP and around the SSA, I was completely transparent about my identity as a research student. For example, I participated in some cultural activities conducted by local residents who operated the traditional inn where I stayed whilst conducting my fieldwork. When I registered at the traditional inn, I informed them of my identity as a PhD student at the University of Western Australia.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will establish the theoretical framework to better understand the transformative process of a heritage-protected tourist destination driven by tourism development and heritage authorization. A heritage-protected place can be seen as a time-space unit with a traditional and closed culture before it becomes a modern and open tourist destination. As a heritage-protected place, people will be attracted by its culture. However, when “people tour culture”, “culture and objects themselves travel”¹⁰¹. That is, as heritage-protected places where tourists search for traditional feelings, tourist destinations are experiencing social and cultural transformation from traditional features to modern ones. This chapter will explore this transformative process through a theoretical analysis.

Three bodies of literature will be explored in this chapter. Firstly, four aspects of literature on modernity are reviewed. The concepts of a traditional community and a modern society are reviewed to better understand the differences between the two social formations. Classical sociologists’ and Giddens’ arguments on modernity will be analyzed to better understand the modernity process. Giddens’ argument on modernity is useful to characterize the current modernity process. Secondly, literature on modernity, tourism destinations, and cultural heritage is reviewed to better understand how modernity shapes cultural heritage and tourist destinations. Finally, the theoretical framework is established to better understand how Giddens’ argument on modernity shapes the transformative processes of heritage-protected tourist destinations in China.

2.2 Literature on Modernity

Modernity is characterized as a transformative process whereby social groups move from a ‘traditional’ community¹⁰² to a ‘modern’ society. In terms of time and initial geographical location it specifically refers to “modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their

¹⁰¹ Chris Rojek, and John Urry, eds. *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 1.

¹⁰² Some scholars including Giddens define this as pre-modern society, I borrow the concept of “traditional community” from Tönnies to refer to the pre-modern social association.

influence”¹⁰³. An understanding of how the evolution from a traditional community to a modern society has come about will further the in-depth analysis of modernity. Thus, in this section, I will first briefly describe the two concepts of ‘traditional community’ and ‘modern society’ and then investigate features or drivers in the transformation from a traditional community to a modern society.

2.2.1 Traditional Community and Modern Society

Tönnies wrote *Gemeinschaft und gesellschaft* in 1887¹⁰⁴. It refers to two ideal social groupings. *Gemeinschaft* constitutes the total-united members within a community who resemble each other in that they have the same beliefs, values, norms, and customs. As a social force, high levels of consensus and mutual understanding keep individuals united consistently and automatically. The family is an example of this kind of group. All *Gemeinschafts* originate from a family unit. However, the family is not the only type of *Gemeinschaft*. Besides families, neighborhoods and friends can also constitute to the make-up of the *Gemeinschaft*. Other than organic ties associated with the family, the memory of community and the fact of residing in the same geographical space also fulfill the sense of *Gemeinschaft*. Villages and towns could also be seen as *Gemeinschaft* in that the members often have the same customs or religion, which can bind them together. Also, the labors of private individuals may be sold at a negotiated price, not by a modern contract. In *Gemeinschaft*, property is often communal and possession is collective. ‘Exchange’ in a modern sense does not exist.

A *Gesellschaft* society characteristically involves its members living together while being separated in that each does only for themselves and may even be hostile to others. Nobody is obliged to do anything for others unless it involves exchange or gain for a market product. Nations and cities are the scaled spaces for the *Gesellschaft* society, in which everyone is assumed to be totally different to others and only rational contracts facilitate their interactions. The social ties in *Gesellschaft* are framed by convention, policy, and public opinion.

In Tönnies’ comparative analysis, he assumes two different social group typologies. They are totally

¹⁰³ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990),1.

¹⁰⁴ Ferdinand Tönnies. *Tönnies: Community and Civil Society*. (Cambridge UK.: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

different in terms of their social order, economic spheres, legal systems, and understandings of ethics and morality. The social order in *Gemeinschaft* is fundamentally harmonious and based on common customs and shared beliefs whilst in a *Gesellschaft* society social order is based on convention and rational desire underpinned by political legislation. “Concord” in Tönnies’ view has the same meaning as ‘mutual understanding’; the will of the community in its most basic form, implying a heartfelt sense of integration and unanimity¹⁰⁵. The economic sphere in *Gemeinschaft* is the general household/home economy based on a predominance of agriculture while in *Gesellschaft* it is a general trade economy based on predominance of industry¹⁰⁶. The legal system in *Gemeinschaft* is embedded in enforceable normative rules naturally regulating relations of similar individuals with each other. Normative rules are usually stated by traditional sociologists¹⁰⁷ to refer to values, norms, duty, and codes of conduct¹⁰⁸. In *Gesellschaft* societies it is the regulative rule regulating the separate identities of rational individuals through sovereign will and the power of the nation-state. The regulative rules refer to formal and official rules, such as government policies, laws, standards, and sanctions. Morality in *Gemeinschaft* communities is often associated with religion and religious precepts which provides a framework for customs and family-based mutual understanding. In fact, what Tönnies described have both existed and developed in history in that *Gesellschaft* evolves from *Gemeinschaft*¹⁰⁹.

In opposition to Tönnies’ description of the organic community and mechanical society, Emile Durkheim argues that the modern society is characterized by organic solidarity in the sense that people in modern society still rely on each other through an economic system which involves a division of labor¹¹⁰. Durkheim has suggested that in traditional communities people are more self-sufficient and less integrated and thus more force, for example in the form of religion, is needed to ensure social unity. From an economic cooperation perspective, Durkheim claims the traditional community demonstrates characteristics of mechanical solidarity because they do not need others’ cooperation, whilst the modern society is shaped by ties of organic solidarity in that everyone needs

¹⁰⁵ Ferdinand Tönnies. *Tönnies: Community and Civil Society*. (Cambridge UK.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 34.

¹⁰⁶ Oliver C Cox. “The Problem of Societal Transition,” *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 5 (1974):1120-1133.

¹⁰⁷ Emile Durkheim. *The Division of Labor in Society*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014), 116-137; Talcott Parsons. *The Structure of Social Action*, vol. 491. (New York: Free Press, 1949).

¹⁰⁸ Richard Scott W.. *Institutions and organizations*. vol. 2. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 35, 52.

¹⁰⁹ Joan Aldous, Emile Durkheim, and Ferdinand Tönnies. “An Exchange between Durkheim and Tönnies on the Nature of Social Relations, with an Introduction by Joan Aldous,” *American Journal of Sociology* 77, no. 6, (1972): 1191-1200.

¹¹⁰ Emile Durkheim. *The Division of Labor in Society*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014).

others' cooperation¹¹¹. His argument is based on the assumption that human beings are egoistic, while the beliefs, norms, and collective consciousness which form the moral basis of a society facilitate social integration¹¹². Durkheim argues that common beliefs and norms unite any society. Whatever the two social groupings are called, the modern society has become a reality in more and more spaces.

2.2.2 Classical Sociologists' Views on Modernity

The transformation of social groups from a traditional community to a modern society is conceptualized as modernity¹¹³. Several classical sociologists have attempted to explain this transformation through various dichotomies, including Feudalism/Capitalism by Marx¹¹⁴, *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* by Tönnies, and Organic/Mechanical solidarity by Durkheim¹¹⁵. They have explored the constitutive elements of modernity and used these to identify the principal mechanisms which trigger social change. These constitutive elements include capitalism, industrialism, and rationalism. Economic factors figure heavily as the primary driver of modernity. This section will introduce the classical sociologists' arguments on modernity, which contribute to the understanding of the modernity process in their era and cast light on features of earlier stages of the modernity process.

Karl Marx and Max Weber see Capitalism as being the major transformative driver shaping modernity¹¹⁶. Yet their ideas of capitalism are different in that Weber primarily focuses on rationalism while Marx views capitalism as being the economic power that dominates everything in modern society¹¹⁷. For Marx, capitalism creates a distinct society from the previous feudal one in that capitalist production alters the entire economic structure of society. Capitalism requires the commodification of all material goods and human labor in modern society through a system of production and exchange. Although Marx recognized many phenomena in modern society, including

¹¹¹ Bert N Adams and Sydie, R. A. (Rosalind Ann). *Classical Sociological Theory*. (Thousand Oaks: Calif. ; London: Pine Forge Press, 2002), 106.

¹¹² Kenneth Allan. *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory: Seeing the Social World*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 102, 137.

¹¹³ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990).

¹¹⁴ Karl Marx. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. vol. 4. (New York: Norton, 1972). 94-442.

¹¹⁵ Emile Durkheim. *The Division of Labor in Society*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014).

¹¹⁶ Derek Sayer. *Capitalism and Modernity: An Excursus on Marx and Weber*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

“industrialization, urbanization, secularization, rationalization, individualization, state formation”¹¹⁸, he understood capitalism as being the center and major impetus in shifting society away from pre-capitalist economic systems. Marx viewed social relationships in pre-capitalist societies as being personalized yet without vital consideration of economic production and exchange. Marx argued that in pre-capitalist economies economic relationships were subordinate to social status, such as in situations where serfs depended on lords. However, in capitalist societies, economic relationships are more dominant. Thus, the mechanism for the transformative driver is economic in that industrialization is the major factor structuring modernity¹¹⁹.

Max Weber is seen as a theorist of “rational modernity and modernization” rather than a theorist of capitalism¹²⁰. His argument is that rationalization shapes modern society at all levels in the process¹²¹. In Weber’s *Economy and Society* and *Collected Essays in the Sociology of Religion*, the rationalization process leading to modernity and ‘civilization’ has four qualities: the practical, the theoretical (or the “intellectual”), the substantive, and the formal¹²². Weber assumed that individuals would display a practical rationality by harboring purely pragmatic and egoistic interests; in other words, individuals would calculate the most expedient way to deal with difficulties. Practical rationality is demonstrated in the way they maximize their self-interests in every-day actions. Theoretical rationality relates to the way that individuals are influenced by logic. This has led to the secularization of societies and has ‘liberated’ people from the bonds of religion. Substantive rationality is related to the “value postulate”¹²³. This holds that people who have different values are ‘irrational’; for instance the capitalists’ rational view on efficiency and productivity. Capitalists would hold that status monopolies are irrational, whilst status monopolies are entirely rational from the viewpoint of the feudalist economy. Substantive rationality implies that a technically correct rationalization would not be regarded as progressive. Formal rationality refers to the legitimacy of the organizational framework which supports industrialization with respect to its economic, legal,

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 2.

¹¹⁹ Schmucl N Eisenstadt. “Macro-societal Analysis—Background, Development and Indications.” In *Macro-sociological theory: Perspectives on sociological theory*, vol. 2, ed. Helle, Horst Jürgen (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1985), 7-24.

¹²⁰ Bryan S Turner. *Max Weber: From History to Modernity*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 8; Sam Whimster, and Scott Lash, eds. *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).

¹²¹ Bryan S Turner. *Max Weber: From History to Modernity*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹²² Stephen Kalberg. “Max Weber’s Types of Rationality: Cornerstones for the Analysis of Rationalization Processes in History.” *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no.5, (1980): 1145-1179.

¹²³ Stephen Kalberg. “Max Weber’s types of rationality: Cornerstones for the analysis of rationalization processes in history.” *American Journal of Sociolog.* 85, no. 5, (1980): 1155.

scientific, and bureaucratic forms. For Weber, the process of modernity is a multiple rationalization process permeating all aspects of the society. Above all rationality is focused on the calculation of the most efficient ways to acquire private profit. In regards to economy, rational capitalism replaces the previous economic system. In political bureaucracies formal rationalization has shaped systematic administrations to realize public goals and adapt to the existence and authority of the nation-state. Rationalization has destroyed traditional authority and shaped modern society.

From an analysis of Marx's capitalism, Durheim's industrialism, and Weber's rational capitalism, it is clear that many of the classical sociologists have emphasized economics in the transformation from traditional to modern society. Economic transformation based on capitalism, rationalism and industrialism has allowed for the creation of the modern nation-state. However, the negative effects have included an expansive bureaucracy, class struggle, and totalitarianism¹²⁴. In particular, environmental destruction and lack of self-identity have become two significant problems under excessive economic development¹²⁵.

Other scholars have found additional drivers of modernity. Greenfeld notes that nationalism is a key ideology that has contributed to the rise and power of the modern state¹²⁶. In *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, Greenfeld identifies five specific types of nationalism by exploring the formation process of nationalism in five countries: England, France, Russia, Germany, and the United States¹²⁷. Greenfeld argues that nationalism has dominated modern politics because it provides people with a sense of dignity and national identity. In the formation of the modern nation-state this kind of dignity and national identity is expected to unite individuals to function based on a shared belief or shared past in their traditional community. Bellah indicates that "civil religion" in America, related closely to the state history, has been "a genuine apprehension of universal and transcendent religious reality"¹²⁸. Civil religion, as Bellah describes, goes smoothly with America politics without any conflict. Moreover, civil religion provides support for the attainment of national goals, which implies that this civil religion functions as a national identity

¹²⁴ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 8.

¹²⁵ Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 76-79; Anthony Giddens. *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

¹²⁶ Liah Greenfeld. "Nationalism and modernity." *Social Research* 63, no. 1, (1996): 3-40.

¹²⁷ Liah Greenfeld. *Nationalism: Five Ways to Modernity*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 1-26.

¹²⁸ Robert N. Bellah. "Civil religion in America." *Daedalus* 96, no. 1, (1967): 12.

based on shared beliefs and a shared past. Nationalism is also responsible for the reorientation of economic growth, having shaped the economic dynamics of societies such as that of The United States¹²⁹. That is to say, nationalism causes the emergence of a modern economy and makes the economic sphere central, like “economic civilization” in America¹³⁰. These studies demonstrate that nationalism contributes to modernity in both the economic and cultural spheres, as well as through modern politics to legitimate its sovereign role in nation-states.

Giddens indicates that “modernity ... is multidimensional on the level of institutions, and each of the elements specified by these various traditions plays some part”¹³¹. It is unsurprising that, since there are so many features of this transformative process, various scholars have identified different drivers of modernity. In this section, the drivers of capitalism, rationalism, and nationalism have been explored to show their effect on modernity. However, in more recent times it has been argued that other features impact on the presence of modernity, in particular globalization and reflexivity, which are regarded as new features of modernity or features of post-modernity. The following section elaborates on Giddens’ arguments concerning modernity.

2.2.3 Giddens’ Theory of Modernity

In this section, I will examine Giddens’ argument on modernity. Briefly, this includes Giddens’ three key features of modernity. For Giddens, there are four dimensions affecting modern institutions, capitalism, industrialism, military power, and surveillance¹³². Capitalism is by nature strongly competitive, commodifying, and expansionary. Industrialism has created the context for advancements in technology and science, and has provided the wealth to fund and support modern institutions. Another two dimensions, military power (control of the legitimate use of violence in the context of war) and surveillance (control of information and the supervision of society), are more relevant to the formation of nation-states in the political sphere. The formation of the nation-state began in Europe at a time when post-feudal kingdoms and principalities were scattered and decentralized. Nation-states emerged from the need to have greater degrees of administrative power and employ this power more efficiently than could be achieved in post-feudal kingdoms and

¹²⁹ Liah Greenfeld. *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹³¹ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 12.

¹³² Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 55-63.

principalities. These institutional dimensions provided the basis for the emergence of late modernity, features of which include time-space distanciation, disembedding and reflexivity.

Giddens states that the dynamism of modernity is predicated on three factors:

the *separation of time and space* and their recombination in forms which permit the precise time-space ‘zoning’ of social life; the *disembedding* of social systems (a phenomenon which connects closely with the factors involved in time-space separation); and the *reflexive ordering and reordering* of social relations in the continual inputs of knowledge affecting the actions of individuals and groups¹³³.

These three characteristics constitute the contextual basis for Giddens’ analysis of the transformative nature of contemporary society.

Time-space Distanciation

Giddens claims that time and space are closely related in the pre-modern world in that the traditional calendar was distinctive within a specific community. For example, people only used the lunar calendar in pre-modern China and this calendar was more contextualized in specific places to correspond to processes of traditional agriculture; in other words, traditional timing was place-specific time. The invention of the clock and the standardization of time worldwide in modernity have resulted in what Giddens has termed the “emptying of time”. This refers to the time distance in traditional timing and uniform modern timing. “Emptying of time” was a precondition of “emptying of space”¹³⁴. For Giddens, ‘place’ refers to a specific geographical location, whilst ‘space’ is a social concept characterized by social activity. In pre-modern society, space was similar to place in that social activities were closely tied to a specific location. In other words, social activities were rarely influenced by geographically distant factors in pre-modern society. In the modern condition, space is separated from place in that social activities are not determined only by localized factors, but also geographically distant factors. For example, McDonald’s restaurants have appeared in a standardized form in many countries around the world; the lives of coffee growers in Brazil are affected by the global price of coffee which is determined by global markets. Furthermore, from a structural perspective, “[w]hat structures the locale is not simply that which is present on the scene; the ‘visible form’ of the locale conceals the distanciated relations which determine its nature”¹³⁵.

¹³³ Ibid., 16-17.

¹³⁴ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 18.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 19.

Time-space distancing results in the “extreme dynamism of modernity” in that it is so different from the social order in traditional societies, where social activities were embedded in a more closed and static system. These analyses constitute the concept of “the separation of time and space” or “time-space distancing”. This is depicted in the Figure 2.1. It is the pre-condition of another significant concept, the process of the disembedding of social systems, or disembedded institutions.

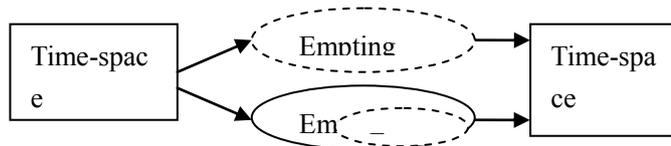


Figure 2.1 Time-space distancing

Disembedding Mechanics

The time-space distancing and its formation break the connections between social activities and their embedding in contexts of presence. What Giddens regards as ‘disembedding’ is “the ‘lifting out’ of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space”¹³⁶. For example, the CCPWCNH, issued by UNESCO and originating in Europe with the aim of preserving heritage, has itself shaped the authorized cultural heritage systems in many countries beyond Europe. In particular the OGIWHC provides detailed guidelines relating to preserving methods and standards, regardless of the diverse cultural heritages found in different local contexts. This international standard in the preservation of cultural heritage has the potential to alter social relations embedded in the original time-space contexts, where local people could independently manage cultural preservation.

Disembedding is conceptualized as removing the social relations from alignments of time-space. That is to say, social contexts can be free of specific places, local habits and practices. Giddens notes that this is an important factor accounting for the evolution to modernity. Giddens analyses two kinds of disembedding mechanisms within modernity; the creation of *symbolic tokens* and the establishment of *expert systems*¹³⁷. Symbolic tokens are understood as the “media of interchange which can be ‘passed around’ without regard to the specific characteristics of individuals or groups

¹³⁶ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 21.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 22-29.

that handle them at any particular juncture”¹³⁸. For example, money, as a symbolic token which is transferable to diverse local contexts, is a kind of credit and debt token, and it can be regarded as a mode of time-space distancing. This kind of symbolic token allows for production and consumption of goods and services within the nation-state and across international borders. Here, the disembedding mechanism constitutes money as separate from the time-space context. Another disembedding mechanism is the creation of expert systems, which also separates social relations from the time-space context. Expert systems refer to “systems of technical accomplishment or professional expertise that organize large areas of the material and social environments in which we live today”¹³⁹. Expert systems are widely present in modernity and include such things as the designation of the house, the use of transport infrastructure, computer software, building construction guidelines, educational institutions, the Reserve Bank, the IMF and many other things relevant to expert knowledge. Both symbolic tokens and expert systems, referred to by Giddens as “abstract systems”, are widely used in the context of time-space distancing through the disembedding of social systems. The tourist destination image, for instance, constructed by so-called ‘experts’ and promoted by local governments, is a symbolic token and is supported by expert systems. The tourist destination image, as a symbolic token in this instance is expected to be embedded in the local context, such as the historical events or cultural features, while it is also interpreted by heritage and tourism experts. In this context, heritage and tourism experts are the representatives of expert systems. For the most part people trust the appropriate destination image that is delivered through the mass media, especially for those who are unfamiliar with the specific history or culture of exotic locales. The tourist destination image is (re)interpreted more attractively for tourists through connecting the local context with the acknowledged demands and interests of tourists. However, tourist destination image, as a symbolic token supported by experts, is separated from time-space attachment.

The concept of “reembedding” is also explored by Giddens. It refers to “the reappropriation or recasting of disembedded social relations so as to pin them down (however partially or transitorily) to local conditions of time and place”¹⁴⁰. The relations of disembedding and reembedding are

¹³⁸ Ibid., 22.

¹³⁹ Eliot Freidson. *Professional powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge*. Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1988, cited in Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 27.

¹⁴⁰ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 79-88.

analyzed through exploring the differentiation of trust, faith, and confidence. The existence of symbolic tokens and expert systems is dependent on ‘trust’, which is essentially the link between faith and confidence¹⁴¹. Faith here focuses on the correctness of technical principles which may not be understood by laymen, rather than faith in the moral aspects of human beings and confidence means the mastery of a specific field. Thus, trust is defined as “confidence in the reliability of a person or system, regarding a given set of outcomes or events, where that confidence expresses a faith in the probity or love of another, or in the correctness of abstract principles (technical knowledge)”¹⁴². The agents have to choose to trust in the context of modernity where “the nature of modern institution is deeply bound up with the mechanism of trust in abstract systems”¹⁴³. Furthermore, the dynamic feature of modern social institutions makes human action transform fast on a large scale. Thus, trust, or the middle extent of faith, has to exist in the dynamically transformative context of modernity, in which the symbolic tokens and expert systems can work on a large scale. The fact that most people trust tourist destination images is a case in point.

Giddens conceptualizes co-present trust relationships as “facework commitments”; whilst trust relationships hidden in abstract systems are called “faceless commitments”¹⁴⁴. Facework commitment refers to the trust between people in their daily routines, such as when local residents meet tourists and tourists perceive cultural expressions in the tourist destination. Faceless commitments relate to the trust lay people might have in experts, such as the way tourists trust the authenticity of WCH listed sites. In the context of faceless commitments people trust expert systems and symbolic tokens in a way that is detached from time and space. Reembedding refers to “processes by means of which faceless commitments are sustained or transformed by facework”¹⁴⁵. All the disembedding institutions interact with the re-embedded contexts of local actions. The faceless commitments are ambiguously linked with those demanding facework. The reembedding process reveals the interrelationship between faceless and facework commitments, in which lay people act in the time-space contexts constructed by expert systems, such as tourists visiting tourist destinations and experiencing their reinterpreted culture. Local residents at tourist sites might come to a compromise with heritage experts in terms of standards of authenticity enshrined in the

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 29-36.

¹⁴² Ibid., 34.

¹⁴³ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990) , 83.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 80.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 88.

CCPWCNH. Thus, standards of authenticity located in the CCPWCNH, at first disembedded the preservation of cultural heritage through the operation and listing system of the CCPWCNH, and second reembedded autochthonous standards of authenticity in local contexts through pragmatic reinterpretation. The process of disembedding mechanics with reembedding, also together with trust, symbolic tokens, and expert systems, is shown in Figure 2.2.

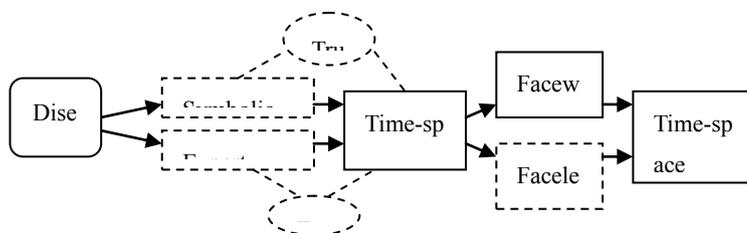


Figure 2.2 Disembedding institution

Reflexivity

The third characteristic of modernity is reflexivity. Reflexivity refers to a process involving the “reflexive monitoring of action”¹⁴⁶. Many researchers regard the reflexive nature of modern society as being a significant feature of what is termed late modernity, a radical state of modernity. Three leading sociologists, Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash in their book *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, regard reflexivity as one of the most significant features of contemporary society, despite the fact that each understands the concept of reflexivity in a slightly different way¹⁴⁷. Reflexivity here relates to an ‘institutional reflexivity’ in which agents have a greater capability to influence social structure. Reflexivity is identified as a significant feature in “the modernization of modern society”¹⁴⁸. It also points to a distinct *second phase* of modernity. The first or prior phase of modernity has been labelled ‘simple modernity’, whilst the current version is termed reflexive or ‘late modernity’ (or alternatively ‘high modernity’ or ‘radical modernity’). These three scholars recognize the so-called negative aspects of simple modernity, most significantly in terms of the excessive production of goods, which has associated environmental, cultural and social costs. In their work, Beck investigates reflexivity in terms of changing political perspectives. He looks at social actors’ acceptance of a formal political system in the period of simple modernity, leading to their participation in shaping and redefining the

¹⁴⁶ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990),36.

¹⁴⁷ Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash. *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

¹⁴⁸ Ulrich Beck, Wolfgang Bonss, and Christoph Lau. “The Theory of Reflexive Modernization Problematic, Hypotheses and Research Programme.” *Theory, Culture and Society* 20, no. 2 (2003): 1-33.

character of the orthodox political order in the period of late modernity. Lash focuses on the reflexivity of structure, aesthetics and community in which knowledgeable agents have more powers to free themselves from the structure of information and communication in the high modernity phase. Lash analyzes reflexivity from an aesthetic dimension in which reflexivity is hermeneutic not only in “high art” but also in popular culture. Giddens analyzes the reflexivity of modernity by arguing that we live in what he terms a ‘post-traditional society’. Giddens asserts that detraditionalization is a process through which the status of tradition is altered. In the period of early modernity, tradition exists as the foundation of society; whilst in the period of late modernity the esteem formerly given to tradition gives way to a more interrogative and debate-driven environment¹⁴⁹. By this, Giddens asserts that modernity in its earlier form was compromised by tradition, whilst tradition, although still present, is different in terms of its fundamental power over society in late modernity. Traditional society is characterized by tradition, which will be conceptualized later in this section, while post-traditional society is conceived as the evacuating of tradition.

Giddens’ other dichotomy for societal phases, the pre-modern/modern phases, is distinguished by his three characteristics of modernity, time-space distanciation, disembedding institution, and reflexivity. This means the phase when these three features are not dominant and obvious is termed pre-modern society whilst the phase when social relations are ordered by these three features is called the modernity phase. Thus, for him, the pre-modern era is similar to Tönnies’ *Gemeinschaft* era (traditional community era)¹⁵⁰. The modernity phase is further divided into two, earlier modernity characterized by time-space distanciation and disembedding mechanics¹⁵¹, and radical/late modernity featured as reflexivity.

For Giddens, reflexivity means that agents not only monitor their own actions but also monitor others. Because it permeates every aspects of modern society, the reflexive monitoring of action, both individual and institutional, is regarded more as a process than a state of being. What Giddens

¹⁴⁹ Anthony Giddens. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 5.

¹⁵⁰ Giddens divide premodern societies into four types, Hunting and Gathering Societies, Agrarian Societies, Pastoral Societies, and Traditional States or Civilizations; Detailed information in: Anthony Giddens. *Sociology*. rev. (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1993): 42-52.

¹⁵¹ Giddens regards that pre-modern phase means the phase before time-space is distanciated widely and disembedding mechanics are not universally spreading. Thus, for him, pre-modern phase includes the beginning of industrialization, capitalization, and rationality. Earlier modernity is still influenced greatly by industrialization, capitalism, and rationality.

focuses on is the increasing capacity of self-conscious and self-referential agents to apply knowledge to and about themselves and the society in which they live. Reflexivity means that social systems are produced and reproduced, and knowledge is accumulated and frequently revised. A low level of social reflexivity will lead to an individual being shaped largely by structure, whilst a high level of social reflexivity will be defined by an individual shaping such things as their own social norms, personal tastes and political orientation. Reflexivity is the engine driving structural change. A good example is the reflexivity of earlier modernity in that tradition-style culture is well-called on by many people in high modernity phase. Tradition-style culture is apparently similar to but inherently different from traditional culture. In the following I will examine Giddens' notion of post-traditional society.

Giddens conceptualizes tradition as having five aspects¹⁵². Firstly, tradition is bound up with collective memory. The integrity of tradition is not only related to persistence over time, but is also interpreted continuously. It is the glue that binds present to past. Secondly, tradition involves rituals. Ritual is a practical way to actively preserve and interpret tradition. Thirdly, tradition is connected to a formulaic notion of truth, which derives its legitimacy from divine law. Only certain people have authority to access the formulaic truth. These people are 'guardians': elders, healers, magicians. Fourthly, these guardians are granted a degree of power or status in society. They are similar to what might be termed experts or specialists in modern society. However, guardians differ from experts in that their ritual power is limited to those within their community. Status is a key feature of guardians while 'competence' is a key characteristic of the experts. Finally, all traditions have a combined normative, emotional, and moral content give them a binding force. In this respect, tradition specifies what should be done, and people will not question why it should be done. It is divine law that states what should be done. For Giddens, 'old tradition' or 'authentic tradition' only exists on the condition that ritual practice is tightly connected with formulaic truth. The connection between ritual practices and formulaic truth shows stability and certainty. In other words, tradition is contextualized in the connection of ritual practice and formulaic truth. If there is no combination of ritual practice and formulaic truth, tradition lapses into mere customs or habits, which are clearly distinguished

¹⁵² Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 62-66.

from tradition¹⁵³. For Giddens, customs and habits have no meaning. They are removed from a context in which ritual practices are connected with formulaic truth. We are then left to ponder why it is that people still perform these customs or habits when they are disengaged from their traditional context. In answer to this, Giddens points to the emotional link to tradition.

For Giddens, the emotional element of tradition, such as family, marriage, and sexuality, was left untouched more or less within modernity¹⁵⁴. Emotional needs within modern society are not met by advancements in technology, materialism or scientific reason. In other words, industrialization, capitalism, and rationality have changed many aspects of tradition, but they have had no bearing on our need for emotional fulfillment. Giddens uses Freud's thesis on dream and Weber's argument on capitalist spirit as evidence to support his argument regarding the emotional link to tradition in earlier modernity. Freud's thesis on dreams suggests that 'dreams are memories with the social context of action removed'. Freud lived in the transitional phase when tradition was gradually dissolving, which made self-identity problematic. The argument relating to dreams reveals the lack of self-identity and emotional attachment to the past. Weber's observation of the relationship between the capitalist spirit and the protestant work ethic indicates that earlier capitalists tried to find justification for their behavior in religion, which has an obvious emotional dimension. Giddens refers to Weber's analysis of capitalist spirit with religious explanation as "economic traditionalism". As a new class, capitalists in Weber's thesis demonstrated a demand for religious legitimacy in their action of pursuing profit. This might imply that there was a real need for some kind of emotional attachment to religion. Furthermore, he used the phrase "emotional drive to repetition" to explain the phenomena that people followed tradition compulsively in earlier modern society, even without the direct association with some form of traditional context.

For Giddens, tradition is a medium of identity¹⁵⁵ and institutional reflexivity always relates to emotions¹⁵⁶. In this respect, tradition represents an emotional link to the past. It is also anticipated it

¹⁵³ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2.

¹⁵⁴ Anthony Giddens. *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2013); Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 56.

¹⁵⁵ Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 80.

¹⁵⁶ Anthony Giddens. "Risk, Trust, Reflexivity". In. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (eds.) (Stanford:

will strengthen personal and collective identity. Nation-states, for instance, use traditional culture to strengthen national identity to the extent that the “nation is an imaged political community”¹⁵⁷. Giddens argues that “[i]n all societies the maintenance of personal identity, and its connection to wider social identities, is a prime requisite of ontological security”¹⁵⁸. This indicates the significance of identity for stable societies. In traditional society, the condition of a combination of rituals and formulaic truth clearly distinguishes the insider and outsider. The relationship between tradition and identity determines whether a person is a friend or stranger in that participation in rituals and acceptance of formulaic truth represents a public commitment. Familiarity is structured by the traditions with which collectivity identifies. Familiarity, tradition, and identity are closely related in traditional communities.

In the high modernity phase, the sustaining of identity becomes a fundamental problem which is expected to be resolved through the creation of new traditions. This kind of new tradition is expected to be the foundation for the “the symbolic domain of the ‘nation’”¹⁵⁹. It is aimed at enabling a sense of collective or national identity. For example, the “sense of community” of neighborhoods was achieved through the reconstruction of communities, which is different to community in traditional society where familiarity, tradition, and identity were tightly combined. The reconstruction of traditionally-styled buildings and “the invention of tradition” provide evidence for this. For example folksongs are supplemented by contemporary songs in the same idiom and transferred to a choral repertoire whose content is patriotic-progressive (‘Nation, Nation, wie voll klingt der Ton’). For Hobsbawm, the author of *The invention of tradition*, this newly created tradition which claims an association with the past is “largely factitious” and does not constitute ‘authentic’ tradition. Yet the newly created tradition functions to strengthen “a sense of identification with a ‘community’ and/or the institutions representing, expressing, or symbolizing it such as a ‘nation’”¹⁶⁰. In essence, the emotional link to tradition from an individual perspective, and the use of this emotional link in the nurturing of national identity, has resulted in institutional reflexivity, which is responsible for the

Stanford University Press, 1994), 197.

¹⁵⁷ Benedict Anderson. *1991: Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. rev. (London and New York: Verso. 1991), 6.

¹⁵⁸ Anthony Giddens. “Living in a Post-Traditional Society”. In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*; ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 80.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.,93.

¹⁶⁰ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The invention of tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 9.

revival of tradition-style activities and buildings. In many countries, national policies of reviving traditional culture, or “tradition-style culture”, shows a tendency toward this kind of reflexivity. The institutional reflexivity is portrayed in Figure 2.3.

Giddens’ idea of the reflexivity of modernity from an emotional dimension is linked to the reflexivity of time-space distanciation and disembedding institutions. This essentially involves the separation of people’s activities from the time-space attachment. Tradition, with its close connection to ritual practice and formulaic truth in traditional communities, demonstrates a concentrated time-space attachment. This kind of time-space attachment engenders feelings of stability and certainty. In this regard, the fact that people recall tradition reveals their desire for stability and certainty; something which is absent in late modernity. The lack of certainty originates from reason and rationality, which were the drivers and products of The Enlightenment¹⁶¹. The seeking of reason constructs the knowledge through which we attempt to understand the world in a way of certitude. However, this ‘new’ knowledge always substitutes the previous one with continuous, endless reason. The dictum that “all science rests upon shifting sands”¹⁶² indicates that it is a process in which no certitude of knowledge is ever attained. The result is that we can no longer understand the world in certain and fixed ways. This process is furthered by the fact that the authority of expert systems has declined in the period of late modernity; laymen simply do not trust experts as they did in earlier modernity. Particularly in the sociology field, Giddens indicates that “the position of the professional sociologist, as the purveyor of expert knowledge about social life, derives from the fact that she or he is at most one step ahead of enlightened lay practitioners of the discipline”¹⁶³. This shows that the line between experts and laymen is closer when laymen have more access to expertise. With technological advances and availability of mass information expertise has been ‘democratised’. Endless revisions of knowledge lead to low levels of trust in experts. For example, some mature tourists do not trust the authenticity of tourism destination cultures which are interpreted by tourism and heritage experts through mass media¹⁶⁴. On the contrary, they search for authentic information and genuine tradition contextualized in the tourist destinations themselves. What they want to find is the feeling of certainty, supported by traditions contextualized in the time-space attachment. In

¹⁶¹ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 38-39.

¹⁶² Karl Popper. *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 34.

¹⁶³ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 43.

¹⁶⁴ George Hughes. “Authenticity in Tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 4 (1995): 781-803.

summary, radical modernity leads to uncertainty and eternal change. The reflexivity of earlier modernity is the certain feeling of divine laws and formulaic truth contextualized in tradition embedded in the time-space attachment.

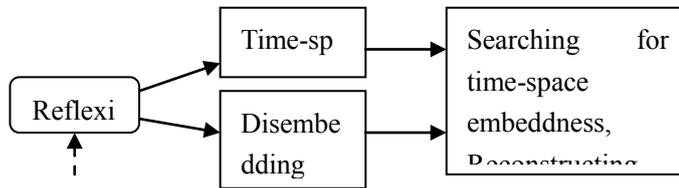


Figure 2.3 Institutional reflexivity

In conclusion, the three characteristics of modernity described in this section are offered as “three dominant sources of the dynamism of modernity”¹⁶⁵, which is shown in Figure 2.4. The first two, time-space distanciation and the disembedding institution, contribute to an understanding of the process of globalization in that “modernity is inherently globalizing”¹⁶⁶. In the context of time-space distanciation, the relations between local and distant social forms are connected more closely in that local occurrences are affected by distant events. This is one of the basic features of globalization. For Giddens, globalization refers to the connecting process of local and distant social forms and events. Patterns of change in different geographical and social contexts across the globe are now closely related. Thus, local transformation, as extensions of social connections across time and space, is what we now call globalization. The process of globalization, featured as time-space distanciation and the disembedding institution, is based on the trust given to expert systems. Faceless commitment is sustained and continued together with facework commitment, which constitutes the reembedding institution. Thus, with the trust accorded to expert systems, time-space distanciation, disembedding, and reembedding work together in earlier stages of modernity. These two features accelerate the process of earlier modernity. The process of earlier modernity, manifesting as industrialization, capitalism, and rationality, significantly alters traditional communities. The only exception to this is emotions, which is regarded as the key factor linked to reflexivity. Thus, with the process of the advancement of modernity, systematic reflexivity begins gradually with this emotional link to tradition, which has its origins in pre-modern notions of ritual practices and formulaic truths. The emotional link to tradition contributes to personal identity. It is also a resource in the construction of national identity through the creation of new traditions by nation-states. For the individual the

¹⁶⁵ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 53.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 63.

emotional link to tradition provides them with personal identity and allows them to feel more secure in an increasingly globalized world. In other words, they want to search for security of time-space embeddedness in traditional society. For the nation-state, national identity is expected to strengthen “imagined communities (nation-state)” through the preservation of cultural heritage and the reconstruction of traditional-style culture, which is different from authentic traditional culture in traditional communities. However, these newly ‘invented traditions’ provide security and feelings of certitude which is lacking in late modernity. This is the reason why traditional-style culture has gained in popularity in post-traditional society. Tradition, embedded in time-space attachment and divine truth, represents certainty without reason and change, while modernity points to a condition of continuous revision of knowledge. This leads to feelings of uncertainty. Thus, systematic reflexivity occurs when more and more people feel uncertain in the high modernity stage. The reflexivity of earlier modernity results in calling on the certainty of tradition, which represents tight time-space attachment and embeddedness. In other words, the reflexivity of modernity leads to a questioning of the globalizing process. This process is furthered by the questioning of expert systems, which are trusted by laymen in earlier modernity, yet become less trusted in late modernity. Without sufficient trust in expert systems, faceless commitment cannot interrelate with facework commitment. That is to say, the foundation of operating social relations in the earlier modernity stage, time-space distanciation, disembedding and reembedding mechanics, become questioned and unstable.

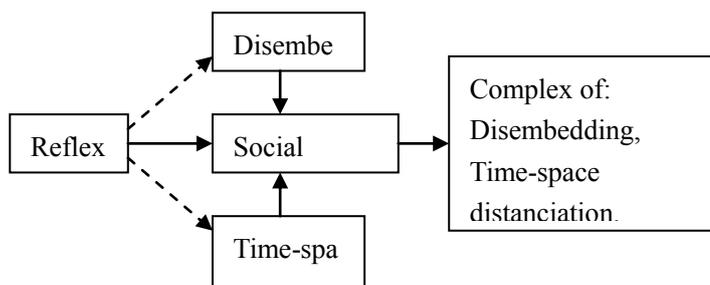


Figure 2.4 Dynamism of modernity

2.2.4 Further Analysis of Modernity

In this section, I will further explore Giddens’ argument on modernity by comparing some aspects of it, such as epistemology, power relations, and expert systems to those of other leading scholars. Although these scholars use different terms, their arguments are similar and facilitate further understanding of Giddens’ views on modernity and other concepts he explored.

Giddens' argument on modernity is similar to Zygmunt Bauman's understanding in that both believe we are now in a transitional era and the characteristics of the former and latter eras are distinctly different. For Giddens, reflexivity is the characteristic of the transitional era between modernity and post-modernity. Zygmunt Bauman, a Polish-British sociologist, argues we are in a transitional era named "liquid modernity", situated between modernity and postmodernity. By liquidity, he means that individuals increasingly mention a growing conviction that "change is the only permanence, and uncertainty the only certainty"¹⁶⁷, which indicates that individuals have increasing feelings of uncertainty and suggests the privatization of ambivalence. Bauman's argument on liquid modernity is very similar to Giddens' argument on reflexivity in terms of continuous revision of knowledge, which furthers people's doubts on the certitude of knowledge. This kind of reflexivity or liquidity will gradually result in the sense that people feel nothing is reliable. History, regarded as the foundation of the past, seems devoid of certainty, which makes people rethink the notion of "progress"¹⁶⁸. It is reflexivity for Giddens and liquidity for Bauman that facilitate the change from late modernity to post-modernity. In post-modernity, people confirm uncertainty of knowledge with the end of history and the idea of progress.

Both of them compare modernity and post-modernity, and their arguments are also similar in terms of characteristics of two eras. Firstly, both of them have realized modernity produces uniformity and removes the contextual diversity of the time-space attachment, while post-modernity admits plurality and complexity. To Bauman modernity is featured as "an epoch of formal reason, laws, typologies, classifications, boundary maintenance, uniformity, and universality" whilst post-modernity is conceptualized as "disruptive, irreverent, relentlessly critical, and oppositional"¹⁶⁹. For Bauman, modernity relates to creating order and acquiring certitude of knowledge through standardization while post-modernity involves embracing plurality and accepting uncertainty. He notes modernity shapes and moulds everything as standard and similar under nation-state governing. Giddens notes that time-space distancing and disembedding mechanics facilitate global and uniform processes, which is similar to Bauman's argument on modernity. Giddens' argument on reflexivity reveals the suspicious and critical recognition of claims of Enlightenment, in that more and more people realize

¹⁶⁷ Zygmunt Bauman. *Liquid modernity*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), viii.

¹⁶⁸ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 31.

¹⁶⁹ Steven Seidman. *Contested knowledge: Social Theory Today*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 298.

that no knowledge is certain¹⁷⁰. Thus, they gradually have to accept uncertainty and plurality, similar to Bauman's description of post-modernity. Secondly, both have realized the significance of experts in the modern era, who have been authorized to produce uniformity and standardization, and have simultaneously indicated the declining influence of experts in late modernity. Giddens' description on experts is also similar to Bauman's analysis of intellectuals in that both of them create authority and legitimacy in the modern era, especially in earlier modernity. In Giddens' analysis, experts are questioned just one step ahead of lay practitioners in late modernity¹⁷¹ while Bauman regards that in post-modernity the former function of intellectuals as representatives of legitimation and producers of uniform standards gradually disappears with diminishing dependence on state control¹⁷².

However, their understandings of late modernity/postmodernity are different in that Bauman focuses on the nation-state and the political influences on the processes of modernity, while Giddens' analysis is more comprehensive in terms of structure and agency. Although Giddens analyzes the influence of the nation-state (such as national identity), his main focus is on the sociological sphere.

Another leading scholar Michel Foucault explores the relationship between power and knowledge. In his book, *The Order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*, Foucault argues that there are always some underlying conditions of truth that dictate what is acceptable as scientific discourse in each era¹⁷³, such as divine law in the traditional community and scientific knowledge in the modern era. Scientific knowledge functions as a major social power in modern society and shapes our dominant cultural ideas of who we are and what is acceptable or not through scientific discourse¹⁷⁴, which indicates that knowledge represents power and people who have knowledge embrace underlying power. He notes that social control operates in modern society through the application of technologies of discipline, also referred to as the "disciplinary order", which involves the legitimacy of the role of experts (intellectuals) in any specific field¹⁷⁵. For example, modern medical knowledge legitimates the 'doctor's gaze' on a patient's body, feelings, desires, and death, which reveals the process by which that field of knowledge (medical knowledge) makes the human

¹⁷⁰ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 48-49.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 43.

¹⁷² Zygmunt Bauman. "Is There a Postmodern Sociology." In *The Postmodern Turn: New Perspectives on Social Theory*, ed. Steven Seidman. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994): 187-204.

¹⁷³ Michel Foucault. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁷⁴ Michel Foucault. "The Subject and Power." *Critical Inquiry* 8 no. 4 (1982): 777-795.

¹⁷⁵ Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. tran. A. Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1977).

body enter the field of power and become the target of manipulation¹⁷⁶. Foucault's analysis of discourse and knowledge also has similarities to Giddens' argument on expert systems and expertise, which are the basis of earlier modernity and also the object of debate in late modernity with the uncertainty of knowledge. They are different in that discourse analysis involves the history of specialized vocabulary/words in a specific field and usually reveals the power/influence of discourse on common people, while the expert system represents an abstract system relying on the laymen's trust. Discourse shapes people's thoughts and behavior in all eras, whilst expert systems' determinant influence is mainly in the modern phase.

From the above analysis, it is clear that time-space distancing and disembedding institutions produce global and national uniformity and standards, through which expert systems dominate/legitimate modern knowledge or so-called "scientific knowledge" to permeate individuals' thoughts and actions in daily life. Experts have the power to determine this uniformity while individuals, as laymen, have the choice to engage with this uniformity but less power to change it. However, with individual/institutional reflexivity, laymen have become sub-experts with more access to knowledge in specific fields. Reflexivity of knowledge, regarded as frequent modifications of knowledge with uncertain feelings, furthers the questioning of modern uniformity supported by experts. Thus, the position of experts is challenged by this reflexivity.

2.3 Modernity, Tourism and Heritage

In this section I review the process of modernity in relation to tourist destinations. In particular, the focus will be on heritage-protected areas. Two themes will be reviewed: modernity and the tourist destination, modernity and authorized cultural heritage. Giddens' three characteristics of modernity, time-space distancing, disembedding and reflexivity, are explored in the context of these themes. The transformative process in heritage-protected tourist destinations is analyzed through applying Giddens' modernity theory to the relevant literature. This section contributes to an understanding of the notion of modernity in studies of tourism and heritage.

¹⁷⁶ Michel Foucault. *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. tran. A. Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1994).

2.3.1 Modernity and Tourist Destinations

Tourist destination, as a place within which there is social interaction between tourists and local residents, undergoes a transformative process from a 'closed and traditional' phase to a more 'open and modern' phase. Certain characteristics, driven primarily by tourism development, shape this transformative process. In this section I analyze how Giddens' three characteristics of modernity shape the process of modernity in tourist destinations.

Tourist Destinations as a Socio-spatial Concept

The concept of a 'destination' has undergone a process of change. A destination was firstly only a geographical or spatial concept which referred to a varying range of spatial scales such as continents, states, provinces, cities, towns and villages¹⁷⁷. As a geographical or spatial concept it was thought to be static. In the last two decades, 'space' has been reinterpreted from the perspectives of social and cultural studies as a social concept. This reinterpretation emphasizes space as the domain in which social agents interact with each other in a dynamic manner. Examples of this reinterpretation can be found in the "spatialization of social theory"¹⁷⁸, the role of space¹⁷⁹, the geopolitics of capitalism¹⁸⁰, and the social relations and spatial structures¹⁸¹. Based on these, the concept of a destination has been broadened to include spatial and social features.

When the idea of a 'tourist destination' first appeared it was also conceptualized as a place-bounded geographical unit¹⁸². Then, with the conceptual turn which embedded political, economic and social processes into a bounded spatial unit, a tourist destination has been conceptualized as a social space with cultural features and images. Different from the traditional notion of space where social activities and personal relations occurred principally between local actors, a tourist destination is a

¹⁷⁷ Jarkko Saarinen. "'Destinations in change' The Transformation Process of Tourist Destinations." *Tourist Studies* 4, no. 2 (2004): 161-179.

¹⁷⁸ Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash. "Globalization, Modernity and the Spatialization of Social Theory: An Introduction." In *Global modernities* ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson. (London: Sage; Thousand Oaks, California: Sage; New Delhi: Sage, 1995), 1-24.

¹⁷⁹ Mike Crang and Nigel J. Thrift, eds. *Thinking Space*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

¹⁸⁰ David Harvey. *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*. (London and New York: Verso, 2006), 107-109.

¹⁸¹ David Ley. "Book Reviews: Social Relations and Spatial Structures by Derek Gregory, John Urry", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographer* 14, no. 1 (1989): 113-115.

¹⁸² Richard W. Butler. The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources. In *The Tourism Area Life Cycle Vol 1: Applications and Modifications*. (Clevedon UK, New York USA, and Ontario Canada: Channel View Publications, 2006): 1-3.

space where tourists and local actors interact with each other through various activities and processes. One example occurs when local residents act as tourist guides or provide lodgings for tourists. Thus, the transformative process of tourist destinations shows distinctive features in terms of the spatial and social changes originating from interaction between tourists and local actors¹⁸³.

The transformative process occurring in tourist destinations, from a 'traditional community' to a 'modern space' has been explored by many scholars. Butler has asserted that "there can be little doubt that tourist areas are dynamic, that they evolve and change over time"¹⁸⁴. He presents a hypothetical example of a tourist destination transformation to explore the general pattern of change occurring in tourist destinations¹⁸⁵. Furthermore, he advocates that there are six stages in this transformation: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and rejuvenation or decline. The development stage represents the point at which there is significant cultural change, from traditional to a modern and commercial feature surging with tourists. Each stage has unique features in regard to tourist visitation, local residents' attitudes, and environmental and cultural changes. The local impact of tourism development at the earlier stages mainly involves economic change, whilst in the later stages it is principally related to social and cultural change. This reflects the pattern of modernity in which industrialization, capitalism, and rationality initially brought economic development, whilst in the later stages an increasing commitment to reflexivity emerged in terms of social and cultural change. Butler's hypothetical example of the transformation of tourist destinations has the potential to forecast the development of tourist destinations. Consequently it has implications for governments or entrepreneurs to further rejuvenation, rather than progress to a state of decline. Butler's research has paved the way for the exploration of the dynamics of tourist destinations. Certain themes have been well-explored, such as the drivers of transformation within tourist destinations¹⁸⁶, the interaction between tourists and local residents¹⁸⁷, and cultural change¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸³ Kevin Meethan. "Tourism in Global Society. Place, Culture, Consumption." *Relaciones: Estudios de historia y sociedad* 26, no. 103 (2005): 270-277.

¹⁸⁴ Richard W Butler. "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources." *The Canadian Geographer* 24, no. 1 (1980): 5.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-12.

¹⁸⁶ Gary E. Machlis and William R. Burch. "Relations between Strangers: Cycles of Structure and Meaning in Tourist Systems." *The Sociological Review* 31, no. 4 (1983): 666-692.

¹⁸⁷ John Urry, "The Tourist Gaze 'Revisited'." *American Behavioral Scientist* 36, no. 2 (1992): 172-186; Valene L. Smith, ed. *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, rev. ed. (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

¹⁸⁸ Dean MacCannell. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

Interaction between External Tourists and Local Agents in Tourist Destinations

The social agents in tourist destinations typically include tourists, local residents, government officials and entrepreneurs. Many scholars have studied the social interactions between these actors, particularly the interaction between tourists and local residents from an anthropological perspective¹⁸⁹, staged-culture performances by local residents for tourists¹⁹⁰, the ‘tourist gaze’¹⁹¹ and the ‘local gaze’¹⁹². From an anthropological perspective these studies have been conducted on the premise that tourists, especially those from developed countries, influence local residents in tribal or traditional communities. Following that premise, and the influence of Goffman’s front versus back stage theory¹⁹³, MacCannell established the *staged-authenticity theory* to understand how local residents ‘arrange the performance stage’ for tourists searching for authenticity¹⁹⁴. Urry’s theory on the tourist gaze, developed from Foucault’s idea of the medical gaze and discourse/power¹⁹⁵, analyzed how tourists influence local agents and local spaces through experts’ authorized and organized discourse/power, such as writers of travel books, travel agents, tourism development officers, and other related discourse producers¹⁹⁶. Analysis of the tourist gaze shows how tourism is bound up with an eye-of-power surveillance and changes the gazed/visual objects¹⁹⁷. These anthropological analyses have explored the cultural impact brought about by Western tourists from developed countries on local residents, usually in traditional and ‘fragile’ communities. Neo-Marxist scholars and postmodern critical theorists have put forward the contention that this process can be conceptualized as a form of cultural colonialism¹⁹⁸.

However, the concept of the tourist gaze has been questioned as tourist destinations are not always as

¹⁸⁹ Valene L. Smith, ed. *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, rev. ed. (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

¹⁹⁰ Dean MacCannell. “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings.” *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

¹⁹¹ John Urry and Jonas Larsen. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. (London, California, New Delhi, and Singapore: Sage, 2011).

¹⁹² Darya Maoz. “The Mutual Gaze.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 33, no. 1 (2006): 221-239.

¹⁹³ Erving Goffman. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1959): 1-17.

¹⁹⁴ Dean MacCannell. “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings.” *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

¹⁹⁵ Michel Foucault. *The Archaeology of Knowledge: Translated from the French by A.M. Sheridan Smith*. (New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, 1972); Michel Foucault. *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. tran. A. Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1994).

¹⁹⁶ John Urry and Jonas Larsen. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. (London, California, New Delhi, and Singapore: Sage, 2011), 1; John Urry, “The Tourist Gaze ‘Revisited’.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 36, no. 2 (1992): 177.

¹⁹⁷ Keith Hollinshead. “Surveillance of the Worlds of Tourism: Foucault and the Eye-of-power.” *Tourism Management* 20, no. 1 (1999): 7-23.

¹⁹⁸ Moira G. Simpson. *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-colonial Era*. Rev. ed. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2012), 1-6; Ruth Bliss Phillips and Christopher Burghard Steiner, eds. *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999), 3-19.

‘fragile’ as those pointed to in the context of tribal or traditional communities¹⁹⁹. Many tourists do not care for cultural authenticity, and are content with contrived or superficial ‘pseudo-events’²⁰⁰. Furthermore, local residents also have an impact on tourists in that they influence their interpretations of the destination’s image²⁰¹. Local residents also gaze on tourists in that they use some strategies and adjust themselves to respond to tourists’ demands, such as revitalizing tradition-style arts and crafts²⁰², and performing the culture that tourists want²⁰³. These studies indicate that local residents are not gazed upon passively and that the gaze between tourists and local residents should be called a “mutual gaze”²⁰⁴. It is clear that local agents actively promote their tourism businesses to attract more tourists rather than being passively gazed upon.

However, some scholars question the application of the gaze theory to tourists and local residents in that it ignores the power of middlemen or brokers²⁰⁵, or experts in Giddens’ terms. Although Urry indicates that “there are in fact many professional experts who help to construct and help our gaze as tourists”²⁰⁶, and MacCannell’s stage-authenticity indicates that local residents need expertise to arrange settings for tourists²⁰⁷, the real power of experts is not realized and emphasized by them. Realizing the significance of experts, some scholars regard tourism as an activity shaped by experts, such as tour guides, hotel owners and employees, vendors, and tourism planners²⁰⁸. Leiper notes that Urry’s tourist gaze ignores Foucault’s significant analysis of power and scientific knowledge in *Birth*

¹⁹⁹ Julio Aramberri. “The Host Should Get Lost: Paradigms in the Tourism Theory.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 28, no. 3 (2001): 738-761.

²⁰⁰ Daniel J. Boorstin. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America*. Rev. ed. (New York: Vintage, 1992).

²⁰¹ Petri Hottola. “Culture Confusion: Intercultural Adaptation in Tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 31, no. 2 (2004): 447-466.

²⁰² Hasan Zafer Doğan. “Forms of adjustment: Sociocultural impacts of tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 16, no. 2 (1989): 216-236.

²⁰³ Edward M. Bruner. “Transformation of self in tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 18, no. 2 (1991): 238-250; Dean MacCannell. “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings.” *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603; Harvey C. Perkins and David C. Thorns. “Gazing or Performing? Reflections on Urry’s Tourist Gaze in the Context of Contemporary Experience in the Antipodes.” *International Sociology* 16, no. 2 (2001): 185-204.

²⁰⁴ Darya Maoz. “The Mutual Gaze.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 33, no. 1 (2006): 221-239.

²⁰⁵ So-Min Cheong and Marc L. Miller. “Power and Tourism: A Foucauldian Observation.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 2 (2000): 371-390; Keith Hollinshead. “Surveillance of the Worlds of Tourism: Foucault and the Eye-of-power.” *Tourism Management* 20, no. 1 (1999): 7-23; Neil Leiper “Book Review: The Tourist Gaze.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, no. 3 (1992): 604-607.

²⁰⁶ John Urry and Jonas Larsen. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. (London, California, New Delhi, and Singapore: Sage, 2011), 1.

²⁰⁷ Dean MacCannell. “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings.” *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

²⁰⁸ Erve Chambers. “Introduction: Tourism’s Mediators.” in *Tourism and Culture: An Applied Perspective*. edited by Erve Chambers. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 1-11; Erik Cohen. “The Tourist Guide: The Origins, Structure and Dynamics of a Role.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, no. 1 (1985): 5-29; Van den Berghe, Pierre L., and Charles F. Keyes. “Introduction Tourism and Re-created Ethnicity.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 11, no. 3 (1984): 343-352; Erik H. Cohen, Maurice Ifergan, and Eynath Cohen. “A New Paradigm in Guiding: The Madrich as a Role Model.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 4 (2002): 919-932.

of the Clinic²⁰⁹. These ‘professional experts’ mainly refer to tourism planners who have specialized knowledge on how to plan the sustainable development of a tourist destination and design an attractive tourist destination image in line with maximizing economic returns and minimizing negative impacts²¹⁰. Tourism planning is a specialized type of development planning and the planner needs considerable knowledge involving many techniques, principles and models²¹¹. Enhancing a tourist destination’s image is the main focus of tourism planning. The argument that tourism is shaped by experts is further strengthened in the research on the political dimension of tourism planning²¹². Third World countries usually consider tourism to be a useful way to develop their economies, and the intervention of government means destinations are more driven by tourism policies or planning²¹³. Richter notes that “there is often a political agenda—wise or foolish, benign or selfish, compatible or incompatible—underlying the explicit tourism program”²¹⁴. In this regard, tourism planners, who have specialized knowledge and competence to plan destinations, together with policy-makers in the public sector, take responsibility for determining the development of tourist destinations.

The literature shows that tourism planning should consider local residents’ participation and desires²¹⁵ and tourists’ perceptions and experiences²¹⁶. However, the studies in developing countries reveal that local residents usually have insufficient power to voice their views²¹⁷. Thus, it is clear that both tourists and local residents have no direct power to determine the development direction of tourist destinations, while tourism planners and relevant officials, as representatives of expert systems, have the power to determine the direction of destination developments.

²⁰⁹ Neil Leiper “Book Review: The Tourist Gaze.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, no. 3 (1992): 604-607.

²¹⁰ Colin Michael Hall. *Tourism Planning: Policies, Processes and Relationships*. Rev. ed. (Essex: Pearson Education, 2008), 10-11.

²¹¹ Edward Inskeep. “Tourism Planning: An Emerging Specialization.” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 54, no. 3 (1988): 360-372.

²¹² Linda K. Richter. “Tourism Politics and Political Science: A Case of Not So Benign Neglect.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 10, no. 3 (1983): 313-335.

²¹³ Colin Michael Hall. *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place*. (Chichester: Wiley, 1994); Clare A. Gunn. *Tourism Planning*. rev. (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1988).

²¹⁴ Linda K. Richter. *The Politics of Tourism in Asia*. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 19.

²¹⁵ David G. Simmons. “Community Participation in Tourism Planning.” *Tourism Management* 15, no. 2 (1994): 98-108; Edward Inskeep. *Tourism Planning: An Integrated and Sustainable Development Approach*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1991); Tazim B. Jamal and Donald Getz. “Collaboration Theory and Community Tourism Planning.” *Annals of tourism research* 22, no. 1 (1995): 186-204.

²¹⁶ Ernest Sternberg. “The Iconography of the Tourism Experience.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 4 (1997): 951-969; Haemoon Oh, Ann Marie Fiore, and Miyoung Jeoung. “Measuring Experience Economy Concepts: Tourism Applications.” *Journal of Travel Research* 46, no. 2 (2007): 119-132.

²¹⁷ James Elliot. “Politics, Power, and Tourism in Thailand.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 10, no. 3 (1983): 377-393; John Brohman. “New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 1 (1996): 48-70.

Local governments also construct and promote cultural activities and destination images in-line with the anticipated interests of tourists²¹⁸. Destination image, which refers to “the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that a person has of a destination”²¹⁹, links local and external social actors through a defined marketing strategy²²⁰. In this context, a tourist destination’s image can be constructed through travel to that destination. For example tourists traveling to South Korea have led to positive changes in perceptions of South Korea as a tourist destination²²¹. A pre-visit image is drawn from information sources. Culture is usually promoted as a key factor to attract tourists²²². Currently, the Internet is exerting increasing influence on pre-visit images²²³. Tourists now have more access to information about the local context of the destination through online searches. Many suggest that the destination image promoted by local agents through expert systems should be consistent with what a destination offers²²⁴.

A positive pre-visit destination image is expected to attract more tourists. Local actors expect to pull tourists to particular destinations by creating and enhancing pre-visit destination images to guide and motivate tourist behavior and choice²²⁵. However, the co-existence of multiple images for one destination²²⁶ makes destination image divorced and disembedded from the on-visit image where tourists experience in destination²²⁷. The on-line destination image is one which is disembedded from its local context and may be incongruent with what tourists experience when they visit and experience that destination. Tourists bring with them their own cultural norms and a desire to ‘consume’ local culture. They consider choices in destination, and their preferences have the

²¹⁸ Martina G.Gallarza , Irene Gil Saura, and Haydée Calderón García. “Destination Image: towards a Conceptual Framework.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 1 (2002): 56-78.

²¹⁹ John L. Crompton “An Assessment of the Image of Mexico as a Vacation Destination and the Influence of Geographical Location upon That Image.” *Journal of Travel Research* 17, no. 4 (1979): 18-23.

²²⁰ Clare A Gunn. *Vacationscape: Designing Tourist Regions*. (Austin: University of Texas, 1972); Dianne Draper and Claudio Minca. “Image and Destination: A Geographical Approach Applied to Banff National Park, Canada.” *Tourism Review* 52, no. 2 (1997): 14-24.

²²¹ Kye-Sung Chon. “Tourism Destination Image Modification Process: Marketing Implications.” *Tourism Management* 12, no. 1 (1991): 68-72.

²²² Dolores M.Frías, Miguel A. Rodríguez, J. Alberto Castañeda, Carmen M. Sabiote, and Dimitrios Buhalis. “The Formation of a Tourist Destination's Image via Information Sources: The Moderating Effect of Culture.” *International Journal of Tourism Research* 14, no. 5 (2012): 437-450.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ William C.Gartner. “Image Formation Process.” *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 2, no. 2-3 (1994): 191-216.

²²⁵ David B.Klenosky. “The ‘Pull’ of Tourism Destinations: A Means-end Investigation.” *Journal of Travel Research* 40, no. 4 (2002): 396-403.

²²⁶ Dianne Draper and Claudio Minca. “Image and Destination: A Geographical Approach Applied to Banff National Park, Canada.” *Tourism Review* 52, no. 2 (1997): 14-24.

²²⁷ Steve Pike. “Destination Image Analysis—A Review of 142 Papers from 1973 to 2000.” *Tourism Management* 23, no. 5 (2002): 541-549.

potential to influence the development of tourist destinations. Local governments or local residents might design attractive spaces through tourism planning to attract tourists, yet tourists have the power to determine the direction or nature of these plans.

Tourist destinations which derive tourist appeal from their 'traditional culture' also experience the kinds of transformations inherent in the processes of modernity. MacCannell's study assumed that local residents within traditional communities didn't want to change their culture. However, the reality is that tourism development *will* alter the "collective and individual value systems, behavior patterns, community structures, lifestyle and quality of life" of local residents in tourist destinations²²⁸. Another popular research focus has been the study of social impacts on local residents. This research has assessed local residents' attitudes and perceptions to tourism development²²⁹. This body of work has helped us to understand the process of change in a destination's culture and local residents' choices when confronted by the social change generated by tourism. However, the result of local residents' perceptions of tourism remains uncertain.

From Richard Sharpley's recent review, the local residents' support for tourism based development is often explicit and hidden²³⁰. However, some researchers have studied the change of attitude in residents' support for tourism development from a longitudinal perspective. Donald Getz, for example, explored the perceptions and attitudes of residents of the Spey Valley, a tourist destination in Scotland. He found that attitudes were stably supportive although negative views increased slightly from 1978 to 1992²³¹. In another study Lawson compared local residents' attitudes towards tourism in 10 tourist destinations in New Zealand and also found that compared to other factors the transformative stages of tourist destinations had the most influential effects on residents' attitudes²³².

²²⁸ Juan Carlos Monterrubio, Gregory S. Gullette, M. Marivel Mendoza-Ontiveros, and María José. "Social Impacts of Tourism as Perceived by State-planned Tourism Destination Residents: the Case of Huatulco, Mexico." *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology* 2, no. 1 (2012): 36.

²²⁹ John Ap. "Residents' Perceptions on Tourism Impacts." *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, no. 4 (1992): 665-690; Russ Brayley, and Turgut Var. "Canadian Perceptions of Tourism's Influence on Economic and Social Conditions." *Annals of Tourism Research* 16, no. 4 (1989): 578-582; Donald Getz. "Residents' Attitudes towards Tourism: A Longitudinal Study in Spey Valley, Scotland." *Tourism Management* 15, no. 4 (1994): 247-258; Samuel V.Lankford, John SY Chen, and Wellin Chen. "Tourism's Impacts in the Penghu National Scenic Area, Taiwan." *Tourism Management* 15, no. 3 (1994): 222-227; Abraham Pizam. "Tourism's Impacts: The Social Costs to the Destination Community as Perceived by Its Residents." *Journal of Travel Research* 16, no. 4 (1978): 8-12.

²³⁰ Richard Sharpley. "Host Perceptions of Tourism: A Review of the Research." *Tourism Management* 42 (2014): 37-49.

²³¹ Donald Getz. "Residents' Attitudes towards Tourism: A Longitudinal Study in Spey Valley, Scotland." *Tourism Management* 15, no. 4 (1994): 247-258.

²³² R. W.Lawson, J. Williams, T. A. C. J. Young, and J. Cossens. "A Comparison of Residents' Attitudes towards Tourism in 10 New Zealand Destinations." *Tourism Management* 19, no. 3 (1998): 247-256.

Although the social impacts on local residents have been explored, the extent to which local residents supported tourism remained uncertain in terms of destinations' transformative stages. Obviously the transformative stage has a significant social influence on local residents. Generally, increased economic benefits are responsible for supportive and positive attitudes. Negative attitudes are often associated with environmental, social, and cultural degradation. Although there are cases where there is strident opposition to tourism development from local residents, their negative attitudes do not always lead to opposition to further tourism development²³³.

Whether local residents will support tourism development or not should be a factor influencing the transformation of tourist destinations. If local residents support tourism development, it implies that they will adapt to the changing context. Traditional cultures are expected to evolve to become better positioned to exploit the economic potential of tourism. From the local residents' perspective, an improved economy positively impacts on their lives. They are unlikely to oppose tourism development, although they also recognize the negative social costs²³⁴. Tourism has been widely adopted by governments as an effective strategy for the economic growth of many nations²³⁵; though there is evidence demonstrating that pro-poor tourism could not alleviate poverty effectively²³⁶. Government sectors have similarly functioned as a part of the expert systems²³⁷ and influence destination images and the attitudes of local residents, whose trust relies on expert systems.

These studies reveal that local residents with some sort of connection to tourism development do not have any determinate influence on the direction of destination development. In other words, local residents have choices and options to engage in tourism development, but no real power to fully determine the planning and development of tourist destinations.

It is clear that tourists and local residents have limited power to determine the development of tourist

²³³ Brian King, Abraham Pizam, and Ady Milman. "Social Impacts of Tourism: Host Perceptions." *Annals of Tourism Research* 20, no. 4 (1993): 650-665.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Carson L. Jenkins. "Tourism Development Strategies." in *Developing Tourism Destinations: Policies and Perspectives*. ed. L.J. Lickorich, (London: Longman, 1991), 61-78.

²³⁶ Stephanie Chok, Jim Macbeth, and Carol Warren. "Tourism as A Tool for Poverty Alleviation: A Critical Analysis of 'Pro-poor tourism' and Implications for Sustainability." *Current Issues in Tourism* 10, no. 2-3 (2007): 144-165; Joseph E.Mbaiwa. "Enclave Tourism and Its Socio-economic Impacts in the Okavango Delta, Botswana." *Tourism Management* 26, no. 2 (2005): 157-172.

²³⁷ Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 82-83.

destinations. Pre-visit destination images, usually promoted by expert systems, link tourists and tourist destinations. Yet the co-existence of multiple destination images demonstrates how the local context has been disembedded. The Internet provides growing access to information, which allows tourists to become ‘virtual experts’ in travel. The reality that tourists actually do visit tourist destinations and experience their cultures reveals the mechanics of reembedding, an operation based on a combination of faceless commitment and facework commitment. As a result, the local context, unity of faceless commitment and facework commitment, and time-space attachment need more consideration. If tourist destination images reflect the reality tourists had in mind prior to travelling, showing the unity of the faceless commitment and facework commitment or the unity of the pre-visit and on-visit images, the management of destinations will have positive results. This unity needs more consideration in regards to the local context and time-space attachment. Just as some researchers claim that the management of tourist destinations should highlight social contextuality and spatiality²³⁸. This implies that reflexivity in recognition of the local context is also important. As a result, these local interactions, full of global and local processes of reconstruction, shape the changes in tourist destinations²³⁹. Here global and local processes reflect Giddens’ argument on time-space distancing, disembedding institution, and reflexivity.

2.3.2 Modernity, Cultural Heritage and Authenticity

In this section I review how Giddens’ three characteristics of modernity impact on the concepts of cultural heritage and authenticity. Both of these concepts, cultural heritage and authenticity, are closely related to Giddens’ notion of tradition. In-line with Giddens’ ideas on tradition, the ‘authorizing process’ of cultural heritage provides an insight into how nation-states utilize cultural heritage and authenticity as a way to legitimize the nation-state and nurture a sense of national identity. The (re)construction of cultural heritage and authenticity legitimates the nation-state by creating an emotional link to tradition. This has been analyzed by many scholars in the tourism field through connecting authenticity to tourists’ motivations. In this section, I explore how the European

²³⁸ Irena Ateljevic, and Stephen Doorne. “Representing New Zealand: Tourism Imagery and Ideology.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 3 (2002): 648-667; Tim Gale, and David Botterill. “A Realist Agenda for Tourist Studies, or Why Destination Areas Really Rise and Fall in Popularity.” *Tourist Studies* 5, no. 2 (2005): 151-174; Jarkko Saarinen, and Tiit Kask. “Transforming Tourism Spaces in Changing Socio-political Contexts: The case of Pärnu, Estonia, as a Tourist Destination.” *Tourism Geographies* 10, no. 4 (2008): 452-473.

²³⁹ Doreen B. Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labor: Social Structures and the Geography of Production*. (New York: Methuen, 1984); Philip Cooke, ed. *Localities: The Changing Face of Urban Britain*. (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990); Ian Gordon, and Brian Goodall. “Localities and tourism.” *Tourism Geographies* 2, no. 3 (2000): 290-311.

concept of authenticity, which is expected to be embedded in cultural heritage as an international standard of World Heritage, operates to disembed the culture in non-European countries.

Modernity and Cultural Heritage

Heritage is as old as humanity. It is only in modern society that the concept of heritage implies active preservation with authorized value²⁴⁰. The authorized value comes from the 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”²⁴¹. There is no evidence that medieval people preserved physical relics in a way that people do today. Yet they did preserve and interpret the past in a different way. Hagiographical accounts and saintly legends, for instance, were widely known in the medieval period, and these can be regarded as a way to make a link to the past, and legitimate the authority of Christian belief²⁴². The modern concept of ‘heritage’ originated in Europe in the 19th century with the emergence of the modern nation-state²⁴³. The emergence of the modern understanding of heritage was related to national identity and came to have a significant influence on the politics of nation-states.

The concept of *cultural heritage* again originated in the 19th century in the context of modernity and nationalism in Europe²⁴⁴. The transformative changes from ‘traditional community’ to ‘modern society’ in Europe, together with industrialization, capitalization, and objective rationality after the Enlightenment contributed to an ideology of progress. This ideology legitimated and indeed reinforced European colonialism. During the colonial expansion, Europeans adopted a racialized understanding of their place in the world; regarding themselves as superior in terms of cultural and intellectual progress. Darwinian evolutionary theory, and science more broadly, provided a solid basis for making a link between identity and race, in which Europe, because of its cultural

²⁴⁰ David C. Harvey. “Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage studies.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): 319-338.

²⁴¹ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 11.

²⁴² David C. Harvey. “Landscape Organization, Identity and Change: Territoriality and Hagiography in Medieval West Cornwall.” *Landscape Research* 25, no. 2 (2000): 201-212.

²⁴³ David McCrone, Angela Morris, and Richard Kiely. *Scotland-the Brand: The making of Scottish Heritage*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).

²⁴⁴ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 17; John Carman. “Good Citizens and Sound Economics: The Trajectory of Archaeology in Britain from “Heritage” to “Resource.” in. *Heritage of Value, Archaeology of Renown: Reshaping Archaeological Assessment and Significance* ed. Barbara J. Little, Clay Mathers, Timothy Darvill. (Gainesville, Fla: University Press of Florida, 2005): 43-57; Tony Bennett, and Thomas F. Soapes. “Book Review: The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics.” *Library Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (1997): 76-78; Diane L. Barthel. *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

advancements, was at the center²⁴⁵. Identity, related closely to culture, is the basis for the construction of a hierarchy of difference which positions European culture above others. The outcome of the French Revolution has also strengthened the European idea of identity and race²⁴⁶ which underpinned the previous ideas of territorial sovereignty and social cohesion. The industrial revolution and mass urbanization in Europe in the 19th century led to both social and geographical detachment. In this context, the nation-state emerged as the proxy 'home' to dislocated peoples and national identity became the glue for sustaining social cohesion and a sense of political stability for people from diverse territories and ethnic identities²⁴⁷. In short Europe in the 19th century witnessed a huge shift in knowledge and context; one in which the nation-state was expected to be the new facilitator for social cohesion²⁴⁸. Nationalism provided a link between identity and territory, and it provided a mechanism to obviate social and political instability. It is clear that modernity, science, a commitment to Capitalism, and so on were peculiar to Europe in the 19th century and were expected to disseminate from there.

In this context of developing nationalism and modernity, the current concept of 'heritage' emerged in Europe²⁴⁹. The protection of heritage found synergy with the newly acquired sense of patriotism. The emergence of 'protected heritage' signaled Modern Europe's attempt to express and legitimize a particular national identity and aesthetic. Museums initially became places to display the progress of modern Europe. They were also the places where national and cultural identity was collected and exhibited²⁵⁰.

Organizations such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) and the National Trust in the UK took responsibility for preserving built heritage, and thus numerous acts and laws for the preservation and restoration of culturally important buildings began to appear, firstly in Europe and then gradually in countries on other continents. For example, the first decree for the protection

²⁴⁵ Kenneth M. Ames. "Book Review: A History of Archaeological Thought (Second Edition) and The Archaeology of Bruce Trigger." *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 32, (2008): 128-134.

²⁴⁶ J. Jokilehto *A History of Architectural Conservation*, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, Butterworth, Heinemann. 1999); Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso. 1991.

²⁴⁷ Brian. Graham, Ashworth, G. and Tunbridge, J. *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, (London: Arnold, 2000), 12.

²⁴⁸ Eric Hobsbawm. "Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870–1914." in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 263.

²⁴⁹ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 18.

²⁵⁰ Kevin Walsh. *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-modern World*, (London: Routledge, 1992), 30.

of national heritage appeared in Sweden in the 17th century. In the second half of the 19th century this decree was reinforced by legislation that protected heritage buildings²⁵¹. These acts and regulations included the English Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882; the 1807 chancellery recommendations in Denmark²⁵²; the Comite Historique in France developed in the 1830s and many others²⁵³. Following in the footsteps of Europe the United States passed the Antiquities Act in 1906²⁵⁴. Professional architects and archaeologists took responsibility for identifying those monuments and buildings which should be deemed culturally significant because of their professional ability to care for and interpret material culture²⁵⁵. In other words, it is only under the professional guidance of experts who have knowledge and skills to manage heritage that the cultural significance can be restored and conserved. Experts here refer to architects, historians, and archaeologists who perform as stewards for the past so that the current and future public can understand the cultural significance of the heritage²⁵⁶.

Although the idea of protecting cultural heritage in its material form was accepted across Europe, each country created different institutions to apply this principle and ensure adequate levels of protection and restoration²⁵⁷. For example, the most popular way of restoring ancient buildings in France was to bring them to their original form through removing later additions, such as French architect Duc's restoration of Notre-Dame²⁵⁸. Britain based its ideology of preservation and restoration on the views of British architect John Ruskin, who was opposed to the way historic restoration was occurring in France. Ruskin argued the ancient buildings should be protected, but with as little intervention as possible²⁵⁹. His book *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* had a profound influence on William Morris, the principal founder of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) which was established in 1877. To the British the philosophy underpinning the

²⁵¹ Françoise Choay and André Chastel. *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 2001).

²⁵² Kristian Kristiansen. "Denmark", in *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage: a Comparative Study of World Cultural Resource Management Systems*. ed. Henry Cleere. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 21-36.

²⁵³ Alain Schnapp. (1984) 'France', in *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage: a Comparative Study of World Cultural Resource Management Systems*. ed. Henry Cleere. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 48-53; Henry Cleere, ed. *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage: a Comparative Study of World Cultural Resource Management Systems*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²⁵⁴ F. McManamon. "The Antiquities Act – setting basic preservation policies," *Cultural Resource Management* 19, no. 7 (1996): 18–23.

²⁵⁵ Laurajane Smith. *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. (London: Routledge, 2004), 1-16.

²⁵⁶ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006),30.

²⁵⁷ Henry Cleere, ed. *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage: a Comparative Study of World Cultural Resource Management Systems*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²⁵⁸ Daniel D.Reiff. "Viollet le Duc and Historic Restoration: The West Portals of Notre-Dame." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 30, no. 1 (1971): 17-30.

²⁵⁹ John Ruskin. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. (New York: Wiley, 1865), 358.

protection of ancient buildings was:

[t]o put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands²⁶⁰.

Gradually more international conventions and charters for the preservation of cultural heritage were created. These included the International Charter for The Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites signed in Venice in 1964 (also known as The Venice Charter). Among these conventions the most influential and successful has been The World Heritage Convention developed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This convention was first adopted in 1972 and the first Operational Guidelines for Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (OGIWHC) were passed in 1977. The OGIWHC has been revised regularly since then (1980, 1983, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013)²⁶¹.

The CCPWCNH and the OGIWHC regulate the preservation and restoration of monuments, groups of buildings, and archaeological sites for all the countries that are signatories to the Convention. They have also served to standardize international requirements for the preservation and conservation of heritage. From tracing the origin and development of cultural heritage, the cultural significance of heritage was firstly claimed by some architects and then it found synergy with national identity and patriotism supported by the political ideology of the nation-state. Experts refer to those who have the knowledge and skills to interpret the cultural significance of heritage and the authenticity of heritage. Under the authorization of the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage in European countries, the international convention has also influenced non-European countries.

UNESCO has influenced the way that heritage is managed internationally through the World Heritage listing system. This process demonstrates the operation of Gidden's notion of disembedding. However, the context in which local culture is embedded is inherently different in different nations.

²⁶⁰ William Morris. *Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings*. (London: SPAB, 1877).

²⁶¹ Historical development of OGIWHC on UNESCO website. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/>

This is revealed in the diverse ways that heritage is defined and conceptualized. For example, Larkham has indicated that heritage is “all things to all people”²⁶². Johnson and Thomas suggest that heritage consists of “virtually anything by which some kind of link, however tenuous or false, may be forged with the past”²⁶³. Lowenthal notes that “heritage today all but defies definition”²⁶⁴. With this in mind it is clear that the OGIWHC disembeds heritage from its local context.

From the above discussion it is clear that cultural heritage is entwined with the politics of nationalism and national identity. With globalization the relationship between cultural heritage and nationalism has become even more critical. With globalization we have seen a convergence in economic interdependency. For instance, Australia’s economy is enhanced by sales of iron-ore to China. At the same time, democracy is the dominant political philosophy today. Popular culture from the West (foremost the US) has made in-roads into youth culture in developing countries. In other words, with the convergence of global economic, political and cultural forms there is an increased need to find ways to identify distinction or difference. New insights into heritage have emerged through an exploration of the discourse of heritage, in particular the *authorization* of cultural heritage. Lowenthal, for instance, has investigated the power and authority inherent in the making of heritage in both pre-modern society and contemporary society²⁶⁵.

Smith explores what she calls the “authorized heritage discourse” dominated by Western ideas of heritage²⁶⁶. As indicated earlier, this authorized heritage discourse relates to authorizing knowledgeable experts’ interpretations of the significance of cultural heritage and publicizing this discourse. The authorized discourse of cultural heritage constitutes the way people think, talk and write about heritage. For Smith, “heritage is heritage because it is subjected to the management and preservation/conservation process, not because it simply ‘is’”²⁶⁷. Smith’s assertion indicates that heritage is valued principally because it is underpinned by a professional and authorized discourse.

²⁶² Peter J.Larkham. “Heritage as Planned and Conserved.” in *Heritage, Tourism and Society* ed. David T. Herbert. (New York: Mansell; UK: Pinter, 1997), 85.

²⁶³ Peter,Johnson,and Barry Thomas. “Heritage as Business.” in David T. Herbert (eds), (New York: Mansell; UK: Pinter, 1997), 170.

²⁶⁴ David Lowenthal. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 94.

²⁶⁵ David Lowenthal. *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. (New York: Free Press, 1996).

Karen Till, “Book Review: Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History.” *American Geographical Society* 87, no. 4, (1997): 557-559.

²⁶⁶ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 11

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

This value is usually linked to nationalism and national identity, which implies a kind of political ideology. The professional and authorized discourse is imbued with “expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestation”²⁶⁸. In other words, the discourse of heritage is created and maintained by experts who possess a technical knowledge that laymen do not have, and the special knowledge to preserve and conserve cultural heritage in-line with international convention or national law. Thus, even local residents who carry and inherit “heritage” have little power to contribute to the discourse of authorized cultural heritage. The professional and authorized discourse of heritage, particularly impacts on the international heritage convention, and disembods the mechanics of the local.

Modernity and Authenticity

Authenticity has two related meanings. One is used as criteria to evaluate tangible heritage and the another is related to a special feeling or experience. In this section, I examine how these two concepts are applied to the heritage and tourism fields.

In the physical heritage field, objective authenticity has dominated. Yet this dominance has been questioned by researchers who support constructivist authenticity. Authenticity was first applied by experts to test whether or not the objective displays of art (then extended to ethnographic objects) in museums were genuine²⁶⁹. They focused on the ‘genuineness’ of cultural relics according to their external materials and when they were produced. Gradually, curators and art historians began to develop rigorous criteria to measure the authenticity of primitive and ethnic arts. For example, McLeod, the Director of the Museum of Mankind and an expert in African art, defines genuine or authentic African arts as:

Any piece made from traditional materials by a native craftsman for acquisition and use by members of local society (though not necessarily by members of his own group) that is made and used with no thought that it ultimately may be disposed of for gain to Europeans or other aliens²⁷⁰.

Another definition of authenticity, developed by Cornet to discuss African art, is “[a]ny object

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 4.

²⁶⁹ Trilling Lionel. *Sincerity and Authenticity*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 93.

²⁷⁰ M. D. McLeod. “Limitations of the Genuine.” *African Art* 9, no. 3 (1976): 48-51.

created for a traditional purpose and by a traditional artist”²⁷¹, but only if it “.conforms to traditional form”²⁷². Cornet also emphasizes that authentic artefacts should not be manufactured “especially for the market”²⁷³. Both McLeod and Cornet base a definition of authenticity on the artefacts originality and it not being a commodity as such. They do this despite the reality that “fakes [i.e., inauthentic objects] have become authentic”²⁷⁴. For example, objects, such as artifact pottery, might have been produced by African craftsman, in ancient times, for their European patrons. This means such rigorous criterion makes very few cultural products ‘authentic’. The concept of authenticity in this regard focuses more on objects created prior to industrialization, capitalization, and rationality. Rigorous criteria created by professional curators and ethnologists prevent movable cultural relics from being regarded as authentic.

The case is much more complicated in the case of immovable cultural heritage (i.e. ancient buildings). The constructivist perspective when applied to tangible heritage is demonstrated by Edward M. Bruner who explores the concept of ‘authentic reproduction’ through the reconstructed home of Abraham Lincoln in New Salem²⁷⁵. His study is based on a discourse analysis and interviews of museum professionals working at the site. The New Salem Historic Site is a reconstructed village and outdoor museum in Illinois, the place where Abraham Lincoln lived from 1831 to 1837. In fact New Salem is just one of a number of reconstructed villages in America²⁷⁶. These reconstructed villages provide evidence for the notion of constructivist authenticity, however their authenticity as such is called into question by European heritage scholars, such as those associated with the World Heritage Convention. They argue that “reconstruction is only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture”²⁷⁷. The assumption then is that many of these reconstructed villages do not fulfill this criterion. That is, they are not built “on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture”. Authenticity in the World Heritage Convention principally refers to objective authenticity, and it is a standard widely accepted for the built heritage

²⁷¹ Joseph Cornet. “African Art and Authenticity.” *African Arts* 9, no. 1 (1975), 52.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 55.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 52.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁷⁵ Edward M. Bruner. “Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism.” *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 2 (1994): 397-415.

²⁷⁶ Jay Allan Anderson. *Time Machines: The World of Living History*. (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1984).

²⁷⁷ 1980 version of World Heritage Convention. Different font

internationally. However, other research contends that objective authenticity does not exist, since there is no unique and fixed 'real world' independent of constantly evolving human mental activities and human symbolic language²⁷⁸. This is essentially the constructivist/interpretivist stance. There are two camps – *essentialists* and *constructivists*. The first sees an objective, static authentic 'essence'. The latter sees only a constantly evolving cultural world with no fixed period in which one can locate 'the authentic'. It is obvious that objective authenticity, as a criterion to test heritage, is based on the "legitimizing knowledge of experts". Furthermore, expert systems in heritage, as an abstract system which authorizes heritage, is also questioned by scholars studying the discourse of heritage. They assert that "heritage is heritage because it is subjected to the management and preservation/conservation process, not because it simply 'is'"²⁷⁹. In other words, it is expert systems that create heritage as authentic. That is, experts in heritage regard authenticity as highly-valued and they advocate for authenticity as the significant criterion to measure the value of heritage. Tourism researchers do not have the same status as those who are considered 'experts' in heritage; rather than study authenticity from an essentialist or objective viewpoint they prefer to consider the "authenticity of feeling and experience"²⁸⁰.

Trilling firstly explores the concept of authenticity as a feeling in his book *Sincerity and Authenticity* (1971) and argues that the notion of authenticity has replaced that of sincerity²⁸¹. Both concepts arose with the emergence of modernity while sincerity functioned to link public culture or events in the tradition-style to a political ideology based on the modern notion that nation is better than traditional community²⁸². In other words, sincerity is related to the political meaning of reconstructing tradition-style culture. Sincerity is closely related to social virtue in that sincerity is required not for the sake of the self, but for that of others²⁸³. Authenticity comes with individualism, when self-feeling is more important than moral and social virtue²⁸⁴. Authenticity is more closely related to the 'true self' of the individual, and is distinct from one's social role. The difference

²⁷⁸ Jerome Seymour Bruner and George Allen Austin. *A Study of Thinking*. (New York: Wiley, , 1956); Thomas A.Schwandt "Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry." in Handbook of Qualitative Research., ed. Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, 1994), 125.

²⁷⁹ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 3.

²⁸⁰ Ning Wang. "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience." *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 349-370.

²⁸¹ Lionel Trilling. *Sincerity and Authenticity*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁸³ Richard Handler "Authenticity." *Anthropology today* 2, no. 1 (1986): 2-4; Trilling Lionel. *Sincerity and Authenticity*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009),,9.

²⁸⁴ Richard.Handler "Authenticity." *Anthropology today* 2, no. 1 (1986): 2-4.

between sincerity and authenticity is that sincerity focuses more on social or national being; yet that social or national role is not authentic for individual existence. Authenticity has a close association with the individual; it has replaced sincerity with the dominance of individualism in modern society. Authenticity, as it is conceptualized at the level of the individual rather than the collective, relies on the unity of self and society²⁸⁵, which could be felt easily in a traditional community since people are familiar with each other in such communities. Authenticity reveals an experience or feeling that individuals are connected to or belong to communities. However, under the modernity condition, people feel disconnected from society. The balance of relations between self and society is lost and people feel weightless²⁸⁶. As a result, people search for authenticity, which usually means an emotional link to the past. Pursuing authenticity becomes the prominent motivation for modern tourists²⁸⁷. This has opened the door to research focused on authenticity as a motivating factor for tourists. A great deal of research has been conducted on authenticity and tourist motivation and experience²⁸⁸. In this regard authenticity refers to the emotional feeling attached to disappearing traditions. Thus, searching for authenticity, which is embedded in traditional communities, reflects a form of emotional reflexivity in post-traditional society. This emotional reflexivity is caused by an emotional link to tradition in modernity conditions and is also the result of time-space distanciation/disembedding institutions, as Giddens indicates²⁸⁹.

Following Trilling's study on authenticity, understood as a feeling of loss of tradition, many researchers explore this concept in tourism studies. These researchers have focused on tourists' perceptions of authenticity at cultural attractions. They have attempted to develop theories to explain the tourists' search for authenticity. The authenticity as a feeling of loss of tradition is studied from two kinds of understanding, known as *objective authenticity* and *constructive authenticity*. Objective authenticity refers to a museum-linked authenticity, and the ontology is objective²⁹⁰. The feeling of

²⁸⁵ Rebecca J. Erickson. "The Importance of Authenticity for Self and Society." *Symbolic Interaction* 18, no. 2 (1995): 121-144.

²⁸⁶ Peter L. Berger. "Sincerity and Authenticity in Modern society." *Public Interest* 31 (1973): 86.

²⁸⁷ MacCannell, Dean. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (1973): 589-603; MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*. (New York: Schocken, 1976).

²⁸⁸ Regina Bendix. *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*. (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience." *Annals of tourism research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 349-370; Erik Cohen. "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism." *Annals of tourism research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 371-386.

²⁸⁹ Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994),

²⁹⁰ Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience." *Annals of tourism research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 349-370.

authenticity is expected to be derived from authentic tangible heritage and tradition²⁹¹. However, in light of the contemporary commitment to constructivism, researchers have found it difficult to accept this notion of objective authenticity. The following part of this section will explore the changing process from *objective authenticity* to *constructive authenticity* in physical heritage and tourism.

Two leading scholars, MacCannell and Boorstin, study objective authenticity in the tourism field. MacCannell borrowed from Goffman's theory on the distinction between the 'front-stage' and 'back-stage' to describe the staged authenticity of culture that is sometimes performed in tourist settings²⁹². This notion suggests that the culture performed at the front stage shows for tourists is arranged, not as true as that at the back stage, and thus, authenticity of culture, which tourists search for, is distorted. What MacCannell describes is another form of objective authenticity, for he makes a distinction between authentic cultures and ones that are staged and hence inauthentic. What MacCannell conceives of as authenticity is a given or "objective" feature, similar to the world 'out there'. In the performance of staged culture tourists believe they observe the authentic, pristine or pure culture; yet in fact what they are witnessing is simply contrived, deceptive, and arranged. For MacCannell, authenticity in tradition in this capacity is linked to feelings of stability and certainty. Modernity, however, inherently brings feelings of instability and uncertainty, whereby knowledge is frequently revised. In modernity this disassociation from tradition carries with it a lack of certainty. Thus, tourists in the modernity condition search for authenticity in tradition.

For MacCannell, the primary motivation for modern tourists is the search for authenticity²⁹³. Another leading researcher, Daniel Boorstin, has a different opinion on the motivation of modern tourists²⁹⁴. Boorstin argues that tourists are satisfied with contrived and artificial culture. In Boorstin's view, the commodification of culture not only destroys any authenticity present in a tourist attraction, it also transforms tourists' preferences such that they desire the contrived, superficial, provincial expectations of inauthentic culture rather than authentic culture²⁹⁵. Boorstin condemns the commoditization of culture which standardizes tourist experiences in mass tourism. Thus, tourists are

²⁹¹ Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner. "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity." *Annals of Tourism Research* 33, no. 1 (2006): 65-86.

²⁹² MacCannell, Dean. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (1973): 589-603; MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*. (New York: Schocken, 1976).

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America*. (New York: Atheneum, 1964).

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 106.

primed to accept a simulacra or reproduction of the authentic; they are “prepared to be ruled by the law of pseudo-events, by which the image, the well-contrived imitation, outshines the *original*”²⁹⁶. The authenticity in Boorstin’s description also implies a concept of objective authenticity. Obviously, although the views on tourist motivations differ between MacCannell and Boorstin, their understanding of authenticity in relation to pseudo-events or ‘staged culture’ is the same as they point to the legitimacy of a museum-linked and objective authenticity. Here, this understanding is similar to that in the heritage field, which regards authenticity as an objective criterion to evaluate tangible heritage. However it is quite different to authenticity of heritage in that it presumes authenticity exists in tradition, which is intangible or spiritual.

Some scholars, however, have questioned MacCannell and Boorstin in that they do not acknowledge that tourists and researchers might experience authenticity in different ways²⁹⁷. For example, tourists might believe culture to be authentic while cultural experts consider it to be inauthentic. Experiences of authenticity or inauthenticity are based on the perspectives of different social groups. These social groups hold diverse views on how to interpret cultural heritage. In other words different tourist types have different perspectives on authenticity even on visits to the same cultural attractions²⁹⁸. It is obvious that ordinary tourists will have different perspectives on authenticity when compared to ‘experts’²⁹⁹.

It is clear that experts and tourists have different perceptions of authenticity; regardless of whether that relates to authentic criteria for heritage, or authentic feelings for tradition. However, experts’ perceptions of authenticity carry a determining power, whilst tourists’ perceptions do not have the same power to influence tourism policies, in particular in authorized heritage areas. However, with increasing tourism development, tourists’ perceptions have also begun to influence the authenticity of heritage indirectly in that experts of tourism at times help to create ‘authentic culture’ that gives

²⁹⁶ Daniel J.Boorstin,. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America*. (New York: Atheneum, 1964), 107.

²⁹⁷ Tom Selwyn. *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*. (Chichester; New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 6-7; James S.Duncan. “The Social Construction of Unreality: An Interactionist Approach to the Tourist's Cognition of Environment.” *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems* (1978): 269-282; Erik Cohen. “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism.” *Annals of tourism research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 371-386.

²⁹⁸ Mary Ann Littrell, Luella F. Anderson, and Pamela J. Brown. “What Makes a Craft Souvenir Authentic?.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 20, no. 1 (1993): 197-215; Gianna M.Moscardo, and Philip L. Pearce. “Historic Theme Parks: An Australian Experience in Authenticity.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 13, no. 3 (1986): 467-479; Philip L.Pearce, and Gianna M. Moscardo. “The Concept of Authenticity in Tourist Experiences.” *Journal of Sociology* 22, no. 1 (1986): 121-132.

²⁹⁹ Alison J.McIntosh, and Richard C Prentice. “Affirming Authenticity: Consuming Cultural Heritage.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 3 (1999): 589-612.

tourists a feeling of authenticity. In this regard, the creation or construction of authenticity has the same function that authentic heritage and tradition would have for tourists. Just as Giddens claimed, tradition-style culture also has the function of providing people with the emotional links to tradition. Authentic feeling is same as Giddens' emotional links to tradition, which represent stable time-space attachment. Thus, in practice, tourism experts usually advocate the construction and reconstruction of tangible heritage and tradition whilst heritage experts devalue and oppose reconstruction, as indicated in many international conventions. For tourism experts, authenticity of heritage, strongly advocated by heritage experts, is not significant if they can create 'authenticity' for tourists³⁰⁰.

The conflict in the preservation of heritage and tourism development reveals the different ideas of heritage experts and tourism experts on authenticity³⁰¹. Heritage experts target preserving the authenticity of heritage whilst tourism planners try to create an 'authentic' and attractive image of the destination³⁰². Authenticity of culture is reconstructed by tourism experts as the image of a tourist destination through the advertisement or broadcast or interpretation of tour guides, which is always arranged by the host society to express the unique image that they want tourists to believe and experience³⁰³. For example, Culler illustrates this from semiotic perspectives and claims that what is real Japaneseness is what it has been marked as which is different from the unmarked reality in Japan³⁰⁴. Hence, from Culler's examination, tourists even think that the reality of Japaneseness in Japan is not real and not worth seeing.

In summary, the concept of authenticity is extended from an objective to constructive notion. In principle, the objective authenticity is explored both by heritage scholars and tourism scholars. Heritage scholars explore authenticity in tangible heritage and tourism scholars study authenticity in tradition. In practice, heritage experts use authenticity as a criterion to evaluate tangible heritage while tourism experts serve to create authenticity of feeling to attract tourists. Constructive authenticity is explored by tourism scholars to explain the process of tourism experts' reconstruction

³⁰⁰ Weifeng Chen, Ganghua Chen, and Yuanshui Huang. "Study on the Authenticity of Heritage Tourism Experience and its Creating Approaches." *Journal of Guilin Institute of Tourism* 19, no. 2, (2008): 182-185.

³⁰¹ Xiaojuan Wu. "Research on the Authenticity Dilemma of Cultural Heritage Tourism [J]." *Thinking* 30, no. 2, (2004): 82-87.

³⁰² Chaozhi Zhang. "Authenticity Understanding: between Tourism and Heritage Perspective Differences." *Tourism Science* 1 (2008): 1-8.

³⁰³ Yvette Reisinger and Carol Steiner. "Reconceptualising Interpretation: The Role of Tour Guides in Authentic Tourism." *Current Issues in Tourism* 9, no. 6 (2006): 481-498.

³⁰⁴ Jonathan Culler. "Semiotics of Tourism." *American Journal of Semiotics* 1, no. 1-2 (1981), 131.

of authenticity for tourists.

2.3.3 Modernity and Heritage-protected Tourist Destinations

Based on the above literature, this section will analyze the process of modernity in heritage-protected tourist destinations where cultural heritage is authorized to be preserved and at the same time functions as a tourist attraction. Tourist destinations, as places of a social interaction process, have experienced the modernity process from a traditional community to modern spaces with increasing tourist arrivals. The social process in this kind of area is special in that both the preservation of heritage and tourism development exist together³⁰⁵.

As we shall see in the next chapter (section 3.3.1), tourism experts determine the direction of tourist destinations. Experts in tourism development shape tourist destinations. They promote and enhance the image of tourist destinations³⁰⁶. Tourists and local residents also make choices which influence experts' ideas when they are planning tourist development³⁰⁷.

As we shall see in the next chapter (section 3.3.2), heritage experts determine the preservation of authenticity and heritage. Heritage-protected spaces, usually authorized through heritage-protected institutions and conditioned by a political ideology (often in relation to the strengthening of national identity), are determined by heritage experts³⁰⁸. Experts in heritage fields shape the heritage-protected spaces, whilst the tourists and local residents, as representatives of laymen, have no power to influence the authorization of heritage.

Tourism experts construct authenticity of tradition and heritage to attract more tourists, just as Giddens suggests that the construction of tradition-style culture links emotional feeling to tradition. However, this reconstruction is strongly opposed by heritage experts, who regard objective authenticity as a criterion to evaluate tangible heritage. The knowledge of tourism experts is

³⁰⁵ Richard Prentice. *Tourism and Heritage Attractions*. Routledge, 1993.

³⁰⁶ Robert Govers, Frank M. Go, and Kuldeep Kumar. "Promoting Tourism Destination Image." *Journal of Travel Research* 46, no. 1 (2007): 15-23.

³⁰⁷ Tazim B. Jamal and Donald Getz. "Collaboration Theory and Community Tourism Planning." *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 1 (1995): 186-204.

³⁰⁸ Ralf Buckley. "The Effects of World Heritage Listing on Tourism to Australian National Parks." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 12, no. 1 (2004): 70-84.

contested that of heritage experts³⁰⁹.

In practice, the development of heritage-protected tourist destinations is determined by the negotiation of tourism experts and heritage experts. Both sets of experts work together to develop heritage-protected tourist destinations. For example, the Rocks in Australia, authorized as a heritage site by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority, are perceived by overall tourists as historically authentic while it is just the alternative versions of the true past³¹⁰. Experts in heritage have greater power to effect the authorization of cultural heritage whilst expert systems in tourism have greater power in the planning of tourist attractions and promoting tourist destination images. However, these two kinds of experts work together to disembed the time-space context in heritage-protected tourist destinations because as representatives of expert systems, they interpret the authenticity of heritage and the tourist experience from their specialized perspectives. These perspectives are often different from the interpretation of local residents, who are representatives of the culture in the tourist destination³¹¹. Thus, the feeling of tradition embedded in the time-space attachment, as a principle motivation for tourists visiting heritage-protected tourist destinations, is based on the authenticity as interpreted by expert systems, which inevitably disembeds the time-space attachment.

The reflexivity in heritage-protected tourist destinations is revealed by the recalled time-space reattachment, and is featured as a local sense and local culture, which furthers the time-space reembedding process and brings in a cultural complex.

2.4 Theoretical Framework for This Study

Heritage-protected tourism destinations in China have been exposed to state policies of modernization. Under these policies of modernization heritage-protected tourist destinations are expected to be preserved as “traditional spaces” which comply with current heritage laws and policies. However, with increasing numbers of tourists, these ‘traditional spaces’ are paradoxically being transformed. My aim is to explore these processes of transformation. I apply Giddens’ theories

³⁰⁹ Craig Wiles and Gail Vander Stoep. “Consideration of Historical Authenticity in Heritage Tourism Planning and Development.” In *Proceedings of the 2007 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium* 15, (2007), 292-298.

³¹⁰ Gordon Waitt. “Consuming Heritage: Perceived Historical Authenticity.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 4 (2000): 835-862.

³¹¹ John E. Tunbridge and Gregory John Ashworth. *Dissonant Heritage: the Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996).

of modernity, in particular his notions of time-space distancing; disembedding; and reflexivity to better understand the nature of tourism development in heritage-protected tourist destinations in China. The Shaolin temple and the ancient city of Pingyao, which are both WCH sites and attractive tourism destinations, will form case-studies for this investigation.

Heritage-protected tourism destinations are special in that their development is directed by formal institutions charged with the preservation of heritage, and formal tourism development institutions. In China, the concept of authorized cultural heritage has been expanded from its initial application to movable tangible heritage, then to immovable tangible cultural heritage, and finally to intangible cultural heritage. This expansion stems from changes in the national and international conception of the proposed preservation of cultural heritage. The institution of the CCPWCNH has significantly influenced China's policies for the preservation of heritage. It regulates detailed operations evaluating the authenticity and integrity of cultural heritage. Countries joining the CCPWCNH must provide corresponding preservation procedures as per UNESCO regulations. As a signatory to the CCPWCNH, China has passed laws and policies to preserve its cultural heritage. Western principles for the preservation of cultural heritage, preservation methods, and standards of authenticity and integrity have played a dominant role in China's decisions relating to the authorizing of cultural heritage. However, these principles are not always suitable for cultural heritage in the Chinese context. For instance, built heritage in China is often constructed of wood, and thus it is difficult to maintain western standards of authenticity. The Shaolin temple launched an 'authentication project' to meet the requirements of authenticity and integrity laid down by the CCPWCNH. Part of this project included the relocation of local residents and martial arts' schools. Many of the restoration regulations in the ancient city of Pingyao have been established by experts in order to preserve or instill authenticity. However, these regulations have meant that local residents must live in 'authentic' houses without the kind of modern conveniences that other people enjoy. Thus, the CCPWCNH and similar charters originating in Europe, are separate from the time-space context of Chinese heritage preservation and works to disembed local conceptualizations of authenticity in the cultural heritage sites in China. Authenticity, the key consideration of heritage in Europe, is applied by Chinese experts in the heritage field so that more heritage sites can be listed in China. During these processes, heritage experts, as representatives of heritage expert systems, determine the direction of the preservation of heritage. Local residents do not have the power to determine the

direction of heritage authorization. In short, expert systems in the heritage field lead to internationally standardized culture and cultural uniformity.

Another obvious disembedding mechanism in heritage-preserve tourist destinations is the construction of cultural attractions for tourists. This disembedding mechanism involves constructing tradition-style cultures to attract more tourists. In addition there has recently been the implementation of the national Intangible Heritage Law in response to the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (CSICH) issued by UNESCO in 2003. This also disembeds the context and leads to the revival of traditional culture in China. This is because of China's particular history in which Chinese traditional culture was restricted from 1911 to the 1990s, when both the Republican government and Communist party restricted and stigmatized Chinese traditional culture. For example, the May Fourth Movement in 1919 was an extreme expression of nationalistic anti-traditionalism³¹², launched by the nationalists who regarded traditional culture as a source of weakness and backwardness and thus considered that traditional culture should be abolished. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) was also evidenced as a radical anti-tradition phase. The subsequent modernization policies from 1978 primarily focused on material construction. As a result, many kinds of intangible culture and traditions have become very weak and disappeared. This historic context has resulted in the weakening of tradition and the prosperity of modern industrial and rational culture. The CSICH operates in a similar manner to the CCPWCNH.

Tourists' motivation for traditional culture in heritage areas inspires the revival of tradition-style culture. Thus, for local residents, it is a rational choice to earn money from tourism development, even though the performance of inauthentic, 'tradition-style' culture, distancing the time-space context. For local governments, it is a rational choice to promote the unique image of a distinctive traditional culture, which is expected to attract tourists but is usually disembedded from the local context. Some new cultural festivals are held by local governments to attract more tourists and these new festivals have no connection with their local contexts. One such example is the Pingyao International Photography Festival, which has no relation to the local traditions. These disembedded cultures for tourists speed the transformation from a traditional culture to a touristic culture. A

³¹² Yüsheng Lin. *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979).

touristic culture is conceptualized as an interpreted culture (sometimes called an invented tradition or tradition-style culture) to attract tourists. Thus, the international convention for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and local governments' purpose of attracting more tourists characterize the disembedding process of contextualization for endangered, traditional culture and result in a revival of tradition-style culture. The invention of tradition-style culture reflects the international need to safeguard intangible cultural heritage, the national need to strengthen national identity, local governments' need to attract more tourists, and tourists' need for emotional links to tradition (individual reflexivity). These disembedding processes reveal the re-conceptualization of tradition and this re-conceptualization is based on the documentation and imaginary literacy through tourism experts' reinterpretation process. Expert systems in the tourism field also make standardized touristic culture in heritage-protected tourist destinations.

Thus, the international standards of preservation of tangible cultural heritage and the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, together with the construction of tourist attractions and the strengthening of national identity, separate and disembed the time-space contextualization of the residual traditional culture, both in built heritages and intangible heritages. This process leads to the construction and reconstruction of tradition-style culture, which differs from the authentic traditional culture of the past but provides individuals with emotional links to tradition and a feeling of time-space attachment. Thus, this process is not only characterized by time-space distancing and disembedding mechanics but also emotional reflexivity to tradition. The process analyzed above is shown in Figure 2.5.

Just as Giddens argues that the disembedding mechanics depend on the trust of laymen in the expert system, local residents and tourists trust the interpretation of experts in the heritage and tourism fields when time-space distancing and disembedding mechanics characterize the modernity process of heritage-protected tourism destinations. This leads to a uniform and standardized culture supported by expert systems in the heritage and tourism fields. However, gradually, as Giddens indicates that laymen become sub-experts in late modernity, tourists and local residents become critical and suspicious of experts with their increased access to expertise and knowledge. For example, the public increasingly criticizes Shaolin culture in terms of its commercialization. Mature tourists know that what they hear is experts' interpretations of the cultural heritage but this

interpretation may not truly reflect the past. This discounts their trust. The different opinions of various experts in the heritage and tourism fields further this reflexivity. Thus, reflexivity characterizes recent process connected with heritage-protected tourist destinations, which might lead to a complex of cultures. This complex of cultures includes tradition-style culture, new culture just for commercial purposes (touristic culture), traditional culture, and other kinds of culture.

In reconstructing heritage and tradition-style culture, external heritage experts and local residents demonstrate unequal powers due to their different knowledge about heritage. External heritage experts, with greatly legitimized and institutionalized power to influence heritage authorization, link the international convention-based heritage expertise to local practice. In this regard, the knowledge-power relation is reflected clearly in the new social relations between the external heritage experts and local residents. Together with the Chinese context with the power of the government sector, local residents are usually disempowered through the loss of their residential conditions in heritage-protected areas in-line with the authenticity and integrity criteria in the CCPWCNH and OGIWHC. Local residents are also disempowered as a result of having to share their public/living places with tourists while experiencing difficulty in benefiting equally from tourism development due to their economically-disadvantaged conditions. In dealing with local infrastructure, local governments prefer to improve tourist infrastructure rather than infrastructure for local residents. As a result, tourists, as another external actor, are also positioned higher than local residents in this regard. Furthermore, in order to accelerate the local economy, external investors are usually encouraged by local governments to facilitate tourist attractions and tourist facilities. External investors, with economically advantaged conditions, played superior roles in commercial tourism production compared to local residents. This furthers the difficulty of local residents to benefit from the heritage-based development of tourism. Therefore, the lower status of local residents is reflected both in heritage authorization and tourism development.

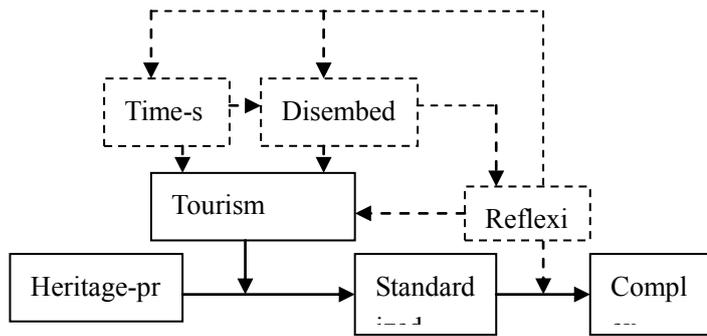


Figure 2.5 Theoretical framework for the modernity process driven by IHATD in heritage-protected tourism destinations in China

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the theoretical framework for this thesis based on Giddens' theory of modernity and its application to the tourism and heritage fields. Three bodies of literature were explored to establish this theoretical framework.

Firstly, literature on modernity was reviewed to better understand how a traditional community transforms into a modern society. In particular, Tönnies' concepts of *Gemeinschaft und gesellschaft*, then classical sociologists' arguments on the process of modernity, and finally of Giddens' modernity theory of time-space distanciation, disembedding, and reflexivity were discussed. Giddens' modernity theory was introduced in detail to better understand the features of the modernity process in a contemporary era. It was analyzed comparing Giddens' conceptual notions with those of other modernists/post-modernists. This analysis indicates that the modernity process displays different features to that in the classical sociologists' era, which focused more on industrialization, capitalism, and rationality.

Secondly, Giddens' modernity theory was applied to analyze the transformation of tourist destinations and the heritage authorization. The recognition of tourist destinations has developed from a geographical concept (place) to a social concept (space), in which tourism development strongly drives the transformation. The interaction between external tourists and local agents was also analyzed to better understand their roles in the transformation of destinations. Then, concepts of heritage and authenticity were analyzed through exploring the heritage authorization process and

different understandings of authenticity. It shows that the emergence of heritage and authenticity was accompanied with the emergence of modernity and the nation-state. Heritage authorization in European countries is mainly intended to strengthen national identity instead of community in the traditional era. Authenticity also serves to solve the lack of identity in modern society. Then the modernity process in heritage-protected tourist destinations was analyzed to better understand the transformation process shaped by heritage authorization (mainly for national identity as a political factor) and tourism development (mainly for economic benefits as economic factor).

Thirdly, the theoretical framework was established based on the analysis of the modernity process in heritage-protected tourist destinations in China. The UNESCO conventions, CCPWCNH and ICSICH, have influenced the heritage field greatly since the 1980s. In particular, the criteria of authenticity and integrity in the OGIWHC impact greatly on the planning of heritage-protected areas, which are expected to be designated WH sites. These criteria were based on the situation in European countries but seriously influenced China's built heritage, which are very different to those of European countries. Heritage authorization, however, together with tourism development by local governments and residents, disembed the attachment of time-space contexts. The reconstruction of tradition-style culture is legitimized under heritage authorization and tourism development. That is, tradition-style culture is the product of the IHATD. Furthermore, the unequal relationships of power are reflected in the hierarchy of actors who engage in reconstructing tradition-style culture.

Chapter Three: Westernization of Chinese Heritage and its Connection with Tourism Development

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide the background of tourism and heritage in China through tracing both heritage policies and tourism policies from 1911 to the present, followed by an analysis of conflicts caused by the application of Europe-originated heritage principles to the Chinese context as well as the connection between heritage preservation and tourism development. The period from 1911 to 1949 is reviewed as the historical background since it was in the Republican era. Three phases, 1949 to 1978, 1978 to 1998, and 1998 to the present, are divided in line with different political and economic models. Generally, traditional culture was officially devalued from 1911 to 1978 although the KMT and CPC had different cultural approaches to modernization. The KMT tended to accept westernization from capitalist countries while the CPC mainly followed socialist countries from 1949 to 1978. Intangible traditional culture was not recognized as valuable heritage until China passed the international intangible heritage convention, ICSICH, in 2004. Therefore, the interaction of heritage authorization/preservation and tourism development legitimizes the reconstruction of tradition-style culture, which is different from traditional culture, to serve modernization as well as to strengthen national identity.

As for tangible traditional culture, it witnessed the influences of Europe-originated heritage ideas on heritage principles from the 1920s to the present except for the period from 1949 to 1978. This reflects the influences of globalization on the heritage field. The Europe-originated international heritage convention met challenges in China in terms of the restoration principle and understandings of authenticity. The other factor that influenced the physical cultural heritage authorization/preservation from 1978 was the economic revenue from the local use of heritage, mainly for tourism. While tourism development revitalizes the traditional culture it also changes its cultural meaning. Therefore, both globalization and tourism development influence current heritage authorization/preservation in China while both are in conflict with heritage preservation. These conflicts reflect the impact of globalization on traditional culture and modernization on traditional

culture respectively. The local response to globalization and modernization is the reconstruction of tradition-style culture, which is apparently similar to traditional culture but is in fact a new culture.

The aim of this chapter is to better understand why and how the authorization of heritage in China post-1978 has been influenced by heritage principles which originated in Europe. These principles have been critical in shaping tourism development in China since 1978. In particular, the fact that traditional culture came under attack from 1911 to 1978, and that tangible traditional culture was destroyed to serve the virulent project of modernization carried out from 1949 to 1978, provides the historical background to better understand why the tradition-style culture is required to reconstruct culture to meet the current needs of heritage authorization and tourism development. This also links to the research question, how has the interaction of heritage authorization and tourism development driven the modernity process of heritage-preserved tourist destinations. The exact answer is in a modernized way of reconstructing tradition-style culture, in which the heritage experts and local residents demonstrate a power disparity in heritage-protected tourist destinations. This contributes to answering the main research question, why and how has the interaction of heritage authorization and tourism development driven processes of modernity in heritage-preserved tourist destinations in China. This chapter is also purposely arranged to generalize the answer to the research question to the broader context, rather than just in the case study areas in the following two chapters.

3.2 Early Westernization of Chinese Heritage and Beginning of Modern Tourism in China (1911-1949)

This section will explore the political elites' attitude to traditional culture, heritage, and tourism activities in the context of changing politics from 1911 to 1949. It examines the transition from 'traditional' understandings of Chinese cultural heritage and tourism before 1911 to an ethno nationalist, so-called 'modern' understanding of Chinese cultural heritage post 1911. This transition was characterized by a nationalist backlash against tradition and religion and a move towards 'Western' understandings of the nation and of what constitutes heritage. Heritage post-1911 was limited to movable heritage and built heritage, which were expected to strengthen national identity by displaying the shared past culture.

Traditional culture, mainly referring to Confucianism, was challenged by Western culture and regarded by nationalists as backward and weak at the beginning of the 20th century. The nationalists explored ways to establish a progressive and modern nation-state through borrowing from western culture. However, the political elites' attitude to movable relics and archeological sites was kept positive since they considered these relics could strengthen the national identity through displaying the national past. Under the Republican government's support, the archeological field was greatly influenced by European ideas. Some modern travel services were also conducted by the private sector providing travel services for Chinese people. In other words, this period saw a complicated combination of traditional culture and Western culture in the changing political context, in which modernization was emphasized to drive China to progress.

3.2.1 Tradition and the Emergence of Anti-Tradition

Generally, Chinese traditional culture means the culture embedded in China from the pre-Qin Shi Huang era (211BC) until the Opium War (1841) and specifically refers to “a culture with Confucianism at its core, mixed first with Taoism and later with Buddhism”³¹³. Confucianism is seen not only as a Chinese philosophy but also a religion-functioned culture influencing Chinese people in their daily-lives and behaviors³¹⁴. Confucianism originated from Confucius, who was an educator, politician, and philosopher around 500BC. Confucianism focused on rites and ritual systems with cosmic principles, which were highly hierarchical and parochial³¹⁵. Hierarchical rites provided ethical rules and infiltrated all fields of Chinese life, for example the emperor is superior to ministers and the father is superior to his children. It influenced Chinese people so much that even western scholars realized that:

If we were to characterize in one word the Chinese way of life for the last two thousand years, the word could be ‘Confucian’. No other individual in Chinese history has so deeply influenced the life and thoughts of his people, as a transmitter, teacher and creative interpreter of the ancient culture and literature and as a moulder of the Chinese mind and character³¹⁶.

Confucius claimed that excellent scholars should engage in politics so that they could use their

³¹³ Zhongyun Zi. “The Relationship of Chinese Traditional Culture to the Modernization of China: An Introduction to the Current Discussion.” *Asian Survey* 27, no. 4 (1987): 442-458.

³¹⁴ Xinzhong Yao. *An Introduction to Confucianism*. (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

³¹⁵ Zhongyun Zi. “The Relationship of Chinese Traditional Culture to the Modernization of China: An Introduction to the Current Discussion.” *Asian Survey* 27, no. 4 (1987): 442-458.

³¹⁶ Wing-tsit Chan and Joseph Adler. *Sources of Chinese Tradition: Volume 1: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 1. (New York Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 1960), 15.

knowledge to serve reality. His thought is closely related to the politics of being a successful ruler. Confucius himself pursued a political position but usually failed. However, many of his followers engaged in political life successfully. His followers constituted “an institution of Mandarins, a scholarly class who assumed a central role in the administration of the state for the emperors”³¹⁷. Thus, Confucian thought was usually propagated and interpreted by the imperial authority as an effective way to regulate people’s minds and behaviors in an ethical/moral way. Gradually, Confucian thought became Confucianism with systematic rules, such as the “three Guiding Principles’ (*san gang*)”, referring to “the subordination of a subject or minister to his ruler, which is followed by that of a son to his father and of a wife to her husband”, and the “Five Constant Regulations (*wu chang*)”, meaning five virtues, humaneness (*ren*), righteousness (*yi*), ritual/propriety (*li*), wisdom (*zhi*) and faithfulness (*xin*), which are regarded as natural laws ordering all other virtues³¹⁸. The support of imperial authority enabled Confucianism to become the dominant representation of traditional culture from its origin to 1911 when the Republic of China was established. From the Confucian perspective, people attained a level of civilization through their rites, under which anyone can become Chinese. This view contradicts the western nation-state understanding of citizenship. Nation-state refers to “a state claiming formal political sovereignty over ‘its’ territories and a legitimacy based on the ‘people’ or ‘nation’ inhabiting them”³¹⁹. The nation-state is a modern concept linking people or a nation’s shared culture closely to the political regime.

The emerging political elite, Sun Yet-sen and the Nationalist Party (formerly the Kuomintang, KMT), noticed traditional Confucian culture lacked a cohesive ethno-national identity since the then Qing authority was not Han, but Manchu. Then, in 1911, Sun Yet-sen interpreted the identification of ‘Chinese’ or ‘Chineseness’ from an ethno-nationalist perspective which was directed against the Manchu authorities in late Qing dynasty³²⁰. The Nationalist Party tried to establish a new nation-state by strengthening the national identity, a goal they achieved in 1911. Furthermore, the KMT government drove the new nation-state toward achieving modernization using progressive

³¹⁷ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. “Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 366.

³¹⁸ Xinzhong Yao. *An Introduction to Confucianism*. (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 34.

³¹⁹ Michael Mann. “Has Globalization Ended the Rise and Rise of the Nation-state?” *Review of International Political Economy* 4, no. 3 (1997): 476.

³²⁰ Dru C Gladney. *Dislocating China: Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 13-14.

western technology. They viewed traditional Confucian culture as backward, preventing China's progress. In 1927, the Nationalist Party issued a decree to destroy Confucian temples and regard Confucianism as "superstitious and out of the modern world"³²¹. It is clear that Sun Yet-sen and the Nationalist Party used ethno-nationalism to fight against the Manchu authority but paradoxically viewed Confucian culture, the cultural basis of the nation-state, as backward.

The period from 1911 to 1949 witnessed the rise of anti-tradition activities with the emergence of modern Chinese nationalism³²². Traditional culture was regarded as backward when compared to Western culture which represented progressive modernization. For example, the May Fourth Movement in 1919 was an extreme expression of nationalistic anti-traditionalism³²³ launched by nationalists who regarded traditional culture as a source of weakness and backwardness and thus considered that traditional culture should be abolished. In 1928 and 1929 the nationalists launched the 'Superstition Destruction Movement' and eliminated the temples of popular religion³²⁴. In this context, tradition, such as Confucianism and Taoism, was attacked because it was regarded as superstitious and feudal. These activities were supported by the political and military elites at that time.

3.2.2 KMT's Attitudes to Recognizable Heritage and Emerging Westernization of Chinese Heritage

The political elites' attitude to movable heritages and built heritages tended to differ from traditional spiritual culture despite the fact that material heritages carry traditional spiritual significance. Heritage is now regarded as authorized excellent past culture, including tangible and intangible aspects, however it was limited only to movable antiques and some ancient buildings at that time. These recognized cultural heritages were viewed by the KMT as significant in strengthening national identity. The KMT issued heritage laws and policies to protect recognizable heritages, as European countries did. This way of constructing national identity was noted by many scholars as a political

³²¹ Jinyu Li, "The Politics of Propriety: A Comparative Study of the New Life Movement and the Five Stresses and Four Beautifications Campaign in Twentieth Century China." (MA dissertation, Rice University, 1987), 17.

³²² Myron L. Cohen. "Being Chinese: The Peripheralization of Traditional Identity." *Daedalus* 120, no. 2 (1991): 113-134.

³²³ Yü-sheng Lin. *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979).

³²⁴ Chang-tai Hung. *Going to the people: Chinese Intellectuals and Folk Literature, 1918-1937*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 158-160.

function of cultural heritage through building the nation-state³²⁵. The KMT's attitude to recognizable heritage reflected the Westernized way for the political elites to deal with heritage. Aside from the political elites, some prominent and influential Chinese intellectual elites actively studied Europe-originated heritage knowledge and applied it to Chinese built heritage. Both the government sector and the intellectual elites contributed to the westernization of Chinese heritage.

The Republican government regarded movable heritages as representing China's history and thus had opened 77 museums by 1936 shortly before Sino-Japanese war (1937-1945)³²⁶. The KMT was prepared to construct a national museum in Nanjing in 1933 and shipped approximately 20,000 crates of material from Beijing's Forbidden City, but failed to complete the project due to the war. Subsequently 11729 heritage items were taken to Taiwan when the KMT retreated to Taiwan in 1948³²⁷. These items became part of key collections in the National Palace Museum in Taipei which was established in 1965. The KMT government claimed they were the guardians of China's historical record as opposed to the CPC government which destroyed the past, while the CPC government called the shift of the Nanjing collection to Taiwan as theft³²⁸.

Except for attention to movable heritages, the Republican government issued some laws and regulations concerning cultural artifacts and heritage sites. From 1928 to 1938, several laws on preserving cultural heritages were passed such as the *Act on Preservation of Articles of Historical, Cultural and Artistic Value*; *Tentative Regulations Governing Types and Forms of Articles of Historical, Cultural and Artistic Importance*; *Directives on the Ban on Shipping of Articles of Historical, Cultural and Artistic Value*; *the Statute for Preservation of Scenic Sites, Points of Historical Importance, and Articles of Historical, Cultural and Artistic Value*³²⁹. These regulations were issued not only to prohibit cultural heritages being shipped to foreign countries but also to

³²⁵ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 17; Tony Bennett, and Thomas F. Soapes. "The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics." *Library Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (1997): 78; Sharon Macdonald, ed. *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

³²⁶ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 10.

³²⁷ Stefan Gruber. "Protecting China's Cultural Heritage Sites in Times of Rapid Change: Current Developments, Practice and Law." *Asia Pacific Journal of Environmental Law* 10, no. 3/4 (2007): 253-301.

³²⁸ Rubie Watson. "Palaces, Museums, and Squares: Chinese National Spaces." *Museum Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (1995): 7-19.

³²⁹ Rachel Murphy. "Turning Peasants into Modern Chinese Citizens: 'Population quality' Discourse, Demographic Transition and Primary Education." *The China Quarterly* 177 (2004): 1-20; Zhuang Min. "The Administration of China's Archeological Heritage." in *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*. ed. Henry Cleere, (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989): 102-108; Stefan Gruber. "Protecting China's Cultural Heritage Sites in Times of Rapid Change: Current Developments, Practice and Law." *Asia Pacific Journal of Environmental Law* 10, no. 3/4 (2007): 272.

prevent them being damaged because of inadequate protective measures. These regulations were greatly influenced by European countries³³⁰.

A private society named the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture was founded by a retired government official, Zhu Qiyin, in 1929 to study how to adapt Chinese traditional architecture to modern needs and techniques³³¹. Later, many members of this society majored in architecture in Western countries such as Liang Sicheng and Fan Wenzhao who both graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. Liang Sicheng explored the methods and rules of the Qing dynasty's architecture in his book *Qing Structural Regulations* written in 1934³³². Another of his books, *History of Chinese Architecture*, explored 3500 years of architectural history in China³³³. These books were teaching materials and textbooks for the following Chinese architects who studied traditional architecture. He established the Department of Architecture at the Northeastern University in 1928 and the Department of Architecture at Tsinghua University in 1946. Liang Sicheng was regarded as the father of modern Chinese architecture and contributed a great deal to the preservation and restoration of Chinese traditional architecture and planning³³⁴. His theory and thoughts on restoring Chinese built heritage significantly influenced the heritage field. Although Sicheng graduated from university in America, he followed French-born architect Paul Philippe Cret. Sicheng's principles on the restoration and preservation of built heritage, "repairing the old as the old", revealed similarities to the French school, and his theory still underpins the restoration of built heritage in China³³⁵. The difference between the French school of restoration and the World Heritage Convention will be explored in a later section of this chapter.

In the Republican era, western archeology greatly influenced what occurred in China. For example, the Geography of Survey, organized in 1916 as the first organization on archeological excavation in

³³⁰ Stefan Gruber. "Protecting China's Cultural Heritage Sites in Times of Rapid Change: Current Developments, Practice and Law." *Asia Pacific Journal of Environmental Law* 10, no. 3/4 (2007): 272.

³³¹ Chuan Wang. Conservation of the Cultural Architecture and Historic Districts in China in Recent One Hundred Years. *Journal of China West Normal University (Philosophy & Social Science)*. 5 (2003), 64-69.

³³² Sicheng Liang. *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: A Study of the Development of Its Structural System and the Evolution of Its Types*. Edited by Wilma Fairbank. (Cambridge, Mass, and London: MIT Press, 1985).

³³³ Sicheng, Liang. *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*. (Beijing: The Joint Publishing Company Ltd., 2011).

³³⁴ Shiqiao Li. "Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History: Liang Sicheng and Liang Qichao." *Journal of Architectural Education* 56, no. 1 (2002): 35-45.

³³⁵ Cao Yongkang. "A Study of Protection Theories and Practice Control of Cultural Relics Buildings in China." (Ph.D., Zhejiang University. 2008), 12-13; Frances Wood. "Book Review: A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: A Study of the Development of its Structural System and the Evolution of its Types." *The China Quarterly* 104, (1985): 737-738.

the modern sense, was dominated by Europeans such as Johan Gunnar Andersson, who led the first archeological excavation of the Yangshao sites in 1921. His Chinese partner, Li Chi (1895-1979), regarded as the founder of scientific archeology in China, studied ethnology and physical anthropology at Harvard and helped establish the first Archeology Department in China, at Beijing University in 1925³³⁶.

In 1932, the KMT government established an antique preservation committee and formulated the Organization of Regulations of Antiques Preservation Committee of the Central Government. This committee and these regulations were initiated by the Central Government to preserve the cultural and historical relics of China. Nevertheless, these initiatives contributed little to the preservation of cultural relics in China at that time. It is clear that the KMT government tended to preserve movable heritage in order to strengthen national identity while the preservation of heritage, including preservation policies and archeological experts at that time, was primarily influenced by Western countries.

3.2.3 The Beginning of Modern Tourism

The first Chinese-run travel agent, the China Travel Service, was established by Chen Guangfu under the nationalist, capital-industry policy of the KMT government in 1927³³⁷. The impetus for Chen Guangfu to establish a travel agent was the emotional insult he experienced when dealing with a foreign-run travel agent at that time. After that insulting incident, he decided to establish a travel service similar to Westerner-operated ones for Chinese people. As a private company, the China Travel Service developed rapidly over the next decade, with 87 sub-agents and about 1000 staff in existence prior to the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937³³⁸. Its business included organizing tour groups to visit many of the famous sites which appeared in *The Encyclopedia of Chinese Scenic Spots and Ancient Relics* (Zhonghua Quanguo Mingsheng Guji Daquan) published in 1922³³⁹. The China Travel Service, its early tour destinations and its journal *Travel Magazine* (or *Lvxing Zazhi*) represented the beginning of China's modern tourist industry.

³³⁶ Kwang-chih Chang. "Archaeology and Chinese Historiography." *World Archaeology* 13, no. 2 (1981): 156-169.

³³⁷ Lili Zhang. "The First Travel Service in Modern China." *The Journal of Chinese Social and Economic History* no.1 (1998): 123.

³³⁸ Ibid., 123-134.

³³⁹ Pál Nyíri. *Scenic Spots: Chinese Tourism, the State, and Cultural Authority*. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2011), 14; Miriam Gross. "Flights of Fancy from a Sedan Chair: Marketing Tourism in Republican China, 1927–1937." *Twentieth-Century China* 36, no. 2 (2011): 119-147.

Some heritage sites and museums were opened to the public and tourists as tourist sites. For example, there were 15 famous tourist sites with 2.499 million tourists and 284.6 thousand RMB of admission income in Beijing in 1940³⁴⁰. These tourist sites included natural parks and historical heritage sites. Even the Forbidden City in the imperial palace of Qing was opened to the public and tourists in 1925. Foreign tourists mainly visited historical heritage sites while domestic tourists visited both natural and historical sites.

It is clear that this period saw a transition from a traditional context to a modern one, in which traditional culture was not only interpreted by the political elite as a ethno-nationalist tool to be used against Manchu Authority but also a nationalist tool to build s westernized nation-state. Heritage was recognized only as a physical past culture while traditional culture, such as Confucian culture and Taoism, was not recognized as heritage. During the building of the nation-state, both the political and intellectual elites tended to devalue traditional culture and view it as backward and preventing China's modernization. At the same time, however, both the political and intellectual elites tended to westernize Chinese heritage in that the political elites issued relevant laws/policies to protect physical heritage, just as European countries did, and the intellectual elites studied Europe-originated heritage principles to interpret Chinese heritage. Modern tourism began to develop and some heritage sites were used by travel services as tourist sites.

3.3 Mao's Era: Radical Socialist Construction of Chinese Heritage and Tourism (1949-1978)

This section will examine the attitudes of the Communist Party of China (CPC) to Chinese heritage as well as tourism under the radical socialist modernization from 1949 to 1978, Mao's era. The tension between socialism, modernization, and traditional culture was exposed and thus resulted in radical policies for heritage and tourism in Mao's era³⁴¹. Mao attempted to impose Marxist-Leninism and totalistic iconoclasm on China and this era witnessed the establishment of the new Chinese socialist culture which replaced the traditional one. The CPC had supported the rejection of

³⁴⁰ Wanling Xu. Historical Review on the Relationships between the Palace Museum and Tourism: The Case of Forbidden City in the People's Republic of China. *Tourism Planning and Design*, no.11 (2014): 6-15.

³⁴¹ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 362-392.

traditional culture since its establishment in 1921 and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) revealed the extreme and totalistic anti-traditionalism it advocated. As for modernization, the CPC tended to obtain rapid modernization under a more egalitarian idea for society. This egalitarian idea contradicted the hierarchical claims of Confucianism that had existed in China for more than 2000 years. Under Mao, cultural value in built heritage was interpreted in line with his dictum “use the past to serve the present” in which history was interpreted as a tool to serve for socialist ideology³⁴². Heritage sites were selected to be preserved to reflect new symbols of state power³⁴³. The CPC also borrowed the *Danwei* (work unit) system from the Soviet Union to reorganize social agents into these collective or state-owned units. Many traditional spaces that had not been recognized as heritage sites were changed into socialist factories and schools to obtain socialist modernization. Leisure tourism activities were regarded as bourgeois acts, and thus were also rejected, except for political visits. These political visits were not to heritage sites but to factories and work communities to show material socialist achievements. In other words, traditional culture, heritage preservation, and tourism all gave way to socialist construction which included not only socialist modernization but also socialist ideology/culture.

3.3.1 Socialist Construction, Traditional Culture and Chinese Heritage (1949-1978)

This period witnessed rigid opposition to traditional culture while some policies were issued to preserve heritage to evidence Marxist evolutionary history in which traditional culture was feudal and superstitious while socialist culture was advanced. Many antiques and ancient materials were destroyed under land reform (1949-1952), socialist material construction, and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Some ancient buildings were selected to be preserved in line with Mao’s argument, making the past serve the present. In short, in this period the preservation of heritage was not consistent because the cultural value of heritage was interpreted by Maoism, with some heritages being kept to support socialist culture while others were destroyed.

Under Mao, ‘legitimate knowledge’ and academic disciplines were evaluated in line with Marxist

³⁴² Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 15.

³⁴³ Wu Hung. *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the creation of a public space*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005).

dogma. In 1950, the PRC Ministry of Education issued a manifesto on how to categorize academic disciplines in which the criteria were drawn from Marxist dogma³⁴⁴. Under this framework, some disciplines related to heritage such as archeology, anthropology, and history were restricted because of their capitalist origins. Traditional culture was regarded as an obstacle to obtaining modernization and was thus rejected.

During the war between the KMT government and the Communist Party in 1948 Mao Zedong ordered the Communist soldiers not to destroy historical sites when fighting against the KMT soldiers in Beijing. At the Communist Party's request, Liang Sicheng listed the important historical buildings in Beijing in 1948. In 1949, again at the Communist Party's request, Liang Sicheng and other scholars at Qinghua University listed 450 sites and edited *A Brief list of Important Architectural Heritages in China*³⁴⁵. Liang Sicheng and his heritage lists initiated the heritage field in the new China. This shows that at this transitional time, the Communist Party tried to preserve ancient buildings and historical sites.

The PRC issued some policies to preserve heritages in the 1950s. In May 1950, the State Council issued a decree to protect historical sites, artifacts, books and endangered animals³⁴⁶. In 1953, in order to deal with the conflict between protecting cultural archeological sites and socialist infrastructure constructions, the State Council issued the *Guidelines on the Protection of Historical and Revolutionary Relics in the Basic Construction*³⁴⁷. Another document, the *Notice on the Protection of Cultural Relics in the Agricultural Production and Construction*, was set out in 1956³⁴⁸. The principle directive embodied in both was that the preservation of archeological sites should coordinate socialist material construction, which means conducting archeological dig work should follow/subordinate material construction. However, in land reform (1949-1952), indicated as a campaign to eliminate landlords, many antiques and books in landlords' homes were also destroyed when peasants and the Communist Party sentenced landlords to death³⁴⁹. This shows that the

³⁴⁴ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 362-392.

³⁴⁵ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 10.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁴⁷ Chensheng Xie. Five Decades of Cultural Relics Protection in the New China. *Contemporary China History Studies* 9, no. 3 (2002): 61-70.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 61-70.

³⁴⁹ Enzheng Tong. "Thirty Years of Chinese Archaeology (1949-1979)." *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology* ed. Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 193.

Communist Party had the power to determine what antiques belonged to heritage and what belonged to feudal/superstitious remains.

In the first half of the 1960s, the PRC government continued to issue policies to preserve cultural heritages and furthermore attempted to establish a heritage system. In 1961, the State Council issued the first formal decree for cultural preservation, the *Provisional Regulations on the Protection and Administration of Cultural Relics*, which also led to the establishment of a national Cultural Relics Bureau under the Ministry of Culture. In 1962, the Bureau published China's first list of national cultural sites, including 180 sites. Liang Sicheng's list in 1949 was the key reference for the first batch of national cultural sites. These sites were classified into "patriotic education bases" and "national preserved work unit (*danwei*) sites"³⁵⁰, in which the former refers to historical sites propagandizing the Communist Party while the latter includes sites like tombs, grottos, buildings, and stone carvings constructed before the Qing dynasty³⁵¹. In 1963 three more policies relating to the protection and preservation of cultural relics were issued. These were the *Interim Measures for the Administration of Protecting the Cultural Relics Unit*; the *Interim Measures on Repair of Revolutionary Memorial Buildings, Historical Monuments, Ancient Buildings and Grottos* and the *Revision of Implementation Methods of Provisional Regulations on the Protection and Control of Cultural Relics*. These decrees led to the establishment of the National Administration of Cultural Heritage and the Cultural Heritage Unit. These policies gradually furthered the idea of cultural heritage as work units (*danwei*). *Danwei* refers to special socialist work units with political and organizational forms, publicly owned units or collectively owned utilities such as school, hospitals, research institutes, military units, or factories³⁵². Thus, work units in one field from central to local levels form an top-to-bottom system or institution in that field. However, the attempt to establish heritage-preserved institutions was disrupted by the 'Great Leap Forward' (1958-1961) and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

The Great Leap Forward was expected to quickly transform China from an agrarian-based feudal

³⁵⁰ Marina Svensson. "In the Ancestors' Shadow: Cultural Heritage Contestations in Chinese Villages." (Working paper No. 17, Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies, Lund University, 2006), 7; The State Bureau of Cultural Relics. *Selection of New Chinese Cultural Heritage Regulations*. (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 1987), 7-10.

³⁵¹ Bai Liu. *Cultural policy in the People's Republic of China. Letting a Hundred Flowers Blossom*. (Paris: UNESCO, 1983), 97.

³⁵² David Bray. *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform*. ((Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 3-4.

society to an industrialized socialist society. In other words, it aimed to achieve modernization quickly through socialist construction. In order to obtain rapid socialist modernization, the Great Leap (1958-1960) transformed the private handicrafts sector to socialist collectives or whole state-owned production. Under this campaign, local governments tried to exaggerate their production to higher government. Furthermore, under this campaign, cultural heritage policies were difficult to implement at a local level. Many underground relics were built over to accommodate new factories. In Luoyang, the selection of sites for industrial construction destroyed underground cultural relics. Explosives were used in an ancient tomb district dating from 600 BC to the 14th century³⁵³. The Great Leap Forward campaign ended with serious costs including about 30 million deaths caused by mass famine³⁵⁴. Although Chen Yi (vice Premier at that time) ordered that “keeping cultural heritage as old as possible apparently and never doing socialist construction for cultural heritage per se”, it was very difficult to implement under the Great Leap Forward campaign³⁵⁵. Furthermore, the contents of policies had some limitations in what they covered, including only movable cultural relics and ancient sites underground. Thus, the preservation of ancient cultural buildings was not, in practice, well implemented.

In the socialist transformation and large-scale socialist material construction period (approximately 1953-1965), these regulations fell short of resolving the conflict between the preservation of cultural relics and economic development, especially in relation to traditional architecture. Political ideologies promoting modernity at the expense of historical sites added to the destruction of many ancient cultural relics, regardless of whether they were under or above the ground. Scholars like Liang Sicheng recommended that the preservation of cultural relics should extend to ancient cities and historical sites in the cities. He suggested, for instance, that urban planners in Beijing should establish new residential and commercial districts and preserve the historical areas dating from the Ming and Qing Dynasties³⁵⁶. His suggestions, however, fell on deaf ears. Many historical buildings in the cities were destroyed to make way for new constructions. Beijing pulled down the ancient Ming walls in line with the 1950s urban construction philosophy of “Destroy the Old and Establish

³⁵³ Lixu Chen. “Historical Probe on Preservation of Historical Cultural Heritage in Modern China.” *Journal of Zhejiang Provincial Party School*, no. 3 (2003), 72.

³⁵⁴ Frank Dikötter. *Mao's Great Famine: The history of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962*. (New York: Walker Publishing Company, 2010).

³⁵⁵ Chensheng Xie. Five Decades of Cultural Relics Protection in the New China. *Contemporary China History Studies* 9, no. 3 (2002): 64.

³⁵⁶ Jinghui Wang, Ruan Yisan and Wang Lin. *Preservation and Planning of Historical Cultural City*. (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 1994), 14.

the New” (破旧立新)³⁵⁷. A main arterial road constructed around the historic Bell Tower in the ancient Xi’an city is another example. State policies for the protection of ancient sites could not be fully implemented when local governments wanted to use scarce land to construct factories. An example of this is when, during 1953-1957, the post-Tang Dynasty tombs were filled with concrete so that an industrial district could be created in Luoyang³⁵⁸.

The Great Leap Forward led to a Party shift away from Mao’s radical ideas leading to a more pragmatic approach. In order to regain power, Mao launched the Cultural Revolution and turned his followers (Red Guards) against both the Party and the state. Its approach was against traditions and against capitalist roots. The philosophy of ‘Destroy the Old and Establish the New’ was extended to the ideology of ‘Attack the Four Olds’ (customs, culture, habits, and ideas). Although many scholars noted that the Cultural Revolution was a cultural holocaust “the ten years of catastrophe” in English publications, or mass chaos of social order³⁵⁹, Gao argued that the effect and outcomes were complicated from a socioeconomic perspective³⁶⁰. Gao, as a former red guard, considered that it had some positive impacts on improving education, health care and enterprises in rural areas after political stability was regained in 1969³⁶¹. The impact of the Cultural Revolution on heritage is also complicated.

From 1966 to 1967, numerous precious cultural buildings - including ancient temples, Buddhist statues and monuments and even ancient trees - were totally destroyed. Private homes were ransacked and tradition was totally banned. Movable cultural heritage was set on fire. Policies on the preservation of cultural heritage that had been issued previously were completely disregarded. However, the communist party’s attitude to ancient objects became more positive after the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Party Central Committee jointly issued a decree ordering Red Guards to protect public cultural relics and old books. This decree came from the Premier, Zhou Enlai, and some other communist leaders who claimed that the cultural sites and relics should be preserved to teach the public and let them know about China’s feudal past. Thus,

³⁵⁷ Lixu Chen. “Historical Probe on Preservation of Historical Cultural Heritage in Modern China.” *Journal of Zhejiang Provincial Party School*, no. 3 (2003), 70-75.

³⁵⁸ Jianmei Liu. “A Historical Investigation of the Policy for Protection of Cultural and Historical Relics in China in the Years of 1949 to 1966.” *Contemporary China History Studies* 15 no.3 (2008), 27-34.

³⁵⁹ Jung Chang. *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003); Cheng Nien. *Life and Death in Shanghai*. (New York: Grove Press, 1987).

³⁶⁰ Mobo Gao. *The Battle for China’s Past: Mao and the Cultural Revolution*. (London: Pluto Press, 2008).

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

books and objects from private houses were transferred to public museums and libraries³⁶². Paradoxically, the Cultural Revolution which aimed to eliminate the past, gradually became a campaign to remember the significance of the feudal past instead of forgetting and removing it.

The Cultural Revolution was aimed at destroying traditional culture, but in practice the campaign saved some material relics after 1967. It damaged people's collective memory of the past through suppressing traditional culture, such as Confucian culture and Buddhism. The most lasting damage from the Cultural Revolution was public morality (*gongde*)³⁶³, which had been shaped mainly by Confucian culture, Buddhism, and Taoism before 1911. The Cultural Revolution ended with Mao's death in 1976.

It is clear that the Communist Party had different approaches to traditional culture and tangible cultural relics. They rigidly denied traditional culture and, at the same time, actively preserved some tangible cultural relics. All the policies and practices for traditional culture and tangible culture served the political purpose of strengthening socialism. Heritage became absorbed into a virulent political project and was perceived to be a tool to strengthen the communist state. Heritage was appropriated for either preservation or destruction. During this period policies were issued to preserve tangible relics and archeological sites. To some extent, these regulations did preserve some tangible relics/archeological sites and resolved the conflict between preserving cultural heritage and socialist construction. However, the criteria for evaluating tangible relics were their historical value and revolutionary value. According to Marxism and Maoism, all history before 1949 was evil, feudal and full of exploitative processes³⁶⁴. If cultural relics could provide evidence for historical materialistic or political ideology, it had a value worth preserving. This was reflected in museums at that time, where the displays followed a linear view of Chinese history based on historical materialistic culture.

The Communist Party interpreted the past not in line with the true past and nonpolitical analysis, but

³⁶² Dahpon David Ho. "To Protect and Preserve: Resisting the Destroy the Four Olds Campaign, 1966–1967." in *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* ed. Joseph W. Esherick, Paul G. Pickowicz, and Andrew G. Walder (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006): 69-71.

³⁶³ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 19.

³⁶⁴ Don D. Fowler. "Uses of the Past: Archaeology in the Service of the State." *American Antiquity* 52, no. 2 (1987): 238.

political ideology³⁶⁵. The tangible heritage served to provide evidence of political ideology in that new socialism was better than the past feudal institutions. When the mansion of the largest landlord in Sichuan province was saved, it was not for its architectural quality but as a reminder of “the old days when working people were oppressed and exploited”³⁶⁶. Under this political ideology, new symbols of state power were prioritized over tangible heritage. For example, in order to construct the Great Hall of the People and expand Tiananmen Square between 1958 and 1959, as symbols of new power, historical areas to the south of Forbidden City were destroyed. At the same time, socialist material construction was used to demonstrate that socialism was a better way to achieve modernization. For example, Beijing’s Ming-era walls were erased to construct the first subway line in Beijing in 1965-1969.

In conclusion, in order to serve political ideology, regulations and an institutional system for the preservation of cultural heritage was initially established between the years 1949 to 1966³⁶⁷, however this preservation extended only to movable relics and archeological sites. The political ideology shows that traditional culture before 1949 was feudal and socialism was a better way to obtain modernization. Under this political ideology, the preservation of tangible relics gave way to socialist construction. Thus, the preservation policies for archeological sites were not well implemented because of the conflict between the preservation of cultural relics and the boom in construction between 1949 and 1966. From 1966 to 1967, numerous relics were destroyed under extreme opposition of traditional culture. However, tangible relics were preserved to exemplify the feudal past after 1967. The Cultural Revolution destroyed the traditional culture, including moral aspects, while at the same time people’s desire to preserve past relics relatively increased.

3.3.2 Tourism under Socialist Construction (1949-1978)

The period of 1949 to 1978 witnessed the centrally-planned economy in China after the Communist Party defeated the KMT government in 1949. This period did not see tourism as an economic activity but a political and diplomatic activity. From 1949 to 1978 the Central Government issued 19

³⁶⁵ Xinzhi Wu and Zhang Zhenbiao. “Homo sapiens Remains from Late Palaeolithic and Neolithic and Neolithic China.” in *Paleoanthropology and Paleolithic Archaeology in the People's Republic of China*. ed. Wu Rukang and John W. Olsen. (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2009), 124.

³⁶⁶ Ronald G. Knapp, *China's Old Dwellings*. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 327.

³⁶⁷ Jianmei Liu. “A Historical Investigation of the Policy for Protection of Cultural and Historical Relics in China in the Years of 1949 to 1966.” *Contemporary China History Studies* 15 no.3 (2008), 27-34.

policies concerning tourism with most focused on receiving invited foreign politicians to display the achievements of socialist China³⁶⁸. Tourism was used as a civil diplomatic tool to highlight socialist construction³⁶⁹. Both domestic and international tourism were almost nonexistent³⁷⁰. Leisure tourism was regarded as having capitalist roots and inbound tourism was strictly controlled.

Some state-owned travel agents were established to meet the needs of Chinese who were residing abroad, and Chinese from Hong Kong and Macao who were coming to visit their relatives in China. For example in December 1949 the first travel agent in PRC, the Xiamen Overseas Chinese Service Agent, was established to provide services primarily for Chinese living abroad. In 1954 another travel agent, the China International Travel Service (CITS, 中国国际旅行社) was founded by the central government as a sub-department of the Foreign Affairs Ministry to specifically provide services to political visitors in relation to finding accommodation, transportation, and visiting places of interest. This travel service only received 125,000 visitors from 1954 to 1978³⁷¹. Tours were arranged primarily to show the material achievements of socialism such as factories, revolutionary peasants, and worker communities. Tour guides, trained as diplomats, accompanied foreign visitors at all times so that they could “quickly and proficiently report the great strides society and the economy had made under socialism”³⁷². Cultural heritage sites were not recommended or promoted. Furthermore, accommodation of foreign tourists, overseas based Chinese, Hong Kong and Macau Chinese, and locals was rigidly segregated³⁷³.

Generally, the State Council would arrange the reception tasks these travel services were required to provide. In this manner the CITS was ostensibly the foreign reception agent of the State Council. Then, on December 1st 1964 the Chinese Travel Bureau (CTB, 中国旅行游览事业管理局) was formally established as a department under the State Council. In fact, the CTB and the CITS had the same staff and combined functions (one team, two titles). It is clear that the national tourist bureau

³⁶⁸ Hanqin Qiu Zhang, King Chong, and John Ap. “An Analysis of Tourism Policy Development in Modern China.” *Tourism Management* 20, no. 4 (1999): 471-485.

³⁶⁹ David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 26.

³⁷⁰ Wayne S. Chow. “Open Policy and Tourism between Guangdong and Hong Kong.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 2 (1988): 205-218.

³⁷¹ Linda K. Richter., *The Politics of Tourism in Asia*. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1989).

³⁷² Lloyd E. Hudman, and Donald E. Hawkins. *Tourism in Contemporary Society: An Introductory Text*. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-hall, 1989), 178.

³⁷³ Wayne S. Chow. “Open Policy and Tourism between Guangdong and Hong Kong.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 2 (1988): 205-218.

was established jointly with the state-owned travel service belonging to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to direct the tourist bureaus of local governments.

However, the Cultural Revolution began soon after. In 1965, the central Communist Party and State Council suggested that tourism development should follow the guiding principle of “Putting Politics in Command, Progressing Steadily, and Developing Gradually”. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Mao’s Red Guards shifted/travelled all over the country for political reasons but this had no relevance to tourism in modern sense. As state-owned and state-operated agents, tourism services followed political movements and no modern tourism activities existed. In effect this meant that the governance of tourism in China was a politically driven institution, which meant that all the tourism reception work was focused only on receiving foreign political visitors and expatriate Chinese. Tourism existed only as a political tool for socialist ideology.

From the preceding review, it is clear that in the period from 1949 to 1978 socialist ideology dominated cultural preservation and tourism activities. Under socialist ideology, traditional culture was regarded as feudal, superstitious, and backward, and thus was strongly attacked. This led to the loss of public morality, which had been shaped by traditional culture. Tangible cultural relics, movable relics and archeological sites were preserved to provide evidence for socialist ideology and historical materialism. The preservation of tangible cultural relics however gave way to socialist construction. In regard to tourism, both domestic and international tourism was restricted and inbound tourism was largely limited to political visitors with national tourism policies focused on showing socialist material achievements to these visitors. Cultural relics had no connection with tourist activities in this period.

3.4 Pragmatic Socialist Construction of Chinese Heritage and its Connection to Tourism (1978-1997)

The Third Plenum of the Eleventh National Congress of the CPC in 1978 marked the beginning of Deng Xiaoping’s era. Deng’s model was called pragmatic and evolutionary socialism or “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics’ in China or ‘Dengism’”, and focused on economic modernization³⁷⁴. In

³⁷⁴ David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 27.

Deng's era, the key decision focused on the construction of the socialist market-economy model in 1992 to replace the previous planned-economy model. This model allowed market mechanisms to play a fundamental role in the allocation of resources under state macro management. China's socialist market-economy was based on the political design of "federalism, Chinese style" or "market-preserving federalism", characterized by the development of fiscal decentralization with political durability³⁷⁵. While western federalism was rooted in individual rights and political freedom, this decentralization only depended on the political relationships between different levels of government³⁷⁶. The process of decentralization from 1978 to 1993 was characterized by central government sharing economic revenue with local governments to spark local economies however the central government still controlled the macro economy meaning China still had the features of a centrally planned economy³⁷⁷. Furthermore, fiscal decentralization led to an increase in local state corporatism. This was different from marketization in Western discourse but it had the function of market cooperation and served as a counterpoint to privatization proposals³⁷⁸. Political durability was obtained through higher-level governments' power on the promotion of local officials from subordinate governments³⁷⁹. In other words, the promotion of local officials was based on their contributions to the local economy and their political support of the CPC-led central government.

Deng Xiaoping's Economic Reform and Open-door Policy from 1978 to 1997 permeated into the cultural heritage and tourism fields. This led to a pragmatic socialist approach to Chinese heritage, in a way authorizing/preserving heritage for socialist nation building and commercializing traditional culture for inbound tourism. Based on western heritage discourse, a heritage authorization institution, dominated by the central government, was created and was largely staffed by heritage experts and administrators who had studied heritage under westernized teachers. Physical cultural heritage mainly served as socialist national buildings as well as inbound tourist attractions. Traditional culture was neither seriously attacked nor actively promoted. The significance of traditional culture was not

³⁷⁵ Kai-yuen Tsui and Youqiang Wang. "Between Separate Stoves and a Single Menu: Fiscal Decentralization in China." *The China Quarterly* 177 (2004): 71-90; Gabriella Montinola, Yingyi Qian, and Barry R. Weingast. "Federalism, Chinese style: the Political Basis for Economic Success in China." *World Politics* 48, no. 01 (1995): 50-81.

³⁷⁶ Gabriella Montinola, Yingyi Qian, and Barry R. Weingast. "Federalism, Chinese style: the Political Basis for Economic Success in China." *World Politics* 48, no. 01 (1995): 60-61.

³⁷⁷ Christine P.W. Wong. "Central-local Relations in an Era of Fiscal Decline: the Paradox of Fiscal Decentralization in Post-Mao China." *The China Quarterly* 128 (1991): 691-715.

³⁷⁸ Jean C.Oi. "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundations of Local State Corporatism in China." *World Politics* 45, no.1 (1992): 99-126.

³⁷⁹ Hongbin Li, and Li-An Zhou. "Political Turnover and Economic Performance: The Incentive Role of Personnel Control in China." *Journal of Public Economics* 89, no. 9 (2005): 1743-1762.

recognized by the authorities as cohesive for the Chinese nation nor as intangible cultural heritage.

Global discourse on modernity also influenced China with burgeoning numbers of inbound tourists. Inbound tourists enjoyed the heritage sites as well as the splendid traditional culture of China. To some extent, tourism development highlighted and commercialized traditional culture. The tourism sector was viewed as an economic activity to earn foreign currency as well as enhancing China's image in the world in diplomatic and political circles. However, both heritage conservation and tourist facilities were mainly funded by the central government. Due to economic conditions, only high-level authorized heritage could be conserved to serve tourists. Furthermore, this period saw the tourism policy prioritizing inbound tourists and not encouraging domestic tourism. Therefore, the tension between the preservation principles of heritage and its usage as tourist sites was only realized by some scholars. In practice, commercializing traditional culture and cultural heritage was not criticized by the public.

3.4.1 Further Westernization of Chinese Heritage

When Deng's policy shifted away from Mao's totalistic iconoclasm, the previous political ideology had to be modified to meet the needs of economic and other reform requirements³⁸⁰. Deng redefined politics in China through changing some of Mao's principles on class struggle into economic development. This change reaffirmed the prime task of socialism as economic modernization and thus justified the legitimacy of the CPC. In this regard, traditional culture was promoted only when it was used to serve socialist ideology or economics. Generally, traditional culture was neither attacked nor recognized as intangible heritage. Recognizably physical heritage was used to strengthen national identity and patriotic meanings, just as had occurred in many capitalist states, although its purpose was not to strengthen capitalism but socialism. It was also during this phase that international heritage conventions began to influence Chinese heritage, with heritage experts, usually officials of heritage administration or university professors, undertaking the task of inscribing World Heritage. This led to further westernization of Chinese heritage both in terms of the political agenda and technical aspects.

³⁸⁰ Colin Mackerras, Pradeep Taneja, and Graham Young. *China Since 1978: Reform, Modernisation, and 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.'* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

A new theory on socialist spiritual and material civilization (two civilizations) was designed to serve Deng's agenda of "economy as the center" as a way of asserting a positive relationship between material progress and cultural and ethical progress³⁸¹. In fact, socialist material civilization was essentially China's unprecedented capitalist economic development for modernization and the attempt to combine this with the Communist doctrine through China's socialist market economy, whilst spiritual civilization was designed to emphasize the moral leadership of the CPC³⁸². The two civilizations theory legitimized the moral leadership of the CPC as it deviated economically from the egalitarianism and class struggle in Mao's era to a capitalist economy for modernization in Deng's era. Furthermore, the socialist spiritual civilization was propagandized as a cultural tool to guard against the corruptive influences of capitalism when China utilized Western technical advancements to achieve modernization in the 1980s.

The principle of two civilizations was similar to the idea of *zhongti xiyong* (中体西用) in the 19th century, which meant "Chinese learning for substance, Western learning for use"³⁸³. The 'Chinese learning' refers to traditional Chinese culture (mainly Confucian culture) at that time³⁸⁴. Compared to the traditional culture in *zhongti xiyong*, the theory of two civilizations actually referred to making use of aspects of Western technology to achieve modernization while using Socialism and Marxism as the essence in the new interpretation of the CPC. For the CPC, traditional culture did not represent advanced culture while socialist culture was considered advanced and should be promoted. For example, this socialist spiritual civilization propaganda was expected to promote public morality, patriotic spirit, collectivism, and the "four have"³⁸⁵ in schools, *danwei*, and the CPC and state departments.

Traditional culture was neither attacked nor actively promoted in Deng's era. Although Deng criticized the previous wrong policies and mistakes and introduced more tolerant policies and practices in regard to traditional culture, cultural diversity was not encouraged, in particular in

³⁸¹ Nicholas Dynon. " 'Four Civilizations' and the Evolution of Post-Mao Chinese Socialist Ideology." *The China Journal* 60, (2008): 83-109.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Sor-Hoon Tan. "Modernizing Confucianism and 'New Confucianism' ." in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Chinese Culture*. ed. Kam Louie. (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 136.

³⁸⁴ Tianlong Yu. "The Revival of Confucianism in Chinese Schools: A Historical-political Review." *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 28, no. 2 (2008): 116.

³⁸⁵ The "Four have" refers to: ideals (*lixiang*), morality (*daode*), culture (*wenhua*) and discipline (*jilv*).

relation to religious freedom³⁸⁶. Culture was still required to serve socialist ideology. For example, Li Ruihuan, Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at that time, gave a speech to a national meeting of artists, in which he said that culture did not have to be subordinate to political order directly, “but this does not mean that art can deviate from the political direction of serving socialism”³⁸⁷. This indicates that old culture should be given new thinking within socialism. Its political value, such as strengthening national identity, was not recognized, while its economic value was realized by local governments as it was used to attract inbound tourists. In this way, if traditional culture could be used as cultural resources to develop tourism, it was promoted. For example, the government encouraged the Sani minority in the Lunan Yi Autonomous County to engage in tourism through displaying their unique culture and marketing Sani handicrafts all over the country from the 1980s onwards³⁸⁸. The CNTA publicized six ethnic minority tours as the recommended tours for overseas tourists, for example the “The Silk Road Tour”, and “The North-West Minority Cultural Tour”³⁸⁹. In this regard, tourism strengthened traditional culture while also commercializing it.

In Deng’s era, it is clear that traditional culture was not rejected as in Mao’s era, but socialist culture represented political correction as well as advanced culture. Socialist spiritual civilization was expected to be promoted as a cultural/moral link for all Chinese people. For example, socialist spiritual civilization was listed as a duty of the State in Article 4 of the constitution and its central values are defined in Article 24 as “love of the motherland, of the people, of labor, of science and of socialism”. In this regard, it was expected to function as a national identity for the CPC. In other words, the CPC borrowed Marxism and Socialist culture, instead of traditional culture, to strengthen national identity for the Chinese. In this regard, political ideology was more focused on Marxism and Socialist culture while traditional culture was not used to strengthen political ideology.

³⁸⁶ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. “Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 372.

³⁸⁷ Ruihuan Li. “Issues to Better Promote, Develop, Expand and Present the Distinctive Ethnic Cultures. Report to the National Artists Working Situation Forum, 1 October 1990.” In *Important Documents Collections since the Thirteenth National People’s Congress 1987*, Chinese Communist Party Central Documents Study Center 1990-1992, Report to the National Artists Working Situation Forum, 1 October 1990, vol. 1, (People’s Press, Beijing, 1990), 108-111.

³⁸⁸ Margaret B. Swain, “Women Producers of Ethnic Arts.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 20, no. 1 (1993): 32-51; Margaret Swain. “Developing Ethnic Tourism in Yunnan, China: Shilin Sani.” *Tourism Recreation Research* 14, no. 1 (1989): 33-39.

³⁸⁹ Xiaoan Wei, “The Developing China Tourism.” In *Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Travel Industry Council of Hong Kong*. (Beijing: China National Administration Bureau, 1993).

Aside from socialist culture, physical heritage was also used to strengthen national identity. In this huge transformative context, nationalism was also carefully promoted to legitimate the CPC leadership³⁹⁰. Heritage was utilized by the CPC to link revolutionary narratives to patriotic meanings and nationalism³⁹¹. Heritage preservation contributed to patriotism, national unity, and a strong China standing up in the world. This is reflected in some slogans such as China is a unified country “with an unbroken cultural tradition” and the purpose of heritage conservation is to “strengthen national unity and promote sustainable development of the national culture”³⁹². This is similar to the formation of the nation-state in European countries in the 19th century when traditional heritage was used to build emotional/cultural feelings of their nations³⁹³, as indicated in section 2.3.2.

As for heritage, although it was used in a similar manner to capitalist countries in strengthening national identity, there were socialist features. In 1982, the State Council issued the *Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the People’s Republic of China (LPCHPRC)*, which was the first law to preserve cultural relics in China. The concept of heritage (*yichan*) was first introduced in this law. In the preface, it indicates that the law is designed “to protect cultural relics as the inheritance of the cultural legacy, promote scientific research, promote patriotism in the revolutionary tradition and build socialist spiritual civilization”³⁹⁴. It is clear that heritage was used to strengthen national identity as well as a socialist spiritual civilization which was designed to guard against capitalist culture and maintain the Chinese socialist direction, as indicated previously. In this regard, heritage was also used to strengthen socialist ideology, which was expected to bind the Chinese together as a function of national identity in China. Therefore, socialist spiritual civilization was consistent with the CPC’s expected national identity in that the CPC blurred the concept of national identity and socialist spiritual civilization.

The heritage authorization institution was formed gradually with centralized and hierarchical features. The law guided heritage policies in terms of categorizing heritage, excavating procedures,

³⁹⁰ Haiyan Lee. “The Ruins of Yuanmingyuan.” *Modern China* 35, no. 2 (2009): 155-190.

³⁹¹ Marina Svensson. “In the Ancestors’ Shadow: Cultural Heritage Contestations in Chinese Villages.” (Working paper No. 17, Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies, Lund University, 2006), 7.

³⁹² Neville Agnew and Martha Demas. *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (Los Angeles, Calif: Getty Conservation Institute, 2004), 59.

³⁹³ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 17; John Carman. “Good Citizens and Sound Economics: The Trajectory of Archaeology in Britain from “Heritage” to “Resource.” in. *Heritage of Value, Archaeology of Renown: Reshaping Archaeological Assessment and Significance* ed. Barbara J. Little, Clay Mathers, Timothy Darvill. (Gainesville, Fla: University Press of Florida, 2005): 43-57.

³⁹⁴ 1982 version LPCHPRC. The 2002 version added the socialist material civilization.

and protecting ancient sites, and linked the preservation of culture with the political objectives of nationalism, socialism, and modernization³⁹⁵. It also established the administrative preservation system, which included the National Cultural Administrative Bureau (renamed the State Administration of Cultural Heritage in 1988)³⁹⁶ and state preservation organizations at provincial, municipal, and county levels. This was a hierarchical institution, in which funding for the preservation of heritage was allocated from central to local heritage administrations. The governance of heritage sites was a *danwei* institution, in which each heritage site was a state-owned *danwei* like schools, factories, and other state-owned units. Technically, these heritage *danweis* belonged to heritage administrations at every level of government, but the centrally dominated economy determined the hierarchy of the heritage authorized institution.

At the same time, the State Council also issued an expanded list of national preserved sites, including 43 revolutionary sites, 19 grottoes, 13 stone carvings, 26 tombs, 105 buildings, and 36 ancient sites (altogether 242 units)³⁹⁷. In 1988, another 258 sites were added to this list. The students of Liang Sicheng and other scholars who studied heritage knowledge from America and Europe were positioned in the heritage administrations. They followed European way of interpreting and authorizing Chinese heritage which will be further analyzed in section 3.6. Thus, although the CPC tended to use heritage to strengthen socialist ideology, the application of heritage authorization and preservation in practice showed strong European tendencies. These tendencies were furthered with China's adoption of the UNESCO –CCPWCNH in 1985.

With the open-door policy the Chinese government ratified joining the UNESCO-CCPWCNH in 1985. This originated from a Chinese scholar Hou Zhenzhi, who gave a speech to Cornell University in 1984 and had firsthand knowledge of the World Heritage Convention. After Zhenzhi returned to China, he wrote a proposal with Luo Zhewen and Zheng Xiaoxie³⁹⁸ that China should join the CCPWCNH. The proposal was approved in 1985 and the central government established a relevant department to take responsibility for the work required. From then on, heritage experts, who had

³⁹⁵ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 370-371.

³⁹⁶ In this thesis, using State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH)

³⁹⁷ Bai Liu. *Cultural policy in the People's Republic of China. Letting a Hundred Flowers Blossom*. (Paris: UNESCO, 1983), 97.

³⁹⁸ Luo Zhewen is Liang Sicheng's student specialized in ancient architecture, while Zheng Xiaoxie is city planner majoring in ancient city preservation. Both are experts and officials in heritage fields.

knowledge of the CCPWCNH and Chinese heritage, greatly influenced heritage authorization in China. They studied the criteria to inscribe WH sites and then applied them to Chinese heritage. In this phase from 1985 to 1992, ten heritage sites were listed as World Heritage sites in China, including five cultural heritage sites, two cultural/natural sites, and three natural sites. The first World Heritage sites in China were listed in 1987 and included the Great Wall, Beijing's Forbidden City, the nearby Peking Man archeological site at Zhoukoudian, the Mausoleum of Qin Shi Huangdi outside Xian, and Mount Tai (Mount Tai is a cultural/natural heritage site)³⁹⁹. Mount Huang was listed as a cultural/natural heritage site in 1990 and other three natural heritage sites were listed in 1992. In this phase, due to the encouragement of the UNESCO for member countries to apply for the listing, the procedure of inscribing was easy without numerical and or category limits. For example, China's applications for World Heritage before 1991 were never rejected⁴⁰⁰. Expertise on the application of World Heritage was accumulated in this phase and experts in the heritage and construction fields contributed to the identification of WH sites.

In summary, the borrowed socialist culture was expected by CPC to replace traditional culture to strengthen national identity in this era. Traditional culture was still viewed as backward without the meaning of heritage, which was regarded as physical evidence of an excellent past culture to strengthen national identity. Differentiated from traditional culture, the use of heritage as a tool to strengthen national identity in China was similar to the way capitalist countries dealt with heritage and national identity. However, the use of Chinese heritage was also expected to build socialist ideology, which was interpreted as socialist spiritual civilization, equal to the expected national identity. In this regard, the study of the political function of heritage from capitalist countries in China was to strengthen socialist ideology, which is contrary to that in capitalist countries. Theoretically, the expected national identity legitimized the use of heritage studies from capitalist countries in socialist China. In practice, the fact that the Chinese government joined the UNESCO-CCPWCNH in 1985 furthered the influence of European heritage practices on Chinese heritage. That is, the heritage practices of capitalist countries further influenced heritage practices in Socialist China, in spite of the CPC's theoretical design of socialist spiritual civilization.

³⁹⁹ Mount Tai is an imperial pilgrimage site for more than 2,000 years.

⁴⁰⁰ Chaozhi Zhang, *Tourism and Heritage Conservation—Theoretical Study Based on Cases*. (Tianjin: Nankai University Press, 2008), 30.

3.4.2 The Boom in Inbound Tourists

Under Deng's evolutionary and pragmatic socialism, tourism facilitated an open-door policy in that it linked China to the world and provided an opportunity to attract foreign investment⁴⁰¹. As for Mao's tourism, rooted deeply in political and diplomatic institutions, it was difficult for officials to view tourism as an economic activity. However, they were soon convinced by the numerical increase in inbound tourists. For example, international tourist arrivals jumped from 1.8 million in 1978 to 22.8 million in 1986⁴⁰². Political meaning was also emphasized in that socialist China's image could be enhanced throughout the world through inbound tourism. However, inbound tourism was regarded as a key marketing strategy for the central government because it could increase foreign exchange to fund socialist modernization⁴⁰³. The political purpose of tourism was a concern but the main driver for tourism was its economic aspect⁴⁰⁴. In other words, inbound tourism in this phase facilitated socialist material civilization for modernization. This was the result of the open-door policy with the tendencies of a market economy, in which the community near the tourist destinations had more opportunities to benefit and then achieve modernization.

The phase from 1978 to 1992 witnessed the dominance of the planned economy gradually being supplemented by market forces⁴⁰⁵. In 1992, the CPC formally declared the establishment of the Socialist Market Economy to replace the planned economy, which allowed tourism to develop as a market-driven activity. The communist party confirmed the shift from a political class struggle to economic development and socialist modernization, while the planned economy still remained as the significant mechanism at the beginning of the fiscal decentralization. In regard to tourism, Deng Xiaoping gave six speeches to support the shift of tourism from a political tool to an economic activity between October, 1978 and July, 1979⁴⁰⁶. During this phase, tourism just referred to inbound

⁴⁰¹ Honggen Xiao. "The Discourse of Power: Deng Xiaoping and Tourism Development in China." *Tourism Management* 27, no. 5 (2006): 803-814; Guangrui Zhang. "Ten Years of Chinese Tourism: Profile and Assessment." *Tourism Management* 10, no. 1 (1989): 51-62.

⁴⁰² David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 163.

⁴⁰³ Muzatter Uysal, Lu Wei, and Leslie M. Reid. "Development of International Tourism in PR China." *Tourism Management* 7, no. 2 (1986): 113-119; Clem Tisdell, and Jie Wen. "Foreign Tourism as an Element in PR China's Economic Development Strategy." *Tourism Management* 12, no. 1 (1991): 55-67.

⁴⁰⁴ Dichen Gao and Zhang Guangrui. "China's Tourism: Policy and Practice." *Tourism Management* 4, no. 2 (1983): 75-84.

⁴⁰⁵ Dexter JL. Choy, Guan Li Dong, and Zhang Wen. "Tourism in PR China: Market trends and Changing Policies." *Tourism Management* 7, no. 3 (1986): 197-201.

⁴⁰⁶ David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 28.

tourism. His speeches emphasized tourism as an economic activity with three positive functions. Firstly, it was like a window linking China with the world. Inbound tourism was greatly encouraged in this phase. When Deng met delegates from Pan-America Airlines in 1978, he indicated that “we should open Lhasa [capital city of the Tibet Autonomous Region], foreigners will have an interest in Lhasa, and tourists in Nepal also could come”⁴⁰⁷. Secondly, tourism was regarded as an experimental field for Deng’s economic reform. It was seen as an experiment to attract foreign capital and managerial expertise. Deng said that “civil aviation and tourism are worth development, we shall utilize foreign capital to construct more hotels”⁴⁰⁸. Tourism was the first sector to absorb foreign investment and management⁴⁰⁹. For example, the Beijing Jianguo Hotel was the first joint-venture hotel, which was promoted by the State Council for other enterprises. In fact, the first three projects using foreign investment, air catering, the Beijing Jianguo Hotel, and the Beijing Great Wall Hotel, were all related to tourism. In Deng’s view, tourism was not a centrally planned sector like the manufacturing industry, but a “safe” sector which would not attack or challenge the public-dominated economic institutions. Thirdly, tourism contributed to foreign exchange earnings. Tourism was identified as potentially the second-largest foreign exchange earner during this phase, only trailing the energy sector (petroleum and coal)⁴¹⁰. For example, Deng said in January, 1979 that “we should make a great effort to earn more revenue from tourism” and “tourism is able to reap income quickly, why don’t we develop tourism with major effort...”⁴¹¹. Another senior leader, Chen Yun, also made two speeches in 1978 and 1979, describing tourism as an “export of attractions” and focusing on the commercial role of tourism⁴¹².

In China, leaders’ speeches usually led to policies or were directly regarded as policies⁴¹³. Some policies involving the adoption of foreign capital and expertise, decentralization, and enterprise transformation were issued to respond to leader’s speeches, such as when the State Council issued

⁴⁰⁷ China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) *The Chronological Record of The Events in China Tourism Development*, (Beijing: China Travel & Tourism Press, 1995), 22.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 28.

⁴¹⁰ China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) *The Chronological Record of The Events in China Tourism Development*, (Beijing: China Travel & Tourism Press, 1995), 23.

⁴¹¹ David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 157.

⁴¹² China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) *The Chronological Record of The Events in China Tourism Development*, (Beijing: China Travel & Tourism Press, 1995), 23.

⁴¹³ David Airey and King Chong. “National Policy-makers for Tourism in China.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 37, no. 2 (2010): 295-314.

the policy titled “Decision to Strengthen the Works for Tourism”, in which the basic institution for tourism was regarded as “centralized leadership” and “decentralized operations”. “Centralized leadership” meant the central government would make general tourism policy decisions and plans for the whole country while “decentralized operations” meant that local governments had the power to organize and operate travel agents/services directly. This emphasized the roles of both the central and local governments in tourism as follows.

Firstly, central government invested in tourist facilities and then allocated these facilities to local areas. The funding of tourist facilities tied central government and local governments to run tourism business directly. For example, in 1978, the State Council funded RMB 360 million for hotel construction and purchasing tour buses⁴¹⁴. After that, the central government allocated these funds and tour buses to local governments and local tourist bureaus for use. Local governments and their relevant governmental agencies used the tourist facilities allocated from the central government to operate and develop tourism businesses directly. Secondly, the central government controlled some administrative approval powers in tourist businesses, which also tied the connection and leadership between central and local governments. For example, only the three state-owned travel services/agencies⁴¹⁵ had the authority to operate inbound tourism businesses while their local offices, under local governments, implemented detailed reception tasks at a local level. Thirdly, local governments had influential powers to use the allocated tourist facilities and their own funding to develop tourism in their local area. In other words, local government and its subordinate agencies could run hotels, travel services and other tourist facilities using the funding from central or local governments. It is clear that the first two emphasized the central leadership with a planned-economy while the third one involved decentralized features.

The decentralized aspect of the tourist sector was furthered by the tendency of marketization in tourism businesses. This was further confirmed by the General-Secretary of the CPC, Hu Yaobang in that the Secretariat of the Central Committee issued a policy that tourism should be invested in and run by the state, together with local government, individual government agencies, collectives and

⁴¹⁴ David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 167.

⁴¹⁵ Three state-owned travel services were China International Travel Service (CITS, established in 1964 working together with CNTA), China Travel Service (CTS, established in 1974 by the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs), and China Youth Travel Services (CYTS, founded in 1980 by the Communist Youth League)

individuals (Five-Together policy decision) in 1984⁴¹⁶. In this design, individuals were permitted and encouraged to engage in tourism businesses. They ran small tourism-businesses, such as vendors, souvenirs, food supply, and cultural performances. Therefore, residents in tourist destinations had opportunities to provide services to tourists and benefit from tourism development in their areas, although they did not have the same funding as central/local governments and governmental agencies. In this regard, tourism was viewed as an economic activity characterized as less investment with rapid return and low costs with high profits. The governmental and individual involvement in the tourism sector drove some tourist destinations to direct modernization. It is clear that tourism development resulted in decentralization and marketization even in the era of the centrally planned economy.

Domestic tourism was not encouraged by the central government until 1993 because it was viewed as an obstacle to inbound tourism due to the shortage of tourist facilities, such as tourist hotels. At that time, the funding of tourist facilities, such as hotels and tourist coaches, mainly relied on the central government, and thus was not sufficient. Furthermore, domestic tourism was regarded as only civil monetary conversion and no good for foreign exchange earnings. Thus, for domestic tourism, the policy was negatively described as the “Three-No” policy, “No Support, No Rejection and No Promotion”, which was reflected in a policy issued by the State Council in 1981, titled “Decision to Strengthen the Works for Tourism”⁴¹⁷. Even in 1991, the policy from the National Development and Reform Commission still indicated that receiving inbound tourists was a priority over domestic tourists in terms of tourist facilities⁴¹⁸. The tourist facilities were constructed mainly to receive foreign tourists and domestic tourist activities were not encouraged, which even led to overprovision of high-graded hotels for foreign tourists⁴¹⁹.

It is clear that tourism developed gradually with centralized and decentralized features, in which the central government controlled the main funding for tourist facilities while local governments used allocated tourist facilities and their own funding to determine tourism development in local areas. Individuals also engaged in small tourist businesses. Tourist facilities were mainly provided by

⁴¹⁶ David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 173.

⁴¹⁷ Xiaoyan Wei and Zeng Weibo. *Tourism Policy and Law*. (Beijing: Beijing Normal University Press, 2009), 106.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Zhao Jian. “Overprovision in Chinese Hotels.” *Tourism Management* 10, no. 1 (1989): 63-66.

central government for inbound tourists in order to earn more foreign currency. However with the development of inbound tourism and the increasing disposable income of Chinese people, more domestic tourists emerged gradually from 1984 onwards. In 1992, the number of domestic tourists was 330 million, far more than inbound tourists, 38 million⁴²⁰. In 1993, the State Council issued the “Decision to Actively Develop Domestic Tourism” to support domestic tourism, in which the functions of domestic tourism were recognized as expanding employment and boosting the local economy⁴²¹. This emphasized the role of tourism in socialist modernization. At the same time, the State Council adopted the five-day working week in alternate weeks in 1994 and weekly from 1995, which meant people had more leisure time. These factors significantly contributed to the boom in domestic tourism. The period from 1992 to 1996 witnessed numbers of domestic tourists increasing from 330 million to 640 million⁴²². However, the centrally-planned economy was still strong before local governments gained more powers and finances in 1998. It was only in the context of further decentralization after 1998 that the role of tourism in the modernization of China was further confirmed.

3.4.3 The Connection of Heritage to Tourism

In this phase, both cultural heritage preservation institutions and tourism institutions were formed. Traditional culture was not promoted during this phase while tangible cultural heritage was authorized to be preserved. Heritage preservation served to promote socialist spiritual civilization which was designed to combine nationalism and patriotism while tourism was viewed as an economic activity to earn foreign exchange. Both sectors were influenced by globalization in that cultural heritage was part of the World Heritage Convention while the tourism sector was directed to provide services to inbound tourists. Inbound tourists were greatly attracted by the splendid traditional Chinese culture. This led to the use of cultural heritage sites as tourist sites, rather than just for political purposes supporting socialist ideology. For example, the former residence of the Dalai Lama, Potala Palace in Lhasa, was restored to demonstrate the preservation of minority cultures. The palace was opened to the public as a heritage museum in 1994. Although this was

⁴²⁰ David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 163, 165.

⁴²¹ China National Tourism Administration (CNTA), *Compilation of Tourism Policies and Regulations*, Beijing: CNTA. (1995), 336.

⁴²² David Airey and King Chong. *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 28.

strongly criticized by Lodi Gyari, a principle advisor to the Dalai Lama and president of the International Campaign for Tibet, who stated “Our most sacred palace will become nothing more than a mere showpiece of tourism for Chinese package tours. For Tibetans it’s just another example of the death of our culture”, it was identified by the central government as evidence of preserving the palace and the culture⁴²³. This shows that historical sites were considered by the CPC to be economic resources and contributing to modernization and patriotism.

In these heritage-preserved tourist sites, local governments’ involvement in tourism could improve local governments’ economic revenue. Local residents’ engagement in tourism businesses furthered its economic feature. Both government and individual efforts to develop tourism facilitated the modernization of heritage-preserved tourist destinations while also commercializing heritage sites as well as intangible traditional culture. In this phase, the commercialization of heritage sites and intangible traditional culture was not seriously criticized due to its great contribution to the economy and modernization, which also reflected Deng’s economic focus.

This phase witnessed the shift of the political economy in China from Mao’s class struggle to Deng’s pragmatic socialist construction, which led to the beginning of a shift in the usage of heritage from supporting socialist ideology to both supporting socialist ideology and economic development. Heritage preservation was still mainly for socialist spiritual civilization, in particular for the central government. Intangible traditional culture was neither restricted nor promoted while it was promoted and commercialized in some tourist sites. The booming numbers of inbound tourists commercialized heritage sites and traditional culture with this commercialization was caused both by governments and individuals. Because of funding sources, the central government dominated both in terms of heritage authorization/preservation and the commercialization of heritage sites. Local governments and residents also had opportunities to benefit from tourism development at heritage sites but they did not have the same level of funding as the central government. As for heritage authorization/preservation, it was a hierarchical institution with heritage experts’ influential powers, in which local governments and residents did not have the power or funding to authorize and preserve heritage sites. Heritage experts, usually located in heritage administrations and state-owned

⁴²³ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. “Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 375.

universities, combined political power and westernized expertise that common people did not have.

In other words, this was a transitional era, during which the central government, local governments, and local residents unequally engaged in tourism development at heritage sites, which led to the commercialization and modernization of heritage sites as well as the intangible traditional culture of heritage sites. Under the leadership of the central government, local governments and individuals had an opportunity to engage in inbound tourism in heritage-preserved tourist destinations. However, local governments and residents were expected to have more power in tourism development at heritage-preserved sites with the burgeoning numbers of domestic tourists under further economic reform which focused on more decentralized institutions and a market-economy. This then led to further modernization in heritage-preserved tourist destinations in the next phase, from 1998 to the present.

3.5 Further Internationalization of Chinese Heritage and its Connection to Tourism after 1997

Deng's era ended with his death in 1997. This phase from 1998 to the present witnessed further/deeper reform of economic institutions in which the market-economy model was optimized with further decentralization. Fiscal decentralization began in 1980 under the slogan of "cooking in separate kitchens" (*fenzao chifan*), sometimes called the "fiscal contracting system" to spark the local economy as a way of increasing the self-financing of local governments, but the negative consequences were soon realized with decreasing economic revenue⁴²⁴. Therefore, a tax sharing system has formally replaced the fiscal contracting system to balance economic relations between the central and local governments since 1994⁴²⁵. Under the tax sharing system, local governments have been given more responsibility, policy decisions, and autonomy to determine local development but, at the same time, they obtain a smaller share of the economic revenue. In this circumstance, many local governments are expected to find effective ways to develop their local economy. Tourism has been recognized as the exact way for local governments to develop their local economy. Furthermore, local governments have had more responsibility for funding the conservation and

⁴²⁴ Christine PW. Wong. "Central-local Relations in an era of Fiscal Decline: the Paradox of Fiscal Decentralization in Post-Mao China." *The China Quarterly* 128 (1991): 691-715.

⁴²⁵ Chunli Shen, Jing Jin, and Heng-fu Zou. "Fiscal Decentralization in China: History, Impact, Challenges and Next Steps." *Annals of Economics and Finance* 13, no. 1 (2012): 1-51.

restoration of heritage sites since 1998. This legitimizes local governments using heritage as tourism resources to increase their local economy.

Fiscal decentralization sparked local modernization and economic development within the development of local state corporatism. However, rapid economic development along with modernization also led to social and cultural/identity problems. In these circumstances, social harmony became significant for the stability of the state. Harmonious socialism is claimed by the CPC as the target, in which cultural nationalism is promoted as part of political ideology. Traditional culture is recognized by the CPC as contributing to cultural nationalism to strengthen national identity, as occurred in many western countries. International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICSICH) strengthens this tendency which led to the further internationalization of Chinese heritage. In this circumstance, policies on tourism and cultural heritage have changed with the changing ideology and economic model⁴²⁶. Heritage is still used to strengthen the national identity as well as socialist ideology for the central government, but it has some new features in this new political and economic ideology with more involvement of local governments.

Compared to the approach to heritage in the last phase from 1978 to 1998, the first distinctive feature of this new phase is that intangible traditional culture is recognized as intangible heritage under the influence of ICSICH. That is, Chinese heritage is more internationalized under the influence of globalization. Intangible traditional culture has been formally recognized by the CPC as significant because of its political value of uniting the nation and building social harmony. It is also used to serve to develop tourism in tourist destinations for economic profit. However, the long term devaluation of traditional culture has led to the reconstruction of tradition-style culture, which is apparently similar to traditional culture but different in the functions of its political and economic aspects.

The second feature is that the local government-involved implementation of the Europe-originated CCPWCNH in practice makes the restoration and reconstruction of immovable heritage more

⁴²⁶ Guangrui Zhang. "China's Tourism since 1978: Policies, Experiences, and Lessons Learned." *Tourism in China* 13 (2003), 13-34.

adaptable to the criteria of authenticity and integrity in the CCPWCNH. In order to inscribe more WH sites, more heritage experts engage in the study of how to inscribe WH sites successfully. They have more power in heritage authorization due to their expertise. This furthers the process of the internationalization of Chinese heritage. However, this implementation of the Europe-originated CCPWCNH has led to critical results for local communities in terms of the specific situation of Chinese heritage. Local actors usually have more critical responses but less authority on the internationalization of Chinese heritage. Due to specific materials and history of Chinese built heritage, the restoration and reconstruction of heritage is technically different to the authenticity of the CCPWCNH but is still viewed as a suitable approach to inscribe WH lists successfully.

The third feature is that decentralization and the booming number of tourists resulted in heritage sites being used more as tourist sites to drive the modernization of heritage-preserved tourist destinations as a way of reconstructing tradition-style culture and heritage. The usage of both intangible and tangible heritage is more connected to tourism development for its economic profits. This further legitimizes the reconstruction of tradition-style culture and heritage in practice. In other words, the interaction of heritage and tourism drives the modernity process of heritage-preserved tourist destinations as a way of reconstructing tradition-style culture and heritage.

3.5.1 Further Internationalization of Chinese Heritage

Under Deng's "economic construction at the center", there existed a relative neglect of construction of socialist spiritual civilization. This neglect was regarded as triggering the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre, sometimes called the "89 Democracy Movement". Jiang Zemin, the core of the third generation of the CPC highlighted the spiritual civilization and formally introduced the third civilization, called political civilization, to Deng's two civilization theory. Political civilization refers to Socialist democracy, which focuses on the law, regulation, institution-building and governance. By this, Jiang emphasized the complementary "rule by law" and "rule by virtue". He indicated that "ruling by law is part of the construction of politics and of political civilization, while ruling by virtue is part of the ideological construction and spiritual civilization"⁴²⁷. By virtue Jiang

⁴²⁷ Zemin Jiang. "Selected Works of Jiang Ze Min." (Beijing: People Press, 2006): 200.

promoted Chinese traditional culture as “fine traditions of Chinese culture”⁴²⁸. Traditional moral teaching was viewed as significant to his cultural nationalistic platform. He emphasized that retaining an essentially Chinese character was a prerequisite to successful economic and social development. The political value of traditional culture was found to be significant for the CPC to strengthen national identity as well as socialist ideology in this era.

The subsequent leader of the CPC, Hu Jintao, then presented the building of a harmonious society, which was also called “the fourth civilization—social civilization” by some scholars⁴²⁹. The current leader of the CPC, Xi Jinping, is highlighting the “Chinese Dream”. Both social civilization and the Chinese Dream use traditional culture to serve nation building and socialist ideology. All these indicate that from Jiang’s era on the use of Chinese traditional culture to strengthen national identity and socialist ideology became important. This way of using traditional culture to build the modern nation-state is similar to what many western countries did, as indicated by Hobsbawm in his book *The Invention of Tradition*⁴³⁰. This reflects the influence of globalization and internationalization on the official view of Chinese traditional culture, which was condemned officially as backward for nearly a century.

China’s adoption of the UNESCO ICSICH in 2004 further changed views of the previously condemned and devalued Chinese traditional culture into a distinctive and precious legacy. The concept of heritage has been extended to intangible cultural heritage, mainly referring to intangible traditional culture. Since then, traditional culture has been promoted and formally institutionalized by the central government. In 2005, the State Council issued a *Notice on Strengthening the Protection of Cultural Heritage* and *Decision on Strengthening the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage*. In 2011, China adopted the *Law of Intangible Cultural Heritage* to inherit and conserve “fine traditional culture”, in which the CPC with its heritage experts has the authority to interpret what kind of traditional culture is “fine” under socialist ideology and cultural nationalism.

As for immovable heritage, the decentralization from 1998 on has delivered more power to local

⁴²⁸ Nicholas Dynon. “ ‘Four Civilizations’ and the Evolution of Post-Mao Chinese Socialist Ideology.” *The China Journal* 60, (2008): 93.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴³⁰ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

governments, which are closely connected to local government-owned/operated enterprises to improve their economic revenue. This greatly influenced heritage authorization/preservation and tourism development. Under decentralization, local governments have more power to determine the funding and use of heritage although the heritage authorization institution retains its hierarchical structure, in which heritage experts have more power in determining the protection level of heritage. In other words, both the central government and local governments fund heritage authorization/preservation but local governments have more power to use the heritage. Heritage experts' position in state heritage administrations or state-owned universities, link the application of heritage authorization to the use of heritage as a tourism resource.

The significance of heritage experts has been further revealed in the application of WCH sites as more WCH sites have been inscribed successfully with the support of the central government and local government. In 1998 when, the then President, Jiang Zemin visited the Dazu Rock Carvings in Sichuan Province, he said “you should do well to inscribe WCH successfully so to enhance national image in the world”⁴³¹. President Jiang’s speech drove so many local officials to apply for the WCH lists that the number of preparatory lists increased from 20 to more than 60 in 1999. China has 47 World Heritage sites⁴³², only Italy has more (50 sites). In the CCPWCNH, the function of heritage experts is institutionalized to link the inscribing procedure together for governments. Therefore, heritage experts have professional expertise that common people do not have access to. Encouragement to inscribe more WCH sites has led to an increase in the number of heritage experts who seriously study the criteria of CCPWCNH and apply these criteria to Chinese heritage. Because these heritage experts are in key positions in heritage institutions, they have institutionalized these CCPWCNH criteria in WCHs in Chinese heritage laws. Therefore, the Europe-originated WHC strongly influences Chinese heritage. This will be analyzed more in the section 3.6.

The influence of globalization is not only reflected in the implementation and institutionalization of the CCPWCNH but also in the replication of the model of National Parks embedded in Europe and the United States. National Parks in the United States originated in the 1860s in response to embarrassment felt in regard to its dearth of recognized cultural achievements such as those in

⁴³¹ Chaozhi Zhang. *Tourism and Heritage Conservation—Theoretical Study Based on Cases*. (Tianjin: Nankai University Press. 2008), 31.

⁴³² Including 10 natural sites, 33 cultural sites, 4 natural & cultural sites, and one transnational site.

European countries⁴³³. It was designed in the United States to replace the role of splendid traditional culture in strengthening national identity. Therefore, national parks in the US are wonderlands in nature for public use, where there are no human dwellings or man-made marks of achievements. Then, some European countries also copied America's national park idea to protect nature for public use. China replicated the institution of national parks institution by establishing the National Scenic Areas (NSA) in the 1980s, which is also translated as "National Parks of China"⁴³⁴. However, in China, the natural landscape/heritage, which is the main component of national parks in Europe and the US, is usually closely related to cultural heritage and human dwellings. For example, Mount Wutai in Shanxi province, Yellow Mountain in Anhui province, and West Lake in Hangzhou all carry cultural or religious significance. Furthermore, there are local residents in these areas, which relate to living culture and social/economic activities. Thus, unlike Yellowstone in Montana as a place of only nature, China's national park is a place with cultural, social, and economic processes, in particular if it involves tourist arrivals. This leads to competing authorities having interest in the NSA of China with many government agents involved. The story of NSA in China reflects the influence of the internationalization of Chinese heritage by replicating heritage institutions embedded in Europe and America.

In fact, most of the heritage institutions in China originate from the replication of Western heritage institutions or European or Japanese institutions, such as the National Historical and Cultural City (NHCC) designed in China to conserve the whole ancient city⁴³⁵. It is the result of learning about heritage practices in European countries in spite of the reality that China was experiencing unprecedented Chinese-way urbanization focusing on the material construction of modernization. This modernization happened once in European countries and has been criticized by many post-modernists. However, China's modernization has been positively confirmed and represented advancement. In other words, the recognition of modernization and development is different in western countries and China. Paradoxically, the NHCC, designed to conserve ancient cities, is jointly implemented by the Ministry of Construction and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage; the former is for modernization while the latter is for preservation of the past. This implies the intrinsic

⁴³³ Alfred Runte. *National Parks: the American Experience*. rev. ed. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997): 11-12.

⁴³⁴ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 70.

⁴³⁵ Jinghui Wang. "Protective Concept of Chinese Famous Historic and Cultural City." *City Planning Review* 92, no. 4 (1994): 12-17.

conflict between conservation of past culture and current development of modernization. Furthermore, it reveals the intense influence of internationalization on Chinese heritage institutions, which replicate those in European countries or the US but are not so suitable for the Chinese context.

It is clear that the institutions of both intangible cultural heritage and immovable heritage in China have been influenced greatly by the overwhelming globalization and internationalization in this era. However, these replicated heritage institutions meet challenges in the Chinese context.

3.5.2 Development of Mass Domestic Tourism

The post-Deng era witnessed the rapid growth of mass domestic tourism in China and an increase in the status of tourism on the policy agenda. This is the result of rapid development and modernization in transitional times. As Wang noted in his book *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*, two different factors around modernity drive this “social fact” tourism, an escape from the alienation of modernity and the “false necessity” manipulated by the tourism production system⁴³⁶. The former is viewed as the “push” of modernity from the perspective of personal motivations while the latter is regarded as the “pull” of modernity from social and economic aspects. Deng’s policies on economic development drove modernization which soon resulted in people’s ambivalence to rapid modernization and a desire to escape from it. On the other hand, modern tourism is also the product of the manipulation and seduction of capitalist commodity production. In other words, mass tourism accelerates the modernization of those tourist destinations which were usually in economically disadvantaged areas in China under Deng’s plan of concentrating on the development of the Eastern coastal area first. In this regard, tourism in China is expected by central government to reduce the economic disparity of destinations and tourist-generated areas⁴³⁷. Furthermore, the Asian financial crisis of 1998 and 1999 made the central government encourage domestic tourism since domestic tourism contributed to alleviating the financial crisis through the tourists’ consumption⁴³⁸. It is clear that tourism functions to revitalize people from tourist-origin areas where modernity has had negative influences on them. At the same time, tourism development drives the modernization of

⁴³⁶ Ning Wang. *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 2000),15.

⁴³⁷ Xiaolu Wang and Fan Gang. “Analysis on the Regional Disparity in China and the Influential Factors.” *Economic Research Journal* 1 (2004): 33-44.

⁴³⁸ Pál Nyíri. “Between Encouragement and Control: Tourism, Modernity and Discipline in China.” In *Asia on Tour: Exploring the Rise of Asian Tourism*, ed. Tim Winter, Peggy Teo and T. C. Chang (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009): 153-169.

tourist destinations where levels of modernity and economic development are elevated. These two functions will be examined in this section.

The function of tourism to revitalize people in modernity was recognized by many top leaders and the central government as an efficient way to improve quality of life. For example, in 2001, when the then General Secretary Jiang Zemin visited Huangshan, he said that “if every Chinese person can take a tour per year, many matters in China would become easy”⁴³⁹. In this respect, tourism contributes to the goal of harmonious socialism by relieving people’s ambivalent feelings originating from rapid modernization. On the 15th of October 2003 in the General Assembly of the World Tourism Organization, the then Premier Wen Jiabao commented that “Tourism in China has become a newly emerging industry characterized by prosperity, vigour and enormous potential” and added “We should foster tourism as a significant industry in China’s national economy”⁴⁴⁰. At the National Tourism Works Conference in 2004 it was noted that “We also should emphasize more the comprehensive functions of tourism in providing employment, promoting Chinese culture and building a socialist spiritual civilization”⁴⁴¹. In this regard, tourism is recognized as a way of refreshing people and thus, it represents a good quality of life, resolving individual problems generated by the rapid transformation from a traditional society to a modern one.

The function of tourism driving the modernization of tourist destinations is also recognized by the central government and local governments. The status of domestic tourism has been improved constantly since 1998. More economic functions of domestic tourism have been recognized, such as narrowing down the disparity of economically advantaged areas and economically disadvantaged areas, improving employment rates, and driving the modernization of some disadvantaged areas. Top leaders also recognize its impetus for local modernization. For example, when the then vice-Premier Wu Yi, who was in charge of economic portfolios including tourism, investigated some provinces such as Liaoning, Zhejiang, Shandong and Hainan between 2004 and 2006, she found tourism had become a significant impetus for economic growth at a local level⁴⁴². The recognition of these

⁴³⁹ David Airey and King Chong, *Tourism in China: Policy and Development since 1949*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 197.

⁴⁴⁰ China National Tourism Administration (CNTA), “Document of National Tourism Works Conference 2004”, *Tourism Studies* 1 (2004): 6.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁴² China National Tourism Administration (CNTA), *The 2008 National Tourism Works Conference Opens, Vice-Premier Wu Yi Presents and Delivers Speech*, (Beijing: CNTA, 2008).

positive functions of tourism led the central government to issue more policies to support tourism development.

The continuing policies on material civilization in the post-Deng era have greatly accelerated modernization under the market economy, in which the status of tourism has been improved by the central government as the key industry and a strategic pillar in the national economy. Tourism was formally recognized as a new growth area of the national economy in the Central Economic Works Conference convened in December 1998, which was the most significant moment for tourism after 1986 when tourism was first included in the state economic and social five-year plan⁴⁴³. Then, in 2001, the State Council issued ‘Decision to Further Develop Tourism’ policy, in which the status of tourism was described as a new growth area of the national economy. In the ‘Eleventh Five-Year Plan for National Economy and Social Development’⁴⁴⁴ issued in 2006, the stimulation of *domestic* tourism became a national policy decision for the first time. Then in 2009, the State Council issued a formal policy identifying tourism as “a strategic pillar industry in the national economy”. These national policies greatly support tourism development and the construction of tourist facilities and infrastructure.

The function of tourism as an impetus to drive modernization has increasingly become the concern of local governments with further decentralization of decision making. The decentralization of power from the central government was formally confirmed in 1998, which indicated local governments would have more power to make decisions and government-run enterprises were required to officially separate from government agencies⁴⁴⁵. The separation of government-run enterprises led to further reform of the market-economy. For example, the CITS was separated from the CNTA in 1998. These policies furthered the market-economy. Together with the ‘Golden Week Holiday’ policy in 1999, tourism increased significantly under the socialist market-economy model to drive local development with local governments playing a significant role. Decentralization legitimized giving more power to local governments to determine local modernization after 1998. Many local governments viewed tourism as an impetus of economic development to drive modernization, in

⁴⁴³ China National Tourism Administration (CNTA), *Tourism as a New Growth Pole of the National Economy*, (Beijing, CNTA, 1999), 7.

⁴⁴⁴ Five-year Plan is governmental plan began from 1953. The plan gave the direction of governmental plan for significant decision.

⁴⁴⁵ Gang Xu. *Tourism and Local Development in China: Case Studies of Guilin, Suzhou and Beidaihe*. (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013): 16-18.

particular in those places where tourism resources were rich and attractive⁴⁴⁶. In fact, all the provincial governments have issued policies to accelerate tourism development and many lower-level local governments view tourism as an effective impetus for the local economy⁴⁴⁷. This has led to the use of heritage sites to collect revenue for local governments, which will be analyzed in next section.

The rapid economic development in Deng's era accelerated modernization but led to a series of social and cultural problems. The rapid transition resulted in the loss of personal identity and public morals in China. The maintenance of personal identity and its connection to wider social identities are significant for the stability of a society⁴⁴⁸. "Patriotism, national unity, and a strong China standing up to take its place in the world" are expressed through demonstrating unity of its past and preserving its cultural heritage⁴⁴⁹. In this regard, traditional culture is used to strengthen national identity while tourism serves to resolve the ambivalence of the personal identity of tourists caused by modernity. The influence of ICSICH found synergy with the use of traditional culture to strengthen China's national identity and socialist ideology. The tension between socialism, modernization, and traditional culture is well resolved through tourism development⁴⁵⁰. That is, if the traditional culture can be used to attract more tourists and develop the economy, it is "fine". For local governments, traditional culture, recognized as part of heritage, is revitalized and reinterpreted when tourism becomes an impetus for the local economy.

3.5.3 Tourism-driven Heritage Authorization

As indicated in the above two sections, the post-Deng era has witnessed the further internationalization of Chinese heritage and a boom in the mass domestic tourist market with further reform in the socialist market-economy and decentralization. The significant feature for heritage and tourism is their further connection and interaction with the increased power and involvement of local

⁴⁴⁶ Zhang Wen. "China's Domestic Tourism: Impetus, Development and Trends." *Tourism Management* 18, no. 8 (1997): 565-571; Julie Jie Wen and Clement Allan Tisdell. *Tourism and China's Development: Policies, Regional Economic Growth and Ecotourism*. (River Edge, NJ and London: World Scientific Publishing, 2001).

⁴⁴⁷ Zhidong Wang. Study on Local Governments' Supportive Policies for Tourism in China. *Dongyue Tribune* 26, no. 5 (2005), 69-76.

⁴⁴⁸ Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 80.

⁴⁴⁹ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 21.

⁴⁵⁰ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 362-392.

governments. Decentralization has legitimized the increased power of local governments to protect cultural heritage as well as to determine direction of local modernization. In this circumstance, local governments have more power to use the cultural heritage to attain modernization through tourism development. As indicated in section 3.5.1, the central government mainly uses heritage to further its political ideology while decentralization legitimizes the use of heritage by local governments for economic profit. Therefore, in the name of preserving cultural heritage, tradition-style culture is required to both attract more tourists and revitalize the previously-devalued intangible traditional culture.

Decentralization results in heritage authorization more serve to tourism development for economic profits. Smith argues that it is the contemporary uses that make heritage valuable and meaningful⁴⁵¹. The idea of heritage is used to construct and reconstruct a range of social and cultural values, reflecting a cultural process in the present. When the great economic value of heritage sites as tourist destinations was recognized, local officials became engaged in conserving heritage to attract tourists⁴⁵². The motivation of this always results in a reconstruction of the past to satisfy the needs of tourist consumption⁴⁵³. It is the use of built heritage sites that makes them valuable. When the uses of Chinese heritage shifted from a political aspect to an economic one, the heritage had to be repackaged to attract tourists. Inscribing a WH site is an effective way to brand a heritage site and attract more tourists since a World Heritage site is an international symbol, like an international brand. However, in contrast to general commercial branding, the inscribing of a WH site is regulated as a governmental action with the essential involvement of heritage experts. This leads to the formation of a group of heritage experts, who are familiar with the CCPWCNH and have the expertise to serve to the inscription. Many local governments invite heritage experts to make plans to inscribe a heritage site as a World Heritage site. To date, 47 heritage sites have been inscribed as WH sites in China. It is clear the potential economic profits from tourist arrivals have motivated many local governments to inscribe WH sites. This legitimizes the model of tourism-driven heritage authorization, in which heritage authorization serves to develop tourism development through reconstructing tradition-style culture.

⁴⁵¹ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006): 3.

⁴⁵² Mimi Li, Bihu Wu, and Liping Cai. "Tourism Development of World Heritage Sites in China: A Geographic Perspective." *Tourism Management* 29, no. 2 (2008): 308-319.

⁴⁵³ Yiping Li. "Heritage tourism: The Contradictions between Conservation and Change." *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4, no. 3 (2003): 247-261.

This phase has witnessed the further connection of heritage to tourism by reconstructing tradition-style culture. The reconstruction of tradition-style culture is undertaken by both heritage experts and tourism experts. Heritage experts, usually part of the heritage administration or universities, have legitimized authority to restore and reconstruct the immovable heritage. Tourism experts usually focus on heritage and traditional culture to develop tourism and increase economic profits. Both heritage experts and tourism experts have more influence over the reconstruction of tradition-style culture than local residents. This will be further explored in the next section.

3.6 Internationalization of Chinese Heritage and Its Connection to Tourism

This section will analyze the internationalization of Chinese heritage as well as its connection to tourism through the reconstruction of tradition-style culture. The internationalization of Chinese heritage spans almost a century from the first introduction of western heritage discourse in the 1920s to the Chinese government's adoption of international heritage conventions contemporarily. The influence of western heritage ideas is revealed both in the use of western discourse of heritage to serve political purposes and the use of western ways to preserve/restore Chinese heritage in practice. The recent decentralization from 1998 onwards shifts the political use of heritage to an economic focus based on tourism. The tourism-driven heritage authorization model has gradually been developed by heritage experts, tourism experts, and local residents through the reconstruction of tradition-style culture. The reason for the reconstruction involves the long-term official devaluation of traditional culture and the material composition of Chinese built heritage.

The reconstruction of tradition-style culture includes authorized reconstruction by heritage experts and unauthorized reconstruction by tourism experts and local residents. The difference between the two kinds of reconstruction comes from the officially authorized authenticity originating in the CCPWCNH. This reconstruction of tradition-style culture reflects the disempowered position of local residents in the process of tourism-driven heritage authorization. Furthermore, the interaction of heritage authorization and tourism development has led to the cultural detachment of local communities due to the transformation of local spaces into tourist spaces and even the relocation of

local residents out of their communities. This section answers the research question from the broader Chinese context rather than focusing on specific cases, linking the above sections on the description of heritage to the research question. The main argument of this section is that the interaction of heritage authorization and tourism development drives the processes of modernity in heritage-preserved tourist destinations by reconstructing tradition-style culture, with heritage experts and local residents having unequal levels of engagement.

3.6.1 Internationalization of Chinese Heritage

The internationalization of Chinese heritage has occurred over time. The uses of heritage determine its value and interpretation. As examined in sections 3.2 to 3.5, the main use of heritage from the Republican era to 1998 was political while the recent era from 1998 to the present has seen the competing use of heritage for economic benefit. The above sections have examined the internationalization of heritage from its broad function in a specific era, while this section will examine the two factors that have influence the internationalization of Chinese heritage in regard to restoration methods, and heritage experts and their claims on authenticity in the CCPWCNH. Liang Sicheng and his followers initiated the interpretation of Chinese built heritage through western discourse and explored specific ways to restore Chinese built heritage. Their exploration of heritage restoration followed the way of French school, stylistic restoration, which is still the main way for Chinese heritage experts to restore built heritage. However, this way of restoring built heritage challenges the authenticity criteria laid down by the CCPWCNH, which follows the English way of preservation.

Historically, Chinese people did not care about the material authenticity of traditional architecture or the historical and cultural value embedded in the architecture⁴⁵⁴. For example, a copy of a palace or built space would not be devalued or underestimated. Furthermore, if the copy was commissioned by an emperor or other authority figure it would be regarded as enhancing the value of the original⁴⁵⁵. Then, this understanding of traditional material architecture was replaced by European post-Enlightenment discourse on traditional architecture, which claimed that there was a historical,

⁴⁵⁴ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 41.

⁴⁵⁵ Jeannette Shambaugh Elliott and David L. Shambaugh. *The Odyssey of China's Imperial Art Treasures*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 22.

cultural and aesthetic value carried by traditional architecture. This value, attached to traditional architecture, was found by Liang Qichao (1873-1929) to be meaningful in strengthening national identity and was later introduced to China by his son Liang Sicheng (1901-1972).

Liang Qichao, described as “the mind of modern China”, argued for the renewal of Confucianism in China through studying western knowledge⁴⁵⁶. Although he embraced and absorbed western knowledge, he considered that traditional culture should not be abandoned but centered and renewed. He claimed that a national identity should be sustained in deep-rooted traditions. He visited North America and Europe and discovered the western way of using built heritage to strengthen national identity. For example, he considered that Westminster Abbey and the House of Parliament were living reflections of the entire British nation and that Gothic cathedrals represented the embodiment of a “national spirit” to be inherited from different periods in history⁴⁵⁷. He lived in a transitional time when China was shifting from an imperial era to a ‘modern’ era. It is clear that Chinese understanding of ancient architecture and built spaces was different from European ideas at that time. The Chinese did not consider that traditional architecture had a historical value while European discourse on traditional architecture attached historical, national, and cultural meaning to traditional architecture.

His son Liang Sicheng introduced western knowledge/understanding of traditional architecture to China and at the same time situated traditional Chinese architecture in the global context. His contribution involved two aspects, interpreting Chinese heritage through western discourse and exploring specific restoration methods for Chinese traditional architecture. Both embodied his father’s view on renewing traditional culture through studying western knowledge.

Liang Sicheng studied architecture at Pennsylvania University and at the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences from 1924 to 1927. Although he received his architecture education in America, his thoughts on traditional architecture were greatly influenced by European ideas, which constituted architecture education in America. He was inspired by the English architect Banister Fletcher’s book *A History of Architecture* and wrote a similar book on the history of Chinese architecture in an

⁴⁵⁶ Qichao Liang. *Collected Works of Liang Qichao*, ed. Zhang Pinxing. (Beijing: Beijing Press, 1998).

⁴⁵⁷ Shiqiao Li. “Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History: Liang Sicheng and Liang Qichao.” *Journal of Architectural Education* 56, no. 1 (2002): 44.

English way emphasizing the historical and accurate documentation of traditional architecture⁴⁵⁸. His book was written in both English and Chinese and was published in 1980s⁴⁵⁹. He constructed a new understanding of Chinese traditional architecture through exploring China's architectural past⁴⁶⁰. By doing this, he placed Chinese traditional architecture as a system among other systems of architecture in the world using evidence from Chinese antiquity. He linked Chinese architecture to European architecture in that Chinese architecture was influenced by Greek architecture through Indian Buddhist architecture⁴⁶¹. However, his French born and educated teacher, Paul Philippe Cret (1876-1945), influenced his exploration of restoration methods, emphasizing stylistic restoration. For example, in his proposal, "Architecture and the Restoration Plan for the Temple of Confucius", he suggested that "the only objective of past repairs was to replace the old building with a glorious and sturdy new building; if this meant the demolition of the old building, it would be all the more praise-worthy as a virtuous achievements of a high order"⁴⁶². He argued that ancient architecture should be restored in line with its accurate documentation records, following the principle of "maintaining the old buildings as they were". It is the same as the French approach to restoration or historic restoration which advocates returning ancient buildings to their original form through removing later supplements⁴⁶³. Both emphasize keeping the traditional architecture to a certain style through changing or replacing some parts of traditional architecture, but this way is condemned by the English school as it does not respect the historic authenticity⁴⁶⁴.

Liang's influence on the restoration of traditional architecture is still significant in contemporary China since he shaped generations of architects and educators who have contributed to preserving/restoring built heritage in China⁴⁶⁵. His restoration principle "repair the old as old" has

⁴⁵⁸ Banister Fletcher. *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur*. (London: Scribner's sons, 1905).

⁴⁵⁹ Sicheng Liang. *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: A Study of the Development of Its Structural System and the Evolution of Its Types*. Edited by Wilma Fairbank. (Cambridge, Mass, and London: MIT Press, 1985); Sicheng Liang. *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*. (Tianjin: Baihua Literature & Art Publishing House, 1998).

⁴⁶⁰ Wilma Fairbank. *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past*. (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Shiqiao Li. "Reconstituting Chinese Building Tradition: the Yingzao Fashi in the Early Twentieth Century." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 4 (2003): 470-489.

⁴⁶¹ Liang Sicheng and Liu Zhiping. "Pictorial References for Architectural Design (Jianzhu Cankao Tuji)." in *The Complete Works of Liang Sicheng* vol.2 (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1935): 5-6.

⁴⁶² Sicheng Liang. *The Complete Works of Liang Sicheng* vol. 3, (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2001), 1-2.

⁴⁶³ Daniel D. Reiff. "Viollet le Duc and Historic Restoration: The West Portals of Notre-Dame." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 30, no. 1 (1971): 17-30.

⁴⁶⁴ John Ruskin. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. (Wiley, 1865), 358; William Morris. *Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings*. (London: SPAB, 1877).

⁴⁶⁵ Interview data from heritage experts and tourism experts.

guided the restoration of traditional architecture in China. For example, the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage (LPCHPRC) regulates that “in the repairing, maintaining and removing of immovable cultural relics, the principle of keeping the cultural relics in their original state shall be adhered to”⁴⁶⁶, which reflects Liang Sicheng’s stylistic restoration principle. However, the term “original state” is controversial and ambiguous because it does not ensure whether “original state” refers to the earliest state or the state before it was last damaged or the state in its most splendid era⁴⁶⁷. Many ancient buildings in China were restored and rebuilt many times so it is difficult to ensure the “original state”. For example, the Famous Three Towers China (江南三大名楼), the Yellow Crane Tower, the Tengwang Pavilion, and the Yueyang Tower, were all rebuilt many times. The Yellow Crane Tower in Hubei province was first built in the Three Kingdoms period (223 BC), and then destroyed/rebuilt more than 10 times with the last rebuilding being in line with the Qing-dynasty style in 1985. Furthermore, the newly rebuilt tower is not on the original site since the original site was used for a modern bridge in 1957. The Tengwang Pavilion in Jiangxi province was first constructed in the Tang Dynasty (653 BC) and rebuilt 28 times; the last rebuilding in 1985 was in the Song-Dynasty style in line with Liang Sicheng’s planning draft. The Yueyang Tower was rebuilt more than 30 times and the last restoration used the “repair a roof by taking apart and readjusting its wooden truss” (落架大修) method in line with the “repair the old as old” (修旧如旧) in the Qing-dynasty style in 1983. It is clear that ‘original state’ has different interpretations in practice. This interpretation is usually determined by individual heritage experts’ preferences⁴⁶⁸. Liang’s restoration plans were usually in line with the Song style, which he regarded as the highest-valued period for traditional architecture. The Yellow Crane Tower and the Yueyang tower were reconstructed in the Qing-dynasty style which some heritage experts regard as the highest level of traditional architecture. It is clear that Liang’s restoration principle legitimizes the power of the heritage experts in determining the style of the restoration.

Liang Sicheng’s interpretation of Chinese heritage through a European discourse better positioned China to meet the stipulates of bodies such as the ‘International Charter for The Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites’ signed in Venice in 1964 (also known as The Venice Charter),

⁴⁶⁶ Article 21 of LPCH.

⁴⁶⁷ Simin Liu and Ren Xiao. “Theoretic Thoughts on the Protection and Uses of the Ancient Architecture.” *China Tourism News*. May 6, 2011, 11.

⁴⁶⁸ Interview data from tourism experts.

and the World Heritage Convention (1972) and its operational regulations. However, the restoration method he recommended, in line with the French school, was strongly opposed by the English school in that stylistic restoration changed the historical value of built heritage. The English school advocated minimum intervention for built heritage, and focused on protection/preservation rather than restoration⁴⁶⁹. Furthermore, the English school's preservation was used in international conventions such as the Venice Charter and the CCPWCNH. For example, the Venice Charter (1964) recommends that restoration should be made in accordance with the "original material and authentic documents" with distinguished "contemporary stamps" so that the modern repair can be clearly recognized even without "unity of style": reconstruction work is strictly and totally forbidden, and new construction altering "relations of mass and color" is not permitted⁴⁷⁰. The OGIWHC recommends that "reconstruction is acceptable only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture"⁴⁷¹.

The timber frames of many Chinese buildings made it impossible to preserve the strict authenticity of Chinese traditional architecture as the Venice Charter and CCPWCNH regulated. The timber-frames of traditional architecture must be restored frequently. Furthermore, Chinese traditional architecture was not constructed in line with precise visual representations, which is essential in Western architectural traditions from the Renaissance⁴⁷². This increases the difficulty in maintaining authenticity in line with restoration principles based on the notion of "original material and authentic documents" in the Venice Charter and OGIWHC. Thus, the features of traditional Chinese architecture could not strictly support the authenticity criteria in line with these international charters. Some restoration practices in China also evidence the fact that traditional Chinese architecture make it difficult to follow the Venice Charter and the OGIWHC. For example, the popular restoration method in China, "repair a roof by taking apart and readjusting its wooden truss" (落架大修), was used to restore the Yueyang Tower in the Qing-dynasty style in 1983. This method demonstrates a big change in restoration, not minimum intervention as stipulated by the English school and the Venice Charter and OGIWHC.

⁴⁶⁹ John Ruskin. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. (New York: Wiley, 1865), 358; William Morris. *Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings*. (London: SPAB, 1877).

⁴⁷⁰ the Venice Charter (1964)

⁴⁷¹ OGIWHC

⁴⁷² Shiqiao Li. "Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History: Liang Sicheng and Liang Qichao." *Journal of Architectural Education* 56, no. 1 (2002): 37.

In summary, Liang Sicheng introduced a European discourse to Chinese heritage, which initiated the internationalization of Chinese heritage. However, his thoughts on the stylistic restoration principle did not match the authenticity criteria of the OGIWHC. The stylistic restoration principle empowers heritage experts to determine the style of restored architecture in a way which may significantly change the architecture. The next section will explore how contemporary heritage experts adapt Chinese heritage authenticity criteria in the OGIWHC.

3.6.2 International Heritage Conventions in China

In 1972, UNESCO issued an international heritage convention, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (CCPWCNH), also called the World Heritage Convention (WHC), to conceptualize heritage based on a ‘universal value’ internationally. Many researchers criticized the fact that the CCPWCNH legitimized a particular Western or European understanding of heritage, both in policy and practice, in a hegemonic way⁴⁷³. In China, decentralization has shifted the uses of heritage from a political purpose to an economic purpose since 1998. As many studies reveal, the WCH lists are regarded by host countries and private sectors as significant drivers for attracting tourists⁴⁷⁴. The WCH listing is also viewed by local governments as a branding strategy for tourism development in China. Therefore, under the hegemonic WCH listing, inscribing WH gradually has found synergy with tourism development as an impetus to local economies in China. This is the tourism-driven heritage authorization model. In order to be inscribed successfully, the criteria in the OGIWHC are carefully studied by scholars and heritage experts⁴⁷⁵. However, due to the timber-frame structure of Chinese built heritage, the stylistic restoration principle, inherited from Liang Sicheng, is not consistent with the authenticity criteria in the OGIWHC. His stylistic restoration legitimates the reconstruction of tradition-style culture in restoring traditional architecture. In this section, my main point is that although the reconstruction of tradition-style culture is viewed as decreasing the authenticity of the heritage and is restricted in the

⁴⁷³ Denis Byrne. “Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management.” *History and Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1991): 269-276; Douglas Pocock. “Some Reflections on World Heritage.” *Area* 29, no. 3 (1997): 260-268; Henry Cleere. “The Uneasy Bedfellows: Universality and Cultural Heritage.” *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property* (2001): 22-29; Sharon Sullivan. “Local Involvement and Traditional Practices in the World Heritage System.” In *Linking Universal and Local Values*. ed. Eléonore de Merode, Rieks Smeets and Carol Westrick. (UNESCOUNESCO World Heritage Center, 2004): 49.

⁴⁷⁴ Aurkene Alzua, Joseph T. O’Leary, and A. Morrison. “Cultural and Heritage Tourism.” *Journal of Tourism Studies* 9, no. 2 (1998): 2-13; Anne Drost. “Developing Sustainable Tourism for World Heritage sites.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 479-484.

⁴⁷⁵ Ding Chao, “Comparative Research on the Proportion and Combination Sorts of Adopted Criteria of World Heritage between the Globe and China.” *Acta Scientiarum Naturalium Universitatis Pekinensis* 42, no. 2 (2006): 231-237.

OGIWHC, the interaction of heritage authorization and tourism development legitimizes the reconstruction of tradition-style culture in the Chinese context while the stylistic restoration legitimizes the reconstruction of tradition-style culture from a technical perspective.

In China, inscribing WH has changed from being an easy but indifferent process to a difficult but passionate one. For the central government, it contributes to strengthening political ideology and promoting a positive national image⁴⁷⁶. For local government, the WCH branding is regarded as an effective way to generate economic revenue through attracting more tourists and is thus a way for local officials to be promoted⁴⁷⁷. Many local governments compete seriously to apply for the WCH lists. However, enthusiasm for WCH listing can lead to paradoxical consequences for the protection of cultural heritage. WCH inscription is not so much concerned with the preservation of heritage, but is a way to make money from tourism, strengthen or legitimize a country's international standing and build a national esprit de corps.

Inscribing WCH sites was easier before 1991 because UNSCEO encouraged more countries to inscribe sites at that time⁴⁷⁸. However, it became more difficult between 1992 and 2000 due to increased competition and the rapidly increasing numbers of inscribed heritage sites⁴⁷⁹. In 2000, the committee of World Heritage issued a policy titled the 'Cairns Decision', which limited the number of new nominations. Since then, only one cultural heritage site and one natural site could be nominated for each country per year⁴⁸⁰. In order to meet the authenticity and integrity criteria of the CCPWCNH, authentication projects are launched, these include the restoration of built heritage for authenticity and removing/purifying unharmonious environments for integrity⁴⁸¹. Both criteria can lead to controversial consequences.

As for the integrity criteria, the purifying projects can lead to the forced or unforced relocation of local residents, who are regarded as 'unharmonious' subjects. This is because China has replicated

⁴⁷⁶ Mimi Li, Bihu Wu, and Liping Cai. "Tourism Development of World Heritage Sites in China: A Geographic Perspective." *Tourism Management* 29, no. 2 (2008): 308-319.

⁴⁷⁷ Ruan Yisan. "Looking on the Enthusiasm Coldly - World Heritage Nomination and Historical and Cultural Heritage Protection." *Urban Planning Forum* 6 (2000), 63-65, 80.

⁴⁷⁸ Interview data from heritage experts.

⁴⁷⁹ Xiaofang Liu. "The Debate on 'Ordering' Problem of Chinese World Heritage Application." *Urban Studies* 16, no. 7 (2009), 58-62.

⁴⁸⁰ UNESCO/UNESCO website. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/cairns/>

⁴⁸¹ Robert J Shepherd. *Faith in Heritage: Displacement, Development, and Religious Tourism in Contemporary China*. (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013).

the institution of national parks from the USA and Europe in spite of having its own specific context. As indicated in section 3.5.1, national parks in USA and Europe are wonderlands in nature for public use without human dwellings and man-made marks of achievements. However, the national parks in China, usually heritage sites, usually had permanent residents⁴⁸². For example, religious sites, usually heritage sites, usually have some local residents making a living from these sites through providing services to visitors. This community usually has a long history of residence. In principle, the local residents ‘own’ the heritage⁴⁸³, but they are usually forced to give up their public space in the community during the authentication projects for WH listing⁴⁸⁴. Furthermore, China’s national parks replicated the European and United Nation’s model, which emphasizes only nature, which is the opposite of cultural/social spaces. As a result, the transnational heritage protection model and WH listing influence China’s heritage sites in that both separate cultural/social attachments from scenic areas through spatial segregation. This means local residents have to relocate out of scenic areas if they resided in the core conservation zone. Thus, in the name of the preservation of heritage, local residents, who are expected to carry cultural significance, have to be detached from their long-standing community. Paradoxically, in order to protect heritage sites, local residents, as representatives of living culture, have to be relocated outside heritage sites.

The controversial nature of the authenticity criteria in the CCPWCNH is revealed in two aspects. Firstly, the concept of authenticity has no roots in China. Secondly, stylistic restoration contradicts the authenticity criteria in the CCPWCNH but legitimizes the reconstruction of tradition-style culture for tourist products. Furthermore, this furthers the tendency of heritage sites becoming theme park tourist products, but it challenges the ‘authenticity criteria’ laid down by the CCPWCNH. These ‘authenticity criteria’ follow the English way of preserving heritage.

The timber-frame traditional architecture in China requires frequent restoration and thus people do not care about material authenticity⁴⁸⁵. In history, traditional architecture was easily damaged or destroyed and thus people regarded the reconstruction or copy of previous built heritage as normal.

⁴⁸² Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 70

⁴⁸³ Bill Carter, and Gordon Grimwade. “Balancing Use and Preservation in Cultural Heritage Management.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 3, no. 1 (1997): 45-53.

⁴⁸⁴ Interview data from tourism experts.

⁴⁸⁵ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 40-41.

Furthermore, emperor-authorized copying or reconstruction of architecture/built space represented an improvement on the original⁴⁸⁶. An authorized copy or reconstruction in China was not a devaluating act but reflected the power of the ruler. Thus, authenticity, originating from Western notions, has different meaning in China. In fact, when authenticity is translated into Chinese, it has no corresponding word to accurately reflect its meaning⁴⁸⁷. Thus, material authenticity, a European idea of preserving built heritage, neglects to take into account the fact that ancient architecture in China is timber-framed and people regard reconstruction as very acceptable. The concept of authenticity has no roots in China⁴⁸⁸. Many researchers have concluded that Chinese tourists do not care about material authenticity, which is in essence the business of scholars, experts, and local officials⁴⁸⁹. High rates of visitation to the reconstructed architecture reveal that restoration, reconstruction, and even copies are all acceptable for general Chinese.

The reconstruction of tradition-style culture is legitimized by the connection of heritage authorization to tourism development. Heritage authorization is a legitimized way to protect heritage but the restoration methods for immovable heritage in China are closely related to the reconstruction of tradition-style culture. The French stylistic approach to restoration, also called historic restoration, advocates returning ancient buildings to their original form through the removal of later additions⁴⁹⁰. Although this significantly changes ancient buildings by removing the additions of other historical eras, it is regarded as suitable to protect the timber-frame traditional Chinese buildings. However, this approach mixes the restoration and reconstruction Chinese heritage, because the reconstruction of tradition-style culture usually occurs during the process of restoring built heritage. Here, the tradition-style culture is newly constructed culture with an old style and appearance. Therefore, restoration is similar to reconstruction in that restoration is authorized reconstruction for heritage reconstruction of tradition-style culture and includes both the restoration of heritage and the

⁴⁸⁶ Jeannette Shambaugh Elliott and David L. Shambaugh. *The Odyssey of China's Imperial Art Treasures*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 22.

⁴⁸⁷ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 41.

⁴⁸⁸ Kongjian Yu. "China Faces the Challenge of World Heritage Concept: Thoughts after the 28th World Heritage Convention." *Journal of Chinese Landscape Architecture* 20, no.11 (2004): 68-70.

⁴⁸⁹ Chengyu Zhang, "A Summary of Heritage Authenticity and Integrity Studies at Home and Abroad." *Southeast Culture* 216, no. 4 (2010): 30-37; Chaozhi Zhang, Ling Ma, Xiaoxiao Wang, and Dezhen Yu. "Semiotic Authenticity and Commercialization Heritage Tourism Destinations: Based on a Case Study of Wuzhen and Zhouzhuang." *Tourism Science* 5 (2008): 59-66; Yaqing Zhou, Maoying Wu, Yongguang Zhou, and Yanhong Zhu. "Theory of 'Authenticity' and its Comparison in Tourism Study." *Tourism Tribune* 22, no. 6 (2007): 42-47.

⁴⁹⁰ Daniel D. Reiff. "Viollet le Duc and Historic Restoration: The West Portals of Notre-Dame." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 30, no. 1 (1971): 17-30.

construction of tourist products in the traditional style. In other words, reconstruction of tradition-style culture is also a way of commercializing the traditional buildings for the benefit of tourism.

Following the Venice Charter and the OGIWHC on the restriction of reconstruction, the LPCHPRC in China also regulates that “Where immovable cultural relics are totally damaged, the ruins shall be protected and the damaged relics may not be rebuilt on the original site”⁴⁹¹. However, at the same time, it also regulates that “in the repairing, maintaining and removing of immovable cultural relics, the principle of keeping the cultural relics in their original state shall be adhered to”⁴⁹², which reflects Liang Sicheng’s restoration principle. Under this law, total rebuilding or reconstruction is not permitted while repairing to the ‘original state’ is accepted. In other words, a partial reconstruction is acceptable but total reconstruction is forbidden. Generally, restoration implies small-scale reconstruction while a pseudo-classic building for tourists’ use is fully reconstructed in the traditional style. In this regard, the reconstruction of tradition-style culture closely links heritage and tourist products. That is, small-scale reconstruction of tradition-style culture is viewed as restoration of heritage while large-scale or full reconstruction of tradition-style culture is usually regarded as a commercial operation for tourists.

Furthermore, the similarity between restoration and reconstruction also results in heritage sites having similarities to theme park. Stylistic restorations produce a series of traditional buildings in heritage site which demonstrate a certain style called the original form. This is similar to the theme park in that both have a theme to demonstrate. Disneyland is a classic case of a theme park as thematic tourist product. The tradition-style theme park is created through reconstruction. Inherent difference in restored heritage implies an authentic past culture while the themed tourist product is artificial or pseudo-classic. In this regard, the general approach to the restoration of Chinese heritage closely links heritage sites to theme parks or tourist products. Therefore, the reconstruction of tradition-style culture technically links heritage preservation to tradition-style tourist products or tradition-style theme parks. It is clear that decentralization connects heritage authorization to tourism development while the reconstruction of tradition-style culture is the exact way to link heritage

⁴⁹¹ Article 22.

⁴⁹² Article 21

preservation to tradition-style tourist products.

Government reconstruction of theme park buildings further confuses the concept of authenticity when considering heritage sites and theme parks. In China, the reconstruction of tradition-style architecture by local governments became popular as a result of decentralization and marketization. Some ancient-style walls and architecture have been or will be constructed, and some cities are even planning to recover the ancient features the whole city. For example in 2008, Datong, the capital of Shanxi Province, restored and reconstructed the ancient walls and ancient architecture of the Ming Dynasty at a cost of RMB 10 billion over five years⁴⁹³; Kaifeng, the most prosperous city in the world one thousand years ago with seven dynasties establishing their capitals there, is planning to use 100 billion RMB to reconstruct the ancient-style architecture of the North Song Dynasty in a shanty town almost 20 square kilometers in size⁴⁹⁴; and a new town named “Timeless Phoenix” (烟雨凤凰) is copying the nearby Phoenix Ancient Town (凤凰古城) to reduce the over-capacity number of tourists visiting the Phoenix Ancient Town at a cost of RMB 5.5 billion⁴⁹⁵. Even the temples have been reconstructed and revived to heal the wounded culture and recover the status of individuals and clans^{496,497,498}. This kind of reconstruction is not reconstruction of heritage but pseudo-classic architecture used both to strengthen the locality and attract tourists⁴⁹⁹. The pseudo-classic reconstructions are in fact theme parks, but the government reconstruction makes them similar to ‘heritage’⁵⁰⁰. Furthermore, these pseudo-classic reconstructions provide local people with emotional links to tradition which is connected closely to their local identity⁵⁰¹. This reflects the different understandings of authenticity for the Chinese and Europeans⁵⁰². However, it also provides

⁴⁹³ “Shanxi Would Invest 10 Billion RMB to Reconstruct Datong Ancient City.” *Shanghai Morning Post*. August 30, 2012. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2012-08-30/073925065317.shtml>

⁴⁹⁴ Yang Li. “Restoration Way of Kaifeng, a Capital of Seven Dynasties.” *Peninsula City News* August 21, 2012. Accessed March 12, 2015. <http://collection.sina.com.cn/yiji/20120821/104380788.shtml>

⁴⁹⁵ “‘The Misty Phoenix’: Proposing to Use 5.5 Billion RMB to Construct ‘Copied Phoenix’.” *Xinhua News*. September 7, 2012. Accessed March 12, 2015. http://news.xinhuanet.com/photo/2012-09/07/c_123687766_2.htm

⁴⁹⁶ Jing Jun. *The Temple of Memories: History, Power, and Morality in a Chinese Village*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

⁴⁹⁷ Göran Aijmer and Virgil KY Ho. *Cantonese Society in a Time of Change*. (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000).

⁴⁹⁸ Selina Ching Chan. “Temple-building and Heritage in China.” *Ethnology* 44, no.1 (2005): 65-79.

⁴⁹⁹ Tim Oakes. “Selling Guizhou: Cultural Development in an Era of Marketization.” in *The Political Economy of China’s Provinces* ed. Hans Hendrichske and Feng Chongyi. (Lond and New York: Routledge, 1999): 31-72.

⁵⁰⁰ Tim Oakes. “The Village as Theme Park: Mimesis and Authenticity in Chinese Tourism.” in *Translocal China: Linkages, Identities and the Remimaging of Space*. ed. Tim Oakes and L.Schein. (London: Routledge, 2006), 166-192.

⁵⁰¹ Tim Oakes. “China’s Provincial Identities: Reviving Regionalism and Reinventing ‘Chineseness’.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 3 (2000): 667-692; Timothy Steven Oakes. “The Cultural Space of Modernity: Ethnic Tourism and Place Identity in China.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11 (1993): 47-66.

⁵⁰² Fengqi Qian, “China’s Burra Charter: The Formation and Implementation of the China Principles.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 13, no. 3 (2007): 255-264; Yisan Li and Hongyan Li. “Architectural Heritage

evidence that government reconstruction gives the public the feeling of authenticity, even though it is a theme park product.

The rapidly increasing fees for obtaining authenticity and integrity credentials from the CCPWCNH gives the management of heritage sites an element of corporatization which is the management model for the theme parks under marketization. For example, it cost Wu Lingyuan in Hunan province RMB 500 million to be inscribed in 1992 while the cost for Wuyi Mountain in Fujian province was nearly RMB 0.2 billion in 1999⁵⁰³. The fees for inscribing WH sites are usually used to restore built heritage for authenticity criteria and relocate local residents for the integrity criteria. This usually leads to the transformation of the management of heritage sites from government to joint ventures between local governments and private management companies, or even to private management contracts⁵⁰⁴. The two latter management models are expected to result in better economic revenue. For example, the Huangshan (Yellow Mountain) Tourism Development Company Ltd., which is in charge of the Huangshan Heritage site, was listed on the Shanghai Exchange in 1996. The company paid back the local government's past debt, RMB 190 million⁵⁰⁵. The WH site at Mount E'mei in Sichuan province is also managed by a publicly listed tourism company. The company management model for heritage sites contributes to more economic profits, but it is also criticized in terms of the high cost of admission⁵⁰⁶ and a deficient preservation of heritage⁵⁰⁷. It means that the management of heritage sites has similar feature to that of theme parks, which are usually the products of the commercialization of culture. However, the concept of objective authenticity is opposite to commercialization. Many researchers consider that culture will lose its authenticity when it is used for commercial purposes⁵⁰⁸. Therefore, the inscription of WH sites accelerates the commercialization of culture, which is in opposition to the concept of objective

Conservation in China from View of Authenticity." *Huazhong Architecture* 26, no. 4 (2008): 144-148; Chengyu Zhang. "Interpretation and Analysis for 2 Important Conceptions of the World Heritage Convention: Study on the World Heritage's Authenticity and Integrity." *Acta Scientiarum Naturalium Universitatis Pekinensis* 40, no.1 (2004): 129-138.

⁵⁰³ Chaozhi Zhang. *Tourism and Heritage Conservation—Theoretical Study Based on Cases*. (Tianjin: Nankai University Press. 2008),31.

⁵⁰⁴ Robert J.Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 50-52.

⁵⁰⁵ Xingbin Wang. "The Reform of Managerial Modes of China's Natural and Culture Horitage." *Tourism Tribune* 17, no. 5 (2002): 15-21.

⁵⁰⁶ Xiao Zhang and Zhen Yuqian. *The Management of China's Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources*. (Beijing: Social Science Archive Press, 2001).

⁵⁰⁷ Mingzhu Liang, Bao Chunxiao, and Xu Xiaoqian. "Protection and Development Situation of World Heritage in the National Scenic Interest Areas and International Experience Study." *Economic Geography* 29, no. 1 (2009), 141-146.

⁵⁰⁸ Daniel J.Boorstin,. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America*. (New York: Atheneum, 1964), 107.

authenticity.

In summary, the interaction of heritage authorization and tourism development legitimizes the reconstruction of tradition-style culture with increasing decentralization and marketization in the Chinese context. Technically, the practice of stylistic restoration legitimizes the reconstruction of tradition-style culture. However, the difference between authorized reconstruction by heritage experts and un-authorized reconstruction by local residents demonstrates the power disparity between heritage experts and local residents. The next section will analyze the process of this power disparity.

3.6.3 Power disparity between Experts and Local Residents

The relationship between empowerment and tourism development is analyzed as positive by community stakeholders' participation in tourism under decentralization⁵⁰⁹. This reflects the economic benefits that tourism development brings to local communities. However, tourism development in China results in a disempowering process for local residents with the over-intervention of government institutions⁵¹⁰. Furthermore, the involvement of heritage authorization strengthens this process of disempowering local residents by imposing the potentially unequal power relations between heritage experts and local residents. As indicated in the last section, both the decentralization and stylistic restoration principle legitimizes authorized reconstruction by heritage experts. As for tourism development, local residents also reconstruct tradition-style culture but their reconstruction is inferior to reconstruction informed by heritage experts. In this section, I will argue that the reconstruction of tradition-style culture in heritage-protected tourist sites demonstrates the power disparity between heritage experts and local residents. The result is the detachment of local residents from their community for WH inscription along with the loss of their own culture. Furthermore, the implementation of the ICSICH furthers the legitimacy of the

⁵⁰⁹ Timothy, Dallen J. "Empowerment and stakeholder participation in tourism destination communities." *Tourism, power and space* ed. Andrew Church and Tim Coles. (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: 2007): 199-216.

⁵¹⁰ Shixiu Weng and Hua Peng. "The Impact of Power Relationship on Community Participation in Tourism Development: A case from Furong Village at Nanxi River Basin, Zhejiang Province." *Tourism Tribune* 25, no. 9 (2010): 51-57; Tianyu Ying and Yongguang Zhou. "Community, Governments and External Capitals in China's Rural Cultural Tourism: A Comparative Study of Two Adjacent Villages." *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007): 96-107; Bing Zuo and Jigang Bao. "Institutional Empowerment: Community Participation and Changes of Land Property Rights in Tourism Development." *Tourism Tribune* 27, no. 2 (2012): 23-31.

reconstructing tradition-style culture by heritage experts (legal inheritors of intangible cultural heritage) and local residents (general inheritors) with unequal powers.

Both the CCPWCNH and the stylistic restoration of heritage in China strengthen the process of disempowering local residents. The CCPWCNH has been seriously criticized for giving heritage experts too much power in evaluating heritage in a hegemonic way⁵¹¹. The stylistic restoration principle in China increases the power of heritage experts in that they have the power to determine their preferred style of restoring heritage.

As explained in section 3.6.2, the inscription of a WH site usually leads to authentication projects to restore built heritage to meet authenticity criteria and remove disharmonious views around heritage site to achieve integrity. However, these projects usually lead to the relocation of local residents or the transformation from spaces for local residents to touristic ones. Therefore, in the name of authenticity and integrity, local residents are disempowered in the process of tourism-driven heritage authorization. Local residents are even forced to relocate their communities and their public spaces are transformed into touristic spaces⁵¹². This leads to the detachment of communities and destroys the integrity of their culture. In principle, residents around heritage sites carry the living culture of heritage sites and ‘own’ the heritage⁵¹³. Furthermore, their attitudes influence the sustainable development of heritage sites⁵¹⁴. However, the interaction between heritage authorization and tourism development results in their detachment from their communities as well as negative consequences for the integrity of their culture. Paradoxically, in the name of preserving cultural heritage, the consequences of the implementation of the CCPWCNH has in China resulted in the undermining of culture under the model of tourism-driven heritage authorization, demonstrating how disempowering the process is for local residents.

⁵¹¹ Sharon Sullivan. “Local Involvement and Traditional Practices in the World Heritage System.” In *Linking Universal and Local Values*. ed. Eléonore de Merode, Riëks Smeets and Carol Westrick. (UNESCOUNESCOUNESCOUNESCO World Heritage Center, 2004): 49; Henry Cleere. “The Uneasy Bedfellows: Universality and Cultural Heritage.” *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property* (2001): 22-29; Douglas Pocock. “Some Reflections on World Heritage.” *Area* 29, no. 3 (1997): 260-268.

⁵¹² Robert J Shepherd. *Faith in Heritage: Displacement, Development, and Religious Tourism in Contemporary China*. (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013); Yang Wang and Geoffrey Wall. “Administrative Arrangements and Displacement Compensation in Top-down Tourism Planning—A Case from Hainan Province, China.” *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007): 70-82.

⁵¹³ Bill Carter, and Gordon Grimwade. “Balancing Use and Preservation in Cultural Heritage Management.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 3, no. 1 (1997): 45-53.

⁵¹⁴ Christina Aas, Adele Ladkin, and John Fletcher. “Stakeholder Collaboration and Heritage Management.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, no. 1 (2005): 28-48.

Aside from the superior power that the CCPWCNH instills in heritage experts, the stylistic restoration method per se legitimizes the superior power of heritage experts. As previously explained, stylistic restoration gives heritage experts the power to privilege certain styles that they prefer. Furthermore, the 2002 revised Heritage Law stipulates that private owners must obtain approval from their governments to carry out repairs on protected sites and that the work must be overseen by a qualified and certified professional⁵¹⁵. In other words, heritage experts have the power to determine the restored style of built heritage where local residents have lived for a long time. It reflects the unequal power of heritage experts and local residents. Furthermore, the reconstruction of tradition-style culture by experts is authorized as part of heritage while the reconstruction of tradition-style culture by local residents is usually viewed as pseudo. The heritage discourse implies that heritage is more valuable to pseudo reconstruction, reflecting the unequal power relationship between heritage experts and local residents. Stylistic restoration leads to an unequal power balance between heritage experts and local residents in reconstructing tradition-style culture. The implementation of the CCPWCNH legitimizes heritage experts officially reconstructing tradition-style culture.

The interaction of the CCPWCNH and stylistic restoration institutionalizes the power disparity between heritage experts and local residents by authorizing the reconstruction of tradition-style culture. The close connection between heritage authorization and tourism development reflects the cultural process with economic profits driving the use of heritage for tourism. At the same time, this also destroys the attachment of the community as well as their culture. The use of heritage as a tourist site serves the modernization of heritage-preserved sites as a way of reconstructing tradition-style culture, in which experts and local residents engage with unequal powers. As indicated previously, the reconstruction of tradition-style culture includes both authorized reconstruction planned by heritage experts and un-authorized reconstruction by tourism experts and local residents. The official authenticity claims, which are a significant criteria of the CCPWCNH, determine the differentiation of these two kinds of reconstruction. The official authenticity claims are operated by heritage experts who follow the criteria of the CCPWCNH to determine whether the

⁵¹⁵ Lisa Rogers. “‘The Heavens Are high and the Emperor Is Far Away’: Cultural Heritage Law and Management in China.” *Historical Environment* 17, no.3 (2004): 41.

objects are authentic or not. As for tourism experts and local residents, their motivation for developing tourism is often economic profit. In this regard, authenticity claims become the disempowered origin of unequal power. However, the concept of authenticity in the heritage field is also a constructed and negotiated one⁵¹⁶. Furthermore, authenticity has no roots in China because much of the built heritage in China is timber-framed⁵¹⁷. Therefore, reconstruction by heritage experts places “authentic” heritage in a superior position while reconstruction by tourism experts and local residents does not have authorized authenticity and is considered to be inferior. This reveals that the power disparity between heritage experts and tourism development is institutionalized in the CCPWCNH and stylistic restoration.

As for the intangible cultural heritage convention (ICSICH), it strengthens recognition of the significance of traditional culture which had been devalued officially in China from the Republican era to the post-Deng era. However, the implementation of the ICSICH also demonstrates the reconstruction of tradition-style culture with unequal power between authorized reconstruction by official inheritors and un-authorized reconstruction by un-official inheritors. Thus, similar reconstructions of tradition-style culture are considered to have different levels of recognition. In particular, as the living culture, the authorized reconstruction of intangible culture is more discretionary.

As indicated in previous sections, traditional culture was officially devalued during the Republican era, Mao’s era, and Deng’s era. It is in the post-Deng that there has been a shift of official attitudes on traditional culture from devaluation to recognition due to its uses as part of cultural nationalism, strengthening national identity and political ideology. At the same time, the economic value of tourism development, recognized during the 1980s and 1990s, has revitalized traditional culture as well as commercializing it⁵¹⁸. The adoption of the ICSICH found synergy with the uses of traditional culture for political and economic purposes in China⁵¹⁹. Under international-national-local impacts,

⁵¹⁶ Edward M. Bruner. “Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism.” *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 2 (1994): 397-415; Ning Wang, “Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 349-370.

⁵¹⁷ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 40-41.

⁵¹⁸ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. “Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 362-392.

⁵¹⁹ Yujie Zhu, “Performing Heritage: Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 39, no. 3 (2012): 1495-1513.

traditional culture is interpreted and reconstructed to serve the present⁵²⁰. In particular as cultural resources are developed for tourism, traditional culture is interpreted to enhance the tourist destination's image⁵²¹. Considering the restriction and stigma of traditional culture for almost one century, reconstructed 'traditional culture' is commercialized and different from the traditional culture in traditional times⁵²². This was explained in section 2.2.3 in line with Giddens' argument on tradition. It is clear tradition-style culture is reconstructed to attract tourists for economic gain.

The adoption of the CCPWCNH was strongly criticized for its hegemony in imposing European idea on heritage in non-European countries⁵²³. China's practice has evidenced that. To some extent, the adoption of the ICSICH is an attempt to privilege non-Western manifestations and practices of heritage⁵²⁴. Intangible heritage is an extensive understanding for the integrity of heritage⁵²⁵, in which the folklore and traditional culture are viewed as "living human treasures" to be safeguarded⁵²⁶. Its purpose is to protect cultural diversity and prevent the negative influences of modernity and globalization on cultural uniformity and standards⁵²⁷. At the same time, it also implies that intangible culture can be sustained and developed since it is a "living" culture⁵²⁸. The obviously positive aspects of the Convention involve the recognition of community perceptions of cultural heritage⁵²⁹. That is, local residents around tangible heritage sites are regarded as significant and a live part of heritages⁵³⁰. However, its practice receives criticism on the effectiveness of the safeguarding

⁵²⁰ Margaret B. Swain. "Commoditizing Ethnicity in Southwest China." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1990): 26-29.

⁵²¹ Tim Oakes. "Selling Guizhou: Cultural Development in an Era of Marketization." in *The Political Economy of China's Provinces* ed. Hans Hendrichske and Feng Chongyi. (Lond and New York: Routledge, 1999): 31-72.

⁵²² Timothy S. Oakes. "Cultural Geography and Chinese Ethnic Tourism." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 12, no. 2 (1992): 3-17.

⁵²³ Henry Cleere. "The Uneasy Bedfellows: Universality and Cultural Heritage." *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property* (2001): 22-29; Denis Byrne. "Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management." *History and Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1991): 269-276. *Intangible Heritage* ed. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009).

⁵²⁴ Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, eds. *Intangible heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009), 1.

⁵²⁵ Munjeri, Dawson. "Tangible and Intangible Heritage: from difference to convergence." *Museum International* 56, no. 1- 2 (2004): 12-20.

⁵²⁶ Aikawa, Noriko. "An historical overview of the preparation of the UNESCO International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage." *Museum International* 56, no. 1- 2 (2004): 137-149.

⁵²⁷ Arizpe, Lourdes. "Intangible cultural heritage, diversity and coherence." *Museum International* 56, no. 1- 2 (2004): 130-136.

⁵²⁸ Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, Barbara. "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production1." *Museum international* 56, no. 1- 2 (2004): 52-65.

⁵²⁹ Turnpenny, Michael. "Cultural Heritage, an Ill- defined Concept? A Call for Joined- up Policy." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, no. 3 (2004): 295-307.

⁵³⁰ Blake, Janet. "UNESCO's 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage: The implications of community involvement in 'safeguarding'." *Intangible heritage*(2009): 45-73; Dawson Munjeri. "Following the Length and Breadth of the Roots: Some Dimensions of Intangible Heritage", in *Intangible heritage*. ed. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009): 131-132.

action⁵³¹. China's practice evidences the difficulty of safeguarding action. Furthermore, it demonstrates the unequal powers between the authorized inheritors and un-authorized inheritors.

The general methods used in the ICSICH are "the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage"⁵³². Generally, a comprehensive inventory is the common way for this to be done. However, the concept of intangible cultural heritage is so broad that it covers all cultural roots ruling all sorts of current cultural achievements⁵³³. For example, modern dance, rap music, and post-modernist architectural knowledge are all inherited from intangible cultural heritages. Therefore, inventorying intangible cultural heritage is such a big task that it is questionable if inventories can really encourage cultural vitality. In this regard, the use of intangible cultural heritage is expected to be an effective way to sustain this kind of heritage⁵³⁴. In China, tourism development and cultural industry are the main ways to use intangible cultural heritages⁵³⁵. This leads to commercial activities in safeguarding intangible heritage.

Like the tangible cultural heritage, the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in China is undertaken by governments. However, the commercial use of intangible cultural heritage results in the safeguarding action increasing the disparity between the authorized inheritors and un-authorized inheritors. The State Council issued a policy, the *Decision on strengthening the protection of intangible cultural heritage*, to protect intangible cultural heritage in 2005. Furthermore, China adopted the *Intangible Cultural Heritage Law (ICHL)* of the PRC in 2011. The law and relevant policies regulate that "the State Council shall establish the catalogue of the representative items of

⁵³¹ Richard Kurin. "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A Critical Appraisal." *Museum International* 56, no. 1/2 (2004): 66-77.

⁵³² In the Article 2 of CSICH.

⁵³³ Richard Kurin. "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A Critical Appraisal." *Museum International* 56, no. 1/2 (2004): 66-77.

⁵³⁴ Mary Lorena Kenny. "Deeply Rooted in the Present: Making Heritage in Brazilian Quilombos." in *Intangible Heritage* ed. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009): 151-168.

⁵³⁵ Jiguang Shi and Xuecai Yu. "A Summary of Research on Intangible Heritage in Recent Years." *Journal of Changsha University* 20, no.1 (2006): 9-11; Kuili Liu. "On the Protection of Chinese Non-material Cultural Heritage in the Global Context." *Henan Social Sciences* 5, no.1 (2007): 25-34; Mulan Ma and Yuming Wang. "The Transformation Mode of the Tourism Products of Intangible Cultural Heritage." *Journal of Guilin Institute of Tourism* 19, no. 2 (2008): 282-286; Xiaoyan Deng. "On Tourism Exploitation of Intangible Cultural Heritage Resource: From the Theory of Perspective of Constructivism Authenticity." *Guizhou Ethnic Studies* no. 2 (2010): 90-95.

intangible cultural heritage at the national level”⁵³⁶. Respectively, provincial governments and lower-level governments all establish the catalogue of representative items of intangible heritage at the relevant levels within their own regions. Furthermore, each item of intangible heritage has representative inheritors, which are officially determined by the relevant governments. For example, as national intangible heritage, Shaolin Kungfu has 50 representative/legal inheritors. In other words, the management of intangible heritage will be divided between different levels of legal inheritors. In commercial activities, the authorization of national intangible cultural heritage and the confirmation of legal inheritors are similar to the branding process for cultural production. The price of products for legal inheritors is much higher than that of common inheritors. In fact, the intangible cultural heritage performed or reconstructed by legal inheritors and common inheritors is similar since both belong to the reconstruction of tradition-style culture. Therefore, the inheritor institution implies the disparity between similar reconstructions by legal inheritors and common inheritors in the Chinese context.

3.7 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has examined the internationalization of Chinese heritage and its connection to tourism by examining government policies on tangible/intangible heritage from the Republican era to the present. Generally, the heritage, as ‘fine’ past culture, is used to serve the present. Furthermore, it is the uses of heritage that determine their recognizable values.

The Republican era saw the first westernization of Chinese heritage. Political elites issued relevant laws/policies to protect physical heritage in the same way that European countries did to strengthen national identity. The intellectual elite studied Europe-originated heritage principles to interpret Chinese heritage and explored the restoration methods of Chinese built heritage. However, in this era, heritage was only limited to movable heritage and built heritage. Traditional culture was used to fight against the Manchu authority of the Qing dynasty but at the same time was viewed as backward and superstitious culture that prevented China’s progress.

Mao’s era saw the radical socialist construction, in which heritage was interpreted as serving his

⁵³⁶ Article 18 of intangible heritage law.

socialist ideology while traditional culture was condemned as being inferior. Mao established the Chinese socialist culture to replace the traditional culture. In particular, the Cultural Revolution witnessed extreme and totalistic anti-traditionalism. Furthermore, the CPC also borrowed the *Danwei* (work unit) system from the Soviet Union to reorganize social agents into collective or state-owned units. Many traditional spaces were changed into socialist factories and schools to obtain socialist modernization.

Deng's era saw a shift of socialist ideology from Mao's class struggle to economic development in which physical heritage was used to strengthen socialist ideology while traditional culture was neither restricted nor encouraged. Heritage sites were used as tourist sites. The connection of heritage to tourism accelerated the modernization of heritage sites. This period also saw the adoption and implementation of the CCPWCNH, which furthered the internalization of Chinese heritage.

The post-Deng's era has witnessed the further internationalization of Chinese heritage and its further connection to tourism under increasing decentralization and marketization. Traditional culture, recognized as intangible cultural heritage, is used to strengthen cultural nationalism and the socialist ideology. The IHATD furthers the modernization of heritage-protected tourist destinations as a way of reconstructing tradition-style culture, in which heritage experts and local residents have unequal power. The adoption and implementation of the ICSICH furthers the legitimacy of the reconstruction of tradition-style culture by the legal inheritors of intangible cultural heritage over the common inheritors.

This chapter provided the historical background to better understand the answer to the research question in the broad Chinese context, rather than the particular case studies. Sections 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 provide information on the internationalization of Chinese heritage and its connection to tourism, which answers why tradition-style culture requires reconstruction. That is, the long-time devaluation of traditional culture determines that intangible tradition-style culture must be reconstructed to meet the needs of heritage authorization and tourism development. The timber-framed structures of built heritage require a stylistic restoration, which is authorized reconstruction of tradition-style physical culture. The connection between built heritage authorization and tourism also legitimizes the un-authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture,

or pseudo culture. Section 3.6 analyzed the interaction between Chinese heritage authorization and tourism development, in response to research question. The main argument of this chapter, in responding to the research question/s is that the interaction of heritage authorization and tourism development drives the processes of modernity in heritage-preserved tourist destinations as a way of reconstructing tradition-style culture, heritage experts and local residents experiencing unequal recognition. The following two chapters will answer the research question in regard to two specific cases, the Shaolin Scenic Area and the Ancient City of Pingyao. Both cases demonstrate tourism-driven heritage authorization, which leads to the process of modernity as a way of reconstructing tradition-style culture. Both cases show the power disparity between heritage experts and local residents but the main difference between the two cases is the existence of a cultural organization, the Shaolin monks, which demonstrate special roles both in protecting the cultural heritage and using it.

Chapter Four: Shaolin Case

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore how the Shaolin temple, as part of current World Cultural Heritage, was transformed from a traditional space to a tourist site and finally to a heritage tourist site. Its transformation demonstrates how both tourism development and WCH authorization has impacted on Shaolin culture from social and cultural perspectives. The transformation of Shaolin culture in line with different tourism and heritage policies are divided into four phases.

Firstly, Shaolin historical culture is briefly described to exemplify its traditional features. Secondly, Shaolin touristic culture is introduced to show how the Shaolin temple has been transformed from a traditional site to a popular tourist site. Thirdly, Shaolin “authentic” culture is explored through a series of authentication projects to prepare for inscribing it as a WCH site. Finally, the fragmented complex of Shaolin culture, post-WCH listing, is explored.

The theoretical framework established in Chapter 2 is applied to analyze the transformative process of the Shaolin Scenic Area (SSA). The main argument derived from this case study is that the IHATD has driven the modernization of the SSA as a way of reconstructing tradition-style culture. During this modernization, the Shaolin monks and local residents have carried out different roles in terms of engaging in reconstructing Shaolin culture. In particular, in the transition from a purely unregulated tourist site to one with WCH status the local residents were disempowered through losing control of their areas and indeed their own culture. The relocation of local residents and the participation of a tourism company in the SSA have led to the fragmentation of the Shaolin community, in which the Shaolin culture was embedded.

4.2 Shaolin Historical Culture (496CE to 1978)

At its core, traditional Chinese culture is dominated by Confucianism. Confucianism is a philosophy which was initially associated with Taoism, and later with Buddhism⁵³⁷. Confucianism provides

⁵³⁷ Zhongyun Zi. “The Relationship of Chinese Traditional Culture to the Modernization of China: An Introduction to the Current Discussion.” *Asian Survey* (1987): 442-458.

guidance on the ethical principles of social and political life, while Taoism and Buddhism add both psychological and spiritual dimensions⁵³⁸. These three doctrines have historically co-existed in traditional Chinese culture and have been described as “the one body of three doctrines” (*sanjiao yiti*) or “the three converged doctrines” (*sanjiao heliu*)⁵³⁹. Buddhism is thought to have travelled to China approximately two thousand years ago. In the Chinese context Buddhism was named Chan (or Zen) and was initially founded by Bodhidharma around 500 CE. However, there is no clear historical record of Bodhidharma. The Shaolin temple, the first temple in which the Bodhidharma taught Chan Buddhism, gained its reputation for the practice of Shaolin martial arts. It has a history which now spans more than 1500 years and is particularly famous because of Shaolin Kungfu⁵⁴⁰. It is situated on Shaoshi Mountain in northwest Dengfeng, which is a county-level city administrated by Zhengzhou, the capital of Henan Province. Map 4.1 shows the location of Shaolin temple. This section will examine the history of the Shaolin temple, particularly in relation to the development of Chan Buddhism and Shaolin martial arts. This will be followed by an analysis of traditional Shaolin culture.



Map 4.1 The location of Shaolin temple

Resource: Adapted from the Shaolin temple official website for the location of Shaolin temple

⁵³⁸ Xinzhong Yao. *An Introduction to Confucianism*. (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 224

⁵³⁹ Reginald F. Johnston. *Confucianism and Modern China*. (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁵⁴⁰ Meir Shabar. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 1; Meir Shabar. “Ming-period Evidence of Shaolin Martial Practice.” *Harvard journal of Asiatic studies* 61, no. 2 (2001): 359-413.

4.2.1 Chan Buddhism

The Shaolin Temple: The Birthplace of Chan Buddhism

The Shaolin temple is said to be the first temple where Chan Buddhism was practiced. This is related to its location. In China, mountains are often thought to be sacred and commonly they are places of pilgrimage⁵⁴¹. The Song Mountain had a significant place among China's sacred mountains long before the Shaolin temple was established. For example, around 100 BCE the Song Mountain was one of the Five Holy Peaks (*Wuyue*) serving as divine protectors of the state⁵⁴². It is in fact the central Holy Peak because it is located in the center of these five mountains. It is a pilgrimage mountain both for Taoism and Buddhism. Taoists selected the Song Mountain as a pilgrimage site; and at the turn of the 6th century six Buddhist temples were established on it⁵⁴³. The Shaolin temple was one of these six temples.

The Shaolin Temple was built by Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei Dynasty in 496 CE as an endowment to the Indian-born monk Batuo (or Fotuo) who wanted a peaceful place to study Buddhism and meditation⁵⁴⁴. The name 'Shaolin' derives from Shaoshi Mountain in the forest (in Chinese the *lin* in *Shaolin* means forest)⁵⁴⁵. The Song Mountain is also part of the Shaoshi Mountain range. The monk Batuo specialized in the traditional Indian Hinayana form of Buddhism which focuses on the path of eliminating sufferings, cultivating perfect wisdom and ultimately attaining enlightenment. This traditional Indian Buddhism is different to Confucianism, which has influenced Chinese people the most. Unlike traditional Buddhism, Confucianism is a philosophy which encourages people to actively participate in a highly structured society. Buddhism focuses on the renunciation of 'worldly concerns' and encourages its adherents to look inward. Confucianism advocates living in the world and in a specific type of society⁵⁴⁶. In this regard, traditional Buddhism was required to change itself to suit the Chinese context. As the first leader of the Shaolin temple, Batuo was an able manager and developed the temple into an important center for Buddhist teaching

⁵⁴¹ Susan Naquin, and Chün-fang Yü, eds. *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*. Vol. 15. (California: University of California Press, 1992), 11.

⁵⁴² Paul W. Kroll. "Verses from on High: the Ascent of T'ai Shan." *T'oung Pao* 69, livr. 4/5, (1983): 225.

⁵⁴³ Meir Shahrar. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 12.

⁵⁴⁴ Weishou, *Wei Shu*. (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, Vol. 114 1974 copy), 3039-3040.

⁵⁴⁵ Meir Shahrar. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 9.

⁵⁴⁶ Kenneth KS. Ch'en. *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 68.

with several hundred students. Some Indian Buddhists also came to the Shaolin Monastery as translators and interpreters of Buddhism. In this regard, Batuo was not only a Buddhist but also a leader and manager contributing to developing Buddhism in the Chinese context.

Another Buddhist, Bodhiharma, is famed for establishing Chan Buddhism and is said to have spent nine years facing the wall of a cave in meditation near the Shaolin temple⁵⁴⁷. Now, the Bodhiharma cave is situated in northwest of the monastery. Figure 4.1 shows the scenic spot of Bodhiharma cave nowadays. Although it is debated as to whether Bodhidharma lived and taught at the Shaolin temple, it is still famous for being the place where Chan Buddhism originated. Bodhidharma taught Mahayana Buddhism, which is different to Hinayana, but he interpreted it within the Chinese cultural context. The result was a form of Buddhism known as Chan (in Chinese) or Zen (in Japanese).



Figure 4.1 Bodhiharma cave

Resource from the Shaolin temple official website for the scenic spot of Bodhiharma Cave

Formation of Chan Buddhism: its Relation with Confucianism and Taoism

Traditional Chinese culture is dominated by Confucianism. Confucianism has had a powerful influence on Chinese behavior and social structure⁵⁴⁸. Buddhists had to adapt Buddhism to Confucianism. Unlike traditional Indian Buddhism, Chan Buddhism does not rely on scriptures and

⁵⁴⁷ Liu Xu. *Old Book of Tang*. (Beijing: Zhonghua Press. Vol. 191, 1975copy), 5109; Andy Ferguson. *Zen's Chinese Heritage: the Masters and Their Teachings*. (Somerville MA, USA: Wisdom Publications, 2011), 17.

⁵⁴⁸ David D.Huang, and Richard A. Charter. "The Origin and Formulation of Chinese Character: An Introduction to Confucianism and its Influence on Chinese Behavior Patterns." *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health* 2, no. 1 (1996): 35.

dogma but rather focuses on the immediate attainment of enlightenment through the realization of human nature. This reflects the Confucian principle of “conquering oneself and returning to humanness”⁵⁴⁹. Chan Buddhism, like Taoism, is based on the belief that all phenomena are impermanent. The three doctrines – Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism - are combined in Chan Buddhism; Confucian philosophy provides the ethical principles for living in the world, Tao scripture helps one to ‘forget’ the world, and Chan Buddhism helps one to leave the world behind. Chan Buddhism thrived in China and ultimately became the most influential school of Chinese Buddhism during the Song dynasty (960-1279)⁵⁵⁰. The Shaolin temple became famous for presenting the unity and harmony of the three doctrines of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. In the Shaolin temple the founding figures of these three traditions stand side by side; Sakyamuni⁵⁵¹ of Buddhism, Laozi of Taoism and Confucius - the “most holy sage”⁵⁵².

4.2.2 Shaolin Martial Arts

In line with Confucius’ prescription to ‘live in the world’ the monks at the Shaolin temple have offered political, religious, and even military support to imperial governments throughout Chinese history. As a result, the Shaolin temple was known as an ‘imperial temple’ and its endowment was mainly provided by the emperors’ governing body. For this reason the temple’s fortunes were significantly influenced by the change of dynasties. Shaolin martial arts contributed significantly to its relationship with various emperors. This section will examine the Shaolin temple’s political engagement with successive imperial powers and the contribution of Shaolin martial arts to this engagement.

Shaolin Temple’s Political Engagement with Successive Imperial Powers

The Shaolin temple is located 30 miles southeast of the city of Luoyang which was the capital of the Eastern Han (25-220), Wei (220-265), Western Jin (265-316), Northern Wei (496-534), and the Sui (581-618) dynasties. Luoyang was also the secondary capital of the Tang dynasty (618-907). The temple's close proximity to Luoyang meant that its maintenance was dependent on the emperors and

⁵⁴⁹ Xinzhong Yao. *An Introduction to Confucianism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 228.

⁵⁵⁰ Meir Shabar. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 17.

⁵⁵¹ Founder of original Buddhism in India.

⁵⁵² Reginald F. Johnston. *Confucianism and Modern China*. (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1-2.

their governments' prevailing attitudes towards Buddhism. The Shaolin temple has been destroyed and reconstructed more than 20 times since it was first established in 496CE. In 577, for instance, the Shaolin temple was destroyed by the Emperor Jiande, who accepted his minister's advice to crush Buddhism and Taoism because their expansion signaled a competing power and influence⁵⁵³. Between 842 and 845 the Emperor Huichang similarly held a hostile attitude towards Buddhism and sought to curtail the power of the Shaolin temple through a regulation issued by the Central Government which limited the number of Shaolin monks to no more than 20⁵⁵⁴. Yet whenever the Shaolin temple was destroyed it would inevitably be rebuilt with the support of more devout emperors. The Shaolin temple experienced its most prosperous periods during the Tang, Yuan, and Ming dynasties. Thus, to some extent, the fortunes of the Shaolin temple reflected the success and decline of Buddhism, and the Chinese dynasties.

The Shaolin temple provided political and religious support for the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). The Yuan dynasty was established by the Mongols and so at the time showed distinctions from Chinese culture. The Shaolin monks persuaded the Yuan emperor to protect the Chinese people, whilst continuing to provide spiritual guidance. This benefited the Yuan rulers who saw this arrangement as a way to ensure the compliance of their Chinese subjects. Their religious roles were authorized by the Yuan emperor who supported the Shaolin temple and rewarded it with a bequest of large parcels of land. The Shaolin temple complex at the time of the Yuan dynasty contained more than 5,000 rooms, housing more than 1800 monks⁵⁵⁵. The Shaolin Temple also controlled more than 23 smaller temples⁵⁵⁶.

The Shaolin temple also provided military support for emperors in Tang and Ming dynasties. The epigraphy of Stele in the Shaolin temple from the Tang dynasty indicates that some of the monks engaged in fighting on at least two occasions during the late Sui dynasty (around 610). The stele shows that the monks repelled an attack by bandits, and in the spring of 621 they assisted Li Shimin (the future emperor of the Tang dynasty) in a fight against his competitor Wang Shichong. On both occasions the monks were protecting the monastery from attack, as well as and aiding Li Shimin to

⁵⁵³ Yucheng Wen. *Shaolin Fanggu*. (Tianjin: Baihua Literature and Art Publishing House, 1999), 69.

⁵⁵⁴ Guan Qingli and Cui Huaimeng. The Impact of Emperor Wuzong of Tang Dynasty's "Huichang Destroying Buddhism (huichang miefo)" on Shaolin Martial Arts. *Sports World Scholarly* 2, (2008): 102-104.

⁵⁵⁵ Liu Zhixue. *Data Set of Shaolin Temple*. (Beijing: Bibliography and Literature, 1982), 5.

⁵⁵⁶ Yucheng Wen. *Shaolin Fanggu*. (Tianjin: Baihua Literature and Art Publishing House, 1999), 238-239.

strengthen the Tang dynasty. Later, during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) the Shaolin monastery was a place where regular martial arts training was conducted by the monks. This supplemented the central military power and for this the Ming emperor provided financial rewards to the temple⁵⁵⁷. During the Ming dynasty, their loyal military services were rewarded with state patronage, such as giving them lands without taxes.

However, their subsequent relationship with the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) was ambivalent. Some research indicates that Qing officials feared the Shaolin monks would participate in a rebellion⁵⁵⁸. In fact, there are Qing inscriptions warning the monks not to engage in a rebellion. This warning stemmed from the fact that the Qing emperors regarded the Shaolin temple as a strong supporter of the Ming Dynasty. For this reason they were suspicious of the Shaolin temple, and especially wary of their martial arts skills. For instance, in 1753 Emperor Yongzheng criticized the Shaolin monks for neglecting Buddhism and focusing on martial arts⁵⁵⁹. In 1775 Emperor Qianlong opposed the practice of martial arts by the Shaolin monks, asserting that the monks should only concern themselves with Buddhism⁵⁶⁰. Thus, the Shaolin temple found itself out of favor with the Qing emperors and in a worse economic position. Those fighting monks, who joined the Shaolin temple just for martial arts, left the temple, leaving it in a vulnerable position. Because of the fame of Shaolin martial arts, the fighting monks who abandoned the temple became bodyguards or armed escorts, or taught martial arts in common society during the Qing dynasty⁵⁶¹.

During the Republican period (1911-1949) the Shaolin temple again participated in military combat by fighting alongside Wu Peifu. As a result, Shi Yousan, a rival of Wu Peifu who was under the leadership of Feng Yuxiang, set fire to the Shaolin temple in 1928⁵⁶². The Figure 4.2 shows the Shaolin soldiers in 1920s in front of the Mahavira Hall. The fire burned for 45 days; the Shaolin

⁵⁵⁷ Meir Shahaar. "Ming-period Evidence of Shaolin Martial Practice." *Harvard journal of Asiatic studies* 61, no. 2 (2001): 359-413.

⁵⁵⁸ Zhou Weiliang. The Historical Changes on Shaolin Martial Arts during Ming and Qing Dynasty. *Sports Culture Guide* 1, (2004), 69-73.

⁵⁵⁹ Shi Yizan. *Chorography of Shaolin Temple, Yilin, Chenhan* (少林寺志·艺林·宸翰). Copy of Qianlong 13 (1748) in Henan Library. Cited in Jianqiang Niu and Changgui Zhao. Changes of Survival Space of Shaolin Martial Arts during Ming and Qing Dynasty. *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*. 4 (2007),164.

⁵⁶⁰ *Qing Gaozong Shilu* (清高宗实录). Vol.983. May of Qianlong 45, photocopy in Chinese first historical archives, 122-123. Cited in Jianqiang Niu and Changgui Zhao. Changes of Survival Space of Shaolin Martial Arts during Ming and Qing Dynasty. *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*. 4 (2007),164.

⁵⁶¹ Jianqiang Niu and Changgui Zhao. Changes of Survival Space of Shaolin Martial Arts during Ming and Qing Dynasty. *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*. 4 (2007),164..

⁵⁶² Wen Yucheng. Introduction of History of Shaolin Temple. In *Collected Papers of Research on Shaolin Culture*. ed. Research Institution of Shaolin Culture. (Beijing: Religion and Culture Publishing House, 2001).

temple lost many buildings and valuable relics. Due to the timber-frame structures of the buildings much of Shaolin temple was destroyed. After this disaster many monks left to settle in nearby villages.



Figure 4.2 The Shaolin soldiers in 1920s

Resource from the interview data from Shaolin temple.

Contribution of Shaolin Martial Arts to Shaolin Temple's Political Engagement

Shaolin martial arts contributed to the temple's close relations with imperial powers in that it provided military service to the emperors. This reflects the influence of the Confucian concept of 'living in the world' on the development of Buddhism in China. However, martial arts could result in killing in cruel ways, which violates Buddhist principles. The existence of Shaolin martial arts is controversial in that it both contributes to the development of the Shaolin temple whilst violating Buddhism laws. This was a source of evidence based on which emperors would either criticize or reward the Shaolin monks. This section will review the attitudes of imperial powers to Shaolin martial arts.

In the Tang and Ming dynasties, the Shaolin temple's involvement in military service was not criticized and no record showed that the monks' activities violated Buddhist law. On the contrary, the Tang and Ming steles record occasions when imperial gifts were bestowed on the monastery in recognition of its military services. Their contribution to 'national defense' was recorded in official histories, such as the *Ming Veritable Records (Ming shi lu)* and the *Ming History (Mingshi)*.

Furthermore, the Shaolin monks' bravery and fighting skills were recorded and indeed celebrated in chronicles of individual battles. The Shaolin temple's wealth also resulted in an expansion of the number of buildings in the temple complex during the Ming dynasty; and the temple's grand architecture was largely constructed under Ming benefaction⁵⁶³. For example, the largest numbers of stupas (more than 130) in the Shaolin Stupa Forest were constructed during the Ming dynasty. The largest structure, the 'Thousand Buddhas' Hall' (Qianfo dian) was built during the Ming dynasty to store the empress dowager's gift of Buddhist scriptures. All this demonstrates that the Shaolin temple obtained imperial patronage and political status through combat, which violated Buddhist law. Furthermore, this violation of killing was closely connected to another violation of Chan Buddhist law, eating meat. This was something the Shaolin monks did to strengthen their bodies⁵⁶⁴.

The Debate over Shaolin Martial Arts

Martial arts was an important and well-known aspect of Shaolin culture. Yet there was, as has been pointed out, much debate around the fact that the Shaolin Temple's participation in military combat contradicted Buddhism. Furthermore, the fame of Shaolin martial arts attracted some laymen to join the monastery for martial arts alone. This extended the Shaolin monastic community to a broader Shaolin community. This section will present a historical exploration of the origins of Shaolin martial arts and how this influenced the formation of the Shaolin community, which is broader than the monastic community. This section has implications for contemporary interpretations of Shaolin culture in the broader Shaolin community as presented in section 4.4.1.

The Shaolin monks' practice of martial arts contradicted the peacefulness and quietude that are essential Buddhist precepts. However, the monks attempted to legitimize their focus on martial arts through a link with religion. Firstly, they justified their practice of martial arts by arguing it was principally a form of 'physical exercise' that would lead to improved health⁵⁶⁵. Secondly, the monks also tried to justify their practice of martial arts by arguing this practice originated from a Buddhist deity named Jinnaluo (Kimnara). Jinnaluo was incarnated as a cook in the Shaolin temple and

⁵⁶³ Meir Shahaar. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 73.

⁵⁶⁴ Meir Shahaar. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 42-43; John Kieschnick. "Buddhist Vegetarianism in China." in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 186-212.

⁵⁶⁵ The Sports Ministry of China. *History of China Martial Arts*. (Beijing: Peoples Press, 1997), 125.

repelled bandit aggressors during the Yuan dynasty⁵⁶⁶. Since that mythical event Jinnaluo has been worshipped by Shaolin monks as their martial arts god. This particular justification for the practice of martial arts in Chan Buddhism presents it as serving the function of defending the monastery. Thirdly, the Shaolin monks established a spiritual relationship between Shaolin martial arts and Chan Buddhism. In this regard, evidence is given in a Shaolin martial arts book, *Exposition of the Original Shaolin Staff Method (Shaolin gunfa chanzong)* written by the military expert Cheng Zongyou around 1610⁵⁶⁷. However, these arguments for a link between martial arts and Buddhism are unconvincing to many scholars⁵⁶⁸.

In a more technical sense Shaolin martial arts were also influenced by Taoism. For example, hand-to-hand combat, known as the 'empty-handed style' or 'Shaolin Fist' (*Shaolin Quan*) revealed a connection with Taoism in its technical aspect⁵⁶⁹. Taoist gymnastics, later more famously known as *Taiji Quan* and *Bagua Zhang*, embodied Chinese cosmology and spiritual aspirations. It achieved this through the interplay of the *yin* and *yang*; two opposing forces, which in Taoism can be used to obtain the 'Supreme Ultimate' (*Taiji*). For Taoism, hand-to-hand combat was used as a technical tool to obtain an intense form of spiritual enlightenment. This motivated the Shaolin monks to further explore the relationship between martial arts and Buddhism. In fact the syncretism of Taoism and Buddhism during the Ming dynasty led the Shaolin monks to further explore Taoism more broadly in relation to religion, medicine and philosophy and incorporate it into Chan Buddhism. In summary it is clear that Shaolin martial arts took its technical combat skills from Taoism, whilst its ideological tendency to military and political service derives from Confucianism.

Again under the influence of Confucianism the internal organization of the Shaolin temple was dominated by a patriarchal clan system. From the Yuan dynasty, the internal organization of the temple reflected a 'family structure'. The central focus of the temple was the Shaolin Kernel Compound (SKC). The SKC was surrounded by a number of smaller sub-temples (called *Fangtou*,

⁵⁶⁶ Shi Yongxin. Cultural Form and History of Shaolin Kungfu. In *Collected Works on Shaolin Kungfu*. ed, Shi Yongxin. (Zhengzhou: Shaolin Bookstores. 2004).

⁵⁶⁷ Boyuan Lin. *History of Chinese Martial Arts*. (Beijing: Beijing Sport University Press, 1994), 337.

⁵⁶⁸ Meir Shahr. "Ming-period Evidence of Shaolin Martial Practice." *Harvard journal of Asiatic studies* 61, no. 2 (2001): 359-413.

⁵⁶⁹ Meir Shahr. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 180.

or *Tangmen*, or *Mentou* in Chinese)⁵⁷⁰. *Fangtoug* represented smaller family units which were connected to the larger family unit, the SKC. An ‘ancestry tree’ including every generation of the monks and their disciples was recorded in every *Fangtoug*. The biggest *Fangtoug* family, usually including the Shaolin Buddhist leader (abbot) and his disciples, resided in the SKC. The smaller *Fangtoug* families, including monks and their disciples, were housed in smaller temples nearby. Gradually, even more remote sub-temples were established when Buddhism prospered in the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties. The remote sub-temples were called the *xiayuan* (下院) of the Shaolin temple, meaning Shaolin affiliated temples but not in the Songshan area. All the *fangtoug* monks and their disciples constituted to the collective Shaolin community, and all *fangtoug* monks were considered Shaolin monks. The Songshan Shaolin community has historically included the SKC and the nearby sub-temples (*Fatang*).

Because of the Shaolin Temple’s reputation as a well-known ‘martial arts temple’, some laymen became Shaolin disciples and resided in the Shaolin community. These laymen, known as *fangtoug seng*, were not ordained monks. They were not attracted to, nor were they inclined to study Buddhism. These disciples learned Shaolin martial arts from the monks in the *Fangtoug*. After a period of training they left the *Fangtoug* to live once again in secular society. Whilst at the *Fangtoug* they were required to follow Buddhist precepts, which they were inclined to disregard, especially in relation to eating meat. In fact, the Shaolin monks and their lay disciples in nearby *Fangtoug* sub-temples were warned by the monastery’s office holders and superintendents not to violate Buddhist laws⁵⁷¹. Furthermore, *Fangtoug* monks were also condemned by the Dengfeng county magistrate for committing crimes such as sexual offenses, gambling, and whoring⁵⁷². It was possible for these *Fangtoug* disciples to commit such crimes because they were not ordained Buddhist monks. The public and officials, however, could not distinguish between Shaolin monks and these *Fangtoug* disciples, since they wore the same robes. Then, in 1735, Emperor Yongzheng of the Qing dynasty ordered the dismantling of the sub-temples around the SKC and 25 *Fangtoug* families were expelled. However, by 1748, 18 *Fangtoug* families had reestablished themselves around the SKC. However, 18 *Fangtoug* families gradually disappeared after the 1928 disaster. It is the Shaolin martial arts that usually led to Shaolin monks violating Buddhist laws both in providing military service to the Ming

⁵⁷⁰ Shaolin temple official website

⁵⁷¹ Stele recourse.

⁵⁷² Stele recourse.

emperors (killing) and, for example, eating meat and gambling. However, whether the Shaolin monks or their lay disciples were criticized or not was determined by the relationship of the temple with the dynastic authority. As indicated previously, Shaolin martial arts were not criticized by the Tang and Ming authorities. Furthermore, it contributed to the development and wealth of the Shaolin temple at that time. However, it was seriously criticized by Qing authorities.

4.2.3 The Shaolin Temple 1949-1978

In China, religion has experienced pressure from the state since 1911⁵⁷³. From 1911 to 1978 any form of what might be described as ‘traditional’ culture was condemned as being feudalistic and superstitious. As indicated in Chapter 3 the period from 1949 to 1978 witnessed the rejection of Buddhism and traditional culture under Mao’s leadership. Immediately after the establishment of the PRC in 1949 the Shaolin temple housed 80 monks and held about 1,866,666 square meters of land. Under socialism, however, the Shaolin temple was regarded by the CPC as a place of feudalism and superstition. Because the Shaolin temple was associated with feudal authority, the monks were treated with the contempt reserved for landlords. Land reforms between 1949 and 1953 forced the Shaolin temple to forfeit the majority of its land holdings, to the extent that after 1953 the temple retained only 1% of the land area that it had owned in 1949. Many monks were forced to leave the temple, in fact in 1953 only 14 frail and elderly monks were left in residence. These monks lived in the SKC. As an administrative unit these 14 Shaolin monks and their 18,666 square meters of land belonged to the 23rd agriculture-production team of nearby Guodian village. Some of the monks who were made to leave the Shaolin Temple resided in nearby villages and earned an income from teaching and performing Shaolin martial arts. In this regard, as part of the Shaolin community, local residents in nearby villages contributed greatly to the inheritance and continuity of Shaolin culture. During the ensuing Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) the Shaolin Temple came under even more criticism, to the point where it was forbidden to practice Shaolin martial arts either inside or outside the confines of the temple. It is clear that both Chan Buddhism and Shaolin martial arts came under political attack from 1949 to 1978. Shaolin martial arts, however, were inherited by Shaolin disciples and local residents within the broader Shaolin community. This will be analyzed further in section 4.4.

⁵⁷³ Myron L. Cohen. “Being Chinese: The Peripheralization of Traditional Identity.” *Daedalus* 120, no. 2 (1991): 129.

In summary, the Shaolin temple was of the home of Chan Buddhism; a syncretic form of Buddhism which incorporated both Confucianism and Taoism. Chan Buddhism's Confucian influence is evident both at the level of family and society. Chan Buddhism's Confucian influence meant that the Shaolin temple had an active relationship with successive imperial governments through the provision of military, political, and religious services. The contradiction between Buddhism and involvement in military combat was not initially condemned. In fact the monks were often rewarded for their achievements in fighting for the emperors, especially during the time of the Ming dynasty. However, during the Qing dynasty, Shaolin monks and their disciples who violated Buddhist precepts by practicing martial arts, eating meat, gambling, and committing sexual offences, came under official criticism. As an important element in Shaolin culture, martial arts were the principle reason why criticism was directed at the temple. Although this criticism was rooted in the fact that the Shaolin Temple was a Buddhist monastic establishment, the influence of Confucianism and Taoism explains, and in some instances was used as justification for, the practice of martial arts. Shaolin martial arts were also rooted in the broader Shaolin community - which included the SKC and nearby sub-temples before 1928, and the SKC and nearby villages later. In particular, local residents contributed greatly to inheriting Shaolin martial arts during the period 1949 to 1978.

4.3 Tourism Policy and Heritage Policy (1978 to 2000)

In 1978 the official stance on religion changed, however, the official commitment to 'religious freedom' was restrictive in that it only officially recognized established world religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, whilst others were labeled superstitious or evil⁵⁷⁴. Under this official interpretation and government religious institutions such as the Religious Affairs Administration, religious beliefs and practices were kept under strict state control. The established religions could be practiced but 'superstitious activities', such as Falun Gong, were not encouraged. Furthermore, hostility toward these so-called 'feudal superstitions' was expected not only from Communist Party members, but also urban intellectuals of different political persuasions living at home or abroad. Thus, people with the correct political orientation were expected to have the view that all religious beliefs and practices have superstitious roots, and are thus inappropriate.

In this context, the Shaolin temple chose its own approach to development. From 1978 to 2000 it

⁵⁷⁴ Myron L. Cohen. "Being Chinese: The Peripheralization of Traditional Identity." *Daedalus* 120, no. 2 (1991): 129.

looked to tourism. This section will demonstrate how the Shaolin temple has been transformed from a traditional site to a popular tourist site. During this transformation, traditional culture was shaped by tourism development and became touristic culture. Three related parts will be explored in this section. Firstly, the reasons, objectives, and nature of government policies concerning tourism and heritage are explored. Secondly, this section will explain the way the Shaolin community (both ordained Shaolin monks and local residents) have responded to government policy and tourism development. Finally, the ways in which commercialization changed Shaolin culture and how some conflicts were formed in terms of changing understandings of heritage will be analyzed. The main argument for this section is that Shaolin culture was reconfigured in a commercial way but at the cost of removing its religious focus.

4.3.1 Changing Government Policy

Two reasons drove the restoration of the Shaolin temple and also pushed Shaolin martial arts to develop. Firstly, the Japan World Shorinji Kempo Organization (Japan WSKO) visited the Shaolin temple and Shaolin monks in 1979 and 1980, which pushed the Dengfeng government to organize a martial arts performance and prepare for their visits. In order to select the best team, the Dengfeng government held a martial arts competition in 1978, which was the first martial arts performance after the Cultural Revolution. At that time, the Shaolin temple did not have martial monks. Liang Yiquan, as the local martial arts practitioner, was selected as the leader of the Shaolin martial arts team.

Secondly, the 1982 film *Shaolin Temple*, as the first Hong Kong production filmed on mainland China and also the first film filmed in the Shaolin temple, was overwhelmingly successful at the box office (more than 0.1 billion RMB with the ticket price at just 0.1 RMB in mainland China). Under the recommendation of Liao Chengzhi, who was then the administrator of the State Council responsible for Hong Kong and Macao affairs, the Hong Kong film producer chose Shaolin martial arts as the topic. Although there were about 100 films related Shaolin before 1982, this film was most successful probably because it was released shortly after the long suppression of the Cultural Revolution⁵⁷⁵. Furthermore, they chose Li Lianjie (Jet Li) (born in 1963) as the lead actor, who had

⁵⁷⁵ Jiyue Zhang. "Shaolin Film Fever" and the Construction and Development of Shaolin Cultural Industry." *Journal of Henan University (Social Science)* 53, no.3 (2013): 114-121.

won the title of All-Round National Champion five times by the age of 18. Li Lianjie was featured as having ‘true’ Chinese martial arts, although he was not specialized in Shaolin martial arts. This movie not only inspired many martial artists to visit the Shaolin monastery to practice Shaolin martial arts but also attracted numerous tourists to visit the monastery. For example, tourist arrivals at Shaolin temple reached 2470,000 in 1986⁵⁷⁶ while it was only 592,000 for Mount Huang⁵⁷⁷ and 188,000 for Mount Wuyishan in the same year⁵⁷⁸. This pushed the government, the Shaolin monks, and the local residents to provide services for them.

This period from 1978 to 2000 saw the transition from a central planned-economy to a market-economy. Governments, particularly the central government, planned and allocated funds to local areas. To meet the requirements of the Japanese WSKO, the central government funded transportation to the Shaolin temple. To satisfy the booming number of tourists, traditional architecture in the Shaolin temple was restored and reconstructed by central and provincial governments. In short, the policy focused on tourism development and the operation of the martial arts school.

In 1982, the Songshan National Scenic Area (SNSA) was listed by the Ministry of Construction as one of the first batch of national parks. According to the NSA regulations, the ‘Master Plan of the SNSA’ (1986-2010) was drafted by experts at Tongji University in collaboration with the provincial construction administration in 1986. It was approved by the State Council in 1990. At the same time, the ‘Detailed Plan of the Shaolin Temple Scenic Spot’ was also drafted by them and approved in 1990. Thus, from 1979 to 1989, the central government provided 5.03 million RMB to restore, repair and rebuild the ancient buildings of the Shaolin temple⁵⁷⁹. Altogether 10 halls with 44 rooms were restored and 9 halls with 47 rooms were rebuilt on the original sites and 8 new halls with 44 rooms were built⁵⁸⁰. Because there were no pictures or documents to use as a reference, the rebuilt architecture was built in line with elder monks’ and residents’ memories⁵⁸¹. However, many halls could not be accurately rebuilt like the original ones since they were burnt in 1928 (more than 50 years beforehand). The main items of the restoration and reconstruction project are listed in appendix

⁵⁷⁶ Personal Interview from Dengfeng Tourism Bureau.

⁵⁷⁷ Huangshan Tourism Bureau.

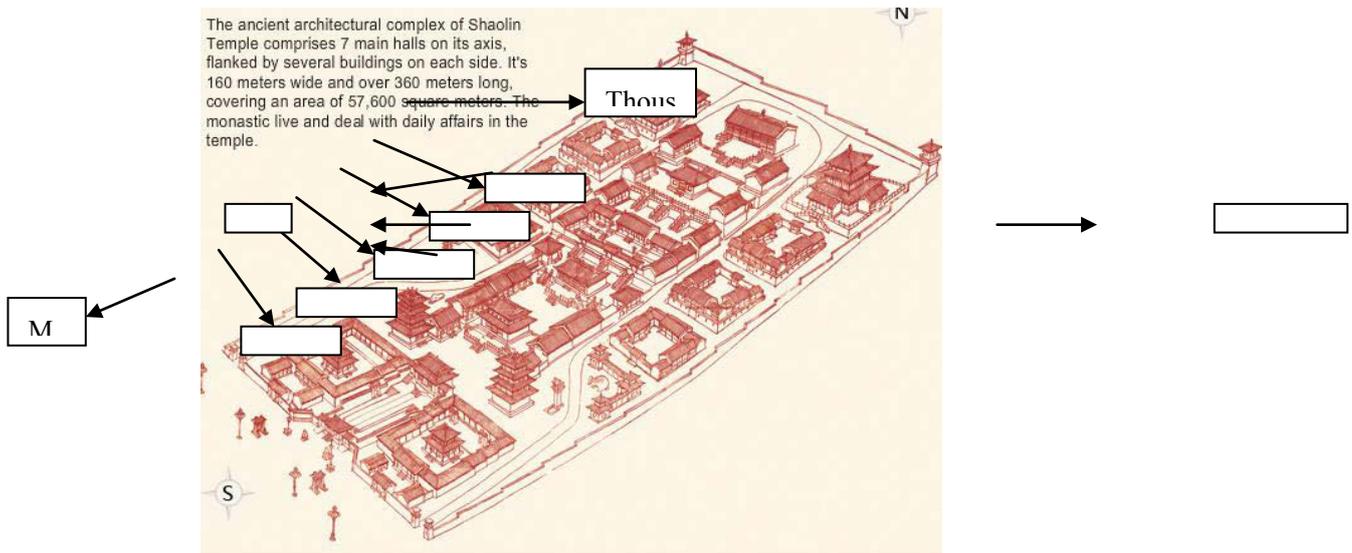
⁵⁷⁸ Wuyishan Tourism Bureau.

⁵⁷⁹ Henan Songshan Scenic Area Committee. *Songshan Chronicles*. (Zhengzhou: Henan People Press, 2007). 158.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Interview data from local residents and local officials in SSA.

three⁵⁸². Map 4.2 shows the main buildings inside the Shaolin temple. Chuzu temple is not in the Kernel Compound of the Shaolin temple. It is clear that except for the Mountain Gate, the Abbot's Room, and the Thousand-Bodhisattva Hall, four main halls at the central axis were rebuilt. Furthermore, the Thousand-Bodhisattva Hall was restored in line with the principle of "repair a roof by taking apart and readjusting its wooden truss" (*Luoja Chongxiu*), which was major "surgery" in architecture terms.



Map 4.2 Buildings inside the Shaolin temple

Resource: Adapted from the Shaolin temple official website for the Shaolin Kernel Compound

Aside from restoring and reconstructing the Shaolin traditional architecture, the governments promoted Shaolin martial arts by opening the Shaolin martial arts performance center and organizing a Shaolin martial arts competition/festival. In 1984, when the chairman of the CNTA Han Kehua visited the Songshan NSA, he said that Shaolin martial arts was the key attraction for tourists and if there were no martial arts activities or performances, tourists might think Shaolin martial arts had vanished⁵⁸³. Under his recommendation and financial support from the CNTA and the Henan Provincial Tourism Administration, a martial arts performance center, named the *Songshan Shaolin Wushu Training Center* (SSWTC), was constructed between 1985 and 1988 and opened in 1988. It provides Shaolin martial arts stage-performances for tourists and also provides government-authorized Shaolin martial arts performances all over the world to promote Shaolin martial arts. All these performances were commercial and rechargeable. The SSWTC is a

⁵⁸² Data from Dengfeng construction administration.

⁵⁸³ Henan Songshan Scenic Area Committee. *Songshan Chronicles*. (Zhengzhou: Henan People Press, 2007), 351.

government-operated enterprise and has extended many services and established several sub-enterprises, such as the *Chan International Hotel*, the *Songshan Shaolin Wushu Travel Service Agent*, the *Henan Shaolin Martial Arts School*, and the *Henan Dengfeng Shaolin Temple Songshan Wushu Sword Factory*.

After the SSWTC was established, it organized the first three ‘International Shaolin Martial Arts Performance Invitational Tournaments’ (*guoji Shaolin wushu yaoqingsai*), which focused on the exchange and interaction of martial arts from all over the world. Then from 1991, the Chinese Wushu Association, the Henan provincial government, and the Zhengzhou city government changed the tournament into the ‘Zhengzhou International Shaolin Wushu Festival’ (*Zhengzhou guoji Shaolin wushujie*). The new festival includes not only martial arts competitions and performances but also trade activities and sightseeing activities. The guiding principle of the festival is ‘Martial arts set up the stage for trade’ (*wushu datai, jingmao changxi*), which means that martial arts is viewed as a tool to develop the economy. Some books, picture albums and videos are produced to promote the image of Shaolin culture as representation of fine Chinese traditional culture. In this regard, the Dengfeng government also organizes local cultural experts to explore the history of the Shaolin temple and the features of Shaolin culture so that an attractive tourism image can be promoted.

It is clear that this period saw huge financial support from governments at every level to revive the Shaolin culture while the main funds came from the central government. However, the primary objective from local governments was to achieve modernization and economic benefits through developing tourism and martial arts performances. With the booming number of tourists, the Shaolin temple and local residents also participated in providing services for tourists.

4.3.2 Shaolin Community Response

Currently, the Shaolin monastery or Shaolin temple primarily refers to the Shaolin Kernel Compound. However, the Shaolin community is complicated in that the concept of the Shaolin monks is too broad. Due to the long history of the *Fangtou* Buddhist families around the current Kernel Compound, the Shaolin community included Shaolin monks in the Kernel Compound and the monks in the subsidiary shrines, the *fangtou seng*. After the 1928 fire, the subsidiary shrines did not exist but the Shaolin temple connected the local residents closely. For example, the Shaolin monks

who were sent into secular society usually resided in nearby villages⁵⁸⁴. Furthermore, the proximity of the Shaolin temple and nearby villages meant the Shaolin martial arts usually practiced by the villagers was closely linked to the historical practices of the monks. Thus, while only 14 weak Shaolin monks resided in the Shaolin temple in 1978, some nearby villagers specialized in Shaolin martial arts. For example, Liang Yiquan, a nearby villager, led the Shaolin martial arts team to meet the Japanese WSKO in 1979 and 1980. When performing Shaolin martial arts, all the performers donned monastic robes. In order to absorb more Buddhist disciples, the Shaolin temple developed many lay disciples (*sujia dizi*). These lay disciples also called themselves Shaolin monks or Shaolin disciples. These lay disciples had the opportunity to practice martial arts in the Shaolin monastery, but were never be ordained as Buddhist clerics. When lay disciples have their own followers who practice Shaolin martial arts, the followers call themselves Shaolin monks or Shaolin disciples. Thus, for the public, it is difficult to distinguish between the Shaolin-ordained Buddhist clerics and the Shaolin disciples (*sujia dizi*). Furthermore, due to the fame of the Shaolin martial arts, there were Shaolin monks who were ordained but their motivation was only to practice Shaolin martial arts in the Shaolin temple. In this thesis, Shaolin monks refer to Shaolin-ordained Buddhist clerics while Shaolin disciples refer to those who are not ordained as Buddhist clerics but follow Chan Buddhism or practice Shaolin martial arts. Currently, there are about 300 Shaolin monks in the Shaolin temple. This section will explore how the Shaolin monks and local residents (including many Shaolin disciples and Shaolin martial artists) responded to the increasing number of tourists and Shaolin martial arts followers.

As the religious birthplace of Chan Buddhism the Shaolin temple was poorly thought of from 1911 to 1978. Although the Shaolin temple charged admission from 1974 and traditional architecture was restored from 1980 on, the Shaolin monks did not have the right to participate in these activities until 1984. A special group named the ‘Henan Provincial Shaolin Temple Repair Leader Team’ was established to manage the repair and rebuilding of the temple in 1979. There were cultural heritage administrators working in the Shaolin temple selling admission tickets before the Shaolin monks gained the right to charge admission and manage the temple in 1984. Thus, the Shaolin monks lived a poor/hungry life until 1984. The Figure 4.3 shows the poor life of Shaolin monks in 1985. When tourists and pilgrims visited the temple, the Shaolin monks sold souvenirs to tourists to make a living

⁵⁸⁴ Shi Yongxin’s words.

in the 1980s⁵⁸⁵.

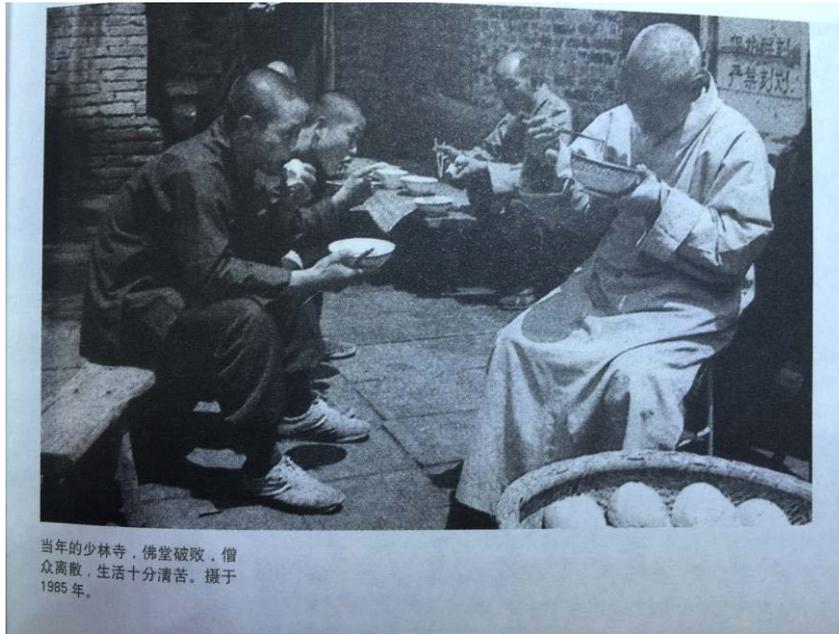


Figure 4.3 The poor life of Shaolin monks in 1985

Resource: Yongxin Shi. *Shaolin Temple in My Heart*. (Shanghai: Shanghai Literature Press, 2010), 15.

The then abbot invited Shaolin disciple Hao Shizhai, who was regarded as a “living document of Shaolin martial arts (Shaolin huoquanpu)”, to teach the Shaolin martial arts in Shaolin temple in 1979. Yongxiang, who had been a monk who practiced Shaolin martial arts, also returned to the Shaolin temple as an instructor of Shaolin martial arts. Those who wanted to practice Shaolin martial arts but did not want to be ordained as Buddhist clerics were charged RMB 3 per month. These martial art followers practiced Shaolin martial arts daily in the Shaolin temple and also helped the monks to harvest their crops. One interviewee said, “At that time, I learned martial arts from Shizhai. We lived in poverty as we did not have enough food to eat. We often felt hungry, and we had to harvest the crops for the Shaolin temple”⁵⁸⁶. The fees greatly contributed to the training of Shaolin monks as well as Shaolin martial arts in the early 1980s. The current abbot, Yongxin, also practiced martial arts from Shizhai. In special times when Buddhism was attacked during the period of land reform and later the Cultural Revolution, Shaolin disciples contributed a great deal to protecting Buddhist artifacts and documents. In the 1980s, they continued to contribute to the revival and reinvigoration of Shaolin martial arts.

⁵⁸⁵ Interview data from local residents and officials in SSA.

⁵⁸⁶ Interview data from local residents who practice Shaolin martial arts.

Before 1987, the martial practitioners in the Shaolin temple formed the Shaolin Wushu Team (*Shaolin wushudui*) and performed martial arts occasionally, but not frequently. After Yongxin became the leader of the Shaolin temple in 1987, he changed the SWT into the “Shaolin Warrior Monk Corps” (SWMC, *Shaolin wusengtuan*) in 1989, which resembled the warrior monks of traditional times but their function was to perform Shaolin martial arts for economic benefits as well as promoting Shaolin culture. The period from 1987 to 1999 saw the frequent performance of the SWMC throughout China and abroad. The SWMC performances achieved great success in promoting Shaolin martial arts. For example, in 1995, the SWMC performed ‘Shaolin Temple 1500 Years’ in England, Denmark, German, Switzerland, and Austria. In 1996, they performed 30 times with an average of 4000 people in the audience per time in England, Ireland, and America. From 1997 to 1999, they performed in Germany, Australia, America, Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Argentina.

However, because of a shortage of Shaolin martial monks, the SWMC absorbed some local martial artists who knew Buddhist rituals and followed a Buddhist diet as members. For example, in 1993, more than half of the members of the SWMC were from the private martial arts schools of Dengfeng⁵⁸⁷. In order to highlight the Chan Buddhism features of Shaolin martial arts and to distinguish it from other martial arts performance teams, Yongxin tried to train the SWMC members in Buddhist rituals. For example, there was a one-month Buddhist Ritual training program for the SWMC before Yongxin led them in a visit to Taiwan to demonstrate Shaolin Kungfu there in 1993. However, this kind of Buddhism training was just temporary and the institution of the SWMC was not stable in regard to its training. For example, members of the SWMC did not live in line with Chan Buddhism laws. The performances of SWMC did not exemplify Buddhist features until 1999⁵⁸⁸. The performance focused more on technical skills such as hitting stones or sword shows, just like travelling minstrels, while the religious aspect was not highlighted⁵⁸⁹. In other words, the performance was held not to promote religious aspects but for commercial benefits. In summary, in order to survive, the Shaolin temple did a lot to improve its income during this phase. Local residents, particularly those with Shaolin martial artist skills, did more in terms of the commercialization of Shaolin martial arts.

⁵⁸⁷ Interview data from local residents in SSA.

⁵⁸⁸ Li Honggu. “Shi Yongxin: A Temple for Modern Adaption”. *Sanlian Life Weekly*. June 11, 2010. Accessed July 23, 2014. <http://news.163.com/10/0611/14/68TH9UJR00011SM9.html>

⁵⁸⁹ Yongxin’s words.

After the 1982 film, both martial art fans and tourists flocked to the Shaolin temple to see Shaolin martial arts. Many martial arts fans wanted to practice Shaolin martial arts, which dramatically increased the number of commercial martial arts schools. These schools provided martial arts training for martial arts fans and also performed martial arts for tourists. Some martial artists trained followers in their homes initially and they selected disciples in the traditional way. For example, the current president of the Tagou martial arts school said, “At that time, there were no places available for practicing and training martial arts so that I taught the learners at home. At first, there were just two learners. They came over to me and said that they wanted to learn Shaolin martial arts from me. I selected martial arts followers mainly according to the moral standard such as filial piety and gentleness. If I felt or found that the follower was immoral, I would not train them anymore”⁵⁹⁰. However, this traditional way of choosing and training disciples soon disappeared with the rapidly increasing number of disciples. By 1985, the number of schools had increased to 53⁵⁹¹. Some martial artists claimed there were more than 100 martial arts schools, large or small⁵⁹². Some “fake” martial artists, who claimed themselves Shaolin martial monks but no martial arts, opened martial arts schools⁵⁹³. In 1990, local government established “Martial Arts Office” to legalize those martial arts schools. Then, only 6 martial arts schools got legal licenses. However, the number increased to 58 soon in 2000 and there were 37 commercial martial arts schools packed within only 1 km of the gate of the scenic area to Shaolin temple⁵⁹⁴. These schools trained numerous professional martial artists who worked as martial arts instructors, actors in Shaolin-related films, and martial arts performances after graduation⁵⁹⁵. In addition to the private martial arts schools, local residents also provided some hospitality services for tourists, such as providing food, souvenirs, and accommodation. The Figure 4.4 shows the participation of local residents in hospitality in SSA. Through participating in tourism services, these residents greatly benefited from tourism development. Many villagers in the nearby villages, such as the Shaolin temple village, Tagou village, and Guodian village, quickly got out of poverty. These villages were among the earliest rich villages in Dengfeng⁵⁹⁶.

⁵⁹⁰ Interview data from martial arts school.

⁵⁹¹ Henan Songshan Scenic Area Committee. *Songshan Chronicles*. (Zhengzhou: Henan People Press, 2007), 350.

⁵⁹² Interview data from local residents in SSA.

⁵⁹³ Interview data from local residents and local officials in SSA.

⁵⁹⁴ Interview data from local residents and local officials in SSA.

⁵⁹⁵ Interview data from local residents and local officials in SSA.

⁵⁹⁶ Interview data from local officials.



Figure 4.4 Local residents' participation in hospitality services in SSA in the 1980s

Resource from Xinhua news website⁵⁹⁷

4.3.3 The Commercialization of Shaolin Culture

This period saw a rapid development of tourism and a boom in the number of martial arts schools. Under Deng's Economic Reform and Open-door Policy, the Shaolin temple and Shaolin martial arts attracted many tourists. Governments, the Shaolin temple, and local residents all participated in the reconstruction of Shaolin culture in terms of traditional buildings and Shaolin martial arts which was driven by tourism development. This means that tourism, as a commercial activity, revitalized Shaolin culture. Shaolin culture includes two main aspects, tangible and intangible. As indicated in Chapter 3, intangible culture was not recognized as heritage until 2004. Only tangible culture, such as traditional buildings, was possibly recognized as heritage. The booming development of tourism strengthened the sense of Shaolin buildings and Shaolin martial arts as being precious. This also drove changing understandings of heritage and culture.

As for tangible Shaolin culture, the buildings and halls in the Shaolin temple were restored and reconstructed by the government sector once tangible Shaolin culture was recognized as heritage and a tourist attraction. Funds for the restoration and rebuilding of the Shaolin temple primarily came

⁵⁹⁷ The Shaolin Temple in the 1980s under the Foreigners' Camera. *Development Seminar* (Xinhua news). Accessed in November 28, 2015. http://news.xinhuanet.com/forum/2011-02/11/c_121065429_4.htm

from the central government before the late 1990s. However, because many Shaolin buildings were burnt down in 1928, the SKC was only listed as a provincial cultural heritage protection unit. As a provincial cultural heritage unit, authenticity and integrity were not so strictly required by the WCH or national cultural heritage policies. Some commercial theme-park scenes around the Shaolin temple, such as the Hundred-Bird Forest (*bainiao lin*), Round Theaters (*quanzhou yingyuan*), and Science Fiction House (*kehuan gong*), were not recognized as disrupting the authenticity and integrity of the temple's heritage during this phase. In other words, these artificial and commercial scenes were not recognized as influencing the purity and pristine beauty of Chan Buddhism until 2000. The reconstruction of the Shaolin buildings and the construction of new theme-parks were mainly to satisfy tourists so that government revenue could be boosted by admission fees.

As intangible Shaolin culture, Shaolin martial arts were greatly enjoyed by the public as a representation of traditional culture, but it was not authorized or recognized as 'heritage'. It was practiced by some local martial artists who opened commercial martial arts school and performed for tourists and overseas. These Shaolin martial artists trained students at home first and then expanded to commercial martial arts schools. Although the government-operated SSWTC and the Shaolin temple organized martial arts performance for visitors, with the performers mainly being comprised of local martial artists and their students. These Shaolin martial artists contributed to the Shaolin martial arts inheritance and also developed it into another art style full of standardization. For example, Shaolin martial arts, recognized as a representation of traditional culture nowadays, experienced a change of training mode from small-scale training at home to large-scale standardization in schools with dramatic increase in the number of martial students. In other words, its training style changed gradually from a traditional to a modern one before it was recognized and listed as intangible heritage.

Tourism, as a commercial aspect of local culture in tourist destinations, is usually criticized as changing the meaning of local culture⁵⁹⁸. During this phase, Shaolin martial art was altered to meet the needs of visitors. It was used by local agents, such as the government-operated SSWTC, the Shaolin temple, and local martial artists. However, the commercialization of Shaolin martial arts was

⁵⁹⁸ Davydd J. Greenwood, and Valene L. Smith. "Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization." in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. ed. Valene L. Smith. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989): 171-185.

not greatly criticized during this period although it was controversial for the Shaolin monks to participate in this commercial activity. This was for three reasons. Firstly, it was not recognized and authorized as heritage. Heritage was expected to retain the original features in line with its definition and thus tended to be more strongly criticized if it was commercialized. Secondly, the period of 1949 to 1978, in particular during the Cultural Revolution, restricted traditional culture and Shaolin martial arts were not practiced on a large scale in the Shaolin community. Furthermore, the Shaolin monks did not practice Shaolin martial arts from the 1950s to the 1980s. Thirdly, anyone in the Shaolin community had the right to benefit from it. To some extent, these local residents inherited Shaolin martial arts outside the Shaolin temple and they were not ordained Shaolin monks but Shaolin disciples. They agreed that they or their ancestors had learned Shaolin martial arts from Shaolin monks⁵⁹⁹. They indicated that what they practiced was authentic Shaolin martial arts whilst current Shaolin monks had not inherited Shaolin martial arts from the Shaolin monks⁶⁰⁰. That is, it had been embedded in the Shaolin community on a small scale before it was commercialized between 1978 and 2000. Therefore, just as Eric Cohn indicated, commercialization “does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products”⁶⁰¹. In the case of Shaolin martial arts, commercialization did not destroy this traditional culture but revitalized it. Furthermore, Shaolin martial arts were still embedded in the Shaolin community in that all community agents participated in developing it.

However, the period from 1949 to 1978 blurred the question of ‘whose heritage’ for Shaolin martial arts and the revitalization of Shaolin martial arts from 1978 to 2000 strengthened this blurring. This led to later conflict about the property rights of the Shaolin brand including the problem of who were the real and authorized inheritors of Shaolin martial arts.

Shaolin culture, recognized as heritage for its physical buildings and understood as attractive for its martial arts during this phase, was highly commercialized, bringing huge economic benefits to the local government, the Shaolin temple and local residents during this phase. This commercialization revitalized Shaolin culture but at the cost of removing its religious association to create a culture

⁵⁹⁹ Interview data from local residents in SSA.

⁶⁰⁰ Interview data from local residents in SSA.

⁶⁰¹ Erik Cohen. “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 371-386.

which could be used to support economic development. This was still not criticized during this phase because of the indifferent attitude of the public to religion. In particular, the relationship between Chan Buddhism and Shaolin martial arts was not clearly recognized during this period. This strengthens the future conflict on who should be authentic inheritors of Shaolin martial arts.

Meanwhile, the concepts of authenticity and integrity, claimed as criteria of the CCPWCNH, changed the recognizably valued criteria for the public to understand ‘heritage’. That is, the value of heritage is measured by its objective authenticity and integrity, which are expected to be the main content of the ‘traditional space’. This suits the pristine and peaceful scene that an Indian-originated Buddhism site should be. As abbot Yongxin depicted in his essay *The Scene of the Shaolin Temple in My Mind*, the Shaolin temple should be a peaceful and pristine sacred place. This greatly changed the situation for the Shaolin temple and martial arts for the following phase from 2000 to 2010.

4.4 Tourism and Heritage Policies (2000 to 2010)

The period following the late 1990s saw significant decentralization and marketization when provincial and local officials were evaluated and promoted based on local economic revenue. Many tourist sites competed to attract more tourists compared to the previous phase during the 1980s when the economy was more centrally planned. Local governments played a greater role in decision-making about local development. The Dengfeng government issued a tourism-dominated development strategy in 1996 in which the goal was to obtain modernization of the city through tourism development. In 1999, the central government issued a policy of using national debts to improve tourist infrastructure, which was used as a funding approach for provincial and local governments to obtain modernization of tourist facilities. Under this national policy, the Songshan National Area with the Shaolin temple as its main tourism resource, was expected, with the support of provincial officials, to upgrade the WCH site to attract more tourists. The Shaolin temple supported this project as authenticity could purify the commercial scene around the Shaolin temple. Thus, inscribing WCH was viewed as an effective way to achieve the modernization of tourist facilities as well as to attract more tourists. Thus, the period between 2000 and 2009 saw great changes around the Shaolin temple and Shaolin culture. This next section will explore how a tourist site was transformed into an ‘authentic’ heritage site under the authentication project between 2000 and 2009, in which government policy and the Shaolin community responses are introduced to

explore the influences of WCH listing on a tourist site.

4.4.1 The Beginning of the ‘Authentication’ Project

In 2000, the Zhengzhou government decided to have the SNA inscribed as a WH site. The Zhengzhou government established the ‘Leading Team of Applying for World Heritage’ (*shenyi lingdao xiaozu*) with the Zhengzhou mayor, Chen Yichu, as the team leader. The Shaolin temple is included as part of the SNA,. However, the high degree of commercialization of the Shaolin culture was contrary to the criteria of the CCPWCNH in terms of authenticity and integrity. For example, in 2001, there was a provisional commercial street which ran from the scenic gate to the Shaolin temple which was packed with 690 stores, 201 of which were permanent⁶⁰². In 1985, 1349 residents and about 4000 students in the commercial martial arts schools resided around the Shaolin temple⁶⁰³ while about 5500 residents and 12000 students lived around the Shaolin temple in 2001⁶⁰⁴. At that time, although there were only about 100 monks in the Shaolin temple it was just like a noisy market⁶⁰⁵. The Figure 4.5 shows the noisy situation of SSA in 1980s.

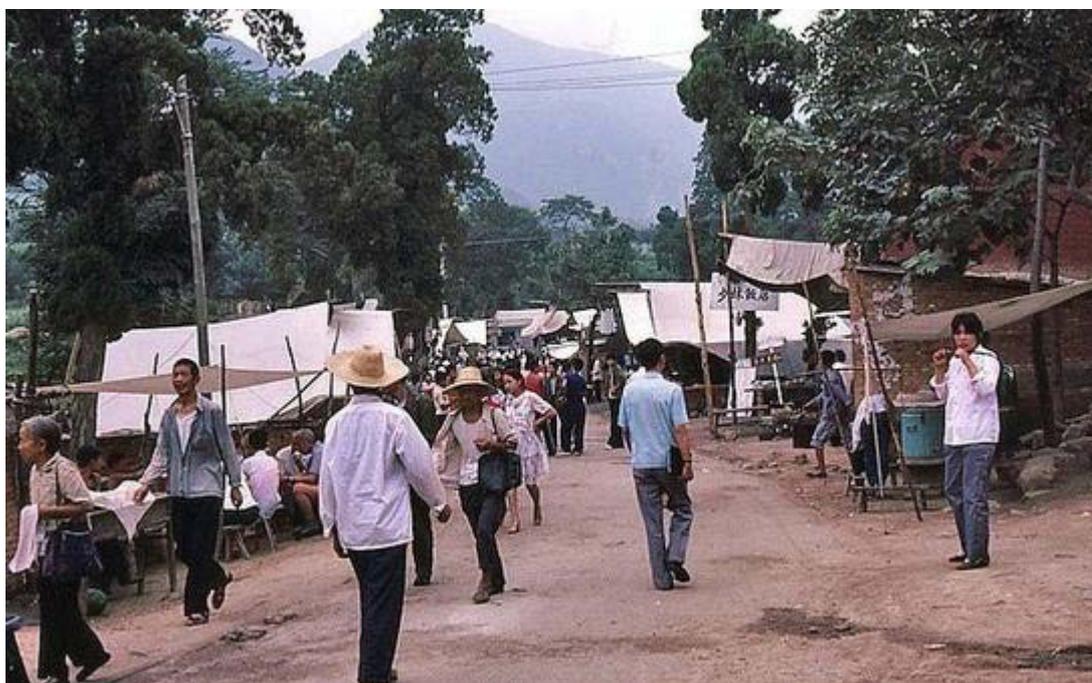


Figure 4.5 The situation of SSA in the 1980s

⁶⁰² Interview data from local officials in SSA.

⁶⁰³ Detail Planning Instruction on Short-term Construction in Shaolin Temple Scenery and Zhongyue Temple Scenery in Songshan Scenery (DPISCASTSZTSSS, 嵩山风景名胜区少林寺景区中岳庙景区近期建设地区详细规划说明书) in 1985.

⁶⁰⁴ Interview data from local officials in SSA.

⁶⁰⁵ Interview data from local officials.

Resource from Xinhua news website⁶⁰⁶

In order to inscribe the WH site, the Henan provincial government, the Zhengzhou government and the Dengfeng government invited the Planning Institute of Tsinghua University to re-plan the Shaolin Scenic Area. The ‘Detailed Planning of Key Areas of the Songshan Shaolin Scenic Area’ was prepared by Tsinghua University and approved by the Ministry of Construction in 2002. The planning focused on the pristine site around the Shaolin temple, propagandized as “Remote Mountain Hides Ancient Temple, and Blue Brook Locks Shaolin” based on an ancient poem. The authentication project was launched based on two aspects, the relocation of people/businesses away from the external temple area and the restoration of buildings in the internal temple area. Firstly, all the residents, government departments, and commercial martial arts schools were ordered to move out of the core-protected zones, which was in line with the requirements of the CCPWCNH. At the same time, some disharmonious and modern buildings in the core-protected zones were required to be dismantled. This was the external-temple authentication project. Secondly, some traditional buildings in the Shaolin temple were restored and reconstructed, this was called the internal-temple authentication project. In other words, all the buildings were required to be tradition-style and the features of the scenic area were required to be traditional. The following section will introduce the relocation project in the external temple area and the restoration project in the temple as well as their impact on the Shaolin community. Both projects served to inscribe the Shaolin temple as a WCH site.

Policies of the Relocation in the External Temple Area

From 2000 to 2004, the Dengfeng government launched the relocation project three times. It was strongly opposed by local residents and the martial arts schools. In 2000, the relocation project involving local residents failed because of serious opposition by those local residents. It was then restarted in 2001. In 2001, 87 families, 121 businesses, 9 enterprises and public institutions, and 15 martial arts schools on a 50-meter section of road close to the Shaolin temple were relocated⁶⁰⁷. In 2002, the Dengfeng government established government-operated company with the then vice

⁶⁰⁶ The Shaolin Temple in the 1980s under the Foreigners’ Camera. *Development Seminar* (Xinhua news). Accessed in November 28, 2015. http://news.xinhuanet.com/forum/2011-02/11/c_121065429_3.htm

⁶⁰⁷ Yongxin Shi. Removing Project of Shaolin Temple. *Weekly News of Wenhui Reading*. September 3, 2010, 14; Bingjun Hu. Removing and Relocating Project in Shaolin Scenic Spot. *Dahe Daily*. August 23, 2001, 7.

mayor as CEO, Dengfeng Shaolin Tourism Development Limited Company (DFTDLC), undertook the authentication project. In the same year, the Detail Planning was approved by the Ministry of Construction and thus a new government team, titled the 'Relocation Guide Department of the Shaolin Scenic Area', was established to guide and implement the relocation policy. According to the Detail Planning, in the core-protected zone, 2.18 sq. km., all the residents' houses, shops, and other disharmonious buildings should be pulled down, involving 467 families (more than 2000 residents), 37 martial arts schools, and 43 enterprises or government departments⁶⁰⁸. The government-operated company, the government relocation team, and the central government-approved Detail Planning facilitated the relocation project. From 2003 to 2004, large-scale relocation and removal projects were launched by the Dengfeng government. Almost all the Dengfeng government officials (more than 1800) in the 72 government departments were required to participate in the relocation projects⁶⁰⁹. They were divided into small groups and each group was responsible for persuading some residents to relocate.

Local residents received a one-off compensation payment for their houses, RMB 320 per square meter, which was more than other similar displacement payments in Dengfeng. They could also receive a 30-year farm compensation payment of RMB 3000 per person per year because it was necessary to plant more trees on their land to reconstruct the pristine and ancient scene instead of planting crops. At the same time, the Dengfeng government constructed two-story 200-square-meter villas for them to rent at very low and affordable prices (150 RMB per square meter, or RMB 75 per square meter for those whose one-time compensations were lower than 30,000 RMB)⁶¹⁰. Government officials also said they would have priority to conduct tourism-related business after completion of the scenic area upgrade⁶¹¹. However, the local residents still did not want to leave their houses where generations of their families had resided. Some residents said they did not like the new modern-style villas with modern facilities where they could not have a family-feeling as they were used to living in caves and shabby houses⁶¹². Another reason for not moving involved

⁶⁰⁸ Zhu Yuehua, "Shaolin Enclosing Lands and Peasants Losing Jobs". *Chinese Times*. October, 2004, Accessed July 28, 2014. <http://guides.is.uwa.edu.au/content.php?pid=421297>; Institute of Natural Resource Preservation and Scenery Tourism of School of Architecture of Tsinghua University. *Detail Planning of Key Areas of Songshan Shaolin Scenic Spot*. 2002.

⁶⁰⁹ Interview data from local officials in SSA.

⁶¹⁰ Interview data from local officials in SSA.

⁶¹¹ Interview data from local officials in SSA.

⁶¹² Interview data from local residents in SSA; and also see Pulei Huang. "Rather to Live in Caves Than in Villas, Shaolin Temple Relocating Meets Big Challenge". *Zhengzhou Evening News*. December 3, 2003. Accessed August 22, 2014. <http://business.sohu.com/2003/12/24/17/article217371727.shtml>

economic problems. Most of them made a living through providing tourism services to tourists. Once they resided far away (more than 20 kilometers) from the Shaolin temple, they would lose the opportunity to generate an income from such activities. Therefore, some were not satisfied with the level of compensation. The third reason involved a lack of trust in the local government's ability to provide compensation for such a long time. Some said the government had promised to relocate them as close as possible but in fact they were relocated to villages which were far away from Dengfeng city and the Shaolin temple. Furthermore, the facilities in the new community were not satisfactory. For example, there were no hospitals, schools or shops nearby at that time. All of these factors highlighted their loss of their lands, previous houses, and Shaolin culture-related business, which they had relied on for such a long time. In other words, local residents, who are recognized as the carriers of traditional culture nowadays, gave way to inscribing WCH, which claims to protect heritage.

Private martial arts schools were also required to move out. The Dengfeng government arranged for the schools to move to Wushu Park, about 8 km from the Shaolin temple. Some schools had operated for about 20 years but had to give up their business if they did not have enough funds to establish themselves at the new campus. Bigger martial arts schools could establish themselves at the new campus with modern facilities in a modern way. For example, students did not need to wear Buddhist robes. They called their teachers *jiaolian* (martial arts instructor) instead of *shifu* (traditional term for master). In the new campus, the martial arts schools were expected to upgrade to being a college or university, similar to other colleges and universities. In other words, martial arts training gradually became standardized in line with private college requirements of the Ministry of Education. For example, the Tagou education group has 20,000 students. Martial arts courses make up no more than 30% of all courses and other courses are similar to those at other universities. The traditional features of Shaolin martial arts have gradually disappeared.

Finally, almost all the residents (442 households) were relocated outside of the scenic area⁶¹³. About 50 households still reside in the area in a “hidden” way in a more remote village⁶¹⁴. All the government departments and institutions were easily relocated while almost all the martial arts

⁶¹³ Interview data from local officials and local residents in SSA.

⁶¹⁴ Interview data from local officials in SSA.

schools relocated reluctantly. However, the government-owned STWTC and part of the campus of one private martial arts school (the Tagou martial arts school, currently the biggest private martial art school) remained in the SSA. The STWTC provides martial arts performances and extends to several sub-enterprises, as indicated in section 4.3.1. The Tagou martial arts school was said to have good relations with the government⁶¹⁵ and the founder's house was originally located in the current scenic area. Thus, a small part of its campus remains in the scenic area. All the remaining services in the Shaolin Scenic Area (except the Tagou martial arts school) are operated by various departments of local government⁶¹⁶, such as the Shaolin Holiday Village (*Shaolin lvyou dujiacun*) in Wangzhigou village which opened in 2008 and is operated by SMC and provides accommodation, catering, conferences, and physical outdoor training services; the STWTC is operated by the Henan Tourism Administration and has extended its business to martial arts training, a four-star Zen International Hotel, tourist services, a tourist sword factory, and tourist souvenirs; the Ten Party School of Zen (*shifang chanyuan*) was originally operated by the department of local government and then by local officials.

It is clear that the relocation project removed private participation (or community participation) in tourism through implementing official planning, which is designed by experts in line with standardization of CCPWCNH. After the removal of local residents, government offices, shops, and commercial martial arts, some the construction of some infrastructure and tourist facilities such as the Tourist Center, commercial service center, Central Square (9,000 sq.m), and parking area (60,000 sq.m) were undertaken. A new memorial archway was constructed as the Gate of the Shaolin Scenic Area, in which the core protection zone and buffer zone are divided in line with CCPWCNH.

Internal Temple Authentication Project

The Dengfeng government launched the internal-temple authentication in 2004 after external authentication projects. The internal temple authentication project refers to the restoration and reconstruction of buildings in the Shaolin temple. The Dengfeng government employed the Construction Institute of Tsinghua University to develop the 'Proposal of Restoring the Shaolin

⁶¹⁵ Interview data from local officials in SSA.

⁶¹⁶ Jinsong Liu. "Local Government Becoming the Biggest Benefiter in Shaolin Temple's 'Vanity Fair'", *The Economic Observer*, December 19, 2011. Accessed August 25, 2014, http://fo.ifeng.com/news/detail_2011_12/20/11440639_0.shtml

Kernel Compound (PRSKC)' and it was approved by the Henan Cultural Heritage Administration in February, 2004. The process of planning and approving the proposal was as follows⁶¹⁷. Firstly, Guo Daiheng, a famous heritage preservation expert, and his group from Tsinghua University received permission from the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) and the Dengfeng government in 2003. Secondly, they planned the restoration proposal in line with CCPWCNH and the *Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage in China*. Thirdly, in January, 2004, 22 experts (the evaluating expert group) gathered at the Shaolin temple to investigate the cultural heritage and evaluate the planning document. The leader of this evaluating expert group was Luo Zhewen, who was also the leader of the ancient building institution of SACH. In fact, both Guo Daiheng and Luo Zhewen were students of Liang Sicheng. The proposal was approved and the internal-temple authentication project was enacted from 2004 to 2006.

The items of restoration and construction are listed in appendix four⁶¹⁸. In this internal temple authentication project, the Shaolin temple provided RMB50 million to restore and reconstruct the Compound Kernel⁶¹⁹. The project was comprised of four parts (see appendix four): restoring cultural heritage, restoring a tradition-style atmosphere (internal authentication)⁶²⁰, constructing new buildings⁶²¹ and constructing infrastructure. As indicated in section 4.3, most of buildings were reconstructed in the 1980s and 1990s. However, the Shaolin temple was part of the provincial cultural heritage protection unit and those buildings were also called 'cultural heritage'. Thus, restoration of this cultural heritage used the of 'repairing the old as old' approach. Furthermore, the restoration also included a second part, the construction of a tradition-style atmosphere. For example, all the roads and visible objects were decorated with Qing-style materials. The modern style street

⁶¹⁷ Interview data from local officials in SSA; also see, Jinhua Hu. "The Students of Liang Sicheng Will Direct the Biggest Restoration of Shaolin Temple". *Sina News*, February 8, 2004. Accessed August 28, 2014, <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2004-02-08/06522800071.shtml>

⁶¹⁸ Adapted recourse from the construction department and *Songshan Chronicles* Henan Songshan Scenic Area Committee. *Songshan Chronicles*. (Zhengzhou: Henan People Press, 2007), 163-165.

⁶¹⁹ Henan Songshan Scenic Area Committee. *Songshan Chronicles*. (Zhengzhou: Henan People Press, 2007), 163.

⁶²⁰ See appendix four about "Internal Authentication". The reconstruction/repair was in line with the photos from Japan, which had been taken before 1928. Kinnara Hall, Six-Patriarch Hall, and other six rooms beside Mahavira Hall were reconstructed in 1980s, however, they were different from the photos before 1928. The reconstruction and repair here made them "authentic" in line with photos. The project spanned 2400 sq.m in scale. Pavilion construction on west side of Scripture Hall and decoration of architecture outside of Abbot's Room (590 sq.m); Ciyun Pavilion and Chuiyu Pavilion are in Ciyun Hall and Chuiyu Hall beside the road between Mountain Gate and Devaraja Hall. Pavilion construction on west side of Scripture Hall and decoration of architecture outside of Abbot's Room (590 sq.m); Ciyun Pavilion and Chuiyu Pavilion are in Ciyun Hall and Chuiyu Hall beside the road between Mountain Gate and Devaraja Hall.

⁶²¹ See appendix four about "Constructing new buildings beside the Compound Kernel". East Dorms on the east of Lixue Pavilion were constructed in line with the Beijing quadrangle courtyard of Qing dynasty style; Ordination Platform is a wooden building where the Buddhism ritual of being ordained is held.

lamps were changed into tradition-style ones. Some new buildings were constructed to meet the needs of the monks' religious life. For example, some dorms and meditation rooms were constructed alongside the axis line in an inconspicuous way so that the monks could live their religious life without influencing or being influenced by the tourists. Another wooden structure, the "'Ordination Platform' (see map 4.3) was constructed in the Qing-dynasty style to resume the tradition of large-scale Precept-imparting Ceremonies, which existed from the Tang dynasty to the late Qing dynasty. In the late Qing dynasty, the ordination platform was ruined and there was no accurate record of the location of the platform. The new platform is constructed at the northeast corner of the temple and is a 26 meter high three-story building, the largest wooden Ordination Platform in China. The fourth part is infrastructure construction. It is clear the first two parts show features of stylistic restoration, from the French school, which is the opposite of the objective authenticity of CCPWCNH (reembedding). The newly constructed buildings also did not achieve authenticity. It is also clear that the new platform, dorms, and meditation rooms meet religious rather than tourism needs. Tourists are not permitted to enter these places. In other words, these spaces are constructed for the monks' religious life.

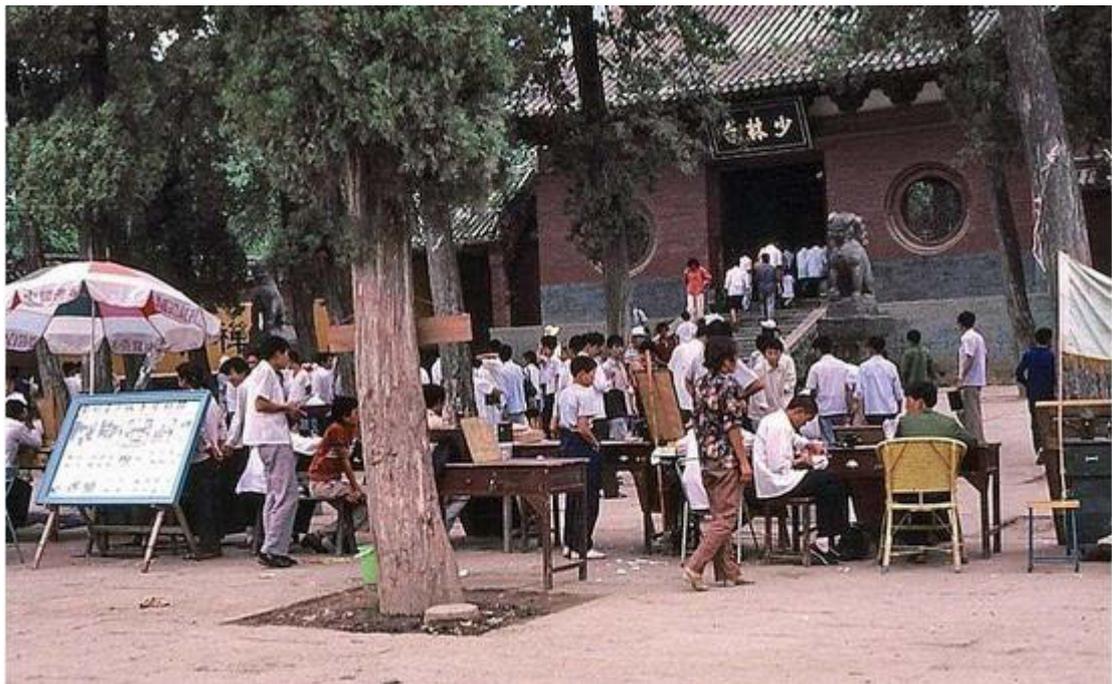
The internal temple authentication project was the largest scale restoration after 1949. The principle of restoration is 'repairing the old as old' (xiujiu rujiu). Preservation of heritages also uses principle of 'least invasion', which is claimed by the English school in line with CCPWCNH. The restoration at this time was more 'authentic' in that the buildings were restored in line with copies of photos from Japan, which had been taken before the 1928 disaster⁶²² which, considering the fact that the reconstruction and restoration in the 1980s and 1990s was in line with elders' memories, was inaccurate due to long time gap. The restoration was expected to be in line with the authenticity standards of CCPWCNH however, considering the reality of the situation, could never attain western authenticity standards. The Figure 4.6 shows the Mountain Gate of Shaolin temple in 1920s, 1980s, and 2015. Furthermore, the new constructions strongly contradicted notions of 'heritage'.

⁶²² Interview data from local residents and local officials in SSA.



The Mountain Gate of Shaolin temple in 1920s

Resource from interview data of Shaolin temple



The Mountain Gate of Shaolin temple in 1980s

Resource from Xinhua news website⁶²³

⁶²³ The Shaolin Temple in the 1980s under the Foreigners' Camera. *Development Seminar* (Xinhua news). Accessed in November 28, 2015. http://news.xinhuanet.com/forum/2011-02/11/c_121065429_6.htm



The Mountain Gate of Shaolin temple in 2015 (This photo was from my fieldwork)

Figure 4.6 The Mountain Gate of Shaolin temple in 1920s, 1980s, and 2015

4.4.2 The Authentication of Shaolin Culture

The authentication project not only involved tangible Shaolin culture, as described in section 4.4.1, but also intangible Shaolin culture. In contrast to the authentication project of tangible culture which was mainly driven by the local government's desire for the site to be WCH listed along with its expected economic benefits, the authentication of intangible Shaolin culture was mainly driven by the Shaolin temple to revitalize Chan Buddhism in a controversially commercial way.

Furthermore, the interpretation of Shaolin culture and Shaolin Kungfu demonstrates the tendency to refuse the contributions of local residents in terms of inheriting Shaolin martial arts between 1949 and 2000. This section will explore the three key elements of the authentication of Shaolin culture: the interpreted differentiation between Shaolin Wushu and Shaolin Kungfu, the revitalization of Chan Buddhism, and the commercialization project of the Shaolin temple.

Differentiating between Shaolin Wushu and Shaolin Kungfu

From 2000, Shaolin culture was interpreted by Abbot Yongxin as a kind of distinctive culture formed in the Shaolin temple, centering on Chan Buddhism and expressed externally as martial arts and traditional Chinese medicine⁶²⁴. Furthermore, in order to apply for *Masterpieces of the Oral and*

⁶²⁴ Yongxin Shi. *Shaolin Temple in My Heart*. (Shanghai: Shanghai Literature Press, 2010), 57-59.

Intangible Heritage Humanity (MOIHH, the former listing of Intangible Cultural Heritage) from 2001, Shaolin martial arts (Wushu) were interpreted as Shaolin Kungfu, which is a cultural system formed in the Songshan Shaolin temple, based on Chan Buddhism, and performed/practiced as martial arts by the Shaolin monks⁶²⁵. This interpretation revealed more cultural significance since Kungfu was understood to carry cultural meaning with a traditional and ancient emphasis. Under this interpretation, Shaolin Wushu was limited to the technical skill of Shaolin Kungfu and could be practiced by everyone, while Shaolin Kungfu is officially authorized as intangible cultural heritage and inherited authentically only by Shaolin monks in the Shaolin temple.

However, this interpreted differentiation could not convince local residents and the public. The reason involved the following facts. Firstly, the formation and development of Shaolin martial arts in history were not closely related to Chan Buddhism. Although Shaolin martial arts originated in the Shaolin temple, technically it had not really related to Chan Buddhism, as indicated in section 4.2. Furthermore, it contradicted the peacefulness of Buddhism and even violated Buddhist rules against killing because of its military support for imperial authority. Secondly, the period of anti-tradition between 1949 and 1978 saw Shaolin martial arts inherited not by Shaolin monks but mostly by local residents. The phase from 1978 to 2000 still witnessed Shaolin martial arts mainly being performed and developed by local residents. Furthermore, even performances organized officially by governments and the Shaolin temple involved many local martial artists. As one interviewee indicated, “Most members of the SWMC came from locally commercial martial arts schools”. Therefore, Abbot Yongxin’s interpretation of Shaolin culture and Shaolin martial arts exaggerated the contribution of the Shaolin temple/monks to the inheritance of Shaolin martial arts and also exaggerated the relationship between Shaolin martial arts and Chan Buddhism.

Under this interpretation, from 2002 Abbot Yongxin prepared to apply for MOIHH which was based on the UNESCO ‘Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity’ program. The 2003 CSICH is an international convention, which was adopted in 2006 on the condition of 30 state parties passing the convention. The CPC government submitted an approval document for CSICH to UNESCO in 2004, and then issued some policies to safeguard intangible cultural heritage in China. Shaolin Kungfu failed to be inscribed as MOIHH in 2005, but it was

⁶²⁵ Ibid., 32-36.

successfully listed by the State Council as one of the first items of national intangible cultural heritage in 2006. In 2009, Abbot Yongxin and other 49 Shaolin monks were officially listed by the State Council as representative inheritors of Shaolin Kungfu. Since then, what Shaolin monks practice is Shaolin Kungfu while others practice Shaolin martial arts. This means that what Shaolin monks perform and practice carries cultural significance while others' performances just show the technical skills of Shaolin Kungfu without any cultural meaning.

In order to show that the Shaolin Kungfu practiced by the Shaolin monks is different to the Shaolin Wushu practiced in commercial martial arts schools in terms of cultural and religious significance, Abbot Yongxin required the SWMC members to live in the temple and learn more religious knowledge. For example, the SWMC members have been stable and have lived in the Shaolin temple in line with Buddhism religion law since 2006. Yongxin also requires them to chant Chan Buddhist sutras and do meditation in daily life, as other monks do.

The differentiation between Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin Wushu was constructed not only in terms of interpretation but also in terms of strengthening the religious rituals and cultural expressions within the martial arts performance. For example, before the SWMC perform Shaolin Kungfu, they carry out Buddhist rituals (Buddhism meditation) for 15 minutes and audiences are required to stand up to show their respect for Chan Buddhism. Furthermore, the style of performance has added some content to living operas (qingjingju) with Shaolin stories and Chan Buddhism, unlike the initial ones which were only concerned with martial arts. This kind of performance is usually coproduced with some performance companies. For example, the 'Shalin - Wheel of Life' was coproduced with the British 3A company to demonstrate cultural expressions of Chan Buddhism; *Shaolin Xiongfeng* was coproduced by the China Performance Arts Agency, a company belonging to the Ministry of Culture; *Happy Shaolin* was directed by the famous Hongkong director Gao Zhishen; *Space* was involved artists from Europe; and *The Chan Temple-A Legend of Shaolin Warriors* was produced for the World Expo in 2010. These performance products, also named *Kungfu Ju*, were designed by famous directors and performed by Shaolin martial monks to show the combination of Chan Buddhism with martial arts. Abbot Yongxin indicates this kind of performance shows more cultural expression and the previous Wushu performances in the 1980s and 1990s showed more vulgarity, just at the technical skill level. This also implied that Shaolin Wushu performances from martial arts schools

were limited to only displaying the technical skills of Shaolin Kungfu performance.

However, *Kungfu Ju* was soon copied by companies and performed by some martial arts school students or SWTC members. For example, the *Wind of Shaolin* was produced by Zhengzhou Song and the Dance Theater; and *Soul of Shaolin* was coproduced by SWTC and the Eastern Shanghai International Film – Television Group. Furthermore, local residents do not regard this new style of performance as real martial arts. For example, one interviewee said “At that time [1980s], the martial arts performance was much more authentic and true than the performance nowadays. The current performance is too artificial and fake, just like dancing shows. There are no true martial arts in this kind of performance”.

Revitalizing Chan Buddhism in the Shaolin Temple

For Abbot Yongxin, Shaolin Kungfu and the recently developed Shaolin traditional Chinese medicine are cultural expressions of Chan Buddhism, which is the core of Shaolin culture. Chan Buddhism cannot be commercialized while Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin medicine can be used as tools to spread Chan Buddhism. Indeed, the Shaolin temple has developed more than 20 sub-temples and has funded some of them to construct Buddhist buildings in recent years⁶²⁶. Most of these sub-temples are managed by Shaolin monks, who are sent by Abbot Yongxin from the Shaolin temple. Abbot Yongxin’s ambition is focused on the expansion of Chan Buddhism as a way of commercializing Shaolin martial arts, Shaolin medicine, and other Shaolin culture. This section introduces the strategies that Yongxin has used to revive Chan Buddhism in the Shaolin temple.

Within the Shaolin temple, Abbot Yongxin has revived some Buddhist rituals. For example, an extreme seven-week Buddhist precept ceremony, named the ‘Advanced Sitting-Meditation Seven’ (Jingda chanqi) or the ‘Chan Session’, has been resumed since the Ordination Platform was reconstructed in 2006. This ritual is held in line with the precept ritual recorded in the Tang dynasty⁶²⁷. It is a group meditation lasting for seven weeks with strict rules. For example, all monks sit still on wooden stools in certain positions for nearly 12 hours every day; the schedule is strictly

⁶²⁶ “Shaolin Temple Opening Companies Effectively with 29 Sub-temples”, *ifeng*, November 29, 2008. <http://finance.ifeng.com/news/hgjj/20081129/228731.shtml>

⁶²⁷ It was written by Daoxuan in Tang Dynasty, and recorded in vol. 1 of “Da Zhengzang (大正藏)”, the 45th section. It is the document of general introduction on precept platform.

regulated; they must be devoted to the cultivation of meditation even when ill and Buddhist masters will beat the monks who are not devoted enough or violate the regulations with wooden batten. The ‘Advanced Sitting-Meditation Seven’ is held annually according to the ancient conventions, and attracts many monks from other temples to participate in it.

In addition to the extreme meditation ceremony, the daily cultivation of meditation has also been strictly regulated in the Shaolin temple since some Chan rooms for meditation were constructed between 2004 and 2006. These religious meditation activities in the Shaolin temple are not exposed to tourists⁶²⁸. This reveals that Chan meditation is serious aspect of their practice for the Shaolin monks and they will not ‘perform’ these Buddhist rituals for tourists and outsiders. In this regard, Abbot Yongxin can refute criticism about the over-commercialization of Shaolin culture in that what has been commercialized is not Chan Buddhism but Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin medicine. For Yongxin, the Shaolin temple is a purely religious place for monks to cultivate Buddhism.

It is clear from this defense that the commercialization of Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin medicine is based on the fact that these cultural expressions are not closely related closely to Chan Buddhism since they can be commercialized to support the expansion of the monastery. However, his defense contradicts his differentiation of Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin Wushu, in which he argues that Shaolin Kungfu is closely related to Chan Buddhism in that Shaolin Kungfu shows and carries religious significance. The contradicting arguments imply that economic benefits from the Shaolin Kungfu performances and the sale of Shaolin medicines legitimize the commercialization of Shaolin culture for the Shaolin temple. However, the commercialization of Shaolin culture, in particular Shaolin Kungfu, is legitimized only by the Shaolin temple as a way of safeguarding the Shaolin brand.

Safeguarding the Shaolin Brand and Authenticity while Commercializing Shaolin Culture

In order to authenticate Shaolin culture, the Shaolin temple safeguards the Shaolin brand in the same way that a company would be registered to prevent others’ over-use of the Shaolin brand. In 1998, the Henan Shaolin Temple Industrial Development Co., Ltd (HSTIDCL) was established by the

⁶²⁸ When I did interview and field work in Shaolin temple, I never saw this kind of meditation.

Shaolin temple and a manager was hired to operate it. The HSTIDCL was established to protect the brand of the ‘Shaolin temple’ and ‘Shaolin’, which were used indiscriminately by more and more companies in the 1990s. For example, in 1993, the Shaolin temple was embarrassed by a ‘Shaolin sausage’ TV advertisement, in which the sausage company used ‘Shaolin’ as its brand and advertised it using the music of the 1982 film *Shaolin Temple*. This seriously damaged Chan Buddhism at the Shaolin temple in that Buddhism in China advocates vegetarianism. Therefore, the Shaolin temple took the sausage company to court. The sausage company was ordered by the court to stop using the Shaolin brand.

There had, however, been 54 ‘Shaolin’ brands involving vehicles, furniture, hardware, food, and medicine, even Shaolin wine and Shaolin cigarettes, before the Shaolin temple attempted to register the ‘Shaolin’ brand⁶²⁹. After that, the HSTIDCL took back the Shaolin brand from some companies and prevented it from being abused by other companies. Aside from China, the Shaolin temple has also registered the ‘Shaolin’ trademark in Europe, America and other countries since 2000. Since then, the Shaolin temple has had the authority to decide which cultural programs can use the ‘Shaolin’ brand.

The HSTIDCL focuses on expanding Shaolin culture and cultural products. It is a Shaolin brand supervision company, authorizing and evaluating the use of the Shaolin brand. For example, if the name of a movie has ‘Shaolin’ characters, naming permission has to be applied for from the HSTIDCL for a fee. For example, in 2008, a TV series titled *Shaolin Warrior Monks* received permission to use the name the from Shaolin temple.

Meanwhile, the authorization of the Shaolin brand has made some Shaolin cultural products more authentic. For example, Yongxin works as an advisor to the real-scene musical extravaganza featuring music, dance, light and Shaolin Kung fu, *Zen Music Shaolin Grand Ceremony*. This music ceremony is a tourist-related product performed near the Shaolin temple with Yongxin’s advice making the performance more authentic and thus highly valued. Up to 2008 the HSTIDCL has authorized more than 200 certificates for the use of the Shaolin trademark covering

⁶²⁹ Jinzhong Zhu. “Shaolin Temple’s 30-years Experience Full of Wind and Rain. *Qilu Evening News*. June 9, 2008, A16-17. Transferred by many news website, like Chinanews, ifeng, and website of State Intellectual Property Office of P.R.C.

45 products. It is clear that the Shaolin temple manages Shaolin culture as its property and interprets Shaolin culture in its own way. When traditional culture is recognized as intangible cultural heritage, Shaolin culture, as a representation of a traditional culture, has become a resource which earns money. Furthermore, its authenticity can only be guaranteed by the Shaolin temple through the authorization of the HSTIDCL.

However, the over-commercialization of Shaolin culture has been strongly criticized by the public in recent years. In addition to operating the HSTIDCL, the Shaolin temple actively participates in many fashionable commercial activities. For example, in 2008, the Shaolin temple opened an online store named the 'Shaolin The Stage of Joy' (Shaolin huanxidi) on the Taobao website with a physical store of the same name beside the Shaolin Temple. The online and physical stores sell Buddhism-related tourist souvenirs. In the online store, a series of books, *Shaolin Martial Arts/Medicine Esoterica* (Shaolin Wugong/yizong miji), published by the Zhonghua Book Company and edited by Abbot Yongxin was priced at RMB 9999. This price is more expensive than the price for the same book in many other online stores (only about RMB 7000). These commercial activities are seriously criticized by the public while Abbot Yongxin regards these commercial involvements as tools to spread Shaolin culture and Chan Buddhism.

Just as Shaolin martial arts functioned as a tool to provide military service to emperors in the Ming dynasty, it is viewed as a cultural resource to support the development of the Shaolin temple today. Specifically, for central government, it functions as a tool to spread Chinese traditional culture internationally. For local government, Shaolin Wushu is viewed as an impetus to economic revenue through tourism development and commercial martial arts schools. For the Shaolin temple, Shaolin martial arts are viewed as a tool to spread Chan Buddhism as well as earn money.

4.4.3 Discussion: Heritage and Culture

In 2010, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee nominated the *Historic Monuments of Dengfeng in 'The Centre of Heaven and Earth'* as a World Cultural Heritage site, which includes the Shaolin Kernel Compound, the Chuzu Temple, and the Pagoda Forest in the SSA. This indicates that the SSA has become a heritage site as well as a tourist site successfully after ten years' preparation. The period from 2000 to 2010 saw the transformation of the SSA from a tourist space into a heritage,

tourist and religious site, although the heritage and religion are constructed and authorized. The following part will analyze the construction and authorization process of intangible cultural heritage.

The Shaolin temple supported the nomination and took RMB 50 million to fund the authentication project within the Shaolin temple, in which some spaces are designed to be dedicated to the monks' religious life. For example, some new buildings were constructed to meet the ongoing religious activities. The restoration of the architecture at the Shaolin temple was aimed at achieving the authenticity standards set by CCPWCNH, however, the authentication projects at this site demonstrate distinct features of "authenticity" as they exist in a western understanding of heritage. However, its successful nomination shows that reconstruction buildings and tradition-style buildings can also be listed as World Heritage. Thus, both authenticity and heritage concepts change when they travel from the Western World to China for the tangible aspects.

However, the CCPWCNH has resulted in unexpected cultural consequences for the local community in the Shaolin case. When constructing 'authenticity' and 'heritage' for inscribing a WCH site, heritage experts provide proposals in line with the OGIWHC. In order to obtain the criteria of authenticity and integrity, the authentication project in the external temple area purified the commercial activities around the Shaolin temple. However, it also relocated the local residents who were not expected to be part of the heritage at that time whilst they are now regarded as a living part of intangible heritage. It is the CSICH that has extended the concept of heritage to intangible subjects, in which the inheritors of intangible heritage are valued. Local residents, usually the inheritors of intangible heritage, are also valued. The CSICH indicates:

Intangible Cultural Heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity⁶³⁰.

The intangible heritage convention highlights the cultural value of the local residents. The concept of intangible heritage was introduced to China with its participation in the CSICH in 2004, when the

⁶³⁰ Article 2 of CSICH.

relocation of the residents of the SSA had already been completed. Thus, in the Shaolin case, the local residents were viewed as commercial producers prohibiting the application of the CCPWCNH. However, it ignores the fact that the local residents were situated and embedded in the Shaolin community for a long period of time. In particular, some local martial artists contributed a great deal to the continuity and revival of Shaolin martial arts between 1928 and the 1990s. For example, the Shaolin disciple Shizhai inherited Shaolin martial arts and medicine in Mao's era (1949 to 1978), as Abbot Yongxin indicated. He also said that many nearby local residents were Shaolin disciples or Shaolin monks who had been sent to secular society as part of the land reform in the early 1950s. Removing local residents and martial arts schools took the living part of Shaolin culture out of the Shaolin community. Thus, the authentication project in the external temple area destroyed the living part of the heritage.

After the relocation project, Shaolin martial arts became the basis of the courses taught by martial arts schools at the new modern campus while Shaolin martial arts are interpreted by the Shaolin temple as Shaolin kungfu. For Abbot Yongxin, Shaolin martial arts represent the technical skills of Shaolin Kungfu, which is the cultural expression of Chan Buddhism. Furthermore, Shaolin kungfu became authorized as national intangible heritage. Its official inheritors are 50 Shaolin monks, totally excluding the members of secular society who practice Shaolin Kungfu. Thus, through authorization of the physical heritage, local residents were relocated outside the Shaolin community. Similarly, through authorization of intangible heritage, what Shaolin martial artists in secular society practiced was not considered authentic Shaolin Kungfu. Therefore, the authorization process detached the Shaolin local residents from the Shaolin community where Shaolin culture was embedded.

Abbot Yongxin's interpretation of Shaolin Kungfu devalues Shaolin martial arts and the governments' authorization of Shaolin Kungfu as national intangible cultural heritage further strengthens Yongxin's interpretation. Furthermore, his interpretation of Shaolin culture highlights the Shaolin temple as representing the body of Shaolin culture. For him, the core part of Shaolin culture is Chan Buddhism, which is the monks' religious belief, while Shaolin culture is broader than Chan Buddhism. Shaolin culture includes the external expressions of Chan Buddhism, *Shaolin Kungfu* and *Shaolin medicine*. For him, Shaolin culture can be commercialized but Chan Buddhism cannot. His

interpretation legitimizes the commercialization of Shaolin culture and the establishment of the HSTIDCL further strengthens the legitimacy of the Shaolin temple for Shaolin culture.

It is clear Yongxin's interpretation excludes the contribution of the local community to Shaolin culture and Shaolin martial arts, ignoring the fact that Shaolin culture has been embedded in the Shaolin community for a long time. Obviously, Shaolin culture not only includes the culture embedded in the Shaolin temple but also the one contextualized in the Shaolin community. The former can be called the Shaolin temple culture referring to the Shaolin culture from the Shaolin temple while the latter implies that it comes from the Shaolin community. The Shaolin temple culture is focused on religious aspects while the latter Shaolin culture refers to the broader context including the historical and artistic culture embedded in the Shaolin community. It is clear the concept of Shaolin Kungfu is a newly constructed concept relating to intangible cultural heritage. The concept of Shaolin culture is also newly constructed to promote the status of the Shaolin temple in terms of its cultural and historical aspects.

As for whether the Shaolin temple is a religious space or not, it is debated. Generally, the Buddhist religion is contrary to the monks' participation in commercialization and politics. However, Yongxin's interpretation of Chan Buddhism focuses only on reviving religious rituals and providing meditation conditions for Buddhist clerics. His way of commercializing Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin Chinese medicine expands the influence of the Shaolin culture but these aspects of Shaolin culture are not the core of the religious practice. This cannot indicate that Chan Buddhism has really been revived as a religion in the Shaolin temple. As for its core religious belief, *reincarnation*⁶³¹, he seldom discusses it in public. Furthermore, Yongxin himself admits that some 'monks' come to the Shaolin temple only for Shaolin Kungfu. Throughout history to the present day, it is a fact that some monks only stayed in the Shaolin temple for Shaolin martial arts. In other words, it is still questionable whether reviving Buddhist rituals and providing meditation opportunities for Buddhist clerics are equal to reviving the tradition (core beliefs) of Chan Buddhism. If Buddhist rituals cannot

⁶³¹ One fundamental belief of Buddhism is often referred to as reincarnation - the concept that people are reborn after dying. In fact, most individuals go through many cycles of birth, living, death and rebirth. A practicing Buddhist differentiates between the concepts of rebirth and reincarnation. In reincarnation, the individual may recur repeatedly. In rebirth, a person does not necessarily return to Earth as the same entity ever again. He compares it to a leaf growing on a tree. When the withering leaf falls off, a new leaf will eventually replace it. It is similar to the old leaf, but it is not identical to the original leaf. After many such cycles, if a person releases their attachment to desire and the self, they can attain Nirvana. This is a state of liberation and freedom from suffering.

represent the traditions of Chan Buddhism, the legitimization of the Shaolin temple as a religious space is also questioned. Thus, although they do not perform meditation rituals for tourists, their revived rituals and reconstructed meditation rooms cannot support their religious association.

Yongxin's interpretation of Shaolin culture reveals his strategy to emphasize the cultural significance of the Shaolin temple culture and avoid focusing on Chan Buddhism too much since traditional culture is valued and Chan Buddhism is viewed as superstitious and contradicts godless Marxism. However, in order to distinguish Shaolin kungfu from Shaolin martial arts and legitimize the authorization of Shaolin Kungfu, he emphasizes the significant influence of Chan Buddhism on Shaolin Kungfu. His view on the supportive commercialization of Shaolin Kungfu and medicine and the non-commercialization of Chan Buddhism in the Shaolin temple also contradicts his argument on the close link between Chan Buddhism and Shaolin kungfu and medicine. In other words, Chan Buddhism, the essence of the Shaolin temple culture, has been commercialized through the commercialization of Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin Chinese traditional medicine.

In conclusion, the phase from 2000 to 2010 saw the transformation of the SSA from a tourist space to a heritage/tourist/religious space where heritage and religion are constructed in terms of both tangible and intangible aspects. In order to inscribe a WCH site, the authenticification projects in the external and internal temples were launched to obtain the criteria of authenticity and integrity. However, the projects detached the local residents from their original context where Shaolin culture is embedded. Thus, it destroyed the integrity of Shaolin culture and emphasized objective authenticity. Furthermore, the authorization of Shaolin Kungfu as a national intangible cultural heritage also excluded the contribution of the local residents to Shaolin Kungfu. The interpretation of Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin culture by Abbot Yongxin showed his intent to promote the status of the Shaolin temple in terms of representing Shaolin culture.

4.5 Tourism Policy and Heritage Policy after 2010

This section will explore the consequences of inscribing a WCH site in terms of changes to the management of the SSA, in which the fragmented Shaolin culture is explored accordingly. Due to the high cost of the authenticification projects, the local government changed the governance institution for the SSA from a local-government operated institution into a joint-venture-managed

institution in 2010, in which a listed company, the China Travel International Investment Hong Kong Limited (CTINHKL), was engaged to manage the SSA with the local government. Under this new management structure, economic revenue is expected by the local government. The Shaolin temple, as part of the SSA, is not satisfied with this arrangement because its foremost goal is the expansion of Buddhism with the generation of economic revenue being second while other partners (local government and the new managerial company) aim to maximize financial returns from the SSA. The conflicts between the local governments and the Shaolin temple, in particular the battles over the fair distribution of income from admissions, has led to complicated influences on Shaolin culture. The following section will analyze the formation of this complicated situation in the SSA.

4.5.1 Economic and Cultural Conflict among Stakeholders

As indicated in section 4.3.2, the Shaolin monks did not have the right to manage the Shaolin temple until 1984. From 1984 to 1994, the Shaolin monks charged admission for entry to the Shaolin temple while admission into other tourist spots in the SSA was charged separately. For example, admission to the Shaolin temple was RMB 8 in 1992 while entry to the SSWTC cost RMB 10. At that time, there were other tourist spots in the SSA which all charged admission fees separately. Then, from 1995, all the tourist spots were bound together by the local government to sell one entry ticket for RMB 40. Local government allocated the ticket revenue to each spot. For example, the Shaolin temple received RMB 8 per ticket (the same price as before being bounded). Although the income of the Shaolin temple is confidential, the high number of tourists brings a considerable income to the temple, in particular before the HSTIDCL was established and other commercial activities began. The Shaolin temple received RMB 50 million to restore and reconstruct the internal buildings for the internal authentication project. After the authentication project in the external temple areas in 2004, the price of admission increased from RMB 40 to RMB 100 (the Shaolin temple receives RMB 30 per ticket). Yongxin opposed the increase in the admission price. His reason is connected with the religious features of the Shaolin temple and the fact that he believes that followers of Buddhism should be able to enter Buddhist temples for free or a nominal amount. Another fact is that the Shaolin temple not only could benefit from the distribution of admission fees, but also from the merit boxes in the temple, which might contribute a significant amount of income to the temple. His suggestion is not supported by the local government as the Shaolin temple is just one site in the SSA. It is clear the local government only views the Shaolin temple as a revenue generating tourist

attraction. The local government's purpose in having the temple inscribed as a WCH was primarily to promote Shaolin culture and improve economic revenue.

Since the local government-operated company, the DSTDLC, borrowed RMB 0.2 billion from a bank to relocate local residents in 2002⁶³², it required greater revenue from the SSA through improving admission. Another strategy for the local government was to establish a joint venture with the China Travel International Investment Hong Kong Limited (CTINHKL), which is a listed company of the China Travel Service (HK) Group Corporation (CTSGC). For local government, the CTINHKL and its mother company CTSGC were expected to manage the SSA more efficiently compared to the, then, multi-government-department governance⁶³³. The new joint-venture company with a 51% share (the Dengfeng government holding 49%), CTS HK-Dengfeng Songshan Shaolin Cultural Tourism Limited (CTSHKSSCTL), began to manage the SSA from 2010. Furthermore, the local government expected the new joint-venture company to be listed, but this was strongly opposed by Abbot Yongxin on the basis that it would undermine the Buddhist principles of the Shaolin temple. It was also strongly opposed by Xie Chensheng, a famous heritage expert of the national heritage administration⁶³⁴. Finally, the new joint-venture company was not listed. However, the most serious conflict between local government and the Shaolin temple is always around the admission. The Shaolin temple even took the SMC (government department managing the SSA) to court for unfair admission funds distribution. The Shaolin monks staged a small demonstration at the Shaolin temple, requiring the SMC to give a portion of admissions revenue to the temple, about RMB 50 million from 2011 to 2013⁶³⁵. All this reveals the different goals of the local government and the Shaolin temple in regard to Shaolin culture. Economic revenue is the primary goal for local government while the Shaolin temple has religious ambitions as well as economic ones.

In addition to the conflict between the Shaolin temple and the local government, another conflict exists between the local government and the CTSHKSSCTL. The local government is dissatisfied

⁶³² Henan Songshan Scenic Area Committee. *Songshan Chronicles*. (Zhengzhou: Henan People Press, 2007), 585-586.

⁶³³ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 59.

⁶³⁴ Heritage Expert Wrote a Letter to Prime Minister after Knowing Shaolin Temple Would be Listed. *Outlook Weekly (Xinhua News)*. June 27, 2010. Accessed August 28, 2014.

http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2010-06/27/c_12267900.htm

⁶³⁵ "Temple, Gov't in Ticket Fare Showdown. *China Daily*. September 25, 2014. Accessed January 22, 2015.

http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/m/henan/ruzhou/2014-09/25/content_18662780.htm

with the CTSHKSSCTL for a number of reasons. Firstly, the CTSHKSSCTL has not invested in the projects in line with the contract signed by the local government and the CTINHKL. The CTSHKSSCTL is required to invest RMB 0.8 to 1 billion in the construction of infrastructure and cultural tourism industry projects in the SSA, but it has only spent approximately RMB 40 million to date⁶³⁶. Secondly, a warning from the 5A evaluation committee of the CNTA embarrassed the local government publicly. The five-tier ranking system is used by the CNTA to classify the quality of all scenic areas in China in line with 12 criteria. The criteria involve in tourism resources, conservation, infrastructure, management operations, safety, and the level of visitor interest and satisfaction⁶³⁷. In 2011, the SSA was required by the 5A evaluation committee to improve and rectify its poor managerial circumstances within a limited period of time to meet the criteria of 5A, or the 5A rating would be removed⁶³⁸. The establishment of the CISHKSSCTL was intended to improve the management of the SSA but the ‘5A crisis’ revealed the ineffectiveness of the CISHKSSCTL. Furthermore, when addressing the problems at the SSA, the CISHKSSCTL required staff to do it with “lower standards and less input” and to rectify only the areas the 5A evaluation committee were monitoring, unlike the total ‘first-level’ standards promised by the Dengfeng government to the public⁶³⁹. Thirdly, a report from the *Orient Today* newspaper shows that the Dengfeng government retook the power of admission by force on the 1st of July, 2013⁶⁴⁰. The Dengfeng government planned to replace the CISHKSSCTL and govern the SSA itself. At the same time, other relevant departments received the replacement notice from the Dengfeng government. However, the admission rights were given back to the CISHKSSCTL on the 2nd of July, 2013. This one-day admission incident reflects the deep conflicts between the Dengfeng government and the CISHKSSCTL, as one interviewee said, “the government lost control of the SSA; the CISHKSSCTL has more power than the Dengfeng government in terms of economic benefit distribution. This made the government dissatisfied”.

Indeed, the new Shaolin community is currently made up of three agents, the Shaolin monks, the local government, and the CISHKSSCTL. The goals of these three agents are different but they all

⁶³⁶ Interview data from local officials in SSA.

⁶³⁷ China National Tourism Administration. Quality Classification and Evaluation of Tourist Attraction in China. No.23 document, 2005.

⁶³⁸ Xiaojie Zhou. “Henan Songshan Shaolin Scenic Area Is Required to be Improved and Rectified”. *Sina News*. January 31, 2012. Accessed January 26, 2014 <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2012-01-31/074923859133.shtml>

⁶³⁹ Interview data from local officials in SSA.

⁶⁴⁰ Serious Conflicts on the Development of Shaolin Scenic Spot between Three Groups. *Orient Today*. October 8, 2013. Accessed March 26, 2015, <http://henan.sina.com.cn/news/z/2013-10-09/1027-99005.html>

use heritage to serve their present needs. The Shaolin monks use the authorized tangible heritage (Shaolin temple) and the authorized intangible heritage (Shaolin martial arts) to spread Chan Buddhism and to gain economic benefits. For the local government, improving economic revenue is the main goal and it has tried many ways to achieve this economic goal such as inscribing the WH site and establishing joint ventures. The goal of the CISHKSSCTL is to obtain more economic benefits with minimal input. The CISHKSSCTL views economic profits as the first and only target. It is clear that the Shaolin community is fragmented due to the different goals of the main agents. Their conflicts have influenced the public having a negative understanding of, and strongly criticizing the Shaolin temple and Shaolin culture.

4.5.2 Impacts of the Stakeholder Conflicts

As indicated in the section 4.4.2, the Shaolin temple has become a tourist space and constructed heritage/religious space. As part of a World Heritage site, the Shaolin temple is required to protect its physical architecture. As a tourist site, it receives about 1.5 million tourists per year and provides tourist-related services, such as selling souvenirs and Shaolin martial arts performances in the SWTC. As a religious space, it has revived some historic Chan Buddhism rituals and provides the Shaolin monks with a place to live a religious life. Apparently, the SSA demonstrates religious culture, Shaolin historical culture (martial arts and traditional medicine), and commercial culture (for tourists). However, compared to the previous community where local residents and martial arts students were packed around the Shaolin temple, the new community was more purpose constructed spaces for tourists so that the Shaolin monks can live a religious life and some religious rituals can be conducted in the SKC.

The deep conflicts between the Shaolin temple, the local government, and the CISHKSSCTL have resulted in public criticism of the Shaolin temple in regard to its over-commercialization. Some negative online news about the SSA, the Shaolin temple or Abbot Yongxin were based on false information provided by stakeholders to stain the fame of the Shaolin temple. This has been caused by the situation that the Shaolin temple, as a reviving monastery, is part of the SSA, which is a famous tourist site managed by a government-shared company. Any negative news about Shaolin culture or the SSA would probably make the public think it is the Shaolin monks, in particular Abbot Yongxin, who are responsible for the negative events. For example, when the SSA experienced the

5A crisis, the public thought it was caused by the Shaolin temple and thus condemned Abbot Yongxin. This is also caused by the interpretation of Shaolin culture from Yongxin, who emphasized the contribution of the Shaolin temple and monks to Shaolin culture. This has led the general public to automatically connect negative news about Shaolin with the Shaolin temple or Abbot Yongxin. In fact, Abbot Yongxin has no power to influence events outside the SKC. In other words, he can only manage events within the SKC and the Shaolin monks in the new Shaolin community.

The economic and cultural conflicts between stakeholders have had a negative influence on Shaolin culture. This further leads to the public and tourists not trusting the authenticity of Shaolin culture or its religious origins. Thus, the reconstructed SSA and the interpretation of Shaolin martial arts as Shaolin Kungfu cannot convince the public that they carry the cultural significance of Chan Buddhism since there is much negative news about the Shaolin temple. Through the mass media, Shaolin culture is too commercialized to keep its traditional features in that it exists within the conflicts of the new community where the tangible culture contradicts the intangible one.

4.6 Reconstruction of Shaolin Culture

The SSA has experienced a transformative process from a religion-restricted space to a tourist space and finally to a tourist/heritage/religious space. This section will apply Giddens' concepts of time-space distancing, disembedding, and reflexivity to analyze the modernity process of the SSA driven firstly by tourism development and then heritage authorization. Figure 4.7 shows this transformative process with theoretical notions. In the figure, a full line/box indicates reality while a dotted line/box refers to abstract/theoretical notions. This demonstrates a modern way of tourism-driven heritage authorization, in which heritage authorization is implemented to achieve better economic benefits through tourism development. In particular, heritage authorization is mainly legitimized by the central government to strengthen national identity while tourism development is mainly legitimized by local government to maximize economic benefits. The main argument from this case study is that the IHATD drives the modernity process of the SSA as a way of reconstructing tradition-style culture, in which external actors and local residents demonstrate an unequal status in economic, spatial, and social terms. Reconstructing tradition-style culture reflects a modern way of reconstructing 'tradition' and this way is characterized by time-space distancing, disembedding, and reflexivity. This section will first introduce the arguments through applying Giddens' modernity

theory to the data from the SSA and then analyzing this transformative process in detail. The transformative process occurring in the SSA will provide evidence for the arguments developed from Shaolin case.

4.6.1 Arguments Developed from Shaolin Case

Firstly, the whole transformative process of the SSA from a religion-restricted space to tourist space and, finally, to the current touristic/heritage/religious space is driven by time-space distancing, which is reflected through tourism development and heritage authorization. Time-space distancing means the transformative process of one place is more affected by distant factors⁶⁴¹. In this case, tourist visits and the WCH authorization belong to distant factors that influence the changes to the SSA, rather than local factors. Tourism development represents the economic driver while heritage authorization/preservation reflects political legitimacy. In particular, the WCH represents an institution originating from European countries and it has greatly influenced the transformative process of the SSA.

Secondly, disembedding mechanics have driven the whole transformation of the SSA in that both tourism development and WCH authorization have reconstructed the social relations of the Shaolin community. Disembedding mechanics, regarded as an extension of time-space distancing, means lifting social relations from the local context and it is processed mainly through the mechanics of expert systems and symbolic tokens⁶⁴². Both expert systems and symbolic tokens are abstract systems that influence modernity by separating social relations from their specific context. Symbolic tokens refer to “media of interchange which can be ‘passed around’ without regard to the specific characteristics of individuals or groups that handle them at any particular juncture”⁶⁴³. Expert systems refer to “systems of technical accomplishment or professional expertise that organize large areas of the material and social environments in which we live today”⁶⁴⁴. Both symbolic tokens and expert systems separate social relations from local contexts as a way of reconstructing social and cultural relations in line with international and national standards so that standardization, usually

⁶⁴¹ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990),18-19.

⁶⁴² Ibid., 21.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 22.

⁶⁴⁴ Eliot Freidson. *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). also quoted by Anthony Giddens. “The Consequences of Modernity.” (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1990), 27.

regarded as modernization, is obtained. Indeed, it is within the institution of globalization that experts, who create legitimacy and authorization, have more power to influence standardization than those laymen who have a deficient amount of expertise.

As for the SSA, the heritage authorization is mainly shaped by heritage expert systems, in which external heritage experts have expertise that other common people do not have access to and therefore they can greatly influence the heritage authorization of the SSA. In particular, expert systems, as a significant part of disembedding mechanics, are clearly reflected in heritage authorization and tourism development. Furthermore, heritage expert systems have more legitimacy to influence this modernity process while tourism expert systems have less legitimacy since politics has more legitimacy than economics in the Chinese context. In this case, Abbot Yongxin, as the leader of the Shaolin temple and monks, demonstrates the features of a heritage expert partly in terms of interpreting Shaolin culture and Shaolin Kungfu. Just as Foucault indicates, knowledge accepted by public represents power and people (experts) with knowledge embrace underlying power⁶⁴⁵. The experts or intellectuals are “more readily able to appropriate specialized knowledge than others”⁶⁴⁶ and they have more power to reconstruct the social relations. This strengthens the economic and cultural disparity between the Shaolin monks and the local residents since knowledge, or more specifically “claims of knowledge” represent power. Therefore, local residents are disempowered in the spatial transformation of the SSA since they do not have enough authorized expertise or indeed power to reconstruct the new social activities in spite of their great contribution to the ongoing practice of Shaolin martial arts.

Finally, reflexivity involving emotional links to the past and recognition of the cost of earlier modernity (modernization) is reflected partly in the form of reviving the past religious rituals and keeping a religious space only for the monks in the Shaolin temple. Giddens’ notion of reflexivity refers to emotional links to the past. In late modernity, reflexivity is in many ways based on peoples’ recognition on the cost of earlier modernity. In the SSA case, the cultural cost, shown as detaching the local residents from the Shaolin community and thus destroying the original integrity of the Shaolin community, is not recognized by the local government and residents collectively. Some local

⁶⁴⁵ Michel Foucault. “The Subject and Power.” *Critical Inquiry* 8 no. 4 (1982): 777-795.

⁶⁴⁶ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 54.

residents showed their emotional attachment to the original Shaolin community but they did not express their reflexivity collectively and strongly. The Shaolin temple and the Shaolin monks, as a religious and cultural organization, demonstrate their institutional reflexivity through reviving religious rituals and constructing some religious spaces only for monks.

4.6.2 Analysis of the Transformative Process in the SSA

This section will theoretically analyze the transformative process in the SSA by applying time-space distancing, disembedding, and reflexivity. Three sub-sections will support the main argument and the arguments described in section 4.6.1. Two main transformative processes are analyzed. The first transformative process occurred from 1978 to 2000 when the local government, the Shaolin temple and the local residents all contributed to reconstructing Shaolin culture. This process was driven by time-space distancing and disembedding mechanics mainly through tourism development. Tourism development, as a commercial approach and distant factor, revived Shaolin culture whilst removing its religious association and thus the original meaning of Shaolin culture. The second transformative process occurred as a result of tourism-driven heritage authorization, in which local residents were relocated and traditional buildings were restored to obtain the standards of the WCH. In the name of heritage authorization, the SSA transited from being a purely unregulated tourist site to being one with WCH status whilst the local residents were disempowered through a loss of control of the area and indeed their own culture. This process reflects time-space distancing, disembedding, and reflexivity, as shown in Figure 4.7.

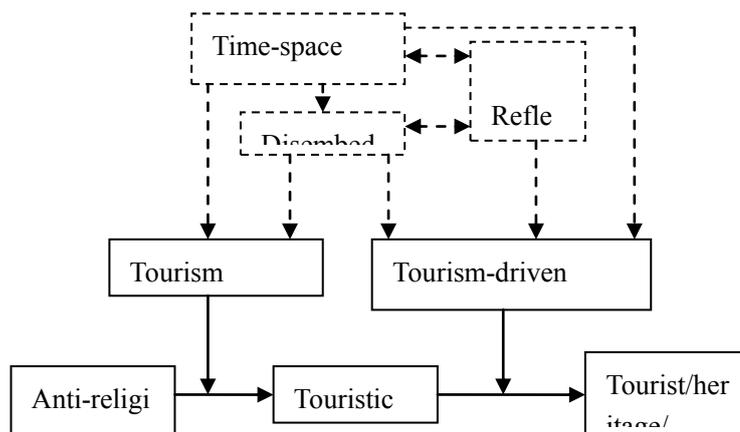


Figure 4.7 Modernity process of the SSA

First Transformative Process (from 1978 to 2000): Time-space Distanciation and Disembedding

In pre-modern society, social activities were embedded in a closed and static system and they were not influenced by geographically distant factors. Although the fortune of the Shaolin temple was influenced greatly by imperial governments between 496 CE and 1928, Shaolin culture was embedded in the traditional Shaolin community where the patriarchal clan system, *Fangtougou* institution, closely linked the SKC with the nearby sub-temples. As the significant monastery of Chan Buddhism, the Shaolin temple provided religious and even military services to imperial governments. However, Shaolin martial arts violated traditional Buddhist precepts in that it was used as a tool for killing when Shaolin monks fought for the Ming emperors. Furthermore, Shaolin martial arts attracted many laymen to the Shaolin temple with the aim of practicing Shaolin martial arts rather than Chan Buddhism. Thus, Shaolin culture was embedded in the Shaolin community which included the Shaolin monks and Shaolin disciples in the Shaolin SKC and the nearby *Fangtougou* temples before 1928. However, the 1928 disaster destroyed most of the buildings in the SKC and the nearby *Fangtougou* temples. Later, during the period of Land Reform in the early 1950s, most of the Shaolin temple's lands were confiscated by the CPC and the Shaolin monks were forced to reside as laymen in nearby villages. This resulted from the fact that the period from 1949 to 1978 saw the devaluation of Chan Buddhism as well as traditional culture. During the Cultural Revolution, local residents contributed greatly to preserving Shaolin martial arts. Thus, the Shaolin community (before 1978), including the SKC and nearby area where Shaolin culture was embedded, was mainly influenced by local factors.

However, the period after 1978 was different in that local development was influenced mainly geographically distant factors. That is, time-space distanciation, or what happened in local areas, was influenced more by distant factors. In the case of Shaolin, the visit by the Japanese WSKO in 1979/1980 and the 1982 movie *Shaolin Temple* rapidly increased the number of tourists and martial arts schools. From 1982, the national SSA was established to receive tourists. From 1978 to 2000, tourist infrastructure and facilities were constructed by governments at various levels to support tourism development. Most architecture in the SKC was reconstructed on the original sites in line with elders' memories. The Shaolin monks and local residents participated in tourism-related businesses and commercial martial arts schools. The SSA became a tourist space where Shaolin

culture was reconstructed and revitalized in a commercial way whilst neglecting its religious association. Thus, the reconstruction of the Shaolin temple and the revival of Shaolin martial arts demonstrated the influence of outside factors.

Furthermore, tourism, as a commercial undertaking, removes social relations from their embedded context. This means the reconstruction of Shaolin culture only served external tourists and neglected its original cultural meaning. The economic benefits from tourism legitimized this disembedding in that all the social actors reconstructed tradition-style culture collectively. It is clear that the period from 1978 to 2000 witnessed the transition of the SSA from an anti-religion space to a tourist space, in which time-space distancing and disembedding mechanics shaped the formation of the SSA socially and culturally through tourism development.

Second Transformative Process (from 2000 to 2010): Time-space Distancing, Disembedding and Reflexivity

The period after 2000 saw the transformation of the SSA from a tourist site to a tourist/heritage/religious site through the authentication projects in the external/internal Shaolin temple and the authentication of Shaolin culture. The physical authentication projects were launched by the local government to prepare for the nomination of the WH site while the authentication of Shaolin culture by Abbot Yongxin is expected to be listed as World Intangible Cultural Heritage (WICH). Tourism-driven heritage authorization was a new way to obtain modernization through reconstructing tradition-style culture and is shaped by time-space distancing, disembedding, and reflexivity. However, the local residents were disempowered through a loss of the area and their own culture in this transformative process. Physical Shaolin culture is authenticated by heritage experts and intangible Shaolin culture/ShaoLin martial arts are interpreted by Abbot Yongxin, who is authorized as having more expertise than the local residents. These authentication projects and interpretations all reflect the disparity in the status of experts and laymen when the process of modernity occurs.

Disembedding mechanics, as one of Giddens' three characteristics of modernity, refers to lifting social relations out from the local context and reconstructing social/cultural relations across

indefinite spans of time-space⁶⁴⁷. Generally, two kinds of disembedding mechanics, *symbolic tokens* and *expert systems*, are created to drive disembedding mechanics. These two mechanics are both reflected in the process of authentication projects. The listing of WH and WICH are symbolic tokens in that both are recognized as internationally-authorized brands across international borders representing the standards of high-quality heritage. The Shaolin temple was recognized as high-quality heritage internationally after it was listed as part of WCH site and Shaolin Kungfu has been recognized as precious heritage in China since it was listed as a national ICH. This means these brands represent standardized quality beyond the local context and this fits with the nature of *symbolic tokens*.

The inscribing institution of WH and WICH fits the features of an expert system in that the CCPWCNH, OGIWHC, and ICSICH are internationally regulated and are implemented by experts who have professional expertise that laymen have little access to. Furthermore, as indicated in section 2.3.2, the OGIWHC endorses that only the central government has the right to recommend heritage to be nominated and this guarantees the authorized heritage discourse, in which knowledgeable experts' interpretations are significant in influencing the public consciousness. In other words, the inscribing process is operated by a system with experts and governmental authorities, which will not consider the special context of local factors, such as the authenticity of China's timber-framed traditional architecture and the close connection between the local community and the heritage site.

The CCPWCNH, OGIWHC, and ICSICH institutions, as disembedding mechanics, greatly influence the social relations of the Shaolin community as well as the reconstruction of Shaolin culture. The authentication projects were launched from 2000 to 2009 to pass the standards of authenticity and integrity of CCPWCNH. The criteria for CCPWCNH are expected to be obtained under heritage experts' proposals in line with the OGIWHC, as indicated in sections 2.3.2 and 3.4. Furthermore, the CCPWCNH and the OGIWHC evaluate the 'universality' and 'outstanding value' of heritage nominated by central governments⁶⁴⁸. Thus, these criteria, which show Eurocentric notions of

⁶⁴⁷ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 21.

⁶⁴⁸ Henry Cleere. "The Uneasy Bedfellows: Universality and Cultural Heritage." *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*. ed. Robert Layton, Peter G. Stone and Julian Thomas. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001): 23-24.

heritage and authenticity together with the central-government authorization institution, strongly influenced the nomination and inscription of the Shaolin temple as part of the WH site. Employed by local government, experts from the Planning Institute of Tsinghua University planned the *Detail Planning* of the SSA and experts from the Construction Institute of Tsinghua University planned the *Proposal of Restoring the Shaolin Kernel Compound*. These experts, also positioned as professors at Tsinghua University, provided the expertise for the nomination. These experts have expertise authorized by the central government and they are able to make proposals for local government to implement for inscribing a WCH site. They link the heritage expertise to authority and legitimacy. Usually they have similar academic backgrounds and views with representatives of national heritage administration. For example, in the Shaolin case, both the director of the *Proposal of Restoring the Shaolin Kernel Compound*, Guo Daiheng (from Tsinghua University), and the evaluating leader, Luo Zhewen (from SACH), were students of Liang Sicheng. Functionally, these experts link local government with national heritage administration through providing knowledgeable planning proposals. In this regard, authorized knowledge, the OGIWHC and the experts constitute expert systems, which are the impetus of earlier modernity.

The authorized knowledge/expertise represents legitimized power, so those experts who have specialized knowledge have more power than common people who do not have such specialized knowledge⁶⁴⁹. As for the Shaolin case, the local residents have little power compared to the heritage experts and the Shaolin monks. The heritage experts put forward the proposal requiring the local residents to move out the SSA in line with the OGIWHC and the criteria of authenticity and integrity. The Shaolin monks engaged in the authentication project by providing literature about Shaolin history as well as financial support (RMB 50 million). Local residents, attached to the Shaolin community, were forced to relocate 20km away in spite of their contribution to the retention of Shaolin culture. As indicated in section 4.4.2, Yongxin's views on blurring Shaolin culture and Shaolin temple culture (including his interpretation on the difference between Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin martial arts) further disempowered local residents.

The proposal heritage experts made for the SSA shows a strong rejection of the local residents. As indicated in section 3.4.2, this is because China's National Scenic Area (NSA) model replicates

⁶⁴⁹ Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. tran. A. Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1977).

European and American models, which are based on the situation in Europe and America where nature and humans are quite separate. In the Chinese context, human beings have lived close to nature and are attached to/embedded in nature. In other words, human beings are a part of nature and local residents are carriers of cultural heritage for the community. In order to inscribe a WH site according to European guidelines, however, the removal of human beings from nature/culture becomes legitimate and reasonable. Paradoxically, in the name of preserving heritage, the carriers of cultural heritage, the local residents, are forced to move out their community. It is clear that the CCPWCNH and OGIWHC, and Western notions of heritage preservation, disembedded the Shaolin community from 2000 to 2010. During this disembedding process, heritage experts (including the Shaolin monks) and local residents demonstrated the case of increasing disparity.

Compared to CCPWCNH, ICSICH recognizes the significance of the local community to heritage and regards local residents as living carriers of heritage⁶⁵⁰. In the Shaolin case, however, the Shaolin monks undertook the role of experts in interpreting Shaolin culture instead of the local residents when Abbot Yongxin tried to inscribe Shaolin martial arts (interpreted as Shaolin Kungfu) as WICH. The interpretation of Shaolin Kungfu disembedded the original social relations in that it destroyed the integrity of the Shaolin community, in which Shaolin martial arts were embedded and local residents were attached to. Therefore, although the ICSICH is viewed as balancing the disparity of Western and Eastern notions of heritage, its implementation still disembedded the original closeness of Shaolin culture and the Shaolin community.

Reflexivity means the recognition of the cost of modernization (early modernity) and it happens because of the “emotional link to tradition” in a post-tradition society⁶⁵¹. This means recalling past memories and rethinking the cost of economic development. As indicated in section 2.2.3, the main impact involved the loss of identity caused by disembedding mechanics in early modernity and the reestablishment of identity through reconstructing tradition or tradition-style culture to gain a sense of belonging. In the Shaolin case, tourists visit the Shaolin temple partly because they think Shaolin

⁶⁵⁰ Janet Blake. “UNESCO’s 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Implications of Community Involvement in ‘Safeguarding’.” in *Intangible Heritage* ed. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009): 45-73; Dawson Munjeri. “Following the Length and Breadth of the Roots: Some Dimensions of Intangible Heritage”, in *Intangible heritage*. ed. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009): 131-132.

⁶⁵¹ Anthony Giddens. “Risk, Trust, Reflexivity”. In. *Reflexive modernization: Politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 197.

culture is closely relevant to the sense of tradition and religious identity. Their visit partly reflects their reflexivity within their own perceptions of rapid development and their recognition of the cost of that development. In other words, they lost their identity in modernization and want to find it in other places through tourism. Reconstruction of tradition-style Shaolin culture reveals the demands of tourists but it also involves the modernization of the Shaolin community. As mentioned previously, the modernization of the Shaolin community also demonstrates features of time-space distancing and disembedding mechanics. The separation of identity of local residents from the Shaolin community also occurred because of the interaction of tourism development and heritage authorization. In this regard, tourists' reflexivity accelerated the modernization of the Shaolin community as well as separation of the local residents from their community.

Furthermore, the local residents and the Shaolin monks demonstrated different degrees of reflexivity during the modernization of the Shaolin community. The Shaolin monks positively supported the authentication projects and revitalized Chan Buddhism through recovering Buddhist rituals and constructing religious spaces within the Shaolin temple which were only for the monks. This means the Shaolin monks have recognized that only pursuing economic benefits comes at the cost of removing religious associations. In addition, they shifted their main target to religious expansion instead of economic benefits. However, this reflexivity was obtained at the cost of removing local residents and rejecting their contributions to Shaolin culture.

The Current Situation: Reembedding Mechanics and Fragmentation of Shaolin Culture

The reembedding process refers to “the reappropriation or recasting of disembedded social relations as to pin them down (however partially or transitorily) to local conditions of time and place”⁶⁵². As indicated in section 2.2.3, the reembedding process is determined by the extent of trust, which refers to “confidence in the reliability of a person or system, regarding a given set of outcomes or events, where that confidence expresses a faith in the probity or love of another, or in the correctness of abstract principles (technical knowledge)”⁶⁵³. Compared to faith and confidence, trust is a middle-extent and is determined by the extent of consistency between the faceless commitment created by the abstract system (symbolic token and expert system) and facework commitment

⁶⁵² Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 79-88.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, 34.

established by co-presence daily contact.

In the Shaolin case, the reembedding process is reflected through the trust between stakeholders. To some extent, the current situation is the result of reembedding mechanics. As indicated previously, tourism development and heritage authorization, as abstract systems, create the faceless commitment to the public. This faceless commitment is that the SSA is reconstructed as a peacefully and pristinely religious space. Apparently, it might be such a place, but indeed it is not such a space. This is because the space involves more social/political aspects rather than its geographic aspects⁶⁵⁴. As for the Shaolin case, the SSA has seen serious conflicts between stakeholders. Furthermore, these conflicts have usually been exposed to the public through negative news in the mass media. This means the facework commitment involving the co-presence of daily conflicts in the SSA is not consistent with the reconstructed faceless commitment (peacefully and pristinely religious space). In other words, the frequent negative news on the Shaolin temple and the SSA have resulted in a distrust of Shaolin culture for the public.

The conflicts between the Shaolin temple, the local government, and the joint venture CTSHKSSCTL are mainly caused by their different goals involving the SSA, as indicated in section 4.5. However, this situation has also been caused by the fragmentation of the Shaolin community in which Shaolin culture was embedded. The residents, as previous members of the Shaolin community, were closely attached to the Shaolin community but they were relocated. The new-joined CTSHKSSCTL, as a member of the Shaolin community, has no attachment to this community and is operated only for economic benefits. In other words, the previous Shaolin community has been fragmented with the removal of local residents and the new Shaolin community is reembedded without any cultural attachment between its members.

In summary, the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2 is usefully applied to analyze the transformation of the SSA, in which the IHATD has modernized the SSA by reconstructing tradition-style culture but at the cost of fragmenting the local community. In particular, the fact that the local residents were disempowered through a loss of control of the area demonstrates the

⁶⁵⁴ Mike Crang and Nigel J. Thrift, eds. *Thinking Space*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); David Ley. "Book Reviews: Social Relations and Spatial Structures by Derek Gregory, John Urry", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographer* 14, no. 1 (1989): 113-115.

different power status of experts and laymen in Giddens' theory on expert systems.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the modernity process of the SSA, a heritage-protected tourist destination, where tourism development drives the modernity process initially and heritage authorization shapes it later. The main argument is that the interaction of tourism development and heritage authorization drives the modernization of the SSA by reconstructing tradition-style culture. In particular, the economic benefits legitimize tourism development as a way of commercializing Shaolin culture while the political impetus legitimizes heritage authorization from the government sector. Theoretically, the transformative process of the SSA is conceptualized by Giddens' modernity theory, *time-space distanciation*, *disembedding*, and *reflexivity*. In detail, tourism development and heritage authorization are driven by time-space distanciation and disembedding mechanics through commercializing Shaolin culture while the reflexivity of this modernization is shown through the Shaolin monks' pursuit of a religious focus as its first goal. However, it also shows that local residents were disempowered through becoming detached from their community during the modernization process and this has led to the fragmentation of the Shaolin community in which Shaolin culture was embedded and local residents were attached to.

The main argument of this chapter relates to the main research question by demonstrating the transformative process of a case area, firstly driven by tourism development and then by tourism-driven heritage authorization. The main argument from this case is that the IHATD drives the modernity process of the SSA by reconstructing tradition-style culture, in which external actors and local residents demonstrate an unequal status in economic, spatial, and social terms. The existence of the Shaolin monks, a religious group, also demonstrates the semi-expert roles in inscribing the WCH site. Their action in the authentication and commercialization of Shaolin culture makes this case study special. The next chapter will demonstrate the transformative process of another case area, the Ancient City of Pingyao, which was driven firstly by heritage authorization and then by heritage-protected tourism development.

Chapter Five: Pingyao Case

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will answer the research question by examining another case, the Ancient City of Pingyao (ACP). In 1997, the ACP was inscribed by the World Heritage Committee as a WCH site as it is:

an outstanding example of a Han Chinese city of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (14th-20th centuries) that has retained all its features to an exceptional degree and in doing so provides a remarkably complete picture of cultural, social, economic, and religious development during one of the most seminal periods of Chinese history⁶⁵⁵.

In detail, its heritage value is reflected for three reasons, as described in the inscribing document from UNESCO. Firstly, the townscape of the ACP reflects the evolutionary architectural styles and town planning of Imperial China from the 14th to 20th centuries. Secondly, the ACP was the financial center of China from the 19th to early 20th centuries, which reflects the economic prosperity of the ACP in terms of businesses and traditional dwellings. Thirdly, it has retained all its features from the Ming and Qing dynasties to an exceptional degree as an outstanding example of a Han Chinese city.

This chapter will explore how the interaction between WH authorization and tourism development has shaped the processes of modernity in the ACP in terms of spatial, economic, and social aspects. The ACP, listed as a World Cultural Heritage (WCH) site in 1997, has experienced a transformative process from a Socialist-closed space to a heritage-protected commercial space since 1978. Its transformation was influenced firstly by heritage authorization and then by tourism development although the main purpose of heritage authorization for the local governments was still the economic benefits of tourism. Four phases, *pre-1949*, *1949 to 1978*, *1978 to 1997*, *1998 to the present*, are examined to explore the transformative process of the ACP in line with different focuses on heritage authorization and tourism policies.

Firstly, Pingyao historical and traditional culture is briefly introduced to show its traditional features before 1949. Secondly, the influences of Mao's radical Socialism on the traditional buildings between 1949 and 1978 are examined to show the enclosed features of the ACP in Mao's era. Thirdly,

⁶⁵⁵ UNESCO document. WHC-97/CONF.208/17

the process of heritage authorization is introduced to show how external heritage experts influenced the local actors in spatial and social aspects from 1978 to 1997, in which external heritage experts had more authority due to the linking of international/central heritage institutions to local practices while local residents were disempowered through the loss of their living infrastructure in the ACP. An enclosed and living space was gradually transformed into a heritage site, which was expected to maintain ‘authenticity’ for tourists. Fourthly, further heritage policies and tourism policies from 1997 to the present are introduced to show how the interaction between heritage authorization and tourism development (IHATD) in the ACP have shaped the modernity process of the ACP in regard to spatial, economic, and social aspects. This process reveals the transformation of the ACP firstly by tourism-driven heritage authorization and then by tourism development, which is the opposite of the Shaolin case. The Shaolin case demonstrates the transformation process shaped firstly by tourism development and then by heritage authorization.

The theoretical framework established in Chapter 2 is applied to analyze the transformative processes of the ACP. The chapter aims to answer the research questions based on the Pingyao case. The main argument of this chapter is that the IHATD has shaped the processes of modernity of ACP by reconstructing tradition-style culture, with external heritage experts and local residents holding unequal degrees of power. In particular, local residents have been disempowered through losing their living infrastructure in the ACP and sharing their public spaces with tourists and experience difficulty in benefiting from tourism development under some heritage and tourism policies. This indicates that heritage authorization makes it difficult for local residents to benefit from tourism development. Furthermore, the policy of absorbing external investments furthers the disempowerment of local residents because of their economically-disadvantaged positions. This case shows that heritage authorization does not directly lead to economic inequality but its connection to tourism strengthens the disempowerment of local residents in spatial and economic aspects.

5.2 Traditional Features of the ACP before Mao’s Era

This section will examine Pingyao traditional culture before Mao’s era. The traditional features of the ACP before 1949 will be demonstrated in regard to economic, spatial, and cultural features. In particular, the layout of the ACP and its traditional buildings were designed in line with Confucianism and Taoism, which also characterized the Chinese people at that time. The main

argument for this section is that the ACP existed only for locals whose behaviors were influenced mainly by Confucianism and Taoism in their enclosed space through changing economic conditions. Furthermore, the design of the enclosed spaces, including the layout of the ACP and public and private buildings in the ACP, was also influenced by Chinese traditional culture, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. This section compares traditional culture to the currently reconstructed tradition-style culture of the ACP which was driven by the IHATD.

5.2.1 Economic Aspects

The ACP was first constructed for military defense and its economy changed from a limited one before the Ming dynasty to a larger one in the late Qing dynasty. The ancient wall of the west and north sides of the ACP was first constructed by General Yin Jifu for Emperor Xuan in the Western Zhou dynasty (827-782BC) to defend it against a minority group, the *Xianyun*⁶⁵⁶. The name *Pingyao* was bestowed in the Northern Wei dynasty in 424, and the current ACP was established as a county administration center after that. The ancient wall of the ACP fulfilled a military function, due to its special location, in the fight against the Mongolians during the Yuan dynasty before being extended in 1370 by the Ming dynasty⁶⁵⁷. The ancient wall of the ACP was reconstructed and strengthened more than 20 times during the Ming dynasty. At the same time, the city with its layout was formed gradually within the ancient wall. However, due to the poor and insufficient lands in this area, people lived a simple and poor life. For example, the 1706 *Re-record of County Annuals of Pingyao* noted that “the lands are poor to plant” and “the poor people have only two meals per day”. The condition of the land restricted economic development of the ACP in regard to agriculture but this limited economic condition inspired the Pingyao people to survive through expanding commerce to the other communities. It is clear that the ancient wall of the ACP was constructed mainly during the Ming dynasty to defend against its previous imperial authority of the Yuan dynasty while the people lived a simple life in the Ming dynasty.

⁶⁵⁶ Zhiping Liu. “Construction of Pingyao City under the Influence of Commerce Development during the Ming and Qing dynasties.” (Master dissertation, Shaanxi Normal University, 2007), 10; This view is in line with *Re-record on Pingyao County*, edited in Emperor Kangxi in 1706 and *Record on Pingyao County*, edited in Emperor Guangxu in 1882. This is described in UNESCO and accepted by public popularly. However, it was criticized by some historians who considered that it contained misinformation. These historians provided the archives, such as in *Fenzhou Fuzhi*. Volume 1. Evolution. 1771 (in Emperor Qianlong 36), carving copy, to show that the area where General Yin Jifu fought was not the current location of Pingyao. However, the tombstone and other heritages of Yin Jifu were constructed in Ming Dynasty to commemorate him as the person to establish the first part--ancient wall of ACP.

⁶⁵⁷ Emperor Kangxi. “Construction of the County and the Wall (建置志·城池)” in *Chorography of the Reconstruction of Pingyao County* (重修平遥县志), Vol.2. Carved in 1706.

The period of the Qing dynasty from 1644 to 1911 saw the emergence of prosperous commodities such as dyeing and bank drafts in Pingyao. Although commerce was restricted by the imperial authority and viewed as less significant from as early as the Warring States Times (221 BC), it rapidly developed from the Ming dynasty and increased prosperity in the Qing dynasty⁶⁵⁸. The Pingyao people primarily made a living from trade and commerce, which began to boom during the Qing dynasty. In late Qing dynasty, three types of commerce developed rapidly in the ACP. Firstly, the logistics trade developed due to its ideal location for transportation⁶⁵⁹. Secondly, the dyeing industry flourished in Shanxi province, with the Pingyao dyeing factories supplying dyeing resources for many areas. The *Xiyucheng Dyeing Factory*, established in 1797, was the best dyeing factory in Pingyao and its sub-factories spanned Beijing, Tianjin, Chengdu and other big cities⁶⁶⁰. Thirdly, bank drafts, or *Piaohao* in Chinese, flourished in Pingyao. In 1823, the first ancient bank in China, the *Rishengchang Piaohao*, was established in Pingyao. The *Rishengchang Piaohao* was established by the owner of *Xiyucheng Dyeing Factory* based on a suggestion by his general manager, Lei Lvtao, who recognized that it was difficult for merchants to carry silver-based cash when they travelled on business. Lei Lvtao directed the *Rishengchang Piaohao* mainly by managing the deposit/withdrawal of silver with bank checks. Its sub-*Piaohaos* spanned more than 40 big and medium sized cities all over the country. The *Piaohao* business was soon copied by other merchants in Pingyao, who had originally been involved in the dyeing industry. Economic development of the ACP reached its climax when *Piaohao* industry was most prosperous from 1823 in the late Qing dynasty. Thus, in the following one hundred years, 22 *Piaohaos* were established in Pingyao⁶⁶¹ and the ‘*Pingyao Bang*’ was gradually formed, referring to the merchant-group who operated the *Piaohao* business in Pingyao⁶⁶². At that time there were 51 *Piaohaos* altogether in China while 22 *Piaohaos* were established by Pingyao people with the headquarters in Pingyao with more than 400 sub-*Piaohaos* in 77 cities across China⁶⁶³. It is clear that Pingyao was the financial center of China from 1823 to the

⁶⁵⁸ Zhaoyuan Tian and Tian Liang. *Shanggu History* (商贾史). (Shanghai: Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House, 1997). 11.

⁶⁵⁹ Yushan Ma. “The Topology and Type of the City and Town of Shanxi in Ming and Qing Dynasty.” *Historical Geography* 12, no. 8, (1995),127.

⁶⁶⁰ Jianhui Huang. *Archives of Shanxi Piaohao (revised and enlarged edition)* 5, (Taiyuan: Shanxi Economic Press, 2002),11.

⁶⁶¹ The number is just the number of the *Piaohaos* that have strong evidences and clear records. There are other 10 *Piaohaos* which had not clear records.

⁶⁶² Committee of Pingyao Chorography. *Pingyao Chorography* 8 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1999), 417-419.

⁶⁶³ Zhengming Zhang and Deng Quan. *Piaohao Businessmen in Pingyao* 2. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Education Press, 1997), 14.

early 20th century, which is one of three reasons for its inscription for WH.

5.2.2 Spatial Aspect

The prosperity of commerce in Pingyao facilitated the construction of the ACP and many public and private traditional buildings within it. The public and private traditional buildings and the layout of the ACP were constructed strictly in line with Chinese traditional culture, mainly Confucianism and Taoism. In this section, I will explore how Chinese traditional culture, such as Confucianism and Taoism, influenced the layout and architecture in the ACP. In other words, how Chinese traditional culture is reflected in spatial aspects of the ACP will be examined.

Rapoport noted that “Buildings and settlements are the visible expression of the relative importance attached to different aspects of life and the varying ways of perceiving reality. The house, the village, and the town express the fact that societies share certain generally accepted goals and life values”⁶⁶⁴. These generally accepted goals and life values bind the members together by mutual understanding in traditional communities, as noted by Tönnies⁶⁶⁵. In Giddens’ notion, these generally accepted goals and life values refer to ‘tradition’, conditioned by the connection of ritual practice and formulaic truth⁶⁶⁶. Different from legal rule in modern society, tradition is related closely to the moral/normative rule based on the same belief, usually referring to religion in a traditional community. Furthermore, this tradition or belief is linked to the geographical place by the sense of place⁶⁶⁷. As indicated in section 2.2.3, place is a geographical location while space is a social concept characterized by social activities. The sense of place is related to space in that both imply the connection of the physical environment and sociability⁶⁶⁸. That is, the coincidence of physical and cognitive space produces a moral spacing, whereby agreed upon rules of conduct and social interaction are played out. Therefore, the built environment that we inhabit is more than simply a

⁶⁶⁴ Amos Rapoport. *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-hall, 1969), 47.

⁶⁶⁵ Ferdinand Tönnies. *Tönnies: Community and Civil Society*. (Cambridge UK.: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 34.

⁶⁶⁶ Anthony Giddens. “Living in a Post-Traditional Society”. In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 62-66.

⁶⁶⁷ Bradley S.Jorgensen and Richard C. Stedman. “Sense of Place as an Attitude: Lakeshore Owners Attitudes toward Their Properties.” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 21, no. 3 (2001): 233-248; Jeff Malpas. “New Media, Cultural Heritage and the Sense of Place: Mapping the Conceptual Ground.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14, no. 3 (2008): 197-209.

⁶⁶⁸ Jeff Malpas. “Space and Sociality.” *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 5, no. 1 (1997): 53-79; Henri Bergson and Frank Lubecki Pogson. *Time and Free Will*. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1910):138; Yi-Fu Tuan. *Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective*. (Netherlands: Springer, 1979):387-427.

projection of our culture. A process of introjection is also at play for as we perpetually engage with our surroundings they become a part of our 'inner life'. Therefore, the concept of space is more strongly related to the inner world (belief and culture that influence behaviors) while place is a physical one referring to the outer world.

As indicated in section 2.2.3, place was consistent with space in pre-modern society because similar beliefs existed in specific locations. In other words, the belief was projected onto place and at the same time the projected place could introject the people who had that belief. Under this understanding, Confucian thought, which underpinned behavioral rules in traditional times, was projected onto the built environment and the design of traditional buildings in China⁶⁶⁹. The construction of the ACP was influenced by Confucian principles in terms of subordinated social order and by Taoism in terms of unity of heaven, earth, and people in the cosmos⁶⁷⁰. The relation between the Chinese traditional culture and the spatial arrangements of the ACP is analyzed in regard to the following four aspects.

Firstly, the size and some designs of the ACP reflect Confucianism. *Chou-Li*, which Confucius strongly recommended, regulated the size and basic layout of a city in line with its administrative level in the feudal system⁶⁷¹. The length of each wall of the ACP is no more than three *li*⁶⁷², which reflects Confucian thoughts on the scale of feudal cities. Some arrangements also relate to Confucian influence with regard to the design of ancient wall of the ACP. The ancient wall was constructed for defense purposes but its 72 defense towers and the 3000 crenels on the top of the city wall represent the 72 sages and 3000 pupils of Confucius.

Secondly, the layout of the ACP reflects Taoist thought. Taoism, emphasizes the Yin-yang system around the unity of heaven, earth and people, is also reflected in the layout of the ACP. Based on an agricultural way of life, an understanding of the cosmic principles through five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal and water) is used to express the essence of the Yin-Yang system. This Chinese cosmos

⁶⁶⁹ Carmencita Marioano Samuels. "Cultural Ideology and the Landscape of Confucian China: the Traditional Si He Yuan." (1986).

⁶⁷⁰ Xiaoxie Zheng and Ren Zhiyuan. "Report on Investigation of Shanxi Pingyao." *Urban Development Studies* 5 (1996): 16-19.

⁶⁷¹ Paul Wheatley. The Ancient Chinese City as a Cosmo-magical Symbol. in *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: a Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City*. ed. Paul Wheatley, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 411-451.

⁶⁷² here the *li* is a measurement unit for length, different from Chou-Li. Here, two *li* is equal to one kilometer

view influenced the elite as well as people based on the land, although in a more fragmented and simplified form⁶⁷³. It also influences the layout of cities in that they are viewed as a mini-cosmos, with the five elements representing the four cardinal points and the center⁶⁷⁴. For example, the south is the orthodox direction in Han tradition and is always the ritually favored direction. The layout of the ACP reflects this cosmos principle based on the philosophy of the unity of the earth, humans and heaven in Taoism. For example, as indicated in Map 5.1, the Confucius temple (*Wenmiao*) is located in the east, representing sunrise, spring, green, and wood, while the Warfare temple (*Wumiao*) is situated in the west symbolizing the sunset, autumn, white, and metal. Both temples are in the southern part of the city. Another example is the design of the public administrative office (*yamen*) of this world (*Yang*) in the west and religious administrator (City-God, viewed as the administrator of the other-world, *Yin*) temple in the east. Thus, the size of the ACP and the internal arrangement reflect traditional Chinese culture, Confucianism and Taoism.

Thirdly, some public buildings were closely tied to the belief systems of the residents of the ACP. Although Chinese people were greatly influenced by Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, they were different from religions in the Western sense. For example, Chinese people went to different temples for different purposes and no one belonged only to one temple. Temples' different meanings played influential roles in the stability of local communities and the daily life of local people. Therefore, there are several temples in a traditional city, usually including two main temples, a civil culture temple and a warfare temple. Another common temple is the City-God temple. City-God worship began from the Tang and Song dynasties (618-907) and it played a significant role in Chinese popular religion⁶⁷⁵. In the ACP, many temples were constructed in order for people to worship for different purposes. In addition to the civil culture temple (Confucian temple), the warfare temple, and the City-God temple, there were some other temples, such as the Qingxu temple (a Taoist temple) and the Jifu temple (a Buddhism temple).

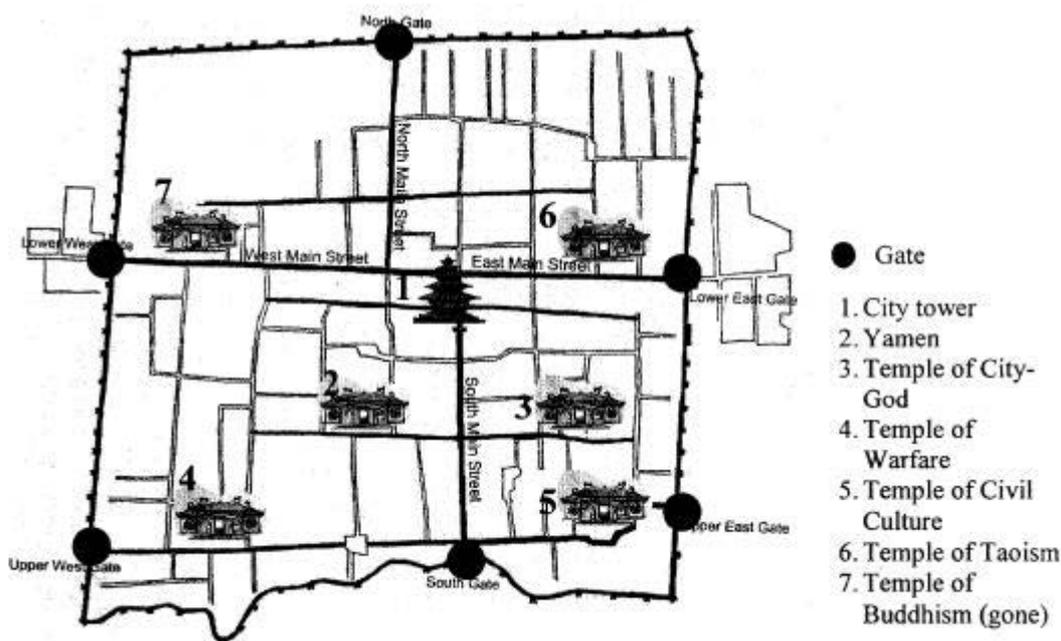
In addition to temples, other public buildings also connected the collective memory and symbolized significant culture of the Pingyao people. The City Tower (*Shilou*) is at the junction of four main

⁶⁷³ Tuan Yi-Fu. *Cosmos and Hearth: A Cosmopolite's Viewpoint*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

⁶⁷⁴ East represents Spring, wood, dark blue; west represents Autumn, metal, white; North represents Winter, water, black; South represents Summer, fire and red; Center represents late Summer, earth, yellow.

⁶⁷⁵ David Johnson. "The City-god Cults of Tang and Sung China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45, no. 2 (1985): 363-457.

streets in the ACP. As the highest building in the ACP, the *Shilou* symbolized the advanced commercial culture of Pingyao. The *Shilou*, usually situated centrally in the market place, had been the imperial government office to monitor and manage the market place since before the Song dynasty. After the Song dynasty, it was replaced by a big bell tower or drum tower, which was very high to symbolize the authority of the political power. The Pingyao *Shilou* is an exception due to the significance of commerce for Pingyao merchants, who funded the restoration of the *Shilou* many times⁶⁷⁶. For example, in 1837, more than 220 shop owners funded 99.9% of the cost of the reconstruction of the *Shilou*⁶⁷⁷. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, Pingyao merchants funded the restoration, construction or reconstruction of almost all the public buildings, including the official administration building, the *Yamen*, and religious temples.



Map 5.1 Layout of the ACP⁶⁷⁸

Fourthly, Pingyao Merchants built many private traditional courtyards (*Siheyuan*), which demonstrate the influence Confucian thought (based on Chou-Li) and Taoism (cosmic principles) on spatial arrangement and room usage. Physical buildings, such as traditional buildings, were closely related to social factors in that “any architectural structure is an object whose spatial form is a form

⁶⁷⁶ Stele Records.

⁶⁷⁷ Stele Record on the Reconstruction of the Shilou (重修市楼碑记). The 17th year of Emperor Taoguang. 1837.

⁶⁷⁸ Shu-Yi Wang. Tradition, Memory and the Culture of Place: Continuity and Change in the Ancient City of Pingyao, China.” (Ph.D thesis, Univeristy of Colorado at Denver, USA, 2008),92.

of social ordering”⁶⁷⁹. Social ordering is also embodied in *Siheyuan* courtyards, which were built on the Chinese cosmic principles with clear axes and a symmetrical arrangement. They are closed spaces divided into two or three quadrangles, or *Jins* in Chinese. The division of *Jins* separates the space into public, semi-public and private areas. For example, the first *Jin* of residential courtyards was usually a reception area and the second *Jin* was a semi-public space for hosts to meet guests while the third *Jin* was for family life. The room arrangement also reveals the family hierarchy in line with Confucian doctrine. For example, parents and elders lived in the most privileged and quiet section of the house and older sons lived nearer to the parents’ room.

The private courtyards included two types, living areas for family use and shops/stores for commercial use. Shops and stores in the ACP were larger than the family areas and were usually divided into three sections in line with different functions. Generally, the front section was for business, the middle one for a workshop, and back or side one for residence. For example, a *Rishengchang Piaohao* shop, occupying 2000 square meters of land including 21 architectural structures with more than 100 rooms, is located on the eastern side of the West Street. It faces north and includes three mixed courtyards, which are the middle, western and eastern courtyards. Both the western courtyard (front section) and the middle courtyard functioned as places for business while the eastern courtyard was used as the residential area. Furthermore, the arrangement of the spaces and rooms within the *Siheyuan* was strictly in line with ritual rules of Confucianism focusing on hierarchical social status.

It is clear that the layout and traditional architecture in the ACP demonstrate the projection of traditional culture, Confucianism and Taoism, in the spatial arrangements. Public buildings, such as temples, linked to moral aspects of traditional culture. From the selection of size of the ACP to detailed designs of room arrangements for family members, Confucianism and Taoism, in particular the hierarchical features of Confucianism, were projected into the spatial arrangements.

5.2.3 Cultural Aspect

The above section analyzed the spatial aspects of the ACP and it indicates that these include, not

⁶⁷⁹ Yinong Xu. *The Chinese City in Space and Time: the Development of Urban Form in Suzhou*. (USA: University of Hawaii Press, 2000): 4.

only the physical aspects but also reflect the projection of traditional culture. This section will analyze the traditional features of the people living in the ACP in ancient times. That is, how the behaviors of the Pingyao people were influenced by Chinese traditional culture. In particular, the Pingyao merchants, as a local elite who contributed greatly to the local economy and construction, were embedded in local and enclosed places on which Chinese traditional culture was projected. Furthermore, the ACP existed only for the local community. Therefore, Chinese traditional culture, projected into traditional buildings and the layout of the ACP, influenced the behavior of Pingyao people in traditional times. In this regard, Chinese traditional culture was also introjected into the Pingyao people through the spatial arrangement. Therefore, the projection of traditional culture into the spatial arrangement is consistent to the process of introjection. The main argument is that Pingyao people were embedded in the enclosed and integral spaces of the ACP, which existed only for locals without external intervention. Furthermore, the spatial arrangement into which Chinese traditional culture was projected also introjected the Pingyao people.

In traditional times Pingyao people were mainly influenced by Chinese traditional culture, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Confucianism has had a powerful influence on Chinese behavior and social structure⁶⁸⁰. It provides guidance on the ethical principles of social and political life, while Taoism and Buddhism both add psychological and spiritual dimensions⁶⁸¹. The Pingyao people, like other Chinese people in traditional times, were molded mainly by Confucianism in regard to ethics with Taoism and Buddhism influencing psychological and spiritual aspects. For example, although Pingyao merchants were involved in commercial activities associated with the dyeing industry and providing bank drafts in the Ming and Qing dynasties, they lived a life in line with Confucian rules. Furthermore, although their businesses operated in other Chinese cities and overseas, in countries such as Japan, Russia, and Korea, their business headquarters were still in their hometown. In other words, they were embedded in the ACP into Chinese traditional culture was projected.

Pingyao merchants, as the local elite, contributed a lot to the construction and reconstruction of

⁶⁸⁰ David D.Huang , and Richard A. Charter. "The Origin and Formulation of Chinese Character: An Introduction to Confucianism and Its Influence on Chinese Behavior Patterns." *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health* 2, no. 1 (1996): 35.

⁶⁸¹ Xinzhong Yao. *An Introduction to Confucianism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 224.

public buildings. For example, the Qingxu temple, a Taoist temple in the ACP, was restored and reconstructed five times from 1691 to 1898⁶⁸². In 1898, 433 Pingyao merchants contributed to the restoration of the Qingxu temple⁶⁸³. In fact, Pingyao merchants contributed to the restoration and reconstruction of almost all the public buildings, such as the *Shilou*, City-God temple, Confucian temple, warfare temple, Taoist temple, and even the *Yamen* (public administrative office). Pingyao merchants in the late Qing dynasty were a business group with an extravagant lifestyle ruled by Confucianism. The spatial arrangement of Confucian, Taoism, and Buddhism temples evidenced the belief systems of the Pingyao people in traditional times.

Pingyao people were embedded in the local and enclosed spaces of the ACP which existed only for locals. Pingyao people, the spatial arrangement, and the consistency of cultural/spatial aspects of the ACP evidenced the local, enclosed, and integral features that accorded with *Gemeinschaft*, the typically traditional community. As indicated in section 2.2.1, *Gemeinschaft* is a traditional community where the members shared customs/religions and lived in an enclosed and self-sufficient space. The ACP was just such a space. When the ACP was constructed, it was designed as a self-sufficient domain, which could meet the needs of all those living inside it. For example, the public administrative system, religious functions, markets, agriculture, and leisure activities could all be accessed in the city. They were all available in the four major streets, eight secondary streets and 72 alleys. The four major streets are the East, West, South and North streets. As shown in Map 5.1, the four major streets were the framework of the city. They were also areas for local residents to work, shop, relax, and recreate. Each street was characterized by the stores along it. For example, South Street was the axis of the city and there were splendid-decorated stores along it where the primary businesses were key to people's daily lives. West and East streets were part of the Jin Merchant (Jin refers to Shanxi province and Jin Merchant means a Shanxi merchant) trade route linking internal business with outsiders. Thus, West Street was filled with dyeing stores and draft banks, which did business with travelling merchants. There were some 'commodities-stored' inns which mainly provided storage services with simple accommodation for external merchants. For example, there were 13 'commodities-stored' inns in 1777 and 56 in 1813⁶⁸⁴. East Street was also the

⁶⁸² Zhiping Liu. "Construction of Pingyao City under the Influence of Commerce Development during the Ming and Qing dynasties." (Master dissertation, Shaanxi Normal University, 2007), 38-39.

⁶⁸³ Committee of Pingyao County Annuals. *Annals of Pingyao County*, (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Publishing House, 1998), 363.

⁶⁸⁴ Committee of Pingyao County Annuals. *Annals of Pingyao County*, (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Publishing House, 225

place for workshops and general merchandise while North Street was topographically lower and was generally the place for the poor. Functionally, these four streets provided for the living and commercial needs of all the residents in the city. It is clear that the ACP is a typical example of a closed and traditional unit in traditional Chinese society, where the Pingyao people, sharing common beliefs, were firmly embedded in this community.

In the Republican era, the ACP was still a traditional community in that Chinese traditional culture still influenced both people and physical settings. As indicated in Chapter 3 section 3.2, traditional culture was devalued by the political and cultural elites in the Republican era from 1911 to 1949. In detail, in initial stage of the Republican era, Sun Yet-sen interpreted the identification of ‘Chinese’ or ‘Chineseness’ from an ethno-nationalist perspective to be directed against the Manchu authority in the late Qing dynasty⁶⁸⁵. However, the May fourth movement in 1919 was an extreme expression of nationalistic anti-traditionalism⁶⁸⁶. Then, the period from 1927 to 1949 witnessed the anti-tradition policy of the KMT government with the emergence of modern Chinese nationalism⁶⁸⁷. In 1927, the Nationalist Party issued a decree to destruct Confucian temples and regard Confucianism as “superstitious and out of the modern world”⁶⁸⁸. However, in the last 12 years of their rule, the KMT engaged in continuous warfare, firstly with Japan and then with the CPC⁶⁸⁹. Therefore, the anti-tradition and anti-religion policies of the KMT from 1927 to 1949 did not greatly influence the spatial and cultural aspects of the ACP as it was located in a remote and enclosed area. In other words, the religious temples and other public buildings, as moral spaces of traditional culture, were still there for local people. From an economic perspective, the dyeing industry and draft banks declined due to external invasions of warfare. The ACP’s economic status as the ‘Chinese Wall Street’ and ‘Little Beijing’ in late the Qing dynasty was lost. However, Pingyao merchants still mainly engaged in the production and trade of commodities in the Republican era. For example, in the 1933 *Shanxi Provincial Annuals*, there were 585 private merchant families with 3015 staff in the

1998), 368.

⁶⁸⁵ Dru C Gladney. *Dislocating China: Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 13-14.

⁶⁸⁶ Yü-sheng Lin. *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979).

⁶⁸⁷ Myron L.Cohen. “Being Chinese: The Peripheralization of Traditional Identity.” *Daedalus* 120, no. 2 (1991): 113-134.

⁶⁸⁸ Jinyu Li, “The Politics of Propriety: A Comparative Study of the New Life Movement and the Five Stresses and Four Beautifications Campaign in Twentieth Century China.” (MA dissertation, Rice University, 1987), 17.

⁶⁸⁹ Hung-mao Tien. *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China, 1927-1937*. (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 1972): 1.

ACP⁶⁹⁰. Therefore, the Republican era saw a traditional community in the ACP with a declining economic status.

This section demonstrated a typically traditional community in regard to economic, spatial, and cultural aspects. This traditional community accorded with Tönnies' concept of *Gemeinschaft*. In particular, the Chinese traditional culture, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, influenced the community from spatial arrangements to belief systems. Chinese traditional culture was projected into traditional buildings and spatial arrangements which also consistently influenced the Pingyao people. The Chinese traditional culture, however, was devalued and strongly attacked in the following era, Mao's era.

5.3 Influence of Mao's Radical Socialism on the ACP

This section will examine the influence of Mao's Radical Socialism on the ACP in regard to two aspects, the spatial and cultural aspects. Under this influence, the ACP became a socialist community with tradition-style and modern-style buildings. The main argument for this section is that the ACP still existed for locals whose actions and behaviors were influenced mainly by Mao's radical socialism in its enclosed place. However, the physical settings of the ACP demonstrated both tradition-styles and modern-styles. Traditional public buildings were used as public socialist infrastructure and therefore the internal settings changed a lot within the tradition-style appearance. As a result, even some traditional buildings were kept tradition-style but without the introjection of Chinese traditional culture. That is, Chinese traditional culture was detached from traditional buildings and traditional places were physically tradition-style but without introjection to the Pingyao people who were influenced by Mao's radical socialism. In other words, what was projected into traditional buildings in traditional times could not introject Pingyao people in Mao's era. In addition, some newly constructed buildings showed a modern-style with consistency between the projection and introjection of Socialism. In other words, the ACP became a socialist community with tradition-style and modern-style buildings.

The change of the uses and ownership of traditional buildings will now be examined. The change of

⁶⁹⁰ Committee of Pingyao County Annuals. *Annuals of Pingyao County*, (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Publishing House, 1998), 363.

uses of some public traditional buildings as socialist public spaces and living facilities in Mao's era evidenced the necessity of reconstructing tradition-style culture for the following tourism-driven heritage authorization in the post-Mao era. The change of ownership of some privately owned traditional buildings into government-operated buildings influenced the managerial model of built heritage in the post-Mao era. This contributes to an understanding of why Chinese built heritage is required to 'reconstruct' in a tradition-style for physical heritage authorization. One significant reason is the influence of Mao's Radical Socialism on traditional buildings. This also helps with understanding why the principle of restoring Chinese built heritage usually means removing the influences of Mao's era.

5.3.1 Spatial Aspect

After 1949, the Socialist culture was expected to replace traditional culture under Maoism, as indicated in section 3.3. Traditional culture, such as Confucian culture, Taoism, and Buddhism, was strongly attacked, in particular during the Cultural Revolution. As for built heritage, as indicated in sections 3.2 and 3.6, Liang introduced the Western understanding of built heritage that traditional architecture carried cultural meaning of traditional times but this understanding was not recognized by the CPC and the public. Therefore, common traditional architecture was not viewed by the public and authorities as carrying feudal information and thus was not a focus of destruction, except religious temple, such as Confucian, City-God, and Taoist temples. In the ACP, some public traditional buildings were changed into Socialist infrastructure and some new Socialist buildings and factories were built to fulfill the needs of the locals. In this regard, socialist spaces, where social relations were characterized by socialist rules, were established to replace the traditional spaces where social relations had been characterized by Chinese traditional culture.

Under materialism, most traditional buildings were regarded by the CPC as physical objects without cultural meaning. Under this understanding, many traditional buildings were turned into socialist infrastructure without being fully demolished. Traditional public buildings were often used as socialist places where socialist activities were held. In the ACP, the statues in temples were destroyed as part of the adaptation of these buildings to be used as schools or other public facilities. For example, the *Yamen*, the administrative office in traditional times, was kept as municipal offices from 1949 to 1990s. The City-God temple, previously used as a religious place where locals could

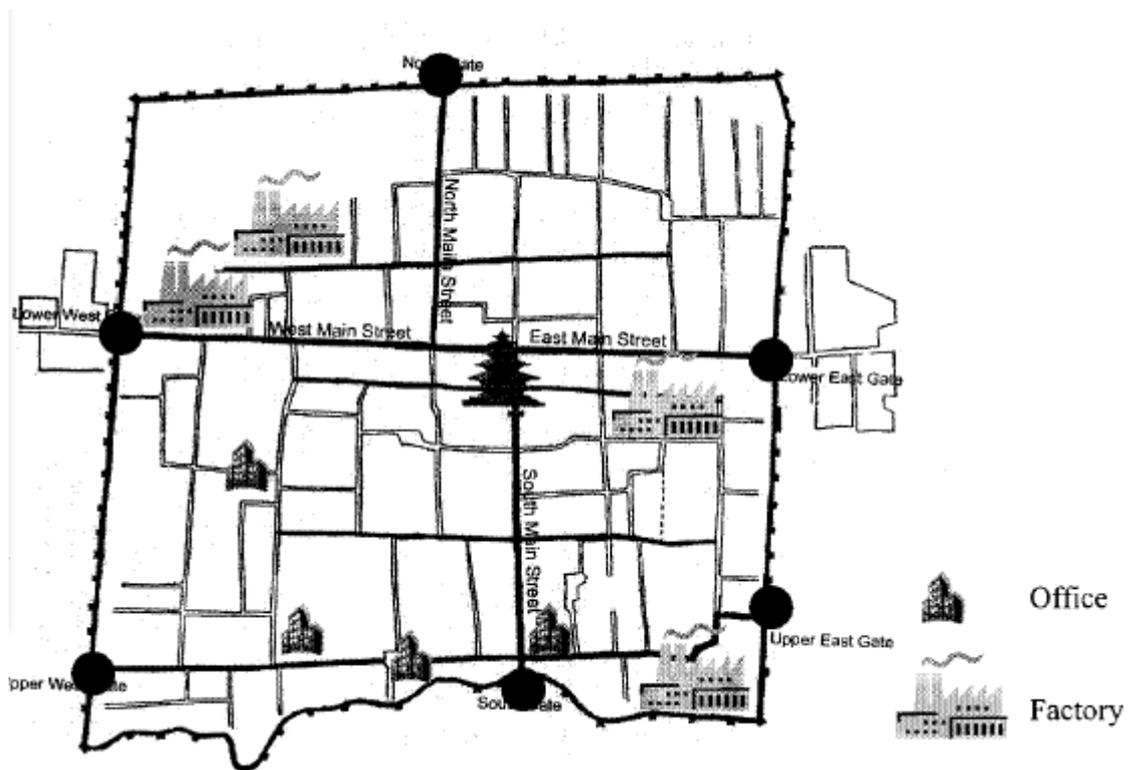
worship together, changed into the workers' union and workers' club. The workers' union and workers' club was still a public area where local people could meet and gather together. However, the City-God temple was dismantled during the Cultural Revolution and the wooden materials were used to build Government Hall in 1977. The Confucius Temple (*Wenmiao*) and the Warfare Temple (*Wumiao*) were changed into the Pingyao Middle School and the Fifth Elementary School and the internal compounds were dismantled partly to suit the new functions. The Confucius temple had a *Xuetang* (traditional school for teaching Confucian books) in imperial times and also functioned as a space symbolizing Confucian culture, but it changed into a place where socialist culture and ideology were taught. Other temples were also used to provide public services. For example, the Buddhist temple (Jifu temple) was dismantled during this period and its materials were used to build modern Socialist buildings. The Taoist temple (Qingxu temple) became the Department of Food Provision where locals received food, flour and oil. The Temple of Wealth, located northwest of the Confucian temple, became a movie theater in the 1950s and then a place for the performance of Jin-style opera. In addition, small physical objects of traditional architecture, for example some decorations on houses in the ACP, were destroyed, during the Cultural Revolution⁶⁹¹. Physically, these traditional buildings were not erased but changed into public infrastructure in Mao's era. Culturally, these public traditional buildings were changed into Socialist spaces. As for many traditional houses, they were kept in the tradition-style but without the introjection of Chinese traditional culture. Chinese traditional culture, which had been projected into traditional buildings and the spatial arrangement in the ACP, was restricted and attacked. Therefore, under this anti-traditionalism phase, traditional architecture might be physically kept in the tradition-style but without the original cultural meaning of Chinese traditional culture to introject the Pingyao people.

In addition to the reconstruction of public traditional buildings as socialist infrastructure, two new types construction within the ACP were carried out in Mao's era, modern buildings that represented the new socialist culture and small factories to support agricultural development⁶⁹². The former mainly hosted activities during state holidays and provided general services for the local community, including the Chinese People's Bank, the People's courthouse, and the Pingyao Hotel, as well as a

⁶⁹¹ Wei Tao, He Xin, Jiang Wei. "The Evolution and Types of Traditional House Morphological Characteristics of Pingyao Ancient City: A Micro View of Fengshui Study." *Human Geography* 29, no 5 (2014) : 40-48.

⁶⁹² Shu-Yi Wang. "Tradition, Memory and the Culture of Place: Continuity and Change in the Ancient City of Pingyao, China." (Ph.D thesis, Univeristy of Colorado at Denver, USA, 2008), 109.

theater, auditorium, assembly hall, post office, jail and local police station. In order to show how fast socialist modernization could occur, little destruction was carried out and these modern buildings were strategically arranged along the fringe of the established area in the ACP as landmarks at the end of the main and secondary streets. The latter were established to support local agricultural production in the surrounding rural countryside and to obtain socialist modernization, including a spinning and weaving mill, cotton textile mill, agricultural machinery plant, and the headquarters of the Jinzhong machinery plant. These newly built factories were also arranged at the fringe area of the ACP, usually at the northwest corner or in the east or southeast areas where there was more vacant land and a low density population. The two new kinds of construction were all built of cement, bricks, and other modern materials in modern form, which is quite different from the traditional buildings. Furthermore, these buildings were built either to represent the ideological modernity of Socialism (socialist infrastructure and facilities) or for Socialist modernization (small factories). Map 5.2 shows the location of the new constructions in Mao's era.



Map 5.2 Locations of New Construction in Mao's era⁶⁹³

Two changes in the spatial aspect are clear, socialist uses of public traditional buildings and new constructions demonstrate the huge influence of Mao's Radical Socialism on the spatial arrangement

⁶⁹³ Shu-Yi Wang. Tradition, Memory and the Culture of Place: Continuity and Change in the Ancient City of Pingyao, China." (Ph.D thesis, Univeristy of Colorado at Denver, USA, 2008), 111.

in the ACP. In addition to this spatial aspect, the imposition of Socialism and some socialist institutions also influenced the Pingyao people as well as the ownership of traditional buildings.

5.3.2 Cultural and Institutional Aspects

The Pingyao people, like people in other areas in China, had Marxism and later Maoism imposed upon them. Under Mao, ‘legitimate knowledge’ in schools was all based on Marxist dogma⁶⁹⁴. More and more people believed the Marxist and Maoist view that Socialism could help to establish a more egalitarian and equal society, while Confucianism, which focused on hierarchy, was the origin of social inequality. They also condemned Taoism and Buddhism as being superstition. From then on, Socialism, replaced the influences of Confucianism on the attitudes and behaviours of Chinese society. They believed a socialist country would be realized under their efforts. Furthermore, many relevant institutions, such as the *Danwei* and *Jingzu*, were established to strengthen socialist ideology and socialist movement activities were launched to destroy Chinese traditional culture and its influences on the Chinese. These institutions shifted the ownership of some traditional buildings from the private sector to the governmental sector. This created a lot more difficulty in restoring and conserving traditional buildings in the Post-Mao era.

The Pingyao merchants were regarded as landlords and thus lost their superior social status as well as their private property. Under egalitarianism and class struggle, the CPC forced landlords to work in the labor camps in rural areas. Land Reform policies in the early 1950s redistributed lands from landlords and then collectivized the lands for socialist modernization. This resulted in a change of ownership of private traditional stores as well as some private houses constructed by wealthy Pingyao merchants into buildings for public use. Therefore, the Pingyao merchants, who greatly contributed to the public traditional buildings, were regarded as landlords and even lost their private shops and houses. The new class, workers, was expected to undertake socialist modernization in the ACP and some institutions, such as the *Danwei* and *Jingzu*, were designed to serve communism.

Danweis were designed to create links between the people and the government under communism.

The traditional public buildings were transformed into governmental offices or *danweis* (work units)

⁶⁹⁴ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. “Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 362-392.

belonging to governments to provide public services such as hospitals and schools. Every resident in the city belonged to a *danwei* based on their work. *Danweis* bridged government and local people in that they not only provided jobs but also social welfare, such as health care, housing, and food distribution⁶⁹⁵. Through the *Danwei* and land reform, the CPP redistributed some courtyard houses and changed them into government-owned houses in the ACP⁶⁹⁶. Some private shops previously owned by Pingyao merchants were also changed into government-owned *Danweis*.

Private houses were also rearranged by the central government through the *Jingzu* House policy. The 1958's *Jingzu* House Policy has heavily influenced the ownership of Pingyao courtyards, even to the present day. The *Jingzu* House Policy required some rich individuals to transfer their private houses to the government so they could be allocated to accommodate workers who were coming from rural areas for Socialist productive construction. Under this policy, the owners of the houses could get fixed rentals from the government but the ownership of the houses was unclear. This led to the current public rental house institution and has resulted in the dense population in the ACP, which will be explored later in section 5.5. Indeed, the period from 1949 to 1978 saw the change in ownership of about one third of all traditional houses in the ACP from the private sector to the government sector under the *Jingzu* house policy, land reform, and socialist construction policy⁶⁹⁷.

5.3.3 Socialist Space with Tradition-style and Modern-style Buildings

The spiritual influences of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism on local actors were eliminated in Mao's era. Chinese traditional culture, including Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism which had influenced Chinese people for about 2000 thousand years, was attacked and replaced by Socialism. In China, religious worship, in which all residents would participate in traditional times, was controlled by local elites. People went to different temples according to the particular purpose of their worship. However, under Mao's radical socialism, all the religious rituals were eliminated and restricted. As indicated in section 2.2.3, Giddens's notions of 'authentic tradition' or 'real tradition' only exist on the condition that ritual practice is tightly connected with formulaic truth⁶⁹⁸. Formulaic

⁶⁹⁵ Piper Gaubatz. "China's Urban Transformation: Patterns and Processes of Morphological Change in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou." *Urban Studies* 36, no. 9 (1999): 1495-1521.

⁶⁹⁶ Shu-Yi Wang. "Tradition, Memory and the Culture of Place: Continuity and Change in the Ancient City of Pingyao, China." (Ph.D thesis, University of Colorado at Denver, USA, 2008), 108-109.

⁶⁹⁷ Interview data from local officials in ACP.

⁶⁹⁸ Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford

truth is connected to divine law. This means tradition exists in divine law in which religious rituals equal the truth without any doubt. If there is no combination of ritual practice and formulaic truth, tradition lapses into mere customs or habits, which are clearly distinguished from tradition⁶⁹⁹.

Customs and habits have no meaning without the connection between formulaic truth and ritual practice. This means that customs and habits might apparently be similar to those in traditional times but without the cultural significance of traditional meaning or religious meaning. In other words, these customs and habits had no introjection to people. For example, although some customs without intense religious meaning were still present in the ACP, such as Jin-style opera, they were different from those in traditional times. In traditional times, when people enjoyed Jin-style opera, they would recognize some moral principles within the opera. Furthermore, these moral principles would influence their actions and behaviors. Therefore, these operas introjected people in traditional times. However, in Mao's era, Jin-style opera existed without cultural introjection on people in their actions and behaviors because they believed socialism. Furthermore, they might think the design of the opera was backward because of their changed attitudes to Chinese traditional culture and its moral principles. In this regard, customs and habits existed in tradition-style but without the introjection of people.

It was similar for the traditional buildings, which were kept physically tradition-style but without the meaning of traditional significance. Most traditional architecture in the ACP was not destroyed in Mao's era but was used for Socialist purposes. For example, the ancient walls were kept intact and the layout of the ACP remained the same. Traditional architecture was not recognized as carrying traditional culture except in religious temples. The projected traditional culture in traditional buildings was hidden and restricted although these buildings were tradition-style physically. For example, people were not aware of and did not recognize that Confucianism and Taoism were projected in the courtyards and layout of ACP. From this point of view, traditional culture was replaced by the socialist culture both in the spatial and cultural aspects of the ACP. In other words, although some traditional buildings were physically tradition-style, Chinese traditional culture, projected in these buildings when they were built, was detached from the tradition-style buildings in

University Press, 1994), 62-66.

⁶⁹⁹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2.

Mao's era. In this regard, the introjection of traditional buildings was disrupted by the replacement of traditional culture with socialist culture as the main rule of Chinese behavior and actions. Therefore, traditional buildings, projected by Chinese traditional culture, became tradition-style buildings without the influence of projection and introjection.

It was still an enclosed and self-sufficient community but it was different in that it was controlled by the CPC, who tried to destroy the traditional culture and establish Socialist culture. In Mao's era, the ACP was an enclosed community where people believed in socialism and the space was full of socialist culture although some places/buildings and customs/habits were kept tradition-style physically. In other words, socialism replaced Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism basis of people's behaviors and actions. However, it was still an enclosed community without external intervention. Socialism is different from what Giddens conceptualizes as 'tradition' in that socialism opposes divine laws and advocates science and materialism in the modern sense. However, the ACP had significant features of a 'traditional community' in Mao's era in line with Tönnies's concept of *Gemeinschaft*. As indicated in section 2.2.1, *Gemeinschaft* is understood to be a traditional community where the members had shared customs/religions and mutual understanding and lived in an enclosed and self-sufficient space. Firstly, the ACP was an enclosed community where permanent residents had to have official permits. Most of them belonged to certain *Danwei* there. Secondly, most people there had the same belief (socialism) and social activities. For example, they gathered together in workers' clubs to meet and make contact with each other. Thirdly, it was a self-sufficient community in that people there produced almost everything they needed. In other words, the ACP existed only for local residents at that time although some residents came from other areas and they might be not have been residents before 1949.

As a community, people still shared same beliefs and rules of behavior in the ACP. Local residents still attached their emotion to the place although what had been projected in the traditional buildings was different from their beliefs and rules of behavior. That is, the previously projected culture in the public places and traditional buildings had no introjection in people in this era. These traditional buildings became tradition-style buildings. As for those newly constructed buildings (socialist symbolic buildings and factories), they were modern-style socialist buildings with elements of projection and introjection. That is, these modern-style buildings projected by socialist culture,

consistently introjected on Pingyao people who believed in socialism. In this regard, the ACP was still a community in a similar way to before 1949. The difference was that socialism replaced Chinese traditional culture (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) in regard to cultural and spatial aspects. From this point of view, the ACP was an enclosed community and space of socialism with tradition-style and modern-style buildings/places.

5.4 Heritage Authorization in the ACP (1978-1997)

Although the two eras (pre-1949 and 1949-1978) demonstrated different features in terms of Chinese traditional culture in the ACP, both shared a similar feature in that ACP existed only for the local residents without external intervention. This section will examine the process of heritage authorization in which heritage experts from heritage fields actively engaged in restoring and physically reconstructing tradition-style buildings as well as conserving the layout of the ACP. In this regard, heritage experts aimed to remove the physical remains of Mao's era and reconstruct tradition-style buildings and places that are physically similar to the traditional buildings before 1949. However, the local residents were disempowered in this process in two ways. Firstly, their living conditions were negatively influenced by the relocation of almost all the local public living facilities. This relocation was launched as an authentication project for the WCH inscription under the principle of stylistic restoration, which is interpreted by heritage experts as restoring the built heritage to the architectural style of the Qing dynasty. That is, removing the physical remains of Mao's era. Secondly, local residents were also encouraged to relocate out of the ACP to reduce the density of the population for the WCH inscription. Therefore, the European-originated CCPWCNH, as a distant and external factor, led to both the rearrangement of the physical modern-style socialist space of Mao's era into reconstructed tradition-style commercial spaces and the emergence of new social relations between external heritage experts and local actors. The latter reflects one of Giddens' modernity notions, disembedding, which refers to the influence of external factors on the social relations of locals. This section contributes to a better understanding of how heritage authorization, as an external factor, negatively influences the living conditions of local residents.

5.4.1 Heritage Policies of the ACP from 1978 to 1997

As indicated in section 3.4, Deng's pragmatic socialism shifted from class struggle to economic

development. Deng's era witnessed the first steps of decentralization in which the central government allocated more revenue to local governments (referring to provincial governments) to spark local development while still controlling the approval of big projects for local development. In other words, the central-planning was still a key feature and local governments had to get support from central government for local development. The central government, however, mainly promoted the local economies of southern/eastern coastal areas and significant cities during Deng's era. Under Deng's economic focus, Chinese traditional culture was neither attacked nor promoted⁷⁰⁰. Chinese traditional culture was not regarded as 'fine' for propaganda purposes and the behavior of Chinese people did not follow Confucian rules or other traditional culture. Therefore, many 'traditional buildings'⁷⁰¹, actually tradition-style buildings because of the continuous non-introjection of projected Chinese traditional culture in these buildings, were regarded as valueless for economic development and thus were erased to construct modern socialist buildings in many areas. For example, many traditional buildings in Beijing were viewed as obstacles to modernization and were therefore dismantled. Many cities followed this model, destroying traditional buildings to serve economic development.

Located in the remote western areas, Pingyao was not able to get sufficient support from the central government to promote its economy. It did not even have sufficient funding to dismantle its traditional buildings as other local governments did until 1980. At that time, heritage experts from the central heritage administration and universities, suggested local government conserve physically traditional buildings and the layout of the ACP⁷⁰². For example, Ruan Yisan, a lecturer from Tongji University, tried to prevent the destruction of traditional buildings in the ACP when he found the Pingyao government had been dismantling about 30 buildings from the Ming dynasty and 100 buildings from the Qing dynasty on a 180-meter stretch of road⁷⁰³. The, then, director of the School of Urban Planning at Tongji University, Dong Jianhong (Ruan Yisan's teacher), also engaged in conserving the ACP. Their Master Plan of Pingyao demonstrated the idea of "Conserving Ancient

⁷⁰⁰ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 375.

⁷⁰¹ I will just use 'traditional buildings' in this section to refer to physically tradition-style buildings left from Mao's era to contrast to the newly reconstructed tradition-style buildings for heritage authorization or tourism development.

⁷⁰² Jinghui Wang, Ruan Yisan and Wang Lin. *Preservation and Planning of Historical Cultural City*. (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 1994), 14.

⁷⁰³ Yisan Ruan. *Records on Conserving Ancient Cities*. (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2003), 20; Jinghui Wang, Ruan Yisan and Wang Lin. *Preservation and Planning of Historical Cultural City*. (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 1994), 14.

City Integrally, Dividing the New and the Ancient Completely, Improving Internal Environment, Developing Tourism Industry” (完整保护古城, 新旧完全分开, 改善内部环境, 发展旅游事业)⁷⁰⁴. This idea was similar to what Liang Sicheng had suggested for Beijing in 1958, as indicated in section 3.3.1. Liang suggested constructing a new Beijing in another area and conserving ancient Beijing. Liang’s thoughts on conserving the ancient city did not convince the CPC during the period from 1949 to 1978, but his students and followers strongly supported his thoughts. These students and followers were positioned at relevant administrations of construction and heritage. When the proposal and relevant materials (such as photos, data and drawings) were posted to the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (MHURD) and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), the proposal was supported by relevant administrators, such as Zheng Xiaoxie and Luo Zhewen. Both of them were followers of Liang Sicheng and undertook influential positions in MHURD and SACH. Later, they visited the ACP. Furthermore, under the recommendation of Luo Zhewen, SACH allocated RMB 80,000 to restore the ancient wall of the ACP⁷⁰⁵. Due to their influential positions, the Shanxi and Pingyao governments trusted the plan to conserve the ACP and they quickly approved the MPP. Thus, the ACP was kept intact during the 1980s.

As the central government became more involved in planning local economies between 1978 and 1994, these heritage experts, positioned at the construction and heritage administration of the central government, had more influence in proposing the conservation of built heritage in local areas. As indicated in section 3.6, these heritage experts, with specialized heritage knowledge from their westernized teachers⁷⁰⁶, had the legitimized power of heritage authorization in the top-to-bottom heritage authorization institution. Therefore, with the support of these heritage experts, the ACP was listed by the State Council as one of the second NHCCs in 1986. Then, some traditional buildings in Pingyao, such as the ancient wall, the Shuanglin temple, and the Zhenguo temple, were listed as National Key Cultural Relics Protection Units (NKCRPU) in 1988. As a result, the Pingyao government got some funding from the central government to conserve the ACP in the 1980s⁷⁰⁷. It is clear that the contribution of heritage experts was significant in getting financial support from the central government as well as authorizing the ACP and some traditional buildings as heritage. In

⁷⁰⁴ Yisan Ruan. “Conservation Process of Historical Architecture and Cities.” *Time Architecture* no. 3 (2000): 10-13.

⁷⁰⁵ Yisan Ruan. *Records on Conserving Ancient Cities*. (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2003), 25.

⁷⁰⁶ Sicheng Liang was one of significant teachers for them.

⁷⁰⁷ Yisan Ruan. *Records on Conserving Ancient Cities*. (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2003), 25.

addition, they also helped train local staff in the heritage administration of Pingyao and shared their heritage restoration knowledge with them. For example, Ruan invited eight local heritage administrators to Tongji University to accept heritage knowledge training in the 1980s. Therefore, these heritage experts with authorized power and specialized knowledge greatly influenced local development of Pingyao. These heritage experts contributed more to inscribing ACP as a WCH site when the local government made an effort to inscribe the ACP as a WCH site to enhance tourism from 1994 to 1997.

The fame of the NHCC led to the beginning of the ACP as a tourist site. After the ACP was listed as an NHCC in 1986, it attracted a lot more tourists. For example, tourist arrivals numbered 60,000 in 1988 and 167,000 in 1991⁷⁰⁸. However, Pingyao people lived in a poor life at that time. The Figure 5.1 shows the scene of Pingyao in early 1990s. The boom in tourism is closely related to the sociological ambivalence of modernity, which has bright side and dark side⁷⁰⁹. The economic development brought by the bright side of modernity improved living conditions while at the same time the rapid economic development temporarily made people escape from their daily lives (dark side). The dark side of modernity led to the loss of personal identity, which is closely related to tradition, as indicated in section 2.2.3. Therefore, tradition-sense built heritage attracts tourists, who have a feeling of nostalgia and feel ambivalent about modernity⁷¹⁰. At that time, a lot of physically traditional buildings in China were demolished to give way to the construction of modern buildings for economic development. Therefore, when the ACP was conserved as an NHCC with some national heritage units, it attracted increasing numbers of tourists. This resulted in the local government regarding tourism as a potential impetus to stimulate the local economy. As indicated in section 3.5, the local government had the power to determine the direction of the local economy after a tax sharing system between the central and local governments was implemented in 1994. From the early 1990s, the Pingyao government selected ways of using heritage authorization to develop its local economy. For example, in 1995, the Pingyao government officially confirmed the strategy of future development as “Using tourism to drive the economic prosperity of Pingyao” (*Ivyou*

⁷⁰⁸ Yingzhi Guo. “Study on the Sustainable Strategy of Tourist Marketing of the Tourist Moderate Places in China.” *Human Geography* 18, no.1 (2003) : 6-9, 18.

⁷⁰⁹ Ning Wang. *Tourism and Modernity: A sociological analysis*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 2000), 12,16.

⁷¹⁰ Wiendu Nuryanti. “Heritage and Postmodern tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 249-260; Greg Richards. “Production and Consumption of European Cultural Tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 261-283.

xingxian)⁷¹¹.



Figure 5.1 The scene of Pingyao in 1993

Resource from Baidu tieba about old photos of Pingyao⁷¹²

Although heritage experts initially actively persuaded the Pingyao government to conserve the ACP and traditional buildings in 1980s, during the 1990s the Pingyao government actively began to invite heritage experts to visit the ACP to achieve the WCH inscription. For example, the Pingyao government actively sponsored the annual conference of the NHCC to be held in the ACP in 1994. Experts from the Ministry of Construction, SACH, and universities attended the NHCC conference. The Pingyao government expected those heritage experts would support them in their application for WCH inscription. However, their purpose for heritage authorization was clearly tourism development⁷¹³, as is clear from the title of the NHCC annual conference, the “NHCC Annual Conference and Tourism Development of ACP”. At the end of the conference, those influential heritage experts decided to support the inscription of the ACP as a WCH site. In this regard, the external heritage experts strengthened the connection of heritage authorization to tourism development⁷¹⁴. Under their further support, the Pingyao government began to prepare for WCH inscription from 1994.

⁷¹¹ Committee of Pingyao County Annuals. *Annuals of Pingyao County*, (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Publishing House, 1998),809.

⁷¹² Old Pictures of Pingyao. Baidu tieba. Accessed in November, 2015. <http://tieba.baidu.com/p/1344858897>

⁷¹³ Feifan Xie and Kai Gu. “Urban Morphology and Tourism Planning: Exploring the City Wall in Pingyao, China. ” In *Urban Tourism in China*. ed. Mimi Li and Wu Bihu. (London and New York: Routledge, 2013): 37.

⁷¹⁴ Yisan Ruan and Xiao Jianli. Seeking a Win-Win Resolution for Heritage Preservation and Tourism Development. *City Planning Review* 27, no. 6 (2003): 86-90.

Their support was revealed in two aspects. Firstly, they helped to plan the ACP in line with CCPWCNH criteria. Secondly, they helped to draft and polish the application files for WCH authorization. Such knowledge and expertise are difficult for local actors to grasp. As a local actor, the local government had to follow their suggestions for inscription. As a result, these experts with expertise linked the international conventions of CCPWCNH and local actors together. In this regard, they had the power to interpret the built heritage and select their preferred dynastic architectural style, as analyzed in section 3.6. In the Pingyao case, they decided to remove the physical remains of Mao's era in favour of traditional buildings. As shown in section 5.3.1, many traditional buildings were changed into socialist public infrastructure in Mao's era, such as temples being changed into schools. Heritage experts, with preference to physically traditional buildings, suggested re-changing the public infrastructure into pre-Mao era physically traditional spaces. That means the schools were required to change into temples again. Furthermore, this was part of the authentication projects for the authenticity criteria for WCH inscription. However, this restoration principle, French-school stylistic restoration, did not follow the authenticity criteria of CCPWCNH, which focuses on the English-school, least intervention on built heritage, as explained in section 3.6. This indicates that the heritage experts achieved a higher status by linking the CCPWCNH to local practice. It further implies that heritage experts, with special expertise in interpreting CCPWCNH in local contexts, have a superior status compared to local actors. Under their stylistic restoration principle, the authentication projects were launched.

The authentication projects were comprised of two parts, the relocation of public infrastructure out of the ACP and the official reconstruction of physically tradition-style spaces to show traditional features. Relocation of public infrastructure refers to relocating the Mao-era public infrastructure which had previously been traditional spaces . 74 government-related organizations such as hospitals, schools, sports center, and theaters were relocated outside the ACP (some organizations were relocated after 1997)⁷¹⁵. Furthermore, seven government-owned factories, established in Mao's era, were also relocated outside the ACP to reduce air pollution. These socialist spaces, including public infrastructure and government-owned factories, established in Mao's era, provided living facilities and jobs for local residents at that time. However, in order to gain WCH inscription, the local

⁷¹⁵ Shu-Yi Wang. "From a Living City to a World Heritage City: Authorised Heritage Conservation and Development and Its Impact on the Local Community." *International Development Planning Review* 34, no. 1 (2012): 1-17.

government simply relocated them in spite of their contributions to local development in Mao's era. In other words, these contributions per se are part of the historical contributions of those buildings. Removing these contributions did not respect the real history of the built heritage. Another project, the official reconstruction of physically tradition-style spaces, extended the disrespect of real history.

The official reconstruction of physically tradition-style spaces included three projects. Firstly, the South Street, known as the 'Chinese Wall Street' in the late Qing dynasty, was packaged as the Ancient Street of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (*Mingqing yitiaojie*) to show the physically traditional features of the ACP. The courtyards alongside South Street had been private stores and shops for local residents before 1949 and were then transferred to local governments as public spaces for local residents in Mao's era. Most courtyards were reconstructed into stores, inns, and restaurants, but for tourists as tourist facilities with a tradition-style appearance. Secondly, some disharmonious buildings and scenes, usually constructed between 1949 and 1978, were required to be reconstructed in line with the physical traditional appearance used in the Qing dynasty. For example, temples such as the Confucian, Taoist and City God temples which were used as schools, with substantial changes to the internal-temple arrangement in Mao's era, were required to be restored/reconstructed as temples in the Qing dynasty style. Other Mao era tradition-style socialist public infrastructure such as the *Yamen* (used as Municipal offices) underwent similar transformations in the authentication projects. Thirdly, power lines and other wires, viewed as 'messy and modern, were removed or placed underground so that the traditional features were reconstructed in the ACP. These three projects targeted the restoration/reconstruction of public buildings (where socialist public organizations were relocated) into physically tradition-style buildings and constructing aesthetically tradition-style scenes in the ACP.

Under heritage experts' planning and suggestions, these authentication projects were launched by the local government through the allocation of each authentication project to specific governmental departments. For example, the reconstruction of the *Shilou* was funded and undertaken by the Pingyao Cultural Heritage Administration while the restoration of the courtyards along South Street was funded by the Pingyao Tourism Administration and Construction Administration. However, the authenticity of this restored heritage has been challenged. For example, the reconstruction and even rebuilding were designed to demonstrate the 'original' forms, mainly in line with elderly people's

memories⁷¹⁶. Furthermore, some documents about these structures were destroyed in the Cultural Revolution and some architecture had no detailed documents⁷¹⁷. The authenticity criteria in the 1977 version of the OGIWHC state:

In addition, the property should meet the test of authenticity in design, materials, workmanship and setting; authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions, over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical values⁷¹⁸.

The 1980 and subsequent versions state that “Reconstruction is acceptable only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture”⁷¹⁹. Therefore, authenticity according to CCPWCNH could not be obtained since most documents were destroyed in the Cultural Revolution and elderly people’s memories are not always clear. Furthermore, removing the historical remains of Mao’s era means removing “subsequent modifications and additions” of Mao’s era. This reflects that the French-school stylistic restoration in China intrinsically does not follow the authenticity criteria of CCPWCNH, as indicated in section 3.6. In this regard, the authenticity of these structures was negotiated with authenticity according to CCPWCNH. However, heritage experts’ interpretations of CCPWCNH criteria in local practice of official reconstruction/restoration strengthen the authenticity claims of these built heritages.

It is clear the ACP was planned by heritage experts to physically reconstruct structures in the authentication project as they had been in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Under the influence of external heritage experts, any changes that had been made to the ACP between 1949 and 1978 was expected to be removed since they were not tradition-style. The attitude of the local government to external heritage experts has experienced a change from negative acceptance to active invitation with the changing purpose of heritage authorization. The period from 1978 to 1993 saw the purpose of heritage authorization under heritage experts as a way of finding financial support from the central government while the purpose changed to branding the ACP for tourism development under further decentralization from 1994. This change reflects the connection of heritage authorization with tourism under further decentralization, as indicated in section 3.5.

⁷¹⁶ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

⁷¹⁷ Interview data from local officials in ACP.

⁷¹⁸ 1977 version OGIWHC.

⁷¹⁹ 2013 version OGIWHC, article 86.

5.4.2 Community Response to Heritage Authentication

As another local actor, local residents responded to the authentication project planned by external heritage experts and launched by the local government. They were expected to cooperate with the government's authentication project. Their responses were closely related to the inspiration of the government sector. In this regard, this period saw the cooperation of local residents with heritage authentication projects. In other words, local residents supported the authentication projects.

Although the relocation of public infrastructure brought inconvenience to local residents' living conditions, local residents did not oppose the relocation project. For example, some residents said "it was very inconvenient to live in the ACP after the hospital and schools moved out, because I have to send my child to school far away in the morning and receive him back in the afternoon"⁷²⁰. However, they did not oppose or prevent the relocation project. Three reasons are involved. Firstly, these public infrastructures belonged to government-owned or government-operated organizations. Secondly, local residents in the ACP did not influence local policy-making for authentication projects. In the Chinese context, local residents have not participated in policy-making or local planning processes in most areas⁷²¹. Thirdly, the local government propagandized the economic and cultural meanings of heritage authorization to local residents when some projects involved local residents' houses. For example, the project to remove power lines and other wires, operated by the staff of the County Broadcast/TV Center and Construction Administration, involved private houses; the strategy for government staff was to explain to local residents that the significance of inscribing WCH included improving the local economy as well as increasing job opportunities for them⁷²². Furthermore, the local government reminded local residents of their 'fine' past culture. For example, they told local residents that once the ACP was listed as a WCH site, it would be highly valued as a precious property for all human beings and it would never be attacked even in wartime. They were also told that a successful application would benefit the descendants forever. At that time, Pingyao people lived in a poor life, as shown in Figure 5.2. In this regard, local residents were spiritually

⁷²⁰ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

⁷²¹ Tianyu Ying and Yongguang Zhou. "Community, Governments and External Capitals in China's Rural Cultural Tourism: A Comparative Study of Two Adjacent Villages." *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007): 96-107; Hui Wang, Yang Zhaoping, Li Chen, Jingjing Yang, and Rui Li. "Minority Community Participation in Tourism: A case of Kanas Tuva Villages in Xinjiang, China." *Tourism Management* 31, no. 6 (2010): 759-764; Yang Wang and Geoffrey Wall. "Administrative Arrangements and Displacement Compensation in Top-down Tourism Planning—A Case from Hainan Province, China." *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007): 70-82.

⁷²² Interview data from local officials in ACP.

inspired by the local government to have pride in their past culture. They felt proud of their local culture and the local government also promised them the hope of improved economic benefit from the future development of tourism⁷²³. Therefore, they actively cooperated with government officials on the authentication project.



Figure 5.2 The poor life of Pingyao people in early 1990s

Resource from website of personal blog⁷²⁴

It is clear that although the local residents realized the dislocation of public infrastructure would result in an inconvenience for their living conditions, they did not have an awareness that they could prevent it. In contrast to the Shaolin case where local residents were forced to relocate out of the SSA, the ACP local residents were not forced to relocate out. However, they were expected to relocate out ‘naturally’. This means the local government clearly knew that the relocation of all public infrastructure would negatively influence the living conditions of the local residents. Their design was that the local residents would relocate out of the ACP when they felt it was too inconvenient to live in the ACP. In this regard, the external heritage experts also contributed to this design in terms of the heritage protection principles in the CCPWCNH.

⁷²³ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

⁷²⁴ Old Pictures of Pingyao. Baidu tieba. Accessed in November, 2015.
<http://waterloo-bridge.blog.sohu.com/131834273.html>

Some heritage experts suggested that the local government should guide local residents to relocate out to reduce the population density in the ACP (45,000 people in 2.25 square kilometers). For example, in 1992, three experts from the United Nations Center for Human Settlements visited the ACP with Zheng Xiaoxie and Luo Zhewen and then commented that the population density was too high in the ACP⁷²⁵. They suggested that the Pingyao government should guide local residents to move out to reduce the population to 15,000-20,000 so that the ACP could be better conserved⁷²⁶. These suggestions legitimized the Pingyao government producing relevant policies to encourage local residents to relocate outside of the ACP even after the ACP was nominated as a WCH site. The tendency to relocate the local residents was rooted in this period while local residents were further motivated to move out because of the inconvenient living conditions caused by the booming numbers of tourists. In other words, the living conditions of the local residents were more challenging when heritage authorization is connected more closely to tourism development, which will be examined in next section.

5.4.3 Analysis of Heritage and Culture

Heritage authorization, as an external institution from overseas and the central government, intervened in local development by removing physically modern-style remains and reconstructing physically tradition-style spaces. This means that heritage authorization aimed to restore the physically modern-style settings into tradition-style ones. However, these tradition-style spaces are different from traditional spaces in traditional times. In traditional times, Chinese traditional culture, projected into objects, influenced people's behaviors. That is, what was projected into traditional places/buildings was consistent with what was introjected into people in traditional times, as was discussed in section 5.3.3. However, Chinese traditional culture was neither promoted nor restricted in Deng's era, as indicated in section 3.4. Socialist ideology in Deng's era did not oppose traditional culture as seriously as in Mao's era but people did not regard Chinese traditional culture as 'fine', particularly under the influence of anti-tradition activities in Mao's era. Instead, socialist ideology in Deng's era focused on economic development, in which only 'traditional culture' (tradition-style

⁷²⁵ Zhongliang Wang. "The Memory of Inscribing ACP as World Culture Heritage." *Pingyao Literature*. Vol 4 (2008). Also online: <http://www.pywhw.com/pywx/ShowInfo.asp?InfoID=1856>

⁷²⁶ Fengyun Chen, Fan Yuxian, Zhu Wenjing, and Li Changan. A Study on the Tour Development and Protection of Cultural Inheritance in the World – on the Pingyao Ancient City as an Example. *Journal of Huazhong Normal University* 41 no. 3 (2007): 157-160.

culture) that had economic value could be promoted⁷²⁷. In other words, Chinese traditional culture, such as Confucianism, would not become the basis of Chinese rules of behavior as it had been in traditional times. Therefore, the authorized reconstruction of tradition-style buildings and places, projected by Chinese traditional culture, could not introject Pingyao people. This authorized reconstruction demonstrates the detachment of projection (Chinese traditional culture) from introjection (people's rules of behavior). This detachment is just like that of the tradition-style socialist spaces in Mao's era. As analyzed in section 5.3.3, modern-style socialist buildings demonstrated consistency of projection and introjection of socialism while tradition-style socialist buildings showed the detachment of projection (Chinese traditional culture) from introjection (socialism). In this regard, heritage authorization, in aiming to reconstruct more tradition-style places physically, strengthened this detachment of tradition-style socialist space.

As a result, the authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture by external heritage experts led to spatial rearrangement, from a socialist space with tradition-style and modern-style buildings to a commercial space with preferred tradition-style buildings. Considering the economic purpose of these tradition-style buildings/places, I will argue that these officially reconstructed tradition-style buildings and places, planned by external heritage experts, demonstrate the beginning of tradition-style commercial spaces, in which the appearances of buildings and places are tradition-style but they are reconstructed for commercial purposes. The heritage authorization for local actors is full of commercial and economic purpose. However, external heritage experts demonstrated superior positions with the support of the government sector while local residents held lower positions in heritage authorization as a result of losing their living infrastructure in the ACP. Furthermore, local residents held even lower positions when commercial spaces were filled with large numbers of tourists after the WCH inscription.

It is clear that the period from 1978 to 1997 witnessed the influence of external heritage experts on local development in the ACP. In contrast to the traditional and enclosed features in the period before and during Mao's era, this period saw an external heritage institution influencing local development with the involvement of external heritage experts, who had higher status with authorized power and

⁷²⁷ Trevor HB Sofield and Fung Mei Sarah Li. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 362-392.

inaccessible expertise. Before 1994, these heritage experts actively brought funding and support from the central government to the local economy in the ACP while the local government actively invited them to help with the WCH inscription of the ACP after 1994. A new social relation between external actor (heritage experts who are armed with Westernized heritage expertise) and local actors (local government and local residents) emerged with the involvement of these external heritage experts in local development. In this new social relation, heritage experts with heritage expertise persuaded the local government to conserve tradition-style buildings and places and then cooperated with the local government to prepare for the WCH inscription. Local residents, however, lost their living infrastructure in the ACP when the authentication projects were launched. In this regard, this period saw the action of disembedding mechanics with the WCH authorization as a distant factor influencing the previously enclosed ACP by establishing a new social relation between external and local actors. Another external factor, the increasing number of external tourists, also influenced local development as well as the spatial/social changes soon after the WCH inscription, which will be examined in next section.

5.5 The Influence of IHATD on the ACP after 1997

The previous section examined the influences of an external factor, the WCH authorization, on local development of the ACP in regard to spatial and social aspects. This section will examine the influences of the connection between heritage authorization and tourism development on local development of the ACP in regard to spatial, social and economic aspects. The booming number of external tourists, as another external factor, drove more commercial reconstruction of tradition-style culture by external investors and local residents. During this period, local residents have been further disempowered as they continue to lose their infrastructure, share their public spaces with tourists, and bear higher living expenses but experience difficulty in benefiting from tourism development under some heritage and tourism policies. The difficulty for them to benefit from tourism mainly comes from their economically disadvantaged conditions which precludes them from investing in tourism businesses unlike external investors who are financially better off. In this regard, the policy of absorbing external investments furthers the disempowerment of local residents. Furthermore, strict heritage regulations on the restoration of some traditional houses also make it difficult for them to restore their private houses freely. This implies that heritage authorization does not directly lead to economic inequality but its connection to tourism strengthens the disempowerment of local residents

in regard to spatial and economic aspects.

5.5.1 Connection of Heritage Authorization to Tourism

Under external heritage experts' support, the ACP was successfully nominated as a WCH site in 1997. This enhanced the fame of the ACP and attracted more tourists to it. For example, tourist arrivals in the ACP increased from 142,000 in 1997 to 420,000 in 1999⁷²⁸. The ticket revenue from visitors increased from RMB 820,000 in 1997 to RMB 8 million (almost double) in 1998⁷²⁹. This legitimized further connection of heritage authorization to tourism development in the ACP. More policies were issued to increase tourism development, such as absorbing external investors, and holding more cultural and festival activities. Some festivals are borrowed from external locations without local roots. Under these policies, more tradition-style culture was commercially reconstructed by the government and private sectors for external tourists. Public spaces which had previously been used by locals were transformed into commercial spaces for tourists. As a result, more external factors, such as external investors, festivals, and tourists, have impacted on local development in the ACP. Under these external factors, local residents were further disempowered by having to share their public spaces with tourists but without benefiting from tourism due to their disadvantaged economic conditions. Therefore, the consequences of rapid development of tourism led to a further transformation of the tradition-style socialist space into a tradition-style commercial space. The next section will examine government policies to attract more tourists and their impact on local development regard to spatial and social aspects. The three key policies are as follows.

Further Authentication: More Relocation of Public Infrastructure and More Heritage Regulations

Further authentication projects, more relocation of public infrastructure and more heritage regulations for private houses, were launched to enhance the traditional environment and decrease the population density in the ACP. As indicated in section 5.4.1, many public institutions were relocated out of the ACP before the end of 1997. The relocation project continued to reconstruct the historical environment and decrease the population density in the ACP. For example, the Pingyao Middle School, previously housed in the Temple of Civil Culture, moved out in 2003. This led to the

⁷²⁸ Yingzhi Guo. On the Development of the Tourism Market of Pingyao Ancient City and Its Sustainable Development. *Journal of Shanxi Finance and Economics University* 6 no. 12, (2000) : 28-31.

⁷²⁹ Interview data from local officials in tourism administration in ACP.

relocation of 4900 students and more than 3000 staff⁷³⁰. Considering all the people related to this school, more than 10,000 permanent residents were relocated.

Another factor which resulted in some local residents moving out were the conservation regulations for built heritage including some private houses. The OGIWHC regulates that “All properties inscribed on the World Heritage List must have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure their safeguarding”⁷³¹. Thus, some regulations were issued, such as the ‘Shanxi Protection Regulations on Pingyao ancient city’ (*Shanxi Pingyao Gucheng Baohu Tiaoli*) issued by the Shanxi provincial government in 1999. The Pingyao county government also issued some similar policies, such as the ‘Planning on Protecting Pingyao as a NHCC’, ‘Detail Planning of the ACP’, ‘Regulations on Conserving Traditional Blocks and Historical Blocks’, and ‘Regulations on Safety Management of Cultural Heritages and Fire Control in the ACP’. These regulations were issued to conserve built heritage in the ACP but they prohibit house owners from restoring and reconstructing their homes freely⁷³². That is because some built heritage is residential housing. Hence, the relocation of public organizations/institutions and regulations for restoring private houses made it inconvenient for some local residents to live in the ACP.

As indicated in section 5.4, external heritage experts, as representatives of WCH authorization, planned the authentication projects for locals and suggested they should decrease the population density in the ACP. Even after the ACP was successfully inscribed, this external factor, the WCH authorization, still affected the lives of local residents. In particular local residents, who lacked the finances and knowledge to operate tourist facilities and attractions, were viewed as obstacles to stimulating local economy through tourism. That is, with the dramatically increasing numbers of external tourists, local residents were disadvantaged. Another policy, ‘Who funds who benefits’, reflects their disadvantage in benefiting from tourism development.

Tourism Policy: Who Funds Who Benefits

With the increase in the number of external tourists, tourism policies on how to use tradition-style

⁷³⁰ Interview data from local officials in construction administration in ACP.

⁷³¹ Article 97 of 2013 version.

⁷³² Interview data from local residents in ACP.

buildings as tourist attractions and facilities are issued to improve the local economy in the ACP. There are 3979 residential buildings in the ACP, of which 400 buildings are kept tradition-style integrally. As indicated in section 5.3.2, more than one third of traditional buildings, including some residential houses and Pingyao Merchants' stores, were transferred to the government sector through Land Revolution, Class Struggle and Jingzu House policies in the 1950s. Some government-owned buildings were restored by the local government as tourist attractions, such as the *Yamen*, some temples, the Shilou, Ancient Walls, and the *Rishengchang Piaohao* stores. In fact, the Pingyao government sold 13 public buildings when those government institutions were relocated out of the ACP⁷³³. The Pingyao government found it difficult to fund the restoration of government-owned buildings as tourist attractions and facilities as the restoration fees were very high in line with heritage regulations. In this context, the Pingyao government issued relevant policies to encourage private sectors and government administrations to restore some government-owned buildings as tourist attractions and facilities to stimulate the local economy. For example, one policy is 'Who Funds, Who Benefits' (WFWB, referring to the policy that anyone or any organization that restores the traditional buildings as tourist attractions or tourist facilities could benefit from it). In detail, this policy encourages multi-investments in local buildings, including investments by government administrations, local residents and external businessmen. The uses of restored buildings are regulated by the Pingyao government, mainly as tourist attractions or tourist facilities, such as souvenir shops, antique stores, museums (tourist sites), and restaurants. It is clear that the purpose of this policy is to develop tourism in the ACP.

WFWB, as a policy facilitating tourism development, furthers the difficulties for local residents to benefit from tourism. Under WFWB, the operational modes of government-owned buildings changed from government-operated to privately-operated and jointly operated ones. Furthermore, some tax-reduction policies were issued to attract more investors to restore government-owned traditional houses. Different kinds of contracts on the ownership of the government-owned buildings were developed between investors and the Pingyao government, such as renting 70 year-long operations to the private sector but with the government retaining ownership and directly selling ownership to the private sector. Under this attractive policy 64 private investors had restored 68

⁷³³ Jincai An. *Record on Inscribing Pingyao as World Cultural Heritage*. (Taiyuan: Shanxi Economic Press, 2007), 22.

houses by 2001⁷³⁴. Some external investors were attracted to invest in the tradition-style buildings as tourist attractions. A total of RMB 0.35 billion was used to fund the conservation of the ancient city from 1997 to 2004 with only 0.14 coming from the government sector, the other 0.21 was invested by private investors⁷³⁵. This improved the tourist facilities. It is a very common phenomenon that external capital for tourist infrastructure and facilities flows in to economically disadvantaged destinations with booming tourist industries⁷³⁶. However, with more private investments, in particular external investors, local residents found it difficult to benefit from tourism development due to having insufficient funds available in the ACP⁷³⁷.

In addition to the policy of WFWB, another policy in 2001 changed the managerial model of all heritage sites in the ACP from a government-operated model to an enterprise-operated one. In 2001, the Pingyao government issued a policy to establish the Pingyao Tourism Development Limited Company (PTDLC), which would be a government-shared (82%) enterprise to encourage tourism development in Pingyao⁷³⁸. Later, another policy, titled as ‘Notice on the United Management of the Shuanglin Temple and Other Tourist Attractions to Strengthen the Conservation of the Cultural Heritage’, was issued, in which the three NKCRUs and three PKCRUs would become sub-units of the PTDLC⁷³⁹. It is clear that the Pingyao government used the conservation of cultural heritage to stimulate tourism development. In other words, heritage authorization/conservation was closely connected to tourism development in practice. The shift of the managerial model of the NKCRP and PKCRU into enterprise management, however, is forbidden in line with heritage law (LPCHPRC) in China⁷⁴⁰. Even though it contradicts the LPCHPRC, the PTDLC was formally established in August, 2002, in spite of warnings from higher heritage administrations. The PTDLC was shared by a government-owned company, the ‘State-owned Property Management Company of Pingyao’ (SPMCPY) and several other private companies. The SPMCPY held 82% while the other private

⁷³⁴ Xiuxi Bai. “The Ancient City of Pingyao Tries to Store the Roots—Record on the Construction and Restoration of the Ancient City of Pingyao in Shanxi Province.” *Construction News in China*. March 6, 2001, 8.

⁷³⁵ Personal interview from Pingyao Construction Administration.

⁷³⁶ Tianyu Ying and Yongguang Zhou. “Community, Governments and External Capitals in China’s Rural Cultural Tourism: A Comparative Study of Two Adjacent Villages.” *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007): 96-107; Ning Wang. *Tourism and Modernity: A sociological analysis*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 2000), 17.

⁷³⁷ Wei Tao and Xu Chen. “The Influence and Reconstruction of Social Capital in the Transformation of Residents’ Occupations in Tourism Destination Pingyao.” *Geographical Research* 32 no. 6 (2013): 1143-1154.

⁷³⁸ 2001 Pingyao Government document, No.06

⁷³⁹ 2001 Pingyao Government document, No. 57.

⁷⁴⁰ Article 24 in LPCHPRC regulates that “No immovable cultural relics owned by the State may be transferred or mortgaged. No State-owned sites protected for their historical and cultural value, which are established as museums or cultural relics preservation institutes or used as tourist sites may be made enterprise assets for business operation”.

companies shared 28%. The PTDL managed all the cultural heritage sites including all the NCHUs and PCHUs. This was similar to the Shaolin case where a government-joint enterprise was established to manage the SSA. Both were more focused on economic benefits rather than preserving heritage.

This enterprise-operated model gave built heritage the tendencies of theme-park tourist products (full of commercial features), as indicated in section 3.6.2. The commercial features of tourism are regarded as destroying the authenticity of heritage and culture, as indicated in section 2.3.2. Generally, cultural heritage administrations are responsible for governing cultural heritage sites in China and are viewed as ‘safe’ government agents to preserve heritage. The change in the government-operated model to an enterprise-operated model shows more commercial features and the economic pursuit of heritage. This change demonstrates that the further connection of heritage authorization to tourism development commercializes heritage. As a result, heritage sites have tended to become commercial spaces shaped by commercial production between external tourists and local actors. However, this enterprise-managed model is usually criticized by the public as an over-commercialized action for heritage. Both cases demonstrate the critical views of the public. As a result of two incidents the joint enterprise stopped operating these NCHUs and PCHUs.

Two incidents resulted in an end to the enterprise-managed model for heritage sites in the ACP. The first was a complaint from the staff of the Pingyao heritage administration to the SCHA⁷⁴¹. The shift in the managerial model changed the system of payment for 60 staff members working at these heritage sites. They used to be paid by the stable State financial system but under the new model would be paid by the newly established shared enterprise. They were dissatisfied with the change of their payment. Thus, they wrote a letter directly to the Cultural Ministry and SACH on the illegal actions of the Pingyao government in the former years, mainly involving the policy of WFWB. As a result, the Pingyao government kept the state-paid system for these 60 staff but did not return the operational right to the heritage administration until 2004. It is clear that external heritage experts could not control or intervene in local practices after the WCH listing with heritage connected more to tourism (economic goal). The second incident involved criticism by heritage experts and the

⁷⁴¹ Zhi Jiang. “Pingyao’s Trouble—An Accident after World Heritage.” *Southern.com*. July 15, 2003. Accessed December 12, 2014. <http://www.southern.com/news/china/china04/shiyi/bhxz/200307150236.htm>

public when the Ancient Wall collapsed in 2004. On the 17th of October, 2004, 17.3 meters of the ancient wall, more than 10 meters high, located to the east of the northern gate, collapsed suddenly. The Pingyao government gave the main reason for the collapse as the construction quality of the wall. For example, the wall constructed in the Qing Dynasty was added directly on to the Ming Dynasty wall, which was not strong enough to take the weight of the upper part. However, this did not convince heritage experts and the public. For example, Ruan Yisan, the heritage expert involved in the WCH listing of the ACP, argued that the main reason was that the local government had put economic benefits above preserving cultural heritage and thus heritage structures were not restored and preserved appropriately⁷⁴². Ruan suggested that the collapsed wall was not restored well because it was close to the South Gate where local residents enter the ACP, while the walls near the Western and Northern Gates, used by tourists, were properly restored. Following the lead of the heritage experts, the public criticized the actions of the local government in that the government-shared tourism enterprise was managing the cultural heritages⁷⁴³. This put pressure on the Pingyao government in regard to its enterprise-managed model. Both incidents show that neither external heritage experts nor heritage administrators, who were armed with heritage knowledge, were satisfied with local government actions of prioritizing economic benefits over heritage conservation but they could not intervene in local heritage conservation as they had before the WCH listing.

The power relations underlying heritage discourse identifies certain people who have the ability or authority to speak about heritage and those who do not⁷⁴⁴. Under pressure from heritage experts and the public, the Pingyao government decided to establish the Committee of Protection and Management of World Cultural Heritage (CPMWCH) to take responsibility for preserving and managing the cultural heritage in the ACP. The CPMWCH was mainly made up of the staff of local heritage administrators. This means that heritage administration took back the operational rights from the PTDLG one month after the collapse of the section of wall. This shift of operational rights, however, did not stop the continuing collapses of the ancient wall. On the 22nd of September 2005 and the 5th of March 2006, the ancient wall collapsed again. The reason for the collapse is the ancient wall had experienced long-time natural erosion while the walls for tourist use were prioritized over

⁷⁴² In a Shanghai TV program titled "Injured Ancient Wall" on the 26th of March, 2006.

⁷⁴³ Xiaomin Liang. "The Collapse of the Ancient Wall of Pingyao: Earning Money More than Protection." *Nanfang Daily*. November 4, 2004, 10.

⁷⁴⁴ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 12.

those used by local residents in terms of restoration.

It is the use of heritage structures as objects of management and conservation that determine their value⁷⁴⁵. With more connections to tourism, the buildings in the ACP are evaluated in line with their use as tourist facilities and attractions. Buildings for tourist use have more value than those used by locals. Therefore buildings used by tourists are better restored than those used by residents. This is a common phenomenon in the ACP in many regards. When I undertook fieldwork in the ACP, many residential houses and other places were shabby while buildings/places for tourists were very well-decorated in the tradition-style. As indicated in section 5.3.2, one third of residential houses were shifted from private ownership to the government in Mao's era through the Jingzu housing policy. These houses have been rented to the poor at a very low rate, about RMB 1 per square meter per month⁷⁴⁶. These Jingzu houses are in poor condition as they have been public rentals for a long time and no one regards these houses as their own properties to repair. In other words, the Jingzu houses are public buildings which have not been repaired for a long time making them useless as tourist facilities and thus they are not restored. That is, the use of public buildings for external tourists determines whether they are worth restoring and conserving or not. In this regard, external tourists become another external actor that influence the local actors, with local residents being in the lowest positions.

Cultural Activities and Festivals

In order to attract more tourists, some cultural activities and festivals have been held by the Pingyao government since 1998. These festivals and activities mainly include the Pingyao International Photography Festival (PIPF), the Chinese Spring Festival of Pingyao (CSFP), and the newly invented Ancient Performance Activities (APA). These cultural activities are mainly held to attract more external tourists, however, they also influence the local residents. The next section will examine the commercial features of these cultural activities and explore how these commercial cultural activities performed for external tourists influence local residents.

The PIPF, a photography festival copied from Europe, has been held in the ACP since 2001. It was

⁷⁴⁵ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 3.

⁷⁴⁶ Interview data from local official in Pingyao Housing Administration.

first planned in 2001 by Alain Jullien, who is the nephew of Marc Riboud, a famous French photographer⁷⁴⁷. When Jullien visited Pingyao in 2000, he found it an appropriate place to hold a photography exhibition. Then he contacted his friend Si Sushi, the then chief editor of the People Photography Newspaper (PPN), who expected to hold an international photography exhibition in China. With the help of Alain Jullien and Marc Riboud, Si and other leaders of the PPN investigated the operational institution of the International Festival of Photojournalism held in Perpignan (the current name is VISA POUR L'IMAGE), France. In the following year, they submitted a proposal for an international photography exhibition to the central government and cooperated with governments from provincial and county levels. Jullien and Riboud invited internationally famous photographers to exhibit their works in Pingyao in 2001. Although the Pingyao VISA festival was copied from the French festival, the institutional operation was different in that the VISA in France was organized by NGOs while the PIPF was organized by the government. More than 100 international photographers from 16 countries and more than 4000 domestic photographers attended the festival. Since then, the PIPF has been held annually. As the first high-level international photography festival in China, the PIPF promoted the fame of the ACP as well as greatly increasing tourist arrivals. For example, the number of tourists in 2002 was 1.55 million, almost double the 0.82 million who arrived in 2001⁷⁴⁸.

Soon, the PIPF was viewed by the local government as an efficient way to brand the ACP to encourage more tourist arrivals and attract more external investments, however this purpose was different from the photographers' initial goal of the exchange of ideas on photography between professional photographers⁷⁴⁹. In other words, Jullien and Si hoped to develop the arts while the local government pursued commercialization through the festivals. Since 2003, Alain Jullien and Si Sushi have not attended the PIPF. The PIPF has been held mainly to attract more tourists and absorb external investments rather than to attract photographers since 2004. During the PIPF, many cultural industry projects are contracted between investors and local governments. For example, in 2007, the China Central Academy of Fine Art, the Research Institution of Cultural Industry in Peking

⁷⁴⁷ Sushi Si. "The Initial Stage of Pingyao International Photography Festival." In *Time Is Like a Music*. ed. Popular Photograph Editorial Board. (Beijing: China Photographic Publishing House. 2006), 35.

⁷⁴⁸ Interview data from local official in Pingyao Tourism Administration.

⁷⁴⁹ Pin Yang. "An International Cultural Brand Born: Thoughts after Reading *The Growth of the Pingyao International Photography Festival*." *Shanxi Today*. November 12, 2005, 8-13; Sushi Si. "The Initial Stage of Pingyao International Photography Festival." *The VOC Blog*, modified January 16, 2007, <http://blog.voc.com.cn/blog.php?do=list&uid=1738&type=blog&dirid=48761&page=1>.

University, and the Guangzhou Academy of Fine Arts jointly funded 40 million RMB to establish a cultural and creative industry park in the Cotton Mill in the ACP. This park is expected to resemble Beijing's 798 Art Zone cultural space for arts. This has facilitated some factories in the ACP being used as cultural spaces. Furthermore, some new cultural projects in the new city of Pingyao have been the focus of investment by external companies to attract tourists. For example, RMB7 billion, will be invested jointly by two companies to construct a modern city, Pingyao Watertown (*Pingyao Shuicheng*)⁷⁵⁰. These new cultural projects facilitate the modernization of Pingyao even though they are located in the new city of Pingyao.

As an external festival without cultural roots in the ACP, the PIPF has influenced the local development of the ACP in a number of ways, not just from an economic perspective. For example, more and more private houses in the ACP were restored and reconstructed as folk inns because many foreign tourists like the traditional/ancient sense of the houses⁷⁵¹. As a result, some private houses were decorated in the tradition-style to attract and accommodate tourists. For example, there was just one folk inn in the ACP in 2000 while 68 folk inns were opened in 2006⁷⁵². Gradually, domestic tourists also began to like tradition-style folk inns with nostalgic influences. More tradition-style folk inns have emerged in recent years in ACP. Figure 5.3 shows the tradition-style folk inn where I stayed during my fieldwork. In other words, with the booming tourist industry, local residents also reconstructed tradition-style buildings although their reconstruction would not be regarded as 'restoration of heritage'. However, this kind of reconstruction only serves an economic purpose, which is different from heritage authorization for the central government. This reconstruction is also different from the construction of buildings in traditional times due to the contradiction between projection and introjection, as analyzed in sections 5.3.3 and 5.4.3.

⁷⁵⁰ Shanxi Pingyao Fengyan Group Co., Ltd and Shanxi Construction Engineering (Group) Corporation.

⁷⁵¹ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

⁷⁵² Interview data from local official in Pingyao Tourism Administration.



Figure 5.3 Tradition-style tourist inns

Resource from my fieldwork in ACP in February, 2015

Another cultural activity, the Chinese Spring Festival of Pingyao (CSFP), was held to respond to the central government's intangible cultural heritage policy while the main purpose for the local government was to attract more tourists⁷⁵³. As indicated in section 3.5.1, Chinese traditional culture has been used to serve nation building and ideology in the post-Deng era, in particular after China joined the ICSICH in 2004. The State Council issued a policy to safeguard the ICH in 2005 after China approved the ICSICH in 2004. Since then, reviving traditional culture and traditional festivals is viewed by the central government as an effective way to strengthen national identity. The Spring Festival, as the most important festival shared by all Chinese people, was listed as a national ICH in 2006. In order to propagandize the meaning of the shared festival, the Central Civilization Office of Publicity Department, as the propaganda department of the CPC, has issued policies to organize cultural activities for the Spring Festival and other traditional festivals since then. To respond to the policy, the Pingyao government has organized the CSFP since 2006. However, instead of the previous local festival activity, the 'Lantern Festival in ACP' which was held by the local government from 1999 to 2005 so local residents could celebrate the spring festival, the CSFP expanded the Lantern Festival mainly for external tourists rather than local actors.

⁷⁵³ Interview data from local official in Pingyao Tourism Administration.

The CSFP expanded Lantern Festival changed the focus of the traditional festival from local to external. Under the Pingyao government, traditional lanterns with modern electric/light technology would be put on the ancient walls and other public buildings for the Lantern Festival. Some traditional performances were organized, such as traditional dances, sports, and street art. Though on a small scale, the activities were mainly held in the public areas of the ACP where local residents had more memories and emotions. In other words, local residents were had emotional attachment to these activities for they could recall their shared past and memory. After 2006, the CSFP was organized mainly to attract tourists. For example, in 2014, the Pingyao government arranged for the Tourist Bureau and other institutions related to publicity⁷⁵⁴ to push all tourism entrepreneurs to operate traditional activities for tourists during the CSFP. Tourism entrepreneurs in the ACP, such as operators of tourist sites and folk inns, were required to ‘perform’ attractive activities related to traditional and local culture. When I did my fieldwork, I saw some tradition-style performance, as shown in Figure 5.4. Local residents do not have any interest in these activities⁷⁵⁵. Furthermore, the burgeoning number of tourists during the CSFP prevented local residents from celebrating the traditional festival together in public places in ACP. For example, some public areas in the ACP, which were spaces for local residents to celebrate festivals, are occupied by tourists during the CSFP. With the transition from the Lantern Festival to the CSFP, the celebration of a traditional festival, originally for locals, becomes performed culture for tourists.



Figure 5.4 Tradition-style performances in ACP

Resources from my fieldwork in ACP in February, 2015

⁷⁵⁴ Such as, Pingyao Federation of Literary and Art Circles (PFLAC), Bureau of Culture, Sports, Broadcasting, Television, Press and Publication (BCSBTPP),

⁷⁵⁵ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

In addition to the CSFP, some staged and live-stage performances are also produced to show the ‘traditional culture’ of the ACP to attract more tourists as well as to respond to intangible cultural heritage policies from the central government. Staged-performances are usually performed at tourist sites. For example, the Pingyao Opera Hall (*Liyuetang*), originally constructed in 1703 in the Qing Dynasty to greet Emperor *Kangxi* and relax local merchants/officials through the performance of operas, was restored and repaired by the PTDL in 2005 to perform newly invented operas (Local Voice of Jin Merchants) for tourists. The performance involves traditional drama, dance, and music. Another performance, named the ‘County Magistrate’s Court’, was jointly organized by the PTDL and the committee of the *Yamen* museum to perform the stories in the ancient magistrate’s court since 1999. The stories they portrayed were planned by the chairman of the Pingyao Literacy Association and the chief editor of the Ancient Newspaper to show the justice of the magistrate, and glorify traditional local culture and virtue. However, it has no attraction for local residents, who do not enjoy these performances except for residents who work as performers. Just as one interviewee said, “As far as I know, local people in Pingyao do not like the cultural performances. Those cultural performances are just produced to cater for the tourists. They are short of any real local cultural essence”.⁷⁵⁶ In other words, local residents clearly identify that these cultural performances are only shown for external tourists.

Live-stage performance projects have also been launched to show the ‘traditional culture’ of Pingyao for tourists. Traditional culture, mainly referring to the ICH, is expected by the central government to function as a bridge to link the emotional aspects of people to the shared past. Following the national ICH policies, the Pingyao government issued the policy of ‘Promoting the Culture of Grand Pingyao’ (PCGP) in 2012. Under the PCGP, live-stage performance products, such as the ‘Charm of Jin Merchants’ (CJM) and ‘Impression Pingyao’ (IP), were launched.

The CJM includes a set of performance programs performed circularly in the public areas of the ACP. The performers wear tradition-style clothes and perform the stories which are intended to simulate scenes which occurred in the past in this place. For example, in the performance of the County Magistrate Visiting Folks’ Life, the Magistrate would walk in South Street followed by some

⁷⁵⁶ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

‘ancient officials’ who might say “This is the magistrate. Please give way”⁷⁵⁷. At that time, there might be another actor who stops them and cries out about one’s grievances. These scenes give tourists a sense of time-travel based on a mixed time-space. The Figure 5.4 shows the traditional atmosphere in these cultural activities. It is just what Boorstin called “pseudo-events”⁷⁵⁸ or what MacCannell called “arranged culture”⁷⁵⁹. As analyzed in section 2.3.2, these performed cultures are artificial, contrived, and commercial without an ‘authentic’ base. It is clear that these performances are produced for external tourists without local roots. However, these performances are directed by the Pingyao Broadcasting and TV station, which belongs to the propaganda department of the CPC to propagandize traditional culture to the locals. In this context, even propaganda departments serve to increase revenue.

Another performed tourist product, Impression Pingyao (IP), has been successfully operating since February, 2013. A similar impression product, the *Zen Music Shaolin Grand Ceremony (ZMSGC)*, is also produced in the Shaolin case, as indicated in section 4.4.2. Unlike the live scene in the ZMSGC, the IP combines local culture and changeable scenes for the vivid performance of a situational play in a special theater. This theater, constructed 100 meters outside of the West Gate, is primarily made of loess and tiles, demonstrating the interplay of traditional and modern elements of culture, as shown in Figure 5.5. In order to construct this special theater for IP, the Pingyao government relocated 13 public agencies from October, 2011 to March, 2012. IP was jointly invested in by two companies, a private company Impression Wonders Arts Development Co., Ltd (IWADCL) for the creation of IP and a government-shared company, the Pingyao Jiucheng Cultural Tourism Investment Company Limited (PJCTICL). The PJCTICL is a company shared by a state-owned enterprise and the Pingyao government. In February, 2013, IP began to perform for tourists. It received 260,000 tourists from February to December of 2013⁷⁶⁰.

⁷⁵⁷ Direct Observation data.

⁷⁵⁸ Daniel J.Boorstin,. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America*. (New York: Atheneum, 1964), 107.

⁷⁵⁹ Dean MacCannell. “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings.” *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

⁷⁶⁰ Interview data from Pingyao Tourism Administration.



Figure 5.5 The theater of Impression Pingyao

Resources from my fieldwork in ACP in February, 2015

The story performed in IP was mainly about Pingyao Merchants and their Confucian-valued morals, both of which had been seriously attacked in Mao's era. The spirit of the Pingyao Merchants and Confucian culture, as traditional culture, are performed and publicized to tourists in a commercial way. The Figure 5.6 shows the performances in IP. In other words, these 'pseudo-events' or performed culture cannot show what locals regard as significant but are just commercialized cultural products for external tourists. However, this performance can strike a chord with the watchers. At least when I did my fieldwork there, I saw a great many tourists with tears as moved by the emotional story in the IP.



Figure 5.6 The performances in Impression Pingyao

Resource from my fieldwork in ACP in February, 2015

5.5.2 Community Response to IHATD

After the intervention of external heritage experts in local development from 1978 to 1997, the increasing number of external tourists, as another external actor, have intervened impacted upon locals since 1998. Local government, as an influential local actor, demonstrated their overwhelming ‘welcome’ to tourists by issuing policies to engage in the production of tourist attractions and facilities. External investors are also supported by the local government to invest in local development. This implies that the tourist economy reflects the asymmetrical regional economic system in which the core (economic-advantaged actors usually from tourist generated areas) dominates the periphery (economic-disadvantaged actors usually in tourist destinations)⁷⁶¹. With a rapid increase in the number of external tourists and some external investors, local residents are further disempowered by the continued loss of their living infrastructure through sharing their public places with tourists while experiencing difficulties in benefiting from tourists. Furthermore, heritage regulations on restoring private traditional houses restrict them from restoring and repairing their private houses freely. This implies that their reconstruction of tradition-style buildings is regarded as

⁷⁶¹ Ning Wang. *Tourism and Modernity: A sociological analysis*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 2000), 21; Louis Turner and John Ash. *“The” Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*. (London: Constable, 1975).

an un-authorized action. Due to their economically disadvantaged status, they have difficulty affording the high authorized-restoration fees for operating tourist attractions and tourist facilities. Therefore, most local residents engage in low-income jobs, such as tourist services, small vendors, and cultural performers, however they regard these marginal jobs as great opportunities to improve their economic conditions, as local government propagandized to them. In this regard, most local residents still support government policies and expect the tourist industry to improve their economic conditions without having awareness of the deeper structural inequality and their disempowered positions. The next section will examine how local residents act to respond to government policies as well as the rapidly increasing numbers of external tourists.

As indicated in section 5.4.2, local residents showed their support and understanding of the WCH inscription and expected tourism would bring more job opportunities for them from 1978 to 1998. After 1998, most local residents experienced increasing economic benefits from tourism development and more than 75% of local residents supported tourism development⁷⁶². At the same time, they perceived the inconvenience of the living conditions in the ACP, such as not having hospitals or schools, the high cost of goods and food, and that it is too crowded⁷⁶³. This is caused by the transformation of living spaces into touristic spaces. Living spaces demonstrate that the design of a place serves for daily convenience while touristic spaces show the places are commercialized to serve for tourists' preferences. In this transition, their behavior shows clearly that they have emotional attachment to some public places where they used to gather together but which are now occupied by tourists. Furthermore, they clearly identify what performed culture is only for tourists and what is for locals. In this regard, local residents tend to experience improved economic conditions at the cost of losing their living conditions and emotional attachment to places with an increase in the number of tourists.

Under further authentication policy, local residents lose more living infrastructure and their public places are occupied by tourists. South Street, once a public place where locales gathered and recreated, is now occupied by numerous tourists. The stores and shops in South Street used to serve

⁷⁶² Yuli Huang. Research on Residents' Attitudes and Perceptions on Tourism Impacts at Chinese World Heritage Sites—A Case Study of Pingyao Ancient City. *Journal of Guilin Institute of Tourism* 17, no. 2 (2006) : 124-128.

⁷⁶³ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

locals' living needs but 90% were restored into souvenir stores or other tourist facilities in 2007⁷⁶⁴. A tourist district has formed in the shape of “工” around the *Shilou* in the ACP's center, which was previously a public/commercial place for local residents⁷⁶⁵. It is clear that some local spaces have been transformed into tourist spaces. The relocation of living facilities and spatial transformation has pushed some local residents who do not work in tourist-related industries to relocate out of the ACP. However, relocated residents are only limited to those who are able to afford the high-priced apartments in the new city of Pingyao⁷⁶⁶. In this regard, in contrast to the Shaolin case where almost all local residents were forced to relocate, residents in the ACP find it difficult to relocate. They know that the ACP is not theirs but the tourists'. As some interviewees said, the ACP belongs to tourists during the daytime while it is theirs during the nighttime⁷⁶⁷. In fact, even during the nighttime, it is occupied by lots of tourists⁷⁶⁸. The Figure 5.7 shows the noisy situation of southern street of ACP. These photos were taken when I did my fieldwork in February in 2015.



Figure 5.7 The noisy situation of ACP

Resource from my fieldwork in ACP in February, 2015

Under more heritage regulations, local residents are restricted from decorating and restoring their

⁷⁶⁴ Yanyong Shi. *A Study on Landscape Vicissitude and Host's Sensation of Historical Towns under the Developing Process of Tourism—A Case of Pingyao Ancient Town*. (MA destination, Central China Normal University, 2007), 35.

⁷⁶⁵ Shu-Yi Wang. "Tradition, Memory and the Culture of Place: Continuity and Change in the Ancient City of Pingyao, China." (Ph.D thesis, University of Colorado at Denver, USA, 2008), 142.

⁷⁶⁶ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

⁷⁶⁷ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

⁷⁶⁸ Direct Observation data.

private houses freely. Only nominated companies with official certificates have the qualifications to restore traditional houses even if these houses are not authorized as heritage⁷⁶⁹. One of interviewees said: “There exist many regulations to restore the ancient buildings in ACP. For example, some special materials from the officially nominated company are used to decorate my house in order to make it look ‘ancient’. I don’t have enough money to decorate and restore my house inherited from my ancestors, so I cannot operate a folk inn or souvenir store.”⁷⁷⁰ This prohibits locals from reconstructing their houses into folk inns for tourists since the owners do not have enough money to restore them in line with government regulations. In other words, their reconstruction of tradition-style buildings is neither valued by heritage experts nor officially permitted. In this regard, heritage authorization restricts local residents from benefiting freely from tourism due to the cost of accessing tourism development. This is also reflected in the Shaolin case where in the period from 1978 to 2000 it was easier for local residents to benefit from tourism (Shaolin Temple was not listed) while after 2000 it was harder access for them to benefit from tourism.

Under WFWB, economically disadvantaged residents experienced further difficult in benefitting from tourism development in the ACP while they equally share the economic and social costs of increased tourism. Both external investors and a few economically advantaged residents are in a better position to benefit from tourists. For example, the *Weifenghou* Piaohao store, a government office from 1949 to the 1980s, was sold to a businessman from Beijing and restored as the Pingyao Traditional Folk House Museum (*Pingyao guminju bolanyuan*) in 1999⁷⁷¹. External investors usually benefit more from tourists than local residents. This limits opportunities for locals to benefit from tourists, as analyzed previously. In addition to external investors, some residents who have better economic and social capital have opportunities to participate in high-income tourism businesses such as folk inns and tourist sites, while most others who do not have the capital can only do low-income jobs, such as vendor and, pedicab drivers⁷⁷². Indeed, many local residents cannot obtain high incomes and they still live in the Jingzu houses for a low rental. Thus, the majority of local residents do not have opportunities to benefit from tourism in their community. The Figure 5.8 demonstrates the difference between the elaborately decorated inns operated by external investor for tourists and

⁷⁶⁹ Interview data from Pingyao Construction Administration on heritage Regulations of 2002.

⁷⁷⁰ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

⁷⁷¹ Interview data from local officials in ACP.

⁷⁷² Wei Tao and Xu Chen. “The Influence and Reconstruction of Social Capital in the Transformation of Residents’ Occupations in Tourism Destination Pingyao.” *Geographical Research* 32 no. 6 (2013): 1143-1154

shabby houses where some local residents live in.



Figure 5.8 Different situations between tourist inns and local residents' houses

Resources from my fieldwork in ACP in February, 2015

Cultural activities and festivals bring opportunities for local residents to work as performers while they distinguish the performed culture for tourists clearly from their own culture. On the one hand, they expect more tourists to enjoy their packaged culture so that they can get bigger incomes⁷⁷³.

⁷⁷³ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

Some local residents provide service to the cultural performances by acting as the ancient cart driver in scenic spot for instance, as shown in Figure 5.5. On the other hand, they realize that their public places where they celebrated festivals previously are occupied by tourists⁷⁷⁴. Furthermore, local residents are not interested in these commercial cultural activities. For example, they view some exhibited photos in the PIPF as ugly and immoral⁷⁷⁵. They clearly know those cultural activities are only produced to attract tourists.

In fact, these commercial cultural activities have no cultural roots in the local community. For example, the APA and IP are designed to show the traditional features of the ACP for tourists while what they perform has no relation with the real past or the memories of local residents. Just as one interviewee said, “This is cultural performance based not on the real lives in the past. In my memory, all local people lived in similarly hungry lives. People would never wear these performed clothes at that time”⁷⁷⁶. This is mainly because traditional culture, which is highlighted in the performance, was attacked and restricted during Mao’s era. As indicated in section 5.3.3, Mao’s Radical Socialism was imposed on most local residents. Therefore, local residents perceive those traditional performances as being far from their real past in their memory. In this regard, performed culture, such as the APA, CSFP and IP, belongs to reconstructed tradition-style commercial culture which is designed only for economic purposes.

It is clear that the performed culture has no roots in the ACP where local residents do not identify them as their legacy or heritage. Furthermore, in their memory, the ACP was a socialist space where socialism was projected into some socialist public infrastructure, as analyzed in section 5.3.3. For example, some interviewees expressed their recall of the ACP in Mao’s era and identified those as “good memories”⁷⁷⁷. Similarly, Pingyao merchants were portrayed to local residents and viewed by them as greedy landlords exploiting most peasants in Mao’s era. Local residents could not change their view of the Pingyao Merchants as a local elite positively contributing to the ACP easily. In other words, they could not regard the spiritual legacy of the Pingyao Merchants as heritage, which is the theme of IP. Similarly, in the Shaolin case the local residents do not view the Shaolin monks as

⁷⁷⁴ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

⁷⁷⁵ Fude Wang and Liu Jiaoyue. “Impact of ‘Pingyao International Photography Festival’ on Tourism.” *Journal of Beijing International Studies University* 137, no. 7 (2006): 75-79, 11.

⁷⁷⁶ Interview data from local residents.

⁷⁷⁷ Interview data from local residents and local officials in ACP.

a 'superior' class because the Shaolin monks were strongly criticized in Mao's era. Therefore, the propaganda on class struggle in Mao's era ensured local residents would continue to recognize that the Pingyao Merchants and Shaolin monks belonged to an exploiting and evil class, who should be looked down upon. It is difficult for them to accept another 'complimentary' interpretation of those exploiting classes, as performed in IP and the APA. For them, those performances are just for tourists, serving an economic purpose.

5.5.3 Analysis of Heritage and Culture after 1997

The period from 1998 to the present has witnessed the further connection of heritage authorization to tourism by commercializing heritage and culture. The ACP has become commercialized in spatial and social aspects. Furthermore, the commercialization of the ACP stabilizes and furthers the lower social positions of the local residents. The next section will examine how the further IHATD facilitates local development in spatial and social aspects. The main argument is that the further IHATD shapes the processes of modernity in economic, spatial, and social aspects, with local residents being further disempowered external actors, such as tourists, external investors, and external heritage experts.

With a booming number of tourists, more buildings and places are reconstructed by local actors and external investors in tradition-style as tourist attractions and facilities. External heritage experts, who previously influenced heritage authorization greatly, exclude locals from decision making. Further authentication projects are launched while the purpose is to use more places for tourists. Furthermore, external investors and local actors are all encouraged to facilitate the transformation of more buildings and places for tourist use. Considering the stylistic theme of the architecture in the ACP is in the style of the Ming and Qing dynasties, all the tourist attractions and facilities are required to be restored and decorated in this tradition-style. In other words, local actors and external investors are all permitted to reconstruct tradition-style culture although what they restore and reconstruct cannot be authorized as 'heritage'. On the contrary, what they reconstruct serves for commercial purposes but in the tradition-style. This means what projects in these tradition-style buildings/places is still traditional culture (Confucianism or Taoism) while the projected traditional culture cannot introject into local residents. They do not view Confucianism and Taoism as providing significant rules of behavior as their ancestors did. Instead, they differentiate clearly what is commercial (tradition-style

culture for tourists) and what is their own life. Using MacCannell's terms borrowed from Goffman, they clearly know the distinction between "front-stage" and "back-stage"⁷⁷⁸. In this respect, commercialization shapes the reconstruction of tradition-style buildings/places in that social relations between local actors and external tourists are commercial. As indicated in section 2.2.3, place was consistent to space in the pre-modern era while space, showing social relations of place, is complicated in modern society since social relations in a place are influenced by many actors beyond the locals. Therefore, these tradition-style buildings and places belong to tradition-style commercial spaces, in particular the space for tourists.

Intangible culture is also reconstructed, with a focus on traditional culture and the Pingyao Merchants, to attract more tourists and its process is similar to that of tradition-style material culture. As analyzed in sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2, the common feature of cultural activities and festivals, such as the PIPF, CSFP, APA, and IP, is the commercial production to attract tourists. Furthermore, the theme of the commercial production is traditional culture and the previous local elite, the Pingyao Merchants. In other words, the intangible culture is also expected to demonstrate tradition-style features in a commercial way. As analyzed in section 5.5.2, this performed culture has no roots in the community of the ACP in that local residents have no positive recognition of the traditional culture and local elite as they are performed. This means that what is performed for tourists was not embedded in the ACP but was developed for tourists. Therefore, the tourists, as external actors, have influenced the local development of the ACP by establishing social relations with local actors. The social relations between the external tourists and most local actors are shaped by commercial tourism, in which most local actors act as tourist product suppliers while tourists act as consumers. By this, local actors reconstruct their performed tradition-style commercial culture, in which the theme of their performed culture highlights traditional culture as well as the Pingyao Merchants while this performed culture is for commercial purposes with no roots in the community of the ACP. Therefore, this performed culture belongs to tradition-style commercial culture, similar to the reconstructed tradition-style commercial buildings/places. Both demonstrate the reconstruction of a tradition-style commercial culture in the ACP.

⁷⁷⁸ Dean MacCannell. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

Both heritage authorization and tourism development influence the local development of the ACP in the reconstruction of tradition-style culture. As analyzed in section 5.4, the authorized reconstruction of tradition-style buildings/places as heritage showed a new social relation between external heritage experts and local actors from 1978 to 1997. The reconstruction of tradition-style buildings/places and intangible tradition-style culture demonstrates a new social relation between external tourists and local actors. These new social relationships between external actors and locals facilitate bringing economic benefits for locals at the cost of the detachment of local culture in terms of spatial rearrangement and social change. In detail, the reconstructed tradition-style buildings/places show the detachment of projection and introjection in the spatial rearrangement and the reconstructed tradition-style commercial culture shows no cultural roots in the community. That is, the reconstructed tradition-style culture has no cultural recognition in the community of the ACP but demonstrates the cultural preferences of external actors such as heritage experts and tourists. In this regard, both the WCH inscription and tourism development, as external factors, have arisen from the original limited social relations within the ACP before Deng's era. Instead, new social relations have been established between external actors and local actors.

With the establishment of the new social relations between external actors and local actors, local residents are disempowered economically, spatially, and culturally, due to their economically disadvantaged conditions and insufficient knowledge. As analyzed in section 5.4, local residents were disempowered through the loss of their public infrastructure as well as by 'naturally' relocating out of the ACP. This means, the new relations between the external heritage experts and local residents was established in an unequal way. As analyzed in sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2, local residents have been further disempowered by losing their living infrastructure and sharing public spaces with tourists while experiencing difficulties in benefiting from tourism development. Furthermore, the competing external investors and strict regulations on reconstructing/restoring their private houses prohibit them from benefitting more from tourism development. In this regard, tourists have brought job opportunities for local residents but they find it difficult to benefit from them when competing with external investors. Another local actor, the local government, demonstrates a preference for tourists rather than local residents. For example, the space for tourists is well constructed while public places for local residents remained shabby. In this circumstance, local residents are situated lowest in regard to spatial, economic and cultural aspects, compared to external heritage experts,

investors, and tourists.

5.6 Reconstruction of Pingyao Culture

The Pingyao case demonstrates the power of external drivers, firstly through heritage authorization, and then by heritage-based tourism development. In both cases heritage authorization and tourism development, as external factors, have greatly influenced local development in regard to economic, spatial, and social aspects. This section will apply Giddens' modernity concepts, time-space distanciation, disembedding, and reflexivity to analyze the transformative process of the ACP from a traditional space to a tradition-style commercial space under the influences of heritage authorization and tourism development. Figure 5.9 shows this process. Firstly, some conclusions are developed from the Pingyao case. Secondly, the theoretical analysis will evidence the conclusions by linking the theoretical framework to the transformative process of the ACP. By this, the key research question is answered through Pingyao case. The main argument of this chapter is that the Pingyao case evidences the influence of the IHATD on the process of modernity through reconstructing tradition-style culture, with external actors and local residents demonstrating unequal power relations in economic, spatial, and social terms.

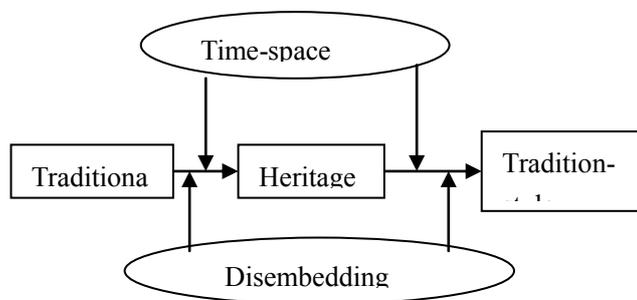


Figure 5.9 Modernity Process of the ACP

5.6.1 Arguments Developed from Pingyao Case

Based on the above analysis, this section will summarize the Pingyao case in relation to Giddens' three concepts of time-space distanciation, disembedding and reflexivity. Firstly, the transformative process of the ACP from a traditional space to a traditional socialist space (with tradition-style and modern-style buildings/places) in Mao's era to the current tradition-style commercial space is shaped by time-space distanciation. As analyzed in sections 5.4 and 5.5, both heritage authorization and

tourism development involve the influence of external factors on local development in economic, spatial, and social regards. This fits Giddens' notion of time-space distancing, referring to the principle that the transformative process of one place is more affected by external factors rather than local factors⁷⁷⁹. In other words, external factors, the WCH authorization and tourists' arrival, influenced the spatial transformation of the ACP, in which the culture projected in the layout and buildings of the ACP cannot be introjected into local people.

Secondly, disembedding mechanics have also shaped the whole transformation of the ACP in that both the WCH authorization and tourism development reconstruct the social/cultural relations of the ACP. The notion of disembedding mechanics extending the influence of time-space distancing, refers to lifting social relations out from the local context⁷⁸⁰. It fits the fact that external heritage authorization, the CCPWCNH, influences the local development by establishing new social relations between the external heritage experts and local actors, such as the local government and residents. Tourists, as another influential external actor, influence local development by forming new social relations between external tourists and local actors. Therefore, both heritage authorization and tourism development change the original social relations, limited to local actors, into a new one between external actors and local actors.

The new established social relations between the external actors and local residents are shown to be unequal in economic, spatial, and cultural terms. External heritage experts, as external actors, influenced the change of the socialist living space into tradition-style heritage space, in which local residents lost their living infrastructure. Tourists, as external actors, drive the public living space into tourist space, in which local residents share their public places with tourists. Local residents find it difficult to benefit from tourism development because of their economically disadvantaged conditions compared to external investors. Therefore, local residents are disempowered in economic, spatial, and cultural terms. However, local residents are not aware that they are disempowered. This reflects Foucault's discourse analysis that deliberate discourse shapes people's thoughts and behaviors⁷⁸¹. Similarly, Giddens' expert system, relying on common people's trust, sheds lights on

⁷⁷⁹ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990),18-19.

⁷⁸⁰ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 21.

⁷⁸¹ Michel Foucault. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

local residents' unconsciousness of disempowerment.

Finally, reflexivity involving emotional links to the past is reflected individually while institutional reflexivity is not shown in the local context of the ACP. As indicated in section 2.2.3, reflexivity is the main character of late modernity, emphasizing that agents monitor their own actions and those of others for negative aspects of earlier modernity. Earlier modernity mainly focuses on material progress and technological advancement and is characterized as capitalist, industrialization, and rationality. However, under earlier modernity, emotional elements of tradition, such as family and marriage, are kept more or less intact within modernity⁷⁸². Furthermore, the lack of personal identity has become a fundamental problem of modernity. In this context, reflexivity, involving "emotional link to the past/tradition", has become the main feature of late modernity⁷⁸³. Tradition, as a medium of identity, fulfills people's emotional needs⁷⁸⁴. In the Pingyao case, local residents attached their emotions to public places/buildings, which used to be public places only used by locals before Deng's era but which are now occupied by increasing numbers of tourists. From their individual behaviors, they usually go to these emotionally attached areas rather than the reconstructed well-decorated areas for tourists. In other words, local residents realize the negative impact of tourism but they have not expressed their dissatisfaction collectively. As another local actor, the local government has not even realized the negative impacts caused by heritage-based tourism on local development. Therefore, both the local government and local residents, as local actors, have not shown institutional reflexivity.

5.6.2 Analysis of the Transformative Process in the ACP

Based on previous sections, this section will analyze the transformative process of the ACP within Giddens's modernity notions, supporting the main argument in section 5.6.1. The ACP has experienced two transformative processes influenced by two external factors, heritage authorization and tourism development. Its transformative features are shown in regard to economic, spatial, and

⁷⁸² Anthony Giddens. *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2013).

⁷⁸³ Anthony Giddens. "Risk, Trust, Reflexivity". In *Reflexive modernization: Politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 197.

⁷⁸⁴ Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 80.

cultural aspects.

The First Transformative Process: Time-space Distanciation and Disembedding

The first transformative process in the ACP ran from 1978 to 1997 when external heritage experts interacted with local actors to inscribe the ACP as a WCH site. As indicated in sections 5.2 and 5.3, the ACP was a traditional/enclosed community before 1978, in which social activities were mainly embedded within the local context. The economic, spatial, and cultural aspects were mainly institutionalized within the locals and without much intervention by external factors. However, the external heritage experts intervened in local development by inscribing the ACP as a WCH site, which resulted in the relocation of public infrastructure for local residents out of ACP, as indicated in section 5.4. This changed the traditional socialist space into a heritage space where a new social relation was formed between heritage experts and local actors. This heritage space featured as heritage experts, using the heritage regulations, directed local actors to restore and conserve authorized heritage. The local residents, as local actors with lower status, were disempowered through losing their public infrastructure.

It is clear that the CCPWCNH, as an international heritage convention, influences local transformation in spatial terms from a traditional space into a heritage space (time-space distanciation). Underpinning the spatial transformation, social relations were also lifted out from the local context in that heritage authorization shaped local development (disembedding). Furthermore, the heritage convention, as an external factor, has regulated and influenced the following local development of the ACP in regard to economic, spatial, and cultural aspects. Under the influence of the knowledge-power relation, local residents were positioned lowest while external heritage experts, with 'professional expertise' that influences the material or social environment⁷⁸⁵, were positioned highest from 1978 to 1997 in the ACP.

The Second Transformative Process: Time-space Distanciation and Disembedding

The second transformative process occurred from 1998 to the present when increasing numbers of

⁷⁸⁵ Eliot Freidson. *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). also quoted by Anthony Giddens. "The Consequences of Modernity." (*Cambridge, UK: Polity*, 1990), 27.

tourists and external investors, as other external actors, intervened in the local development of the ACP. As indicated in section 5.5, with the further connection of the WCH authorization to tourism, local development has been greatly influenced greatly by another new social relation between external tourists/investors and local actors. This new social relation is shaped by commercialization or tourism products, in which tourists are consumers while local actors are producers. More tradition-style commercial spaces are reconstructed by this new social relation. Following tradition-style heritage, the spaces newly reconstructed by locales are physically tradition-style in that most buildings/places are decorated and restored in the tradition-style. These spaces are not authorized by the heritage expert system but are apparently tradition-style as heritage demonstrated. These commercial spaces feature as tourists, as external actors, greatly influence the direction of local development.

It is clear that increasing numbers of tourists, as an external factor, have transformed the ACP spatially from a heritage space into a tradition-style commercial space (time-space distancing). Underpinning the spatial transformation, social relations have been more influenced by external factors in that commercialization shapes the main social relation between tourists and local actors (disembedding). Due to their economically disadvantaged conditions, local residents are also less able to benefit from tourists. From a spatial perspective, local residents share their emotionally attached places with tourists and lose most of their public infrastructure. Furthermore, under local government, public infrastructure for locals is inferior to that for tourists. Culturally, local actors perform more ‘non-community-based culture’ for tourists, which are not internalized in local residents. Therefore, local residents are further disempowered in regard to economic, spatial, and cultural aspects.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the process of modernity in the ACP is shaped firstly by heritage authorization and then by tourism development. It answers the research question based on the Pingyao case. The main argument of this chapter is that the IHATD drives the process of modernity in the ACP through reconstructing tradition-style culture, a process in which external actors and local residents demonstrate unequal power relations in economic, spatial, and cultural aspects. In detail, it firstly examined the traditional features of the ACP before and during Mao’s era. Then, it examined

the influence of external actors, such as heritage experts, increasing numbers of tourists, and external investors, on local development of the ACP. In particular, local residents, as the main local actors at lowest status, are analyzed as a disempowered group, who engage in heritage-based tourism development but experience difficulty benefiting from it due to their economically disadvantaged conditions and insufficient knowledge.

Compared to the Shaolin case, the Pingyao case shows a slightly different process of modernity while the consequences are similar, such as the influence of interventions of external actors (heritage experts, tourists, external investors) on local development. The theoretical similarity and difference between the two cases will be examined more in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: Comparison Between the Two Cases

6.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters demonstrate the processes of modernity in the two case areas, the SSA and the ACP. This chapter will present a cross-case analysis in terms of theoretical similarities and differences. Generally, the similarities between the two cases are explored through four factors, expert systems for heritage, expert systems for tourism, expert systems in heritage-protected tourist destinations, and reflexivity. The differences between the two cases are analyzed based on three aspects, the different positioning between heritage authorization and tourism development during the same era, different heritage and cultural forms, and different local actors.

This contributes to answering the research questions by summarizing the main findings from the two case areas. The main argument from comparing two case areas is that the reconstruction of 'tradition-style culture' has been a critical contributor to the transformative processes within these sites. That is, tradition-style culture is the product of interaction between heritage authorization and tourism development (IHATD). This has led to the emergence of elements of a commercialized, theme-park environment in both heritage sites. This situation problematizes the notion of authenticity which is claimed in authorized concepts of heritage. Furthermore, the processes of reconstructing tradition-style culture create a situation where experts and local residents have unequal power relations and local residents are disempowered culturally, economically, and spatially.

6.2 Similarities in the Two Cases

This section will summarize the theoretical similarities of the two case areas. This will contribute to the conclusions of this research and to answering the research questions. The similarity of the two case areas is analyzed in line with Giddens' modernity concepts, in particular expert systems and their contributions to the processes of modernity as well as the power relationships between experts and local residents.

Four common features are shown in the two cases. Firstly, both cases evidence that heritage authorization is a disembedding mechanic and this creates a situation in which external heritage

experts, with expertise that laymen practitioners have difficulty accessing, have authorized power to engage in the local reconstruction of tradition-style culture. By this, external heritage experts establish an unequal relationship with local actors (local government and local residents). Secondly, both cases provide evidence that tourism development also works as a disembedding mechanic and this creates a situation where external tourism investors with advantaged economic bases compete with local residents for the benefits of local tourism development. Furthermore, tourists occupy the previously public places which local residents attach their emotions to. Thirdly, reconstruction of tradition-style culture, both by external agents and local actors, is the product of the IHATD and this creates a situation in which external experts and local residents are positioned in unequal relations of power. In other words, local residents are disempowered in this process. The process is shown in Figure 6.1, in which the dotted line indicates theoretical/abstract notions while the solid line indicates practical notions. Both case areas have experienced the processes of modernity in terms of spatial transformation, economic development, and cultural detachment. In this process, local residents have experienced spatial, economic and cultural change which has positioned them in a less powerful position, as indicated in Figure 6.1. Furthermore, both case areas, as WCH sites, demonstrate the features of commercial theme-park products which have the opposite nature of heritage, as indicated in the figure. Fourthly, reflexivity, featured as “emotional links to the tradition”, is recognized individually by local residents and this reflects the features of earlier modernity. Reflexivity is also recognized by international and national agents through the legislation of protecting ‘heritage’ but its practices in local areas of China demonstrate the features of earlier modernity. As for local governments, no reflexivity is concerned for the case areas. The first four points focus on features of earlier modernity while the last one focuses on the analysis of reflexivity of earlier modernity.

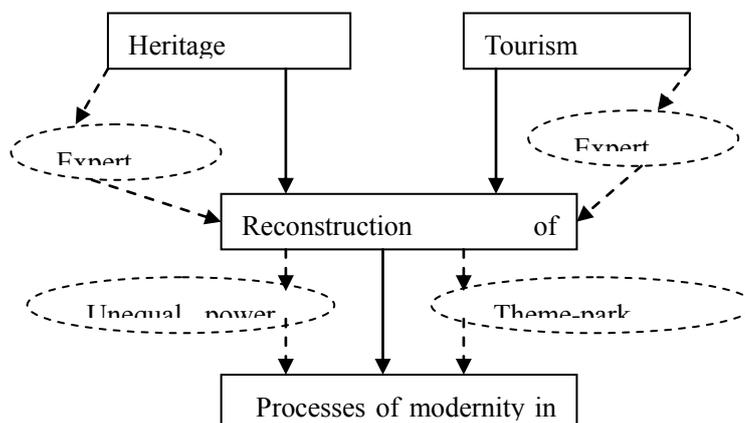


Figure 6.1 Transformative processes of the two cases

6.2.1 Expert System for Heritage: Exclusiveness

Both cases provide evidence that heritage authorization is a disembedding mechanic with high legitimacy and exclusiveness. Disembedding mechanic here refers to the creation of an expert system that disembeds originally social relations from their local context⁷⁸⁶. In detail, external heritage experts, with the specialized expertise which laymen have difficulty accessing, have authorized power to engage in the reconstruction of local tradition-style culture. Exclusiveness means other people, such as local residents, tourists, and tourism experts, have little influence on heritage authorization by heritage experts. By this, external heritage experts establish an unequal relationship with local actors (local government and local residents) through the practice of authorizing some local culture as heritage. The discourse of heritage, featured as precious and good/fine culture inherited from the past, is institutionalized in this expert system in which heritage experts have influential power determining the authorization of heritage.

Expert systems for heritage authorization have features of high legitimacy and exclusiveness. Expert systems refer to “systems of technical accomplishment or professional expertise that organize large areas of the material and social environments in which we live today”⁷⁸⁷. Expert systems for heritage authorization include heritage experts and heritage laws/policies from governments of every level. Their high legitimacy and exclusiveness originate from homogenizing the official discourse of ‘heritage’ and the powers of heritage experts. The power of heritage experts comes from expertise or knowledge power and legal power regulated in heritage laws.

Firstly, the expertise power originates from the knowledge that heritage experts have and which laymen do not understand. As indicated in section 3.6, Chinese heritage has been greatly influenced by international heritage conventions. The CCPWCNH, European-oriented international heritage policy, influences China’s heritage policy in terms of authenticity and integrity criteria. As expertise is difficult for laymen to understand, these criteria can only be practiced through heritage experts’

⁷⁸⁶ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990), 22-29.

⁷⁸⁷ Eliot Freidson. *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). also quoted by Anthony Giddens. “The Consequences of Modernity.” (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1990), 27.

interpretation and planning, which directed the authentication projects in both cases. Therefore, international heritage discourse, which is “reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenity societies”¹, makes heritage experts influential/powerful. These heritage experts have the expertise power linking international heritage conventions to local practices in China. Experts with professional expertise make “decisions” to determine “all areas of social activity”⁷⁸⁸. The public laymen make “choices” to select their favorites but their choices are actually governed by the experts’ decisions. In this regard, “*who* takes those decisions, and *how*, is fundamentally a matter of power”⁷⁸⁹. Therefore, experts have superior power to determine social activities while the public laymen only have the power to choose what experts design. Expertise, based on the claims of knowledge, represents an influential power.

Secondly, the legal power of heritage experts also comes from the international/national heritage laws and policies, in which heritage experts are legalized to claim the authenticity of the heritage. Authenticity claims in heritage discourse legitimize the ‘high value’ of some of past culture as ‘heritage’ and heritage experts have the legal power to authorize heritage. As a result, external heritage experts have the power to determine the value of local past culture. These heritage experts have legitimacy to determine which building or architecture can be registered as heritage for UNESCO-inventory, national, provincial, city, and county levels. In China, these heritage experts usually work in Cultural Heritage Administrations, Construction Administrations, or Universities. These organizations also represent both legal power and knowledge power, strengthening the exclusive authority and legitimacy of heritage experts. Both cases evidence expert systems for heritage authorization.

In the Shaolin case, when the local government prepared to inscribe the SSA as a WCH site, the planning of the SSA and SKC was carried out by the Planning Institute and the Construction Institute of Tsinghua University respectively. Both the director of the planning for the SKC (Guo Daiheng), and the chairman of the expert group for evaluating that planning (Luo Zhewen) were students of

⁷⁸⁸ Anthony Giddens. “Living in a Post-Traditional Society”. In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 76.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid.

Liang Sicheng. In other words, their expertise on heritage restoration principles was learned from one person, who was greatly influenced by the French-school of heritage knowledge. Therefore, their expertise on the planning principles and heritage restoration is similar. However, expertise, based on modern knowledge, is in principle “devoid of local attachment” and “in a fundamental sense non-local and decentered”⁷⁹⁰. The heritage knowledge, as “the impersonal and contingent character of their rules of knowledge-acquisition”⁷⁹¹, do not consider the situation of the specific local context. Therefore, even though some local officials, as influential local actors, questioned whether it was reasonable to remove all the modern-style buildings built from 1949 to 2000, the heritage experts did not change their stylistic restoration principles⁷⁹². This reflects the principle that “expertise is disembedding because it is based upon impersonal principles, which can be set out and developed without regard to context”⁷⁹³. It is clear that conflicts in regard to selecting heritage restoration principles exist between external heritage experts and local actors but with the former having greater power. As a result, expert systems for heritage authorization, as a disembedding mechanic, successfully detach the local context. Furthermore, this expert system is exclusive of local actors.

In the Pingyao case, the restoration principle (stylistic restoration) is similar to that in Shaolin in eliminating historical remains from 1949 to 1978 and relocating ‘modern’ facilities (such as schools and hospitals) out of the ACP. They restored the buildings into tradition-style buildings. Experts greatly contributed to the inscription in the Pingyao case with the heritage experts, Zheng Xiaoxie and Luo Zhewen, both being students of Liang Sicheng. Another heritage expert, Ruan Yisan, was not student of Liang Sicheng but his preference for eliminating the historical remains from 1949 to 1978 as theirs. His principle for restoring traditional architecture, “repairing the old as original and keeping the traditional buildings authentic” (*zhengjiu rugu, yicu qizhen*) is slightly different from Liang Sicheng’s “repairing the old as old (*xiujiu rujiu*)”⁷⁹⁴, but it is still controversial in what is the

⁷⁹⁰ Anthony Giddens. “Living in a Post-Traditional Society”. In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 84.

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁷⁹² Interview data from local officials in SSA.

⁷⁹³ Anthony Giddens. “Living in a Post-Traditional Society”. In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 84.

⁷⁹⁴ Yisan Ruan. “Repairing the Old as Original and Keeping the Traditional Buildings Authentic—Discussion on the Restoration of Wooden Tower of Ying County.” *Oriental Morning Newspaper*. August 19, 2013, C03.

‘original’ situation of the buildings⁷⁹⁵. This is caused by the fact that Chinese traditional architecture are often timber-framed structures and restoration/reconstruction has occurred regularly over their long history. Furthermore, there are few accurate records on the construction of traditional buildings⁷⁹⁶. In other words, retaining all the historical features, as suggested in the European CCPWCNH and OGIWHC, is difficult to carry out in Chinese traditional buildings. Chinese heritage experts have interpreted the authenticity and integrity criteria in the Chinese context by following the French school but without consideration of the local actors in the specific local context.

Both cases showed the influence of Liang Sicheng and his restoration principle. This principle is not questioned to the same extent by the public due to its legal power and expertise power, which constitutes expert system disembedding in the local context. As explained in section 3.6, this authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture by heritage experts demonstrates higher legitimacy while it is similar to reconstruction by local actors. However, the difference of legal powers between external heritage experts and local actors influences the different values of their reconstruction. Some local actors questioned how reasonable the heritage experts’ reconstruction principle is but they could not influence the social activities due to their inferior position. Therefore, local actors’ influence on heritage authorization was excluded in both cases. Under this exclusion, local residents were forced to relocate or were encouraged to relocate in both cases. The CCPWCNH, as an influential expert system, disembeds the social relations in the local context.

6.2.2 Expert System for tourism: Inclusiveness

Both cases provide evidence that tourism development also works as a disembedding mechanic but the expert systems of tourism development are more inclusive due to three factors: lower political legitimacy of tourism, diversity of tourism experts, and inconsistency of tourism expertise. Compared to heritage authorization with its top-to-down policy feature, expert systems for tourism development shows lower legitimacy at a local level. Furthermore, tourism experts are diverse and their expertise is relatively easy to access. As such, the expert system for tourism is more inclusive

⁷⁹⁵ Simin Liu and Ren Xiao. “Theoretic Thoughts on the Protection and Uses of the Ancient Architecture.” *China Tourism News*. May 6, 2011, 11.

⁷⁹⁶ Shiqiao Li. “Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History: Liang Sicheng and Liang Qichao.” *Journal of Architectural Education* 56, no. 1 (2002): 35-45.

with external tourism investors, with advantaged economic bases, having priority in benefitting from heritage-based tourism development in both case areas. As a result, local residents have the lowest status in this expert system for tourism. This section will demonstrate the inclusive features of the expert system for tourism as well as its impact on local residents and heritage sites.

The first factor that influences the inclusiveness of the expert system for tourism is its lower political legitimacy. Both cases provide evidence that tourism development has lower political legitimacy. As analyzed in sections 3.4 and 3.5, the legitimacy of heritage authorization lies mainly with the central government and is aimed at strengthening national identity. However, the legitimacy of tourism development lies with local government and thus has lower legitimacy. As indicated in sections 3.3 and 3.4, tourism was viewed as a politically diplomatic focus in Mao's era and a way of earning foreign currency in Deng's era. It is only in the Post-Deng era that tourism has been regarded as an economic driver for local governments to develop their local economy. Both cases show that, although the main purpose of heritage authorization for local governments is economic benefit through tourism development, they borrow the 'protecting heritage' label because of the higher legitimacy of heritage authorization. For example, the PCSF in the ACP is held by the Pingyao government as a response to the Spring Festival policies which were a directive from the central government to safeguard intangible cultural heritage. The main purpose of the PCSF, however, is to attract more tourists. The Spring Festival is the most significant traditional festival for Chinese people, one which they spend with members of their extended family. The PCSF, as a commercialized spring festival activity, contradicts the traditional meaning of the Spring Festival for both local residents and tourists. This shows that the local governments alienate the heritage policy by using it as a driver of profit. This contradicts the main purpose of the central government's use of heritage for nation building. The WFWB (who funds who benefits) policy in the ACP is similar. The purpose of WFWB is to attract tourism-related investment but it contradicts the heritage policy from the central government. The tourism-driven heritage authorization in the Shaolin case also clearly demonstrates that the purpose of heritage authorization is to enhance the destination image of the SSA. Local governments participate in both heritage expert systems and tourism expert systems at both the SSA and the ACP, but they all use the heritage authorization label to develop tourism. Therefore, even local governments use heritage tourism as an economic driver, they cautiously use the 'protecting heritage' label, which is a more legitimized justification for making money from

tourism.

Furthermore, under the hegemony of heritage discourse, the use of heritage as a tourist resource has been criticized by the public. For instance, the model of enterprise management for the ACP was criticized when the ancient wall collapsed in 2003. The model of enterprise management for the SSA has also been criticized by the public. In fact, the commercialization of heritage and traditional culture is commonly viewed as destroying their authentic meaning⁷⁹⁷. Tourists, however, expect to experience a traditional sense of culture in destinations as they drive the commercialization of traditional culture at the same time. In other words, tourists criticize the commercialization which they rely on. However, their criticizing strengthens local governments use of the ‘protecting heritage’ label to conceal their main purpose of commercializing heritage and traditional culture. It is clear that the actions of the government and the public, including both local residents and tourists, shows that the legitimacy of protecting heritage is greater than that of commercializing it through tourism development. Commercializing heritage and traditional culture through tourism development implies destroying their authentic meaning. Therefore, even the tourism policy makers, as one group of tourism experts, have less power or legitimacy than heritage experts.

The diversity of tourism experts, as the second factor, also makes the expert system of tourism inclusive. Tourism experts are those who engage in tourism-related policies and tourism business, such as tourism planners and policy makers⁷⁹⁸, vendors, folk inn operators, travel service managers and guides, and tourist site managers⁷⁹⁹. Tourism experts consist of three main groups in the two cases, tourism planners or policy makers from the local governmental sector, external tourism-related investors, and tourism-related entrepreneurs emerging from among the local residents. In the Chinese context, local governments intervene a lot in tourism development in many regions, this is known as the government-oriented tourism development model⁸⁰⁰. Both cases have evidenced this model, in particular in the Post-Deng era when local governments have had more

⁷⁹⁷ Erik Cohen. “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism.” *Annals of tourism research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 371-386.

⁷⁹⁸ Colin Michael Hall. *Tourism Planning: Policies, Processes and Relationships*. Rev. ed. (Essex: Pearson Education, 2008), 10-11.

⁷⁹⁹ Erve Chambers. “Introduction: Tourism’s Mediators.” *Tourism and Culture: An Applied Perspective*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 1-11; Erik Cohen. “The Tourist Guide: The Origins, Structure and Dynamics of a Role.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, no. 1 (1985): 5-29.

⁸⁰⁰ Wang Zhidong. Studies on Tourism Supportive Policies from Local Governments. *Dong Yue Tribune*. vol. 26, no. 5, 2005 (9), 69-76.

decision making powers. The Dengfeng government and the Pingyao government directed almost all big tourism-related businesses, such as the establishment of government-operated enterprises, the SSWTC in SSA and the PTDLC in the ACP. Local officials demonstrate influential powers in tourism development as both tourism policy makers and tourism business participants⁸⁰¹. The second group of tourism experts is external tourism investors, who invest in tourist facilities for economic benefit. These external investors are encouraged to engage in tourism-related businesses at both field sites. For example, in the case of the Shaolin Temple the China Travel International Investment Hong Kong Limited (CTINHKL) has participated in the management of the SSA. External investors were encouraged to operate tourist-related businesses under the WFWB policy in the case of the PAC. The external investors only target financial profit without consideration of local roots⁸⁰². External investors also create barriers for local residents to participate in tourism businesses, further exacerbating the process of disembedding the local culture. The third group of tourism experts is tourism-related entrepreneurs who emerge from among the local residents. In both cases, some local residents participate in the tourism industry by providing services to tourists but most of them are limited to lower-income businesses, such as vendors and tour guides. Under the modern tourism system which increasingly involves capitalist production⁸⁰³, local residents find it difficult to benefit a lot from tourism because of their economically disadvantaged status which limits their opportunities to invest in the tourism industry. It is clear that tourism experts are diverse and their powers to influence tourism development are also significant⁸⁰⁴. That is, local officials have the most influential power and external investors have relatively influential power while local residents engaging in the tourism industry have the least power.

The third factor contributing to the inclusiveness of the expert system for tourism is the inconsistent expertise that diverse tourism experts demonstrate. Although tourism experts share an expectation that they will serve the demands of tourists, the diversity has led to inconsistencies in their reconstructed cultural style in relation to the destination image. As demonstrated above, tourism experts in both cases are diverse. Tourists potentially have the power to influence the nature of

⁸⁰¹ Linda K. Richter. "Tourism Politics and Political Science: A Case of Not So Benign Neglect." *Annals of Tourism Research* 10, no. 3 (1983): 313-335.

⁸⁰² Tianyu Ying and Yongguang Zhou. "Community, Governments and External Capitals in China's Rural Cultural Tourism: A Comparative Study of Two Adjacent Villages." *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007): 96-107.

⁸⁰³ Ning Wang. *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 2000), 16.

⁸⁰⁴ So-Min Cheong and Marc L. Miller. "Power and Tourism: A Foucauldian Observation." *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 2 (2000): 371-390.

tourist destinations, yet this rarely happens because it is difficult to forecast tourist motivations and their preferences⁸⁰⁵. This leads to different understandings of diverse tourism experts in serving and attracting tourists. For example, tourism policy-makers usually construct heritage-protected destination images as ‘tradition’ by reconstructing commercially tradition-style culture. This ‘traditional’ image is enhanced by local governments as a means to attract more tourists, yet tourists might have quite different impressions of the same scenic areas because of face-to-face services that diverse tourism-related people provide. In other words a pre-visit image, constructed by tourism policy-makers and planners will rarely reflect the on-visit image formed by tourism-related entrepreneurs. For example, tourists have not been satisfied with the SSA in recent years due to differences in pre-image and on-visit images⁸⁰⁶. The same situation is evident in the ACP. Tourists express their diverse impressions of the ACP⁸⁰⁷. The complaints and dissatisfactions from tourists in both cases are similar in that they feel these traditional spaces have been over-commercialized⁸⁰⁸. It reflects the situation in which diverse tourism experts have created inconsistencies in tourist products and images. In this regard, the tourism expert system is inclusive due to the participation of diverse tourism experts with diverse and even inconsistent expertise.

In summary, in contrast to the exclusiveness of the expert system for heritage authorization, the expert system for tourism is inclusive due to the above three factors. This results in a hierarchy of external agents and local actors in the heritage-protected tourist destinations. That is, external heritage experts have more legitimacy in heritage authorization while the local government has more power in tourism development. Local residents have the lowest status even though some of them engage in the expert system of tourism development. The IHATD leads to a product, reconstruction of tradition-style culture. The reconstruction of tradition-style culture, as a critical contributor to the processes of modernity, will be explored further in next section.

6.2.3 Interaction between the Two Expert Systems

As analyzed in sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, two significant ‘expert systems’ exist in heritage-protected

⁸⁰⁵ Dale Fodness. “Measuring Tourist Motivation.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 3 (1994): 555-581; Richard Sharpley. *Tourism, Tourists and Society*. (Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire: Elm Publications, 1994), 96-126.

⁸⁰⁶ Interview data from local officials in case sites and tourism experts.

⁸⁰⁷ Ce Qu. Comparing Research About Tourism World Construction Based on Network Text Analysis—Based on Pingyao. *Journal Beijing International Studies University* 227, no. 3 (2014): 69-79.

⁸⁰⁸ Interview data from tourism experts and heritage experts.

tourist destinations, the heritage expert system and the tourism expert system. Their common feature is that they rupture local social and cultural forms as disembedding mechanics. As also indicated in section 3.6, the nature of heritage authorization is similar to that of tourism development given that both are present reconstructions of tradition-style culture (shown in Figure 6.1). Together with the analysis of the above two sections, I argue that different actors' reconstruction of tradition-style culture demonstrates their hierarchical power relationship that is influenced greatly by the exclusiveness of heritage authorization and inclusiveness of tourism development. There are two critical consequences which emerge from the interaction between the two expert systems. Firstly, heritage sites have the features of commercial and artificial theme-parks. This situation problematizes the notion of authenticity which is claimed in authorized concepts of heritage. Secondly, local residents are disempowered culturally, spatially, and economically in the process of modernity. The following section will analyze these two consequences.

Both case areas demonstrate that heritage sites in China show strong features of commercial theme-parks. Theme-parks belong to commercially artificial tourist products which are opposite to the authenticity claims in heritage discourse⁸⁰⁹. However, Disneyland, as a theme-park case, evidences the absolute boundary between real and fake⁸¹⁰. Tim Oakes argues that even some villages in China have the features of theme parks under the influence of tourism development⁸¹¹. As also indicated in section 3.6.2, the tourism-driven reconstruction of tradition-style culture in heritage sites gives these heritage sites the tendencies of artificial theme-parks in two regards. Both case areas provide evidence in regard to these two aspects. Firstly, the French-school stylistic restoration for Chinese heritage contradicts the authenticity criteria laid down in the OGIWHC and legitimizes the reconstruction of tradition-style culture for tourist products. Both the SSA and the ACP display the restoration and reconstruction of traditional buildings in a dynastic style (stylistic principle). Buildings in the SSA were planned and restored by heritage experts to demonstrate the architectural style of the Wei and Jin dynasties. Buildings in the ACP were also required to be restored in line with the architectural style of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Technically, without governmental authority,

⁸⁰⁹ Erik Cohen. "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 371-386.

⁸¹⁰ Stephen M. Fjellman. *Vinyl Leaves: Walt Disney World and America*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 255.

⁸¹¹ Tim Oakes. "The Village as Theme Park: Mimesis and Authenticity in Chinese Tourism." in *Translocal China: Linkages, Identities and the Remimaging of Space*. ed. Tim Oakes and L. Schein. (London: Routledge, 2006), 166-192; Tim Oakes. "Cultural Strategies of Development: Implications for Village Governance in China." *The Pacific Review* 19, no. 1 (2006): 13-37.

this restoration is actually reconstruction of tradition-style culture since authenticity is negotiated and plastic under the stylistic restoration principle. Secondly, the enterprise-managed approach furthers the tendency of heritage sites to create theme-park tourist products. The SSA is managed by a joint venture, whilst the ACP was managed by a government-owned enterprise, which is still powerful in branding and commercializing the ACP. Furthermore, there are a number of commercial tradition-style performances for tourists in the ACP. These two aspects indicate that the power of government authority legitimizes the SSA and the ACP as heritage sites. In other words, without governmental authority, both are more like theme parks in the traditional style.

The second consequence is that local residents are disempowered culturally, economically, and spatially in the process of modernity in the two case areas. This is caused by the hierarchy of actors engaged in reconstructing tradition-style culture in the two expert systems. In other words, local residents' reconstruction of tradition-style culture is devaluated and even restricted by interaction between the exclusive heritage expert system and the official tourism system. In detail, local residents are disempowered in terms of cultural, economic and spatial aspects as follows.

Firstly, there is little space for local residents to express their understanding of authentically local culture within the hegemony discourse of 'authentic heritage'. Both cases provide evidence that authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture is more highly valued in the authorized authenticity claims of heritage discourse than un-authorized reconstruction by local residents. This means, local residents' reconstruction is devaluated as being 'inauthentic' in the interaction between the heritage expert system and the tourism expert system. The practice of reconstruction of tradition-style culture by the governmental sector is authorized both by heritage experts and tourism planners. Here, tourism planners refer to tourism policy-makers and tourism experts from local government. Reconstruction by both heritage experts and tourism planners is more highly valued than that of local residents. It means local residents' reconstruction of tradition-style culture is deemed as not being 'authentic' under the hegemonic heritage discourse.

Heritage experts connect to tourism planners through their common approach to the reconstruction of tradition-style culture. As indicated in section 3.6, heritage authorization legitimizes the stylistic restoration of traditional buildings in line with the architectural style of dynastic preferences

determined by heritage experts. The discretion of heritage experts to select the dominant style of traditional buildings emerges from the fact that little documentation of Chinese traditional buildings exist. Furthermore, these buildings have experienced many reconstruction events over time, particularly in the cases of those traditional buildings which had been constructed of wood⁸¹². In fact, no matter which dynastic style heritage experts choose, it is interpreted by tourism planners as ‘traditional style’. Thus, it is clear that the reconstruction of tradition-style culture is made legitimate by heritage experts and tourism planners although heritage experts might interpret the stylistic restoration more accurately than tourism planners. Heritage experts have more authorized power than tourism planners who are from local governments. Tourism planners, however, have more power to interpret the authenticity of authorized reconstruction by heritage experts for tourists and the public through their branding strategies. Together they constitute the authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture with authorized authenticity claims of heritage discourse.

Although the authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture by heritage experts is similar to the unauthorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture, the recognizable value of both reconstructions differs. That is, the authorized reconstruction constitutes ‘recognized’ heritage and carries the authenticity label, while the unauthorized reconstruction by local residents is viewed as a form of commercialized culture and is even restricted. In the case of the Shaolin Temple, the authentication projects, both in the internal temple and external temple, are examples of the authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture, whilst the unauthorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture by local residents was condemned as being ‘artificial’ and constituting a form of commercialized culture which had been erased in the external temple authentication project. Furthermore, the Shaolin Kungfu practiced by Shaolin monks, as the authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture, is interpreted as ‘authentic’ Shaolin martial arts, while the Shaolin martial arts practiced by local martial artists, as an example of the unauthorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture, is devalued because it is deemed as having no cultural significance. These examples show the disparity between authorized reconstruction and unauthorized reconstruction of tradition style culture. In the case of the ACP, the authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture, such as the restoration of temples, which had formally been used as schools, into religious sites with a clear

⁸¹² Simin Liu and Ren Xiao. “Theoretic Thoughts on the Protection and Uses of the Ancient Architecture.” *China Tourism News*. May 6, 2011, 11.

heritage value is defined as the authorized reconstruction of heritage. However, the un-authorized reconstruction, such as repairing house roofs, is even restricted for local residents. In other words, the un-authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture is seen as destroying the heritage value of the houses. Therefore, both cases provide evidence that authorized reconstruction is more 'authentic' than local residents' reconstruction. Authorized reconstruction includes both heritage experts' reconstruction and tourism planners' reconstruction while local residents' reconstruction is deemed as inauthentic reconstruction and thus restricted. Different actors' reconstructions just reflect their hierarchical positions in the processes of modernity. Heritage experts' reconstruction employs the highest authority in heritage discourse while tourism planners' reconstructions use the name of heritage authorization to develop tourism and thus have practical authority. Local residents' reconstruction is usually condemned as being 'inauthentic' and is thus restricted. Therefore, there is little room for local residents to express their identity embedded in local context. Therefore, they are disempowered culturally in the unauthorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture.

Secondly, both cases demonstrate the involvement of external tourism investors in heritage sites and this has led to a strengthening of the disempowerment of local residents by making it difficult for them to share in the economic benefits delivered by tourism. External investments include two kinds: one refers to those small-scale tourism businesses from outside the local area such as small restaurants, inns and souvenir stores run by non-local actors; the other is large external investment in the overall development of a scenic site⁸¹³. The SSA involves large-external investment, for example from the joint investment company, the 'China Travel International Investment Hong Kong Limited' (CTIIHKL). This external investment resulted in the shifting of the main operation of the SSA from the government sector to an enterprise management model. Under this model, external investors dominate the management of the SSA and local residents are not permitted to participate in tourism development freely. Furthermore, many of the emergent cultural products such as the live stage performance of *Zen Music Shaolin Grand Ceremony* in the Shaolin case, and *Impression Pingyao*, are all invested in by external companies (respectively shown in sections 4.4.2 and 5.4.1). These commercialized cultural products, as tourist attractions, might help enhance a destination's image, but the involvement of external investment has deprived local residents of the opportunity to benefit

⁸¹³ Tianyu Ying and Yongguang Zhou. "Community, Governments and External Capitals in China's Rural Cultural Tourism: A Comparative Study of Two Adjacent Villages." *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007): 96-107.

from tourism. In fact, the inflow of large-scale external investments reveals that the process of tourist production is essentially a capitalist production, and these investments integrate these areas into the broader system of capitalist production of tourism⁸¹⁴.

Smaller-scale external investors, directly compete with local residents in the allocation of economic benefits from tourism. The Pingyao case demonstrates this through the inflow of small-scale external capital in the establishment of souvenir stores, inns, and other small businesses. In this situation local residents are usually in a disadvantaged position since they have little money to spend on the restoration of traditional buildings. Some local residents in the ACP who have no money to restore their houses in line with restoration regulations have had to sell their houses to external investors⁸¹⁵. WFWB encourages external capital investment in the ACP. In the case of the Shaolin Temple, small-scale external capital had little significance in the period from 1978 to 2000 when local residents still had the ability to operate small tourist related businesses. Furthermore, the SSA was not at the time a high-level heritage site but a tourist site. After the external investment companies began to dominate the management of the SSA in 2010, any other external investments in the SSA, including previous local residents' investments, were excluded by the CTIHKL. It is clear that the high economic cost of heritage authorization and conservation accelerates the process of realizing the economic value of heritage through tourism, accelerating the policy of encouraging external investments and depriving local residents of the ability to benefit from tourism and solidifying the disempowerment of local residents.

The costs of the heritage listings for the local governments in both case sites have been significant, in particular in the case of the Shaolin Temple. Therefore, heritage listing and heritage restoration incur high costs. Since the late 1990s, funding for preserving heritage has come mainly from local government⁸¹⁶. This gives local government greater ownership over tourist sites simply because they have financed their restoration. Therefore, this leads to more entitlement in terms of exploiting the financial benefits which arise from tourism. Although heritage authorization does not necessarily lead to an inflow of external capital in the process of commercializing heritage, its connection to

⁸¹⁴ Ning Wang. *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 2000), 17.

⁸¹⁵ Interview data from local residents in ACP.

⁸¹⁶ Robert J. Shepherd and Larry Yu. *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 50.

tourism development usually finds synergy with the inflow of external capital⁸¹⁷. In this regard, tourism development links the authorization/conservation of heritage to external investors who have no emotional attachment to the local culture but compete with local residents in benefiting from tourism. This furthers the disempowerment of local residents in benefiting from tourism.

Both cases show that heritage authorization creates difficulties for local residents who may want to benefit economically from tourism development. In the case of the Shaolin Temple, local residents benefited more easily from tourism development due to the low level tourism expertise before the SSA became a WCH site. Many local residents, however, were unable to benefit from tourism development after the Shaolin Temple was listed as a WCH site. The authorization of Shaolin Kungfu also magnifies the cultural and economic disparity between the Shaolin martial arts practiced by the Shaolin monks, and that practiced by the local residents. Furthermore, traditional buildings which are listed as heritage are required to be restored with heritage expertise in line with heritage law⁸¹⁸. This leads to an increased cost in restoring and conserving these buildings. In the case of the PAC, only those who were in a better economic condition had the opportunity to operate profitable businesses while the poorer residents could only have the opportunity to work as employees in tourism-related businesses. In this regard, heritage authorization adds to the difficulty that common people are confronted with in accessing heritage-related tourism businesses. Therefore, heritage authorization furthers the disparity between economically advantaged and economically disadvantaged groups. Those local residents in disadvantaged positions are subject to a process of further economic disempowerment.

Thirdly, both cases show that local residents have been disempowered spatially through relocation policies and having to share culturally significant public spaces with tourists. Under the hegemony of heritage discourse, the criteria of authenticity and integrity regulated in the CCPWCNH have been interpreted by heritage experts in both case areas. As indicated in sections 4.4 and 5.5, authentication projects planned by heritage experts and implemented by local governments exclude the local residents' authentic culture and relocate them out of heritage sites. Specifically, the spatial

⁸¹⁷ Tianyu Ying and Yongguang Zhou. "Community, Governments and External Capitals in China's Rural Cultural Tourism: A Comparative Study of Two Adjacent Villages." *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007): 96-107; Chaozhi Zhang. *Tourism and Heritage Conservation—Theoretical Study Based on Cases*. (Tianjin: Nankai University Press. 2008), 31, 130.

⁸¹⁸ Chinese Heritage law.

disempowerment process is reflected clearly in the Shaolin case by the relocation of local residents outside of their community and through the devaluation of the martial arts they practice. It is also reflected in the Pingyao case where local residents have either relocated from the area or had to endure higher living costs and the negative impacts brought by tourism development, regardless of the extent to which they were involved in, or benefited from, tourism businesses. All these contribute to the spatial disempowerment of local residents.

Both areas have been transformed from communism-modernized spaces to tradition-style touristic spaces since 1978. As indicated in section 3.3, some traditional public buildings and spaces were changed for socialist uses or destroyed under Mao's radical socialist construction. For example, temples were used as primary or middle schools in the Pingyao area; some buildings in the SSA, which had not been destroyed in the 1928 disaster, were also used as schools for local people. These new uses changed the traditional buildings into communism-modernized ones. That is, the phase from 1949 to 1978 witnessed the shift of spaces from traditional spaces to communism-modernized ones. However, these communism-modernized buildings, providing public facilities for local residents, were viewed by contemporary heritage experts as ugly in appearance. This view found synergy with tourism development and was welcomed by local governments. Then, after 1978, the IHATD drove the transformation of communism-modernized spaces used by locals into tradition-style touristic spaces, which are shaped by the relation between reconstructed tradition-style buildings and tourists. As a result, local residents' living facilities have been changed into tourist facilities and their public spaces are also occupied by tourists. Therefore, these places, used by local residents in Mao's era and before, have been restored by heritage experts as heritage sites firstly and promoted by tourism planners (from local governments) as tourist sites finally.

Heritage experts in both cases preferred to devalue historical remains from 1949 to the time when they planned to authorize the tangible space as heritage. Under the stylistic restoration principle, they got rid of historical remains from 1949 to 1978, which they regarded as 'modern'. In the ACP, the buildings were reconstructed and changed from 1949 to 1978 and were viewed by heritage experts as modern and ugly remains, the opposite to the 'previous' and 'traditional' style. Therefore, heritage experts planned to remove the constructive contributions from 1949 to 1978 for the ACP. For example, they restored the school-used temples to tourism-driven heritage sites and planned to

relocate these living facilities out in spite of the inconvenience for the local residents. Apparently, the restored temples are 'traditional' or even 'more traditional' than those in the past, but they have modern uses, mainly as tourist sites. The spaces have changed from local ones into tourist and commercial spaces.

In the Shaolin case, tourism development from the 1970s to 2000 drove large-scaled reconstruction. The space was shaped by commercial social relations between tourists and the locals. However, almost all the buildings, reconstructed from the 1970s to 2000, were nominated by heritage experts to be removed in the authentication projects. The reason is that these 'modern' buildings are not as 'authentic' as those in traditional times. Traditional times, however, spanned a long period in the history of China. The Shaolin temple was first constructed in 496 and it has experienced many changes during its history. The specific style was chosen by heritage experts to authenticate the temple and nearby environment as heritage. In the name of authorizing heritage, heritage experts employed by local governments used their authority to justify the physical authenticity of the Shaolin temple at the cost of displacing local residents and excluding local residents' understandings of cultural authenticity.

Both cases evidenced cultural detachment in that the IHATD disembedded the integrity of the community by eliminating the contributions of many eras to the buildings and devaluing the contributions of local residents to the heritage. As indicated by Giddens, the disembedding mechanism "depends on two conditions: the evacuation of the traditional or customary content of local context of action, and the reorganizing of social relations across broad time-space bands"⁸¹⁹. In the SSA, almost all the buildings in the SKC were reconstructed in line with the architectural style of Wei and Jin dynasties. The planning produced by heritage experts is to construct a quiet and 'original' environment, which is not historically real. Thus, the planning detaches the real contributions of many historical eras, in particular the contribution of latest era (1949 to 1978). In the ACP, similar detachment occurred in terms of eliminating the historical contributions of the latest era. Furthermore, local residents were forced to move in the Shaolin case and were encouraged to relocate out of the ACP. The relocations detached the cultural integrity by removing the cultural

⁸¹⁹ Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 85.

attachment of local residents to their community. Paradoxically, in the name of protecting the inherited culture, cultural detachment occurred in both case areas under the influence of IHATD.

In summary, heritage authorization, that which local governments use to legitimize tourism development, provides justification for the cultural, economic and spatial disempowerment of local residents. In regard to culture,, heritage experts' authenticity claims replaced the local residents' authenticity and their cultural identities that were embedded in their community. Economically, local residents have difficulty benefitting from tourism in the capitalist production system with emerging external investors. Spatially, local residents were displaced or encouraged to relocate out of their culturally significant community and share public places with tourists.

6.2.4 Reflexivity

Modernity is inherently a contrast with tradition⁸²⁰. It can be divided into two phases, simple modernity and reflexive modernity. As indicated in section 2.2.3, the features of earlier modernity are industrialization, capitalism, rationality, and globalization while one of its negative impacts is the lack of identity which was embedded in the local context. For Giddens, time-space distanciation and disembedding still belong to the feature of earlier modernity. Reflexive modernity originates from the negative aspects of simple or earlier modernity in that it recognizes the environmental, cultural and social costs of simple modernity⁸²¹. This kind of reflexivity has been revealed both at an individual and institutional level and demonstrates the increasing capacity for the "reflexive monitoring of behavior/action"^{822,823}. Lower levels of reflexivity refers to a situation in which an individual has been shaped by structure, while a higher level of reflexivity refers to instances when individuals shape or change such things as their own social norms, personal tastes and even political orientation. When more and more individuals gain a form of self-conscious reflexivity and influence structural change, institutional reflexivity occurs. In relation to processes of modernity in the context of heritage-protected tourist destinations reflexivity refers not to the reconstruction of tradition-style culture, which is principally a response to political ideology and economic benefits, but people's

⁸²⁰ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990),36.

⁸²¹ Ulrich Beck. *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

⁸²² Anthony Giddens. *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993),120.

⁸²³ Anthony Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1990),36.

ability to realize the negative aspects of this pattern of reconstruction of tradition-style culture; including such things as separating local residents from their embedded community and disembedding the integrity of the living culture. In other words, reflexive modernity relates to the protection of locally embedded culture, not for political or economic reasons, but for the agents' rising ability to be conscious to cultural damage. Realizing this damage, local agents act to safeguard their locally embedded culture instead of being disembedded by the heritage expert system and the tourism expert system. This locally embedded culture is a feature of traditional culture. Therefore, in the processes of modernity, reflexivity emerges from people's emotional links to tradition, which are influenced more by local factors rather than external factors. Different groups have different responses to reflexivity in an institutional sense.

In this section, I will examine the reflexivity of different groups in the cases of the Shaolin Temple and the ACP. I am concerned with their awareness of the negative aspects of the process of modernity in their areas, in particular in their behaviors and actions as they are reflected in their own "emotional link to the past". This reflexivity includes an individual aspect and an institutional aspect. The main argument for this section is that some local residents demonstrate their awareness of the negative aspects of the processes of modernity happening in their communities in terms of cultural detachment and their economically disempowered situation but they, as individuals, do not demonstrate their ability to actively shape and change this situation. This reflects that, for local residents, a low level of reflexivity is shown while a high level of reflexivity is not obtained. Furthermore, this section will also analyze the reflexivity of UNESCO, the central government, and the local government by examining their policies on heritage. It indicates that the heritage regulations of UNESCO and the central government show the features of institutional reflexivity by trying to shape and change the social structure of rapid economic development but the local practice of using heritage authorization to develop tourism demonstrates the features of earlier modernity, which means local governments pursue economic development at the cost of cultural detachment and thus a lack of identity for local residents.

Local Residents

Modern tourism is theorized within both reflexive modernity and earlier modernity⁸²⁴. On one hand, tourism reflects tourists' individual reflexivity in that tourist motivation can be characterized as a temporary escape from everyday life shaped by earlier modernity⁸²⁵. That is, tourists harbor a self-consciousness of the negative aspects of modernity and travel to other places to temporarily escape from it. On the other hand, however, from the supply side of the tourism system, the tourist production system is an element in the capitalist mode of commodity production⁸²⁶. This capitalist mode reflects the features of earlier modernity. In other words, when tourists enjoy their temporary escape from daily life, local residents in destinations driven by capitalist production, are making a living by providing services to tourists⁸²⁷. That is, local residents are also experiencing modernity, especially earlier modernity in which they rely on tourism to escape from poverty. In the Chinese context, Tim Oakes termed it the "false modern" in reference to local residents' desire for a better life such as that found in industrialized Western modernization⁸²⁸. Just as tourists, however, express their disenchantment with modernity, local residents might become aware of negative aspects of early modernity in capitalist production of the supply side of the tourism system. This leads to their reflexivity for earlier modernity.

Both cases evidence the existence of individual reflexivity of some local residents and this reveals their recognition of the negative impacts of modernity. As demonstrated in section 2.2.3, reflexivity is related to an emotional link to the past, while individual reflexivity is reflected in their desire to search for some form of emotional attachment. This emotional attachment to tradition, as a media of identity, can be easily found in traditional society⁸²⁹. In this regard, traditional culture and traditional buildings, as the material for the emotional attachment of individuals, are the media of individual reflexivity. In both cases, local residents have expressed their emotional attachment to traditional culture and traditional buildings in their community. Furthermore, their behaviors show that they

⁸²⁴ Ning Wang. *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 2000), 15.

⁸²⁵ Chris Rojek. *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel*. (London: Macmillan, 1993); Ning Wang. *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 2000), 12,16; Malcolm Crick.

"Representations of Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings and Servility: International Tourism in the Social Sciences." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18, (1989), 332.

⁸²⁶ G. Llewellyn Watson, Joseph P. Kopachevsky; Interpretations of Tourism as Commodity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21 no. 3 (1994): 643–660; Stephen Britton. "Tourism, Capital, and Place: towards a Critical Geography of Tourism." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9, no. 4 (1991): 451-478.

⁸²⁷ Ning Wang. *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 2000), 20-21.

⁸²⁸ Tim Oakes. *Tourism and Modernity in China*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 7.

⁸²⁹ Anthony Giddens. "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 80.

clearly differentiate the traditional culture/buildings constructed for local residents and tradition-style culture reconstructed for tourists. For example, the residents of the ACP celebrate traditional festivals in some public traditional buildings (temples and the Western Gate Square) where they usually gathered together in the past. They feel indifference, however to the newly-created festivals for tourists and prefer not to visit newly-reconstructed tourist sites. Although the newly-reconstructed tourist sites are tradition-style, which are the same for tourists as the truly traditional buildings, local residents do not regard them as their authentic culture. For local residents their emotional attachments are only bound to those traditional buildings which hold a place in their memory and they regard these as authentic to them. Furthermore, the Pingyao residents feel their city does not completely belong to them during the daytime. In other words, they are clear in identifying those spaces which they attach emotion to and those which they feel have been reconstructed only for an economic benefit arising from tourist consumption. That is, local residents clearly know that the rising tourist spaces, giving tourists' an authentic impression, occupy their emotional attached public places, which expresses their local identity. In the case of the Shaolin Temple, local residents regard the form of Shaolin martial arts which is performed now as being inauthentic while the martial arts practiced in the 1980s were to them the real form of Shaolin martial arts. That is, newly-reconstructed Shaolin Kungfu performances are considered to be tradition-style martial arts for tourists or audiences, and external tourist agents, while local residents, as the local actors, demonstrate an emotional attachment to the traditional or 'real' Shaolin martial arts practiced by locals. It is clear that both cases indicate that tourists and local residents have different understandings of authenticity for local culture. In other words, local residents clearly differentiate the past local culture and the so-called new culture reconstructed for tourists. Therefore, local residents demonstrate individual reflexivity through their emotional attachment to the past culture.

Local residents at both sites show their individual reflexivity in their behavior, yet they do not demonstrate their institutional reflexivity. In other words, they expressed their emotional attachment to their past culture individually, but they did not act collectively to protect their 'authentic' culture. For example, they recognized the spatial transformation from a localized, culture-specific place to a touristic place and this led to an emotional detachment, but they were unable to influence heritage and tourism policies. It means, local residents are not in a situation where individuals could shape

and change the social structure. Furthermore, they participate in tourism, which accelerates the processes of earlier modernity and detaches the integrity of their local culture. In other words, their individual reflexivity gives way to the economic benefits gained from tourism development, which inherently is the pattern of earlier modernity or modernization. In this regard, institutional reflexivity is not formed in both case areas. Local residents tend to show their emotional links to the past and their attachment to local spaces in their behaviors (for example, Pingyao residents preferred to go to public places where they gathered together in the past but which are occupied by tourists now), but did not express their reflexive requirements publicly and collectively. In other words, local residents show their lower level of reflexivity at an individual level but a higher level of reflexivity at an institutional level is not obtained.

Governmental Sector

Reflexivity is realized by UNESCO (an international agent) in that UNESCO has adopted international conventions, recommendations, and resolutions to protect immovable cultural heritage and safeguard intangible cultural heritage. For example, at the beginning the CCPWCNH asserted that heritage is “increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions ...”⁸³⁰ This indicates that UNESCO has recognized that earlier modernity has led to social and economic conditions which threaten cultural heritage. Furthermore, UNESCO aims to protect heritage from the destruction and damage of earlier modernity. Another international convention, the ICSICH, safeguards traditional culture from “threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of intangible cultural heritage”⁸³¹. The ICSICH aims to protect cultural diversity from the threats of globalization and social transformation. These international conventions are evidence to show that UNESCO recognizes the threat of modernity to traditional culture and the significance of traditional culture on sustaining the personal identity of individuals. Tradition, as analyzed by Giddens, is a medium of identity⁸³² and institutional reflexivity always refers to an emotional link to the past⁸³³. In this regard, UNESCO recognizes the significance of past culture and the need to protect it. Therefore, UNESCO

⁸³⁰ CCPWCNH

⁸³¹ ICSICH

⁸³² Anthony Giddens. “Living in a Post-Traditional Society”. In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 80.

⁸³³ Ulrich Beck. *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). 197.

demonstrates the features of institutional reflexivity, expecting to protect the cultural diversity from being destroyed by earlier modernity.

However, these international conventions, in particular the CCPWCNH, have led to the internationalization and globalization of heritage in non-European countries by imposing European notions of heritage and heritage protection. The internationalization and globalization are the agents of what Giddens has termed disembedding mechanics. In particular, the authenticity criteria and knowledge-claims in the CCPWCNH have resulted in the standardization of heritage sites in non-European countries. Both field sites evidence the presence of disembedding mechanics. Paradoxically, the international conventions of heritage, expected by international agents as institutional reflexivity for recognition of the negative aspects of earlier modernity on cultural deterioration, led to the disembedding of the original context and the detachment of local culture. These disembedding and detachment processes are the consequences of modernity analyzed by Giddens.

The Chinese central government has shown institutional reflexivity by recognizing the negative aspect of earlier modernity in the post-Deng era of the 1990s. As shown in section 3.5, President Jiang recognized the negative aspects of modernization in relation to social stability and began to use traditional culture to strengthen national identity. The LPCHPRC and ICHLPRC were to inherit the traditional culture of the Chinese nation (*Zhonghua minzu*) as a way to strengthen patriotism, and to construct socialist culture⁸³⁴. This was predicated on the critical relationship between tradition and identity - which is connected to social stability. As Giddens noted, “personal identity and its connection to wider social identities” is “a prime requisite of ontological security”⁸³⁵. The personal and collective identity is significant for a stable society while tradition is the media of identity⁸³⁶. In earlier processes of modernity, people aim to achieve modernization through industrialization, rationality, and capitalism, which cannot resolve the lack of identity.

⁸³⁴ First article of LPCHPRC, first article of ICHLPRC.

⁸³⁵ Anthony Giddens. “Living in a Post-Traditional Society”. In *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Beck Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 80.

⁸³⁶ Ibid.

The nation-state is also conceptualized as “an imaged political community”⁸³⁷ and the government attempts to resolve a perceived lack of identity by strengthening national identity. In China, as analyzed in sections 3.3 and 3.4, Mao and Deng used Socialist culture or ‘Socialist spiritual civilization’ to strengthen national identity - yet it was found to be ineffective in nurturing a collective identity in China in the 1990s. The central government has recognized this lack of identity in Deng’s era and attempted to use traditional culture to strengthen national identity since then. It actively adopted the ICSICH and issued respective laws and policies to safeguard intangible cultural heritage, which is the content of traditional culture. In other words, the central government has shown the institutional reflexivity in the heritage laws and policies.

However, local use of heritage as a tourist attraction shows the features of earlier modernity for locals in that local governments pursue rapid economic development at the cost of detaching local culture. Local governments implement in a practical sense international and national policies that demonstrate institutional reflexivity. Usually they use heritage as an economic resource to obtain local modernization. For local governments heritage authorization is viewed as a branding strategy to enhance a destination’s image. As indicated in Chapters 4 and 5, both cases show that local governments dominate the tourism-driven heritage authorization process which subsequently disembeds spatial, social, and cultural relations from local contexts. In the case of the Shaolin Temple, the tourism-driven heritage authorization process requires local residents to relocate out of their community. Interestingly, when local governments persuade local residents to support their plans of tourism-driven heritage authorization, they also use the function of traditional culture as their “shared past culture”. For example, when the Pingyao county-level government encouraged its citizens to participate in inscribing the ACP as a WCH site, they employed the propaganda of the “shared past” to strengthen local identity. When the Dengfeng county-level government relocated local residents from the SSA, they emphasized the significance of heritage authorization in enhancing their shared past culture. It is clear that the use of heritage as an economic resource for local modernization contradicts the international and national expectations of institutional reflexivity. Therefore, in the name of heritage authorization, expected by international and national governments as institutional reflexivity, local governments launch heritage-branded tourism development, which

⁸³⁷ Benedict Anderson. *1991: Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. rev. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 6.

actually shows intense features of earlier modernity.

In summary, UNESCO and the central government show their expectation of institutional reflexivity through their recognition of the significance of traditional culture in individuals and society. In this context it is more concerned with the contributions made through traditional culture to political stability. However, the local use of heritage as an economic resource which fuels modernization contradicts the expectation of institutional reflexivity from higher-levels of government, a feature of earlier modernization.

6.3 Differences Between the Two Cases

This section will theoretically analyze the differences between the two case areas. This will contribute to strengthening the arguments of this research and answer the research questions. As indicated in Chapter 1, there are three different local factors between the two cases, these are: different positioning between heritage authorization and tourism development during the same era, heritage and cultural forms, and local actors. These differences have some significant implications on the analysis of the commercial, theme-park tendencies of the two heritage sites, as well as the power relationships between experts and local residents. This indicates that both case areas still have intense features of commercial theme-parks, in spite of differences in local factors. Furthermore, despite the differences in local factors, local residents are still disempowered in the processes of reconstruction of tradition-style culture. However, the extent of their disempowerment demonstrates differences in line with these varying local factors. That is, local residents in the Shaolin case demonstrate a higher degree of disempowerment than those in the Pingyao case.

6.3.1 Different Positioning

The first difference is the different positioning between heritage authorization and tourism development during the same era. In particular, the SSA experienced a boom in tourism firstly and then the WCH listing while the ACP witnessed the WCH listing first and tourism development secondly. In other words, the SSA model is tourism-driven heritage authorization while the ACP experienced a heritage-based model of tourism development. This means the SSA was first transformed from a socialist space to a tourism-commercialized space. Then, tourism-driven heritage

authorization has made it into the space with more official authenticity claims under which local residents are seriously culturally, economically, and spatially disempowered. This is an overt manner of disempowerment. Conversely, the ACP was first transformed from a socialist space to a heritage-authorized one. Then, heritage-based tourism development made it into the tourist space with a more commercial environment. In this process, local residents have equal opportunity but limited ability to benefit from tourism development. This is an underlying factor of their disempowerment.

From this it is clear that both heritage authorization and tourism development drive the critical processes of modernity. The former, with its political power, contributes more to the legitimacy of the disempowerment of local residents. The latter, however, with its inherent economic power, contributes more to the disempowerment of local residents in tourism production, which is actually capitalist production. Furthermore, compared to heritage authorization, tourism brings involvement of more external actors in local development through tourists' direct contact with local residents. When the ACP was simply a heritage site, from 1980s to 1997, it was mainly inherited by locals even though at that time heritage experts were involved in the authorization and local government expected it to become touristic and commercial. Although heritage authorization forced public facilities to relocate out and brought inconvenience to local residents, it did not result in the detachment of local culture on a large scale since local residents still lived in the ACP. Cultural detachment did occur after more than 2000 tourists visited, more external investors became involved, and local residents relocated out. Furthermore, local residents are limited in their ability to benefit from tourism while competing with external investors under capitalist production. In this regard, local residents in the ACP are disempowered more in regard to the economic aspects of tourism development. This is an underlying way for the disempowerment of local residents as they apparently have the same opportunities to engage in tourism development as external investors. However, considering the question "whose heritage" and official authenticity claims, local residents, as inheritors of local culture but with the lowest status, are disempowered in heritage-based tourism developments with competition from external investors.

The SSA was a tourist site from the 1970s to 2000, a period in which all local actors benefited from tourism development without much intervention from official authenticity claims. In other words,

government intervention was not intense at that time. This transformation of space was driven by tourism development and in response to the demands of tourists. Local actors shared their local space with external tourists voluntarily and they reconstructed tradition-style culture for tourists. However, heritage authorization intervened in the tourism development of the SSA by upgrading the heritage level. With the strong political legitimacy of heritage authorization, local government enforced the relocation of local residents outside of the SSA given that there are space-segregated regulations on the protection of controlled zones in heritage sites. By this forceful relocation, tourism-driven heritage authorization gives more political legitimacy to the disempowerment of local residents. It is an overt way to disempower the local residents.

It is clear that heritage authorization *per se* does not necessarily lead to the sharing of local places with externals while tourism-driven heritage authorization results in local spaces being reconstructed for external tourists. By this, local residents' authenticity claims are replaced by heritage experts and heritage authorization adds difficulties for them to benefit from tourism, in particular with competition from external investors. It is also clear that tourism development *per se* does not necessarily lead to the overt disempowerment of local residents while heritage-based tourism development demonstrates the underlying disempowerment of local residents. It is the IHATD that results in the disempowerment of local residents in both cases. The different positioning between heritage authorization and tourism development results in the differences in the extent of the disempowerment of local residents.

6.3.2 Different Heritage and Cultural Forms

The second difference in the two cases is their heritage and cultural forms. In particular, the Shaolin heritage is principally based on the spiritual and intangible aspects of culture whilst the Pingyao heritage is more focused on the built and tangible aspects of culture. Accordingly, cultural forms in the Shaolin case are Shaolin martial arts and Shaolin Chinese medicine whilst cultural forms in the ACP are more about the buildings and layout of the ACP. These cultural differences have implications in the protection of heritage in each context. This difference has two consequences, the extent of the objective authenticity of heritage and the controversial ownership of heritage. The first consequence indicates that the two case areas still have intense features of commercial theme-parks although they demonstrate different dimensions of objective authenticity. The second consequence

demonstrates that controversial ownership of cultural forms based on intangible heritage contributes to the further disempowerment of local residents.

Pingyao heritage, which is more tangible, demonstrates more 'authentic' features than that of the Shaolin tangible heritage in line with the authenticity criteria in the CCPWCNH. In relation to this, the buildings in the Shaolin Temple were almost totally reconstructed, while the buildings in the ACP were mainly restored. This indicates that authentic heritage (in terms of its tangible aspects) is understood more as an authorization process since the buildings in the Shaolin Temple are almost all reconstructions without a European understanding of objective authenticity. Traditional buildings in the ACP are mainly restored and thus demonstrate a greater extent of objective authenticity although restoration is different from the preservation principle, as indicated in sections 3.6.2 and 5.4.1. This also implies that heritage can be reconstructed in a Chinese context yet tends to be 'artificial' much in the way of a theme-park product.

The cultural form around Shaolin heritage, as intangible cultural heritage, further contributes to the disempowerment of local residents than that of Pingyao. As regulated in the CSICH, intangible cultural heritage is "transmitted from generation to generation" and "constantly recreated by communities and groups"⁸³⁸. It is difficult to identify who or which group has ownership of cultural property based on intangible cultural heritage⁸³⁹. For example, local residents contribute greatly to the maintenance of Shaolin martial arts from 1949 to 1978 while the other group, the Shaolin monks, seem reasonable as the official inheritors of Shaolin martial arts. Furthermore, there is debate about "the heritage as resource for all of humanity" or "something that belongs to, and remains controlled by, its communities of origin"⁸⁴⁰. It is clear that the ownership and official inheritors of intangible cultural heritage are controversial. Therefore, this difference implies that the ownership of heritage and cultural forms in the Shaolin case are more flexible as they are intangible. In other words, heritage experts and governments have more discretion to interpret the official authenticity claims of heritage and cultural forms in the Shaolin case. For example, all the official inheritors of Shaolin martial arts are Shaolin monks. In addition, Abbot Yongxin's differentiation of Shaolin Kungfu and

⁸³⁸ Article 2 in CSICH.

⁸³⁹ Richard. Kurin. "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A Critical Appraisal." *Museum International* 56, no. 1/2 (2004): 66-77.

⁸⁴⁰ Michael F. Brown. "Heritage Trouble: Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12, no. 01 (2005): 40-61.

Shaolin martial arts shows the further disempowerment of local residents. In this regard, the Shaolin monks took the role of experts. The Shaolin monks, as influential local actors demonstrate some degree of authority which furthers the disempowerment of local residents. Instead, the ownership of tangible cultural heritage is much clearer and less controversial. Thus, cultural heritage and cultural forms in the ACP have relatively clearer ownership except for the Jingzu houses. For Pingyao heritage, some local residents owned the traditional buildings which were their houses. Although the local government expected them to relocate from the ACP, they retained the right to continue living there if that was what they chose. In other words, although heritage authorization has created difficulties for local residents in terms of their ability to repair and reside in their houses, such as those restoration regulations for private houses, they are not forced to give their private spaces to tourists as the more disempowered local residents in the SSA have had to do. Furthermore, they have the opportunity to participate in tourist-related businesses or rent their houses to others. At least, some local residents still dwell in the ACP while the local residents were almost all displaced from the SSA. In this regard, the difference in heritage and cultural forms in two cases influence the degree of disempowerment of local residents.

6.3.3 Different Local Actors

The third difference is the local actors. In the Shaolin case, there is a special group, the Shaolin monks, undertaking the role of semi-experts in tourism-driven heritage authorization. The Shaolin monks, as influential local actors, contribute to further the disempowerment of the local residents. No such organization exists in the ACP. In other words, in the hierarchy of external agents and local actors, the Shaolin monks are positioned higher than local residents in the Shaolin community and this furthers the degree of disempowerment of local residents.

The Shaolin case demonstrates a semi-expert group while the Pingyao case does not have this special group. As indicated in section 4.2.3, the Shaolin monks were attacked by Mao's anti-tradition policy from 1949 to the 1970s but they have gradually reformed to claim a place as a religious and cultural organization. Although the local residents contributed significantly to Shaolin martial arts and Shaolin Chinese medicine from 1949 to the 1970s, the influential position of the Shaolin monks was confirmed again economically through the commercialization of the Shaolin culture from the 1980s to 2000. Shaolin culture has been reconstructed and interpreted by different actors, with the

Shaolin monks, as influential local actors and semi-experts, dominating the reconstruction and interpretation of Shaolin culture. Another group, the Pingyao Merchants had existed in the Ming and Qing dynasties but were eliminated between 1949 and 1978. As indicated in sections 5.2 and 5.3, the Pingyao Merchant group in the Qing dynasty contributed to the construction of public and private traditional buildings which are now recognized as authorized heritage, but the group lost their position due to warfare from 1911 to 1949. This group was later attacked by the socialists and the *danwei* institution from 1949 to 1978. The formation of the Pingyao merchant group did not follow the same pathway as the Shaolin monks. This has led to distinct features in the modernity process in terms of the local power in these two cases.

As influential local agents, the Shaolin monks have the features of ‘experts’ in interpreting Shaolin culture and this furthers the lower status of local residents in the Shaolin community. Although Shaolin culture originated from Chan Buddhism, it has adapted to the socialist culture which criticizes religion as a form of superstition in China. Thus, Shaolin culture is recognized and interpreted as both historical and artistic culture rather than being associated specifically with religion. For example, cultural forms in the Shaolin case are mainly Shaolin martial arts and Shaolin Chinese medicine, which have no close relations with Buddhism, as analyzed in section 4.2.2. Furthermore, in reconstructing Shaolin culture, Abbot Yongxin interpreted Shaolin martial arts as Shaolin Kungfu and Shaolin Wushu, as indicated in section 4.4.3. In this interpretation, what Shaolin monks practice is Shaolin Kungfu, whilst Shaolin disciples and local residents practice Shaolin Wushu. This interpretation is officially admitted when Shaolin Kungfu is listed as a national ICH and the official inheritors of Shaolin Kungfu are all Shaolin monks. This devalues the Shaolin martial arts practiced by local residents. Furthermore, this interpretation confused the differentiation of Shaolin culture and Shaolin temple culture, as analyzed in section 4.4.3. Shaolin temple culture was embedded in the Shaolin temple, while Shaolin culture was embedded in the Shaolin community. However, few people recognize this confusion due to the Shaolin monks’ legitimized expertise in Shaolin history and Shaolin culture. In this regard, the Shaolin monks undertake the role of official experts of Shaolin culture. This furthers the degree of disempowerment of local residents in the SSA.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the similarities and differences of the two cases. This contributes to answering the research questions based on the comparison of the two cases. In particular, the similarities were analyzed in terms of expert systems for heritage authorization, expert system for tourism development, the interaction between the two expert systems, and reflexivity. It demonstrates how the interaction between the two expert systems has influenced the transformative processes of the two case areas by producing reconstructed tradition-style culture politically and economically. This contributes to the two heritage sites having the features of commercial theme-parks. Furthermore, this creates a situation where experts and local residents are unequally positioned in reconstructing tradition-style culture. The differences between the two cases in terms of local factors strengthen the above arguments. In particular, both case areas still have intense features of commercial theme-parks, in spite of the differences in local factors. Furthermore, despite the differences in local factors, the local residents are still disempowered in the processes of reconstruction of tradition-style culture.

The extent of disempowerment of the local residents, however, varies in different local situations. Local residents in SSA have suffered higher disempowerment after 2000 than those who lived in ACP, yet benefiting more from tourism development during 1978-2000 than those in ACP. Simply put, local residents in SSA benefited from tourism development, which empowered their economic influence from 1978 to 2000. However, they had been financially, spatially and culturally disempowered mainly due to the officially imposed dislocation and the semi-expert role of Shaolin monks since the authentication projects were launched in heritage authorization in 2000. During the period of 1978-1997, it had been witnessed the disempowerment of local residents in ACP for their losing some living infrastructure. After 1997 even until now, the disempowerment of local people mentioned above continues as they need to share the public areas with tourists, but failed to benefit equally from tourism development with external investors. In fact, local residents in ACP are expected to relocate out of ACP in a natural way. To sum up, local residents in two cases studies experienced different levels of disempowerment due to the variance of local factors in terms of cultural heritage and forms, as well as local actors.

Based on a comparison of the similarities and differences between two cases, the next chapter will answer the research questions, elaborate on the findings, and summarize the contributions of the study reported in this thesis and provide directions for future research.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

Based on a comparison between the two cases, this chapter will first summarize the findings of this thesis by directly answering the research questions. Secondly, this chapter will outline some generalizations about these findings and extrapolate them to other tourist sites in China. Finally, this chapter will point out the special contributions and limitations of the research reported in this thesis and possibilities for future research.

This research aimed to better understand how the Interaction between heritage authorization and tourism development (IHATD) has shaped the processes of modernity in heritage-protected tourist sites. I argue that tradition-style culture is produced politically and economically and has had a significant impact on these processes. This has had two consequences; firstly the emergence of a commercial park environment in heritage sites and secondly the disempowerment of local residents. As a result, a hierarchy of positions involving external agents and local actors has formed through the practice of reconstructing tradition-style culture.

These findings have emerged from an analysis of the two case areas that were the focus of the study. The degree of generalization from the case areas to a broader context is also analyzed in terms of theoretical, inferential (context-based), and representational (actor-based) aspects. I would argue that any generalization of findings from the case areas to other areas is dependent on the degree of IHATD, the degree of congruence between the local context in case areas and other areas, and the degree of similarity of formations of local actors.

In the final section of this chapter I will outline the contributions made in this study, the limitations of this study and possibilities for future research. The contributions of this research are analyzed from both theoretical and practical perspectives. The limitations are analyzed in terms of the methodology and the lack of analysis of the impact of tourists on the processes of modernity in the two heritage sites. The possibilities for future research relate principally to the impact of tourists on the transformative processes of heritage sites.

7.2 Findings

This section will answer the research questions based on a theoretical analysis of the similarities and differences between the two cases. The whole thesis has been arranged to answer the key research question and three sub-questions. The first chapter introduced the rationale for the development of the research questions and how these would be answered through a qualitative methodology, a constructivist paradigm, and an investigation of the two case study sites. The key question is ‘How has IHATD shaped the transformative processes in heritage-protected tourist destinations in post-Mao era China?’ Chapter Two established a theoretical framework to better understand the social processes involved in heritage authorization and tourism development, and how these have impacted on processes of modernity in the two case study sites. In particular, Giddens’ three aspects of modernity - time-space distancing, disembedding, and reflexivity -, have been applied to better understand the transformative process of heritage-authorized tourist destinations. Chapter Three outlined the internationalization of Chinese heritage authorization and its connection with tourism in the post-Mao era. This chapter extrapolated the research question in relation to the broader context of China, rather than just in the case study areas that form the basis of the analyses in the following two chapters. Chapters Four and Five answer the research questions by demonstrating through ethnographic fieldwork the transformative processes of the two case areas shaped by IHATD. Chapter 6 served to answer the research question based on an analysis of the similarities and differences between the two case areas. This concluding chapter will directly answer the research question and consider the contributions and limitations of the answers to these questions.

Key Question: How has IHATD shaped processes of modernity in heritage-protected tourist destinations in post-Mao era China?

The reconstruction of tradition-style culture has been a critical contributor to the transformative processes within these sites. IHATD drives the transformative processes at heritage-authorized tourist destinations culturally, economically and spatially. Heritage authorization, emerging from the intervention from the politically powerful international agent UNESCO, and the Chinese central government, has been politically pragmatic in that it serves to strengthen national identity to bolster the authority of the central government, while tourism development, as an intervention of economic

power in relation to tourists' consumption, benefits the local economy, in particular for local governments. Tradition-style culture, as the product of IHATD, is different from 'traditional culture' which was rooted in the local context of traditional societies. In other words, IHATD has disembedded locally traditional culture through the practice of different actors' reconstructing tradition-style culture. Furthermore, the unequal relationships of power are reflected in the hierarchy of actors who engage in reconstructing tradition-style culture. This results in the consequence that both heritage sites have adopted the characteristics of commercial, theme-park tourist products. This has arisen from the local governments' application of heritage authorization principles and tourism development. This situation has problematized the notion of authenticity which is claimed in concepts of heritage. Furthermore, experts and local residents are positioned in unequal relations of power in reconstructing tradition-style culture. Under the hegemony of heritage discourse, external heritage experts have more authority than local actors in claiming authenticity of heritage. Tourism planners, as another influential agent, and official tourism experts representing local governments, also have higher levels of authority, especially because local governments now have more power in decision-making under China's policy of decentralization. External investors, usually with a greater degree of economic capital, are also in a more powerful position compared to local residents. Within this hierarchy local residents are positioned lowest in their abilities to reconstruct tradition-style culture. As a result, local residents in both case areas are disempowered culturally, spatially, and financially. Culturally, local residents have not been able to express their specific cultural and historical identities within the hegemonic official discourse of 'heritage'. Spatially, local residents have been disempowered through relocation policies and the requirement to share culturally significant public spaces with tourists. Financially, local residents have been disempowered because they have been limited in their ability to benefit from heritage-based tourism development. Overall, IHATD shapes the spatial changes from local-embedded spaces to externally shared ones, in which the local economy is improved at the cost of separating local residents' emotional attachments from the local community and disempowering some local residents financially.

Sub-question 1: How has heritage authorization interacted with tourism development in the post-Mao era?

The answer is that the reconstruction of tradition-style culture links heritage authorization to tourism development in practice, and this has resulted in Chinese heritage having the tendency of

commercial, theme-park tourist products. As indicated in section 6.2.1, expert systems associated with heritage are exclusive because of its high political legitimacy and knowledge expertise. The authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture by heritage experts has behind it the legal power to claim authenticity. This authorized reconstruction of heritage finds synergy with local governments' economic agendas through heritage-based tourism. As indicated in section 6.2.2, expert systems associated with tourism on the other hand, demonstrate features of inclusiveness because of the presence of diverse actors, lower levels of political legitimacy in local government, and inconsistent expertise that diverse actors demonstrate. The unauthorized reconstruction of commercial, tradition-style culture, as the product of tourism expert systems, demonstrates lower legitimacy in heritage authorization but high levels of legitimacy in relation to tourism development. In other words, heritage authorization, as a political driver from central government, connects with the economic agenda of tourism development at the local level. This leads to Chinese heritage sites having the tendency of theme-park tourist products. This tendency is actually situated in local governments' interpretation of heritage authorization and tourism development. As indicated in section 6.2.3, this tendency is supported by two factors. The first factor is that the French-school stylistic restoration that is dominant in the context of Chinese heritage contradicts the authenticity criteria laid down in the OGIWHC and legitimizes the reconstruction of tradition-style culture for tourist products. The second factor is that the enterprise-managed approach of heritage sites furthers the tendency of heritage sites to develop along the lines of a theme-park tourist product. In other words, without government authority, heritage sites in China are likely to become theme parks set in a traditional style

Sub-question 2: Who are the main actors involved in heritage authorization and tourism development in the post-Mao era? What is the nature of their interaction?

The answer is that heritage experts, tourism planners representing local governments, external tourism investors, and some local residents who have engaged in tourism development are the main actors involved in heritage authorization and tourism development in post-Mao era China. All of them are involved in the reconstruction of tradition-style culture in some way, but are positioned in a hierarchy that demonstrates unequal relations of power. External heritage experts have more legitimacy in heritage-authorized reconstruction of tradition-style culture, while local government (tourism planners in particular) has more power in tourism-oriented reconstruction of tradition-style

culture. Local residents' reconstruction, such as their cultural performances for tourists, are condemned as commercialization of local culture and even restricted. External investors also demonstrate superior positions in reconstructing tradition-style culture, even though they have no locally embedded attachment in these areas. As a result, local residents are disempowered culturally, financially, and spatially. Little space is reserved for their expression of cultural identity and they have to relocate or share their culturally significant spaces with tourists. Furthermore, they are limited in their ability to benefit from heritage-based tourism development.

Sub-question 3: What role does reflexivity play in heritage authorization and tourism development?

The concept of reflexivity is important in heritage authorization and tourism development. As indicated in section 6.2.4, the nature of heritage principles deriving from UNESCO and the Chinese central government demonstrates features of institutional reflexivity because they have the ability to shape and change social structures in rapid economic development. However, local practices of heritage authorization in the context of tourism development do not demonstrate reflexivity. On the contrary, it evidences the features of earlier modernity in that local governments pursue economic development at the cost of cultural detachment and loss of cultural identity for local residents. As for the reflexivity of local residents, some local residents demonstrate their awareness of the negative aspects of modernity as it is happening in their communities in terms of cultural detachment and their economic marginalization. Local residents, as individuals, however, have no ability to actively shape and change this situation.

7.3 Generalizing the Research Findings

The previous section has summarized the findings based on the theoretical similarities and differences between the two cases. This section will explore the possibility of generalizing the findings from the two cases to the broader context. That is, to what extent the findings drawn from the case areas could be extrapolated to other heritage-protected tourist destinations in China. As indicated in section 1.2.5, the ability to generalize research findings from a specific context to a broader context includes three aspects: theoretical generalization, inferential generalization (specific context-based), and representational generalization (actor-based). I argue that the generalization of the research findings is conditioned by the degree to which the development of specific heritage-protected tourist sites is reliant on the IHATD, the degree of congruence between the local

context in the case areas selected for this study and other tourist sites in China, and the degree of similarity of the local actors involved.

Theoretical generalization of this study depends on the degree to which the development of specific heritage-authorized tourist destinations relies on IHATD. This research applies Giddens' theory of modernity, including the three aspects of modernity which Giddens particularly emphasizes, these being time-space distanciation, disembedding, and reflexivity, to analyze transformative processes in two heritage-authorized tourist destinations in China. The theoretical generalization concerns whether these conceptual notions, such as 'heritage expert systems' and 'tourism expert systems' can be applied to other heritage-authorized tourist destinations in China. Giddens' modernity theory has an emphasis on the processes of globalization, which link the influence of international heritage conventions on national and local practices in China. As indicated in Chapter 3, Chinese heritage has been internationalized and linked to local tourism development. Heritage authorization has served the political agenda of the central government and the economic agenda of local governments. In this regard both heritage authorization and tourism development are linked through expert systems that facilitate the presence of forces of globalization. With this in mind the theoretical framework used in this research has the potential to be applied to other heritage-protected tourist destinations. However, given the fact that the degree of use of heritage authorization to serve tourism development at local levels might differ in other areas, theoretical generalization will be stronger in areas where the local economy depends more on IHATD. In particular, if the heritage is a WH site, the theoretical generalization will be more robust.

An inferential generalization depends on three conditions existing in other local contexts; these are the existence of a 'splendid past culture', local governments' support for tourism-driven heritage authorization, and a recognition of the contributions of tourism to the local economy. Inferential generalization relates to whether the findings from the case studies (also called the 'sending context') could be generalized to other specific contexts (also called the 'receiving context'). In short and as indicated in section 1.2.5, the transferability of the research findings depends on the congruence between the sending context and the receiving context. In this research, the features of both case contexts include cultural, political, and economic aspects. Culturally, both case contexts had a glorious period of historical culture that could be recognized and authorized as 'heritage'. Politically,

the local governments in both case sites supported the model of tourism-driven heritage authorization. Economically, both case areas have experienced the advancement of the local economy driven by heritage-based tourism development. In this regard, the findings in this research could be generalized to other local contexts in which the economic, cultural and political conditions are similar to both case contexts of this study.

Representational generalization depends on the similarities of involved actors in other heritage-protected tourist destinations. As analyzed in section 1.2.5, representational generalization in qualitative research depends on whether the sample could provide diverse views and dimensions to analyze abstract research questions. Specifically, it means whether the involved actors, such as heritage experts, tourism planners, and local residents, would generally demonstrate different positions of power. Power relationships are influenced by the existence of expert systems, whereby experts have a higher status because of their expert knowledge, political legitimacy, and relatively consistent views on specific fields. In this research, the Shaolin monks demonstrate the role of 'semi-experts' in terms of their distinct expertise, political legitimacy, and recognizable identity. Therefore, it is important to analyze the actors' roles to understand to what extent they are *experts* or laymen when representation generalization is considered. Furthermore, it is important to consider why diverse actors could demonstrate different power relations.

There lie in major research findings from two case studies: (1) local residents have been financially, spatially, and culturally disempowered in the IHATD; (2) the level of disempowerment is conditioned by the degree to which the development of specific heritage-protected tourist sites is reliant on the IHATD; (3) the difference between the local context in the case areas selected for this study and that in other tourist sites in China, and the similarity among the local actors involved, also matter for the explanation of different level of disempowerment in this regard; last but not the least, the level of disempowerment varies in different eras (1978-1999 and after 2000) according to these two case studies, as analyzed in section 6.4. For instance, in the Shaolin case, almost all local residents benefited from tourism development from 1978 to 1999, and in the Pingyao case, tourism development during the same period also created job opportunities for local residents and brought about economic benefits to them. That said, the economic benefits stemming from the tourism development are overshadowed by that what distributed to the external investors, as it is by and large

reflective of the capitalist mode of tourism production and development. Therefore, researchers should take the different local contexts into consideration in order to make sense these research findings.

7.4 Contribution, Limitations and Future Research

7.4.1 Contributions of this Research

This research contributes to a better understanding of the transformative processes in heritage-protected tourist destinations. Theoretically, it is the first research to apply Giddens' modernity theory - *time-space distanciation, disembedding, and reflexivity* - to analyze the transformative processes of heritage-protected tourist destinations in a socialist country such as China. These processes of modernity have been shaped by the interaction between heritage authorization (politics-driven) and tourism development (economic-driven) through the practice of different actors' reconstruction of tradition-style culture. Expert systems, as principal form of disembedding mechanics, have been applied to analyze the internationalization of Chinese heritage and the local use and interpretation of heritage authorization. Furthermore, this research suggests that underlying IHATD is a latent hierarchy of power relationships that positions different actors including external heritage experts who link international heritage conventions to local practices; tourism planners who represent local governments and are devoted to improving the local economy, external tourism investors who prioritize economic profit by investing in heritage-based tourism businesses; and local residents who are marginalized within the processes of modernity. In other words, modernity in these contexts has resulted in a spatial change, from a locally-embedded one to an externally shared one in which the local economy is improved at the cost of disrupting the emotional attachments of the community and disempowering local residents.

The findings imply that heritage policy-makers need to rethink the impacts of heritage policies, such as the CCPWCNH and LPCHPRC. The aims proposed in these policies reveal the idea of cultural protection, but the application of the conventions at a local level brings about diverse consequences in terms of cultural detachment of the community. Furthermore, heritage authorization at the local level becomes a justification for disempowering local residents when it connects with tourism development. This research, therefore, critically examines why heritage authorization and traditional culture are considered significant to contemporary political agents, given the fact that traditional

culture and heritage have traditionally been disparaged by the central government both in Mao's era and in Deng's era. This implies that the question of 'whose heritage' must always be considered within the hegemony of heritage discourse.

For local government policymakers, this research provides some implications for the development approach in local areas, such as what is the fundamental meaning of the idea of 'development' if the costs are cultural detachment and the fact that local residents are unable to benefit from so called 'economic development'. Under this economic development model, external agents, such as heritage experts and external tourism investors, have more influence on local development than local residents, many generations of whom might have lived in the community but are disempowered and culturally disrupted in this development model.

7.4.2 Limitations to and Future Direction of This Research

The data collected from the case areas was insufficient to explore the specific influences of *tourists* on the reconstruction of tradition-style culture. For this reason the research failed to consider the extent to which different actors' reconstructions of tradition-style culture actually satisfies tourists' demands or expectations. During the course of this research I observed tourists' behaviors, yet not to the extent that these behaviors are representative of tourist groups. In other words, how tourists have influenced the reconstruction of tradition-style culture is unclear. This research is focused primarily on trying to understand how experts have influenced the reconstruction of tradition-style culture, whilst tourists' influence is as yet unknown. This study has explored the purpose of local actors' reconstruction of tradition-style culture but the extent to which tradition-style culture has really satisfied tourists is still unknown. In other words, tourists' motivations, behaviors, and satisfactions and their impacts on local actors were not examined. Therefore, the future direction of research should focus on how tourists have shaped the processes of heritage-protected tourist destinations.

Appendix

Appendix One: Four Paradigms

Item	<i>Positivism</i>	<i>Post-positivism</i>
Ontology	realism: existing “real” reality	critical realism: existing “real” reality but imperfectly understandable
Epistemology	dualist/objectivist;	modified dualist/objectivist; findings probably true
	findings true	
Methodology	Experimental/manipulative; chiefly quantitative methods	Modified experimental/manipulative; may include qualitative methods
Item	<i>Critical theory</i>	<i>Constructivism</i>
Ontology	historical realism: virtual reality shaped by certain values	relativism: local and specific constructed realities
Epistemology	transactional/subjectivist;	transactional/subjectivist; created findings
	value-mediated findings	
Methodology	dialogic/dialectical	hermeneutical/dialectical

Appendix Two: Sampling Strategy

Interviewee groups	Sample size	Strategy
Residential interviews	12 for the Shaolin case	4 respondents doing tourism business in the SSA and 8 relocating outside
	12 for the Pingyao case	9 respondents living inside the ACP (3 local residents operating traditional inns, 2 external businessmen operating tourist sites, 2 street vendors, 1 working outside, 1 elder resident doing nothing) and 3 relocating outside
	5 for the Shaolin case	1 from heritage administration 1 from tourism administration

Local officials		1 from construction administration 1 from sports administration 1 from the company of the Shaolin temple
	4 for the Pingyao case	1 from heritage administration 1 from tourism administration 1 from construction administration 1 from housing administration
Experts	2 for heritage sector	1 from Chinese Councilor of CCPWCNH and 1 from university. One engaged in heritage authorization in the SSA and the other in the ACP.
	2 for tourism sector	1 from CNTA and 1 from tourism planning company

Appendix Three: Main Items of Restoration and Reconstruction in the 1980s and 1990s

Hall	Time	Hall	Time
Thousand-Bodhisattva Hall	1980 restoration	Six-Patriarch Hall	1983 reconstruction
Chuzu Temple	1984 restoration	Mahavira Hall	1984-1986 reconstruction
Chan Halls	1981 reconstruction	Scripture Hall	1992-1993 reconstruction
Devaraja hall	1982-1983 reconstruction	Bell Tower	1994 reconstruction
Manjusri Hall	1983 reconstruction	Dining Hall	1995 reconstruction
Lixue Pavilion	1983 reconstruction	Drum Tower	1996-1998 reconstruction

Appendix Four: The Items of Restoration and Construction for the Internal Temple Authentication Project

Items	Detail	Time	Cost (thousand RMB)	Total cost
Restoration of the cultural heritage	Mural restoration (402 sq.m)	2004.3—2005.5	906	5828.5
	Lixue Pavilion restoration	2004.3—2004.8	507.5	
	Color Decoration	2004.3—2004.8	3007.5	

	Roof restoration of Daravaja Hall and Bell Tower	2004.5-2004.6	407.5	
	Strengthening the west memorial archway of the Gate	2004.6-2004.7	100	
	Restoration of the memorial steles	2004.8—2005.3	900	
Internal authentication (restoring internal tradition-style atmosphere)	Dismantle 44 disharmonious buildings (320 rooms, 6,420 sq.m)	2004.3-2004.5	1,000	18160
	Decorating roads and other objects with Qing-style materials (9,800 sq.m)	2004.3- 2005.3	7,400	
	Reconstruction/repair of Kinnara Hall, Six-Patriarch Hall, six rooms beside the Mahavira Hall, and some pavilions (3949 sq.m)	2004.5-2005.6	7,660	
	Recovering Shaolin Pharmacy (826 sq.m)	2005.1-2005.6	2100	
Constructing new buildings beside the Compound Kernel	East Dorms on the east of Lixue Pavilion (2,838 sq.m)	2004.7-2005.12	3400	13500
	Ordination Platform (1500 sq.m)	2005.10-2006.8	6600	
	Western Dorms (2850 sq.m)	2004.10-2005.12	3500	
Infrastructure in Compound Kernel	Water system, monitoring system, toilet construction, central air-conditioning, firefighting system and others.	2004.7-2006. 5	11,330	11330
Supervision and Other fees			1200	1200

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