Yinuo Hu_Dissertation

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Revitalising historic urban quarters: the notion construction of heritage in urban regeneration

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Being a dissertation submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc Urban Regeneration at University College London: I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that ideas, data and images, as well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates into the notion construction of heritage in urban regeneration process in China. It aims to understand how and why is heritage produced in specific ways, as a step contributing to understanding distance between heritage policy and implementation. It adopts a qualitative approach of case study, collecting both primary data from interviews as well as non-participant observation and secondary data from official documents and online articles. The research conceptualises heritage as a process, exploring value construction and delicate power relations within. It unveils multiplicity of heritage in both value interpretation and product-making. The intrinsic dissonance among multiple interpretations and imbalanced power relations weave into the process where heritage material is purposefully selected and packaged into specific heritage products. Current trends in regeneration also greatly influence governance of heritage management. This research implies the complexity of heritage and its relation to political-economic context. It calls for further studies to analyse heritage governance in China with more comprehensive scope.

Keywords: heritage, urban regeneration, politics, governance

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Globally, many historic urban quarters are faced with challenges in conservation and regeneration. Historic quarters contain cultural heritage but also derelict built-environment (ADB 2008; Urban Pamphleteer 2014). On the other hand, central locations offer possibilities for redevelopment (ADB 2008; Moore-Cherry & Bonnin 2018; Urban Pamphleteer 2014).

Chinese cities encounter similar challenges despite efforts in heritage policies. China has launched regulations at different governmental hierarchies to conserve historic urban quarters (CPG, 2008). A three-layer system aims to protect heritage and culture, avoiding homogeneity of townscape in Chinese cities (Wang, 2004). However, protection of heritage are often subject to local implementation despite central regulation. For instance, recent official inspection has reported unsatisfying management of heritage in numerous cities (Xinhua 21st March 2019). Gentrification through real estate development, constructing pseudo historic buildings and vacating the area without proper maintenance are among the listed situations (Xinhua 21st March 2019).

Apart from criticism on failure in conservation or debate around conservation approaches (Chang et al. 2018; Zhang 2016; Zhao 2018; Zhou, 2017), scholars acutely unveil the complexities of heritage (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013; Larkham, 1996; Littler & Naidoo, 2005; Moore-Cherry & Bonnin 2018). The notion construction of heritage and treatment display power dynamics in heritage management. Specific understanding of heritage could influence and even determine measures in treatment.

To contribute to understanding of distance between heritage policies and implementation at local levels, this research investigates into the notion construction of heritage in urban regeneration. With the chosen case study of a Chinese city, this study conceptualises heritage as a process, exploring value interpretation and delicate power relations in the process. The core analysis adapts Ashworth's model of heritage production to show how and why multiplicity of heritage is purposefully selected and packaged into specific heritage products.

In the following chapters, there will be a literature review, methodology, data analysis, discussion and conclusion. Literature review will introduce relevant academic discussions around heritage and urban regeneration. The methodology section will state the research approach and methods of data collection as well as analysis. The chapter of data analysis will present findings from fieldwork. Discussion will link analysis of empirical evidence back to academic discussion. Finally, the conclusion will point out limitations of this study and offer suggestions for future research.

To facilitate readers, I will briefly distinguish some terms in the Chinese context. A glossary is attached in appendices with detailed explanation for reference. Historic quarters refer broadly to the old part of cities with heritage. Historic city, historic urban area and historic conservation area in this research all specifically correspond to terms in official standard of conservation planning in China (MOHURD, 2018). Historic city is a title that officially recognises a city with historic significance. Historic urban area is an urban area with historic styles in conservation planning. Historic conservation area is a designated zone with concentrated heritage remains, usually smaller than historic urban area.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will take readers through relevant discussions in literature around heritage and regeneration. *Heritage* as a notion originated from the 19th century Europe. On the one hand, architecture and urban design professions have been exploring the *appropriate* approaches to conservation; on the other hand, scholars have come to reflect on the complex and contested nature of heritage as well as its appropriation for economic growth. Relatedly, regeneration of historic quarters has come to the forefront of both research and practices. Central to discussion is the construction of values: *which* and *whose* value. In particular, it will highlight the Chinese context with both academic debates and current practices.

2.1 Tracing the notion of Heritage

According to UNESCO, heritage is legacies of certain groups or society worthy of protection for the future, categorised into intangible and tangible heritage (2017). This definition indicates the importance of value in the notion of heritage. The specific value constructed and attached to a particular piece of heritage is fundamental in the recognition, conservation and management of heritage (Araoz, 2011). For example, the link between constructing modern state and celebrating heritage illustrates a value dimension of heritage for nation building (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012).

Conception and approaches of heritage conservation has changed over time. The notion of heritage sprouted in Europe back in the 19th century when conservation of historic monument became important as part of the effort to define traditions and cultures in the wave of modern "nation building" (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). There have been debates around conceptions of heritage as well as approaches to conservation since then, and mostly centred around preservation of material form (Araoz, 2011; Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). One of the most prominent theoreticians in these debates was the English artist John Ruskins with his puritanical view for authenticity in the book *The seven lamps of architecture* (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012; Sun, 2017). Alois Riegl's analysis on how value construction of heritage influences conservation was an important innovation and is still highly relevant today (Araoz, 2011). The expansion of values attached to heritage gradually extended the scope of conservation from individual monuments to historic areas and from material forms to intangible ones (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012; Araoz, 2011). Approaches of

conservation also changed. Rather than preventing changes, the historic urban landscape approach promoted by UNESCO recognises constant dynamics and changes of cities (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). It also acknowledges the growing complexity and resulting difficulty in heritage conservation (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012).

There have been reflections on heritage as a positive conception by default. Academic discussions around heritage have pointed out the selectivity of this notion (Larkham, 1996; Littler & Naidoo 2005; Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013). Rather than set in stone, the selection is a continuous process of construction, reconstruction and negotiation (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013). Heritage entangles with the selection of time and space. Preservation and redevelopment in Moore Street and surrounding of Dublin demonstrate the temporal politics in the selective construction of heritage serving for particular aims (Moore-Cherry & Bonnin, 2018). Shaping of heritage is intertwined with broad historical trajectory and therefore context specific. For instance, Littler and Naidoo provide a detailed analysis of how heritage was related to socio-economic status and later linked to race in the UK (2005). The term "dissonance" underlines "the discordance or lack of agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage" (Graham, Ashworth, &Tunbridge, 2000: 24). Dissonance is intrinsic to heritage because heritage arises from interpretation (Smith, 2006). "Not only what is interpreted, but how it is interpreted and by whom, will create quite specific messages about the value and meaning of specific heritage places and the past it represents (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996: 27). The "dissonance" Ashworth and Tunbridge discuss mainly focus on touristic uses of heritage, for example, between tourists and local residents (Smith, 2006). Broadly speaking, interpretation of the same heritage could often vary for different groups of people (Smith, 2006).

It is difficult to define specifically the notion of heritage due to its fluidity and complexity. But it is a value-laden concept, a notion that intersects with politics, culture, tourism, economy, intra- and inter-regional relations and ideology as well as a process where these elements mediate and filter the past for present and future purposes (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013; Harvey, 2008; Mason, 2002). Heritage is not merely a product but a process through which the product is carefully manufactured (Harvey, 2008; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Ashworth's model

demonstrates such conception of heritage production as an industrial process rather than a fixed object (see Figure 1). People use heritage to construct a normative and collective cultural memory of the past for contemporary and future values (Harvey, 2008). Specific processes of heritage imply particular terrains of power relations (Harvey, 2008).
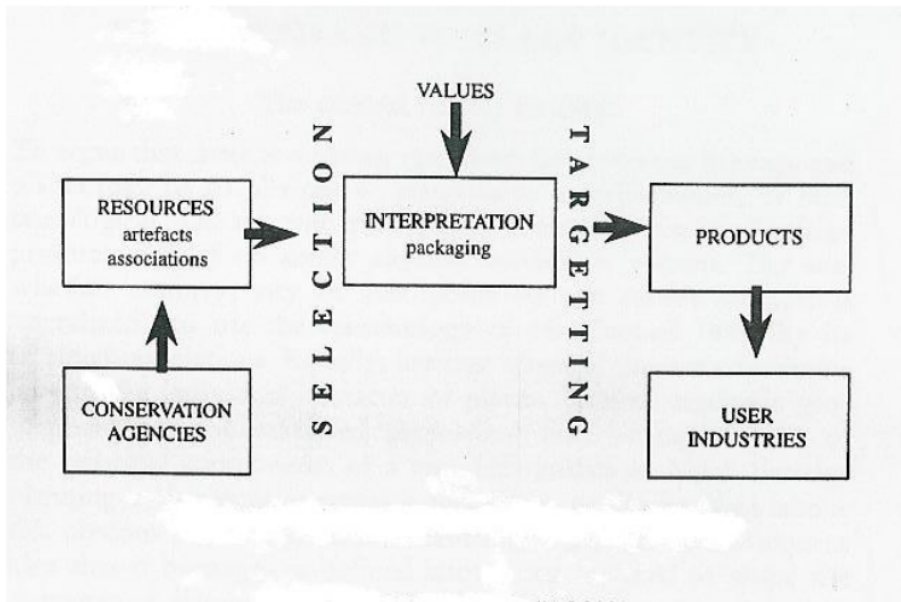
Figure 1 Components of the heritage industry (Ashworth, 1994: 17)

Heritage could be both a tool for reinforcing or promoting consensus and a stir to overturn dominant values (Harvey, 2008; Smith, 2006). For most of the history, heritage was manipulated by hegemonic powers and elitist narrations, recognising high cultures and neglecting the ordinary (Harvey, 2008; Smith, 1982). Nation-building has also been a widely adopted discourse for heritage (Hall, 1999). There has recently been a democratic trend in countries like the UK with more public participation in both production and consumption of heritage (Harvey, 2008). The recognition of everyday heritage broadens the range (Moore-Cherry & Bonnin, 2018; Harvey, 2008), but institutions and expertise still dominates in formal construction of heritage (Harvey, 2008).

2.2 Heritage-related regeneration

Urban regeneration as a concept, has developed since the 1960s with policy efforts to rejuvenating inner city areas in the UK (De Magalhães, 2015; Rossi & Vanolo, 2013). The popular British definition for urban regeneration highlights the multidimensional goal encompassing physical, social and economic aspects of urban problems (De Magalhães, 2015). While there is no unifying definition, urban regeneration often involves public policies targeting at generating multiple aspects of values, aiming to solve place-bound problems and bring a place "back to life" (Couch & Fraser 2003; Leary & McCarthy, 2013; Rossi & Vanolo, 2013). Urban theorists, however, are prudent in evaluating regeneration processes despite the traditional positive connotation (Rossi & Vanolo, 2013).

Values are both centric to heritage and regeneration (Mason, 2002; Couch & Fraser 2003). While it seems rational to conserve the valuable, multiple values exist in heritage and may be conflicting with one another (Mason, 2002). With historic cities under growing pressures such as urbanisation and mass tourism, conservation and regeneration of historic quarters is now common around the world (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012; Said, Aksah, & Ismail, 2013). The increasing role of cultural strategies in urban regeneration has come to frame heritage not only as a passive object for preservation but also a catalyst for transformation (Yuen, 2013). The widening of scope to include not only historic monuments but also districts into conservation since 1960s brings in more players into the process (Ashworth, 1994; Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). The intention of conservation also broadens to regeneration of such areas to accommodate for both monumental and modern functions with an increasing "market orientation" (Ashworth, 1994).

2.3 The Chinese context

Numerous scholars have pointed out the Eurocentric nature of heritage (Harrell, 2013). The concept that disseminates through UNESCO and World Heritage heavily stemmed from the Western tradition developed since 19th century with an emphasis on authenticity of fabric and form rather than use (De Cesari, 2010). Chinese literature on heritage conservation widely critique the over-reliance on the Western notion of authenticity and originality in viewing Chinese heritage and has explored adaptation into Chinese context (Chang, 2009; Sun, 2017).

Despite academic reflections, the Chinese government has actively embraced and engaged in the recognition of World Heritage. Blumenfield and Silverman discuss the dramatic turn of Chinese Communist Party (CCP)'s attitude towards heritage after the Cultural Revolution in relation to its economic and political agendas (2013). Despite the Eurocentric nature of the concept (Harrell, 2013), *heritage* officially entered China with the ratification of the World Heritage Convention in 1985 (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013), shortly after the Opening Up in 1978. China is now home to 52 World Heritage Catalogues (WHCN, 2019). China has been actively exploring systems of heritage conservation since then (Li, 2011; Niu, Cao, & Wang, 2019; Wang, 2004). The existing system of heritage conservation in China is three-layered (Alateng, 2016; Wang, 2004). The first layer is individual monuments, second being historic conservation areas and third, historic cities (Wang, 2004). In the meantime, the period after Opening Up has also witnessed significant economic growth and urban (re)development in China (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013; Fang, 2018). Policies and regulation on safeguarding heritage often appear vulnerable in the face of economic benefits in demolition and new development (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013; Ruan & Sun, 2001).

There are analyses on heritage conservation practices in China through both case studies and overall phenomenon. Discussions from different disciplines often diverge in perspectives but overlap at times. Literature in urban planning and architecture usually approaches the issue with a normative stance that heritage should be protected and attention is drawn heavily onto tangible heritage (Zhu, 2010; Zhou, 2004; Ruan, & Sun, 2001). Such analyses often critique the backwardness of understanding about heritage conservation at local level and the greedy priority given to economic benefits (Zhou, 2004). Discussion in anthropology approaches the notion of heritage more critically, unveiling politics in heritage conservation (Zhang & Wu, 2016; Silverman, & Blumenfield, 2013). The seemingly omnipresent discussion of heritage from experts to citizens has not receded China from "authorised heritage discourse", the tendency to neglect or refuse values of the vernacular and ordinary (Zhang & Wu, 2016; Smith, 2006). Selective narratives of heritage disclose political aims in heritage conservation and promotion such as nation building as well as ethnic harmony (Ai, 2011).

Though often steered by state forces, discourses around heritage cannot be simplified as a "unitary, top-down strategy or narrative" (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013). Dynamics in governance vary in localities. Local governments in China have become more incentivised in participating in the construction of heritage narrative for place marketing and regional competiveness (Su, 2015; Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013). Recent increase of tourism economy and leisure in China has also influenced heritage management (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013; Su, 2015). Along the rationale of cultural economy, heritage has become a new source of development (Su, 2015; Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013). Heritage conservation and revitalisation have become a tool for improving urban competitiveness in China (Su, 2010).

The need to solve urban problems without rooting out the historic quarters brought in the notion of organic renewal. It was first raised by Wu (1994) regarding the urgent need for infrastructure upgrade in historic urban quarters in Chinese cities. He explored the approach in practice through the renewal of residential quarters in Beijing (Wu, 1994). His conception for organic renewal emphasises protection and continuity of traditional urban tissue and aesthetic value of traditional architecture and urban design while implementing upgrade in infrastructure and physical environment (Wu, 1994). The city is viewed as living organism that requires constant renewal of cells (Wu, 1994, p.63). While emphasising on physical environment, Wu also includes socio-economic structure in this conception (1994). He views the organic renewal of physical environment as the base for economic and social revitalisation (Wu, 1994). The concept has been widely discussed and adapted to various contexts such as historic conservation areas, road networks and villages (Wang & Qian, 2015; Wu &Shen, 2007; Zhang, 1996; Zhang, Wang, & Xu, 2006).

There is both similarities with other countries and particularities to China in terms of heritage and regeneration. The concept of organic renewal in China shares common aims of revitalisation with urban regeneration. Moreover, the same vagueness in definition and broad implication for practices means there is no universal approach of organic renewal. It provides spacious room for local adaptation, wrestling and negotiation among stakeholders. Similar to urban regeneration in other countries, organic renewal in China has witnessed influences from neo-liberalism of urban governance and financialisation of land development (Liang, 2017; Yang & Wang,

2011). It significantly influences renewal approaches in historic conservation areas with gentrification (Chang, Xie, Chen, & Chen, 2018; Liang, 2017).

Commodification of heritage implies social consequences and poses the question of whose heritage (Su, 2015; Zhang & Wu, 2016). While similar to other countries in that heritage in China represent incentives for pride and profit, the particular composition of *whose* pride and *whose* profit is specific to Chinese context (Harrel, 2013). Therefore, to understand specific heritage processes requires scrutiny into the intricate power relations to understand negotiation, struggling and concession among various actors (Su, 2015). To reduce confusion for readers, this research will adopt the term urban regeneration as a broad term that includes the Chinese version of organic renewal.

2.4 Research gap

Existing studies on regeneration of historic quarters are often embedded with a normative stance for heritage conservation. Ranging from cultural gentrification, lack of attention for cultural preservation and residents' satisfaction, they mostly focus on outcomes of heritage and seldom touch upon its complexity of process. On the other hand, literature from anthropology around Chinese heritage few focuses on the regenerating process. Their general discussion around politics of China's UNESCO heritage is useful, but unlikely to capture the dynamics in conserving more locally recognised heritage. While heritage at the bottom of the hierarchy may exhibit little national significance, they are more in number and can affect wider public in their everyday experience. Complexity in the local process for production of heritage in urban regeneration in China has remained largely unexplored.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

This research adopts a case study approach, exploring a city in Southeast China of its dynamics of heritage conservation in the process of urban regeneration. Heritage is not simply found but actively created. This research stretches from Ashworth's model of heritage production to scrutinise the notion construction of heritage and try to unveil the underlying complexity. The remaining part in this chapter will present research questions as well as methods of data collection and analysis.

3.1 Research questions

This research aims to dig into complexity in the local process of heritage production in urban regeneration. The city provides an excellent window to examine local interpretations of heritage conservation and answer the research question of how and why is heritage produced in specific ways, as a step contributing to understanding distance between heritage policy and implementation. Firstly, it aims to understand local interpretation and production of heritage in the context of urban regeneration. Secondly, it aims to identify actors in the narrative power and marginalized groups.

It looks at both boundaries of heritage and meanings assigned. Politics around these two questions would influence the trajectory of spatial transformation: what is preserved, removed, as well as how is the space functioning. Relatedly, it will look at agents in the process that impact the regeneration.

3.2 Methods of data: collection and analysis

The city is an interesting case to look into how politics of heritage unfold in regeneration of historic urban quarters. Despite intermittent demolition in old urban areas, there has been new moves in renovation of historic urban quarters. Contrary to major cities like Beijing or Shanghai, potential and existing heritage assets in this city usually attract little attention from beyond the city boundary due to its lack of national significance and tourism. While there are national regulation and policies guiding heritage conservation, specific approaches to implementation is largely at local discretion. National policies are important but largely subjective to local understanding. Nuanced interpretation could produce local featured divergence, which may have been undermined in general discussions. So this case presents excellent material to examine local preferences. Though the research adopts a historical

perspective in heritage construction, its major focus is rather recent due to both the time of active moves in regeneration projects and data availabilities.

To answer the two research questions, a qualitative approach was adopted comprising semi-structured interviews, conversational interviews, non-participant observation of conferences and content analysis of written materials. The data is used in two layers of analysis: 1) the notion construction of heritage and the creation of heritage product; 2) governance dynamics in the process.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 9 key stakeholders including 4 government officials from various positions and bureaus related to conserving historic urban areas, 1 local planner involved in designing regeneration schemes for historic conservation areas, 1 retired senior official who was worked for one regeneration scheme of a historic conservation area, 2 local intellectuals who engage in application for National Historic City, and 1 local resident who lives on the street where one regeneration scheme took place. 1 walking interview was also conducted with a government official to understand the existing situation of the historic quarters and several similar schemes in process. Interview requests were also sent to 2 other government officials in Housing and Urban-Rural Development Bureau and a sub-district governmental office (in charge of the sub-district that covers most of historic conservation areas) as well as 1 local intellectual keen on heritage but were declined due to their tight schedule.

Conversational interviews were conducted with 2 former residents of one historic block and 1 official who led an investigation on the application for National Historic City. Two meetings were organised by local committee of CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultation Conference) to investigate with local Bureau of Culture, Radio & Television, Tourism and Sports (hence referred to as Culture Bureau) and Bureau of Planning regarding application for National Historic City. Written materials include official documents, media articles and books. Official reports and plans were obtained mostly from interviewees and other officials through formal requests. Media articles were obtained through online search. Books are mostly on the city history and conservation, some recommended by interviewees.

7 Semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed by the researcher. Notes were taken for the rest two, one upon interviewee's request, another because its conducted over the phone. Notes were also taken for conversational interviews and meetings. Content and thematic analysis were used for both primary data and secondary data.

3.3 Research ethics

While this research does not involve disclosure of intimate personal experiences, its relation to politics results in certain degree of sensitivity. In order to protect informants from potential risks due to the research, I have attained consent for all interviews and meetings. Written consent forms are filled in for recorded interviews. Due to both practical reasons and ethical concerns, only informal consent were obtained from non-recorded interviewees and meetings. To protect privacy of informants, all original notes, recordings, transcriptions and secondary written sources upon request from fieldwork are kept privately to the researcher. Recordings and full transcriptions will be permanently deleted after submission of the dissertation. Primary data are presented anonymously in dissertation as well as in consultation with the supervisor.

CHAPTER 4 DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents findings from fieldwork in answering research questions. Firstly, there will be an introduction about the case. Secondly, I will present the theoretical framework. Thirdly, empirical evidence will fill in the theoretical framework through four themes: selectivity of heritage, multivalence of heritage, multi-facet heritage products and key players.

4.1 Case information

Figure 2 Location of Rui'an City (Adapted from Zhou, et al 2015)

The City of Rui'an is located at the south tip of Zhejiang Province in China, in the City of Wenzhou. According to historic records, layout of the historic urban area was mostly formed in Ming dynasty with the city wall. The wall was removed in 1938-1940 upon government's instruction. During the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, many buildings in historic quarters were adapted for factory and other uses. Soon after Opening Up of China, markets expanded and factories started to mushroom. The city witnessed redevelopment and sedimentation of rivers. While

there have been continuous efforts to identify and conserve individual heritage sites, there were in general limited attention to heritage conservation in the 20th century and early 21st century. The old city with its low plot-ratio has attracted redevelopment like many other historic urban quarters. Besides renewal of housing estates, a major redevelopment project north of Gongyuan Street demolished traditional residences for a shopping mall prior to heritage-led regeneration schemes.

Rui'an was entitled Provincial Historic City in 2000. The designation aimed to enhance the preservation and management of historic cities and to pass on prestigious historic and cultural heritage (CPG, 2008). The city then produced a conservation planning in 2002. The conservation planning highlights 4 historic conservation areas with key protection areas and traditional style coordination areas (see Figure 3).
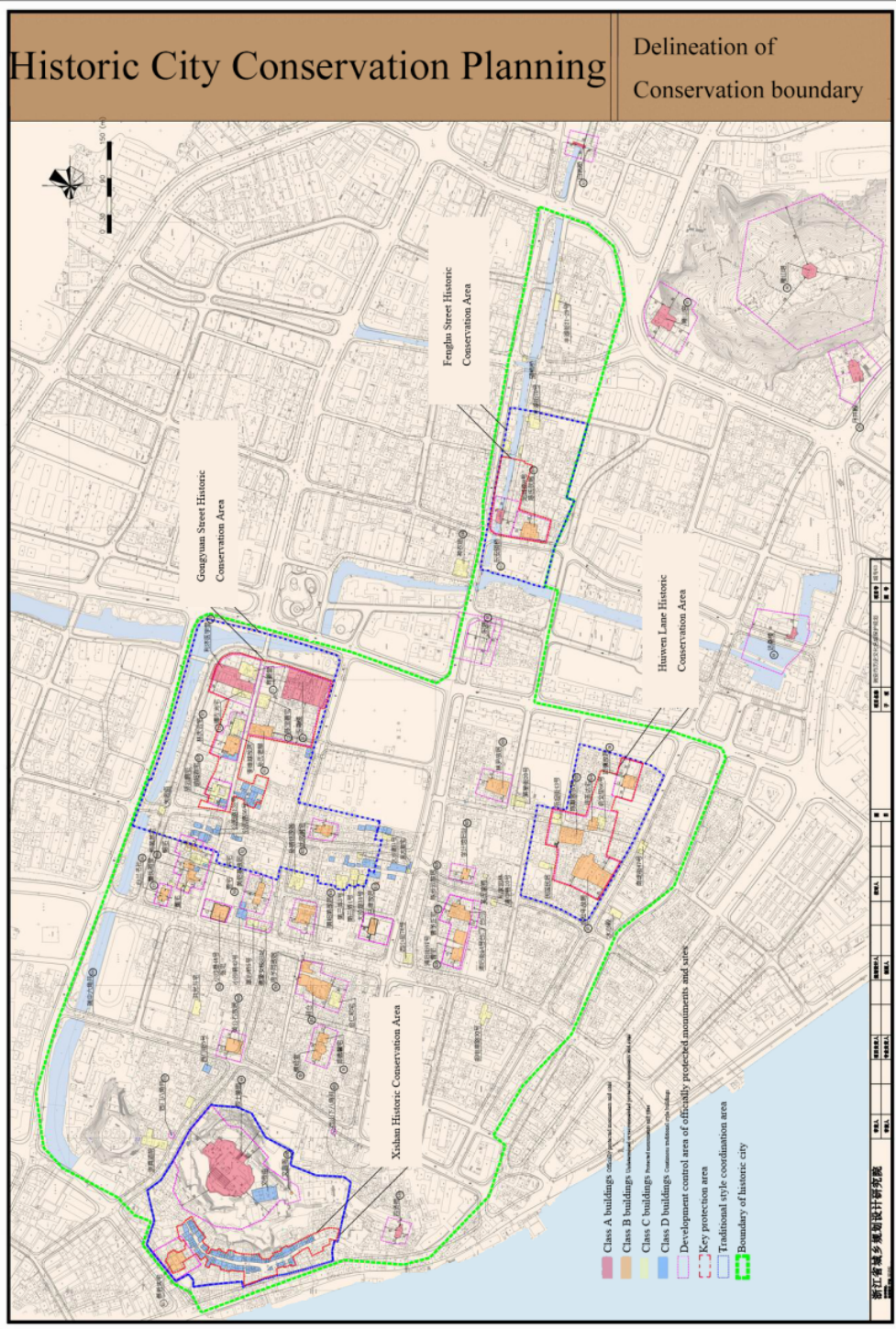
Figure 3 Conservation planning of historic city: Rui'an

The local government of Rui'an City set up a public institution, the Office of Old City Construction & Management, to be responsible for old city construction, old village renovation and preservation of cultural cities in 2003. It has recently changed its name to the Centre for Construction of Historic City (hence abbreviated as the Centre). While this centre is the governmental body directly in charge of the protection and development of the historic urban area, there are several other department involved as well (see figure 4)
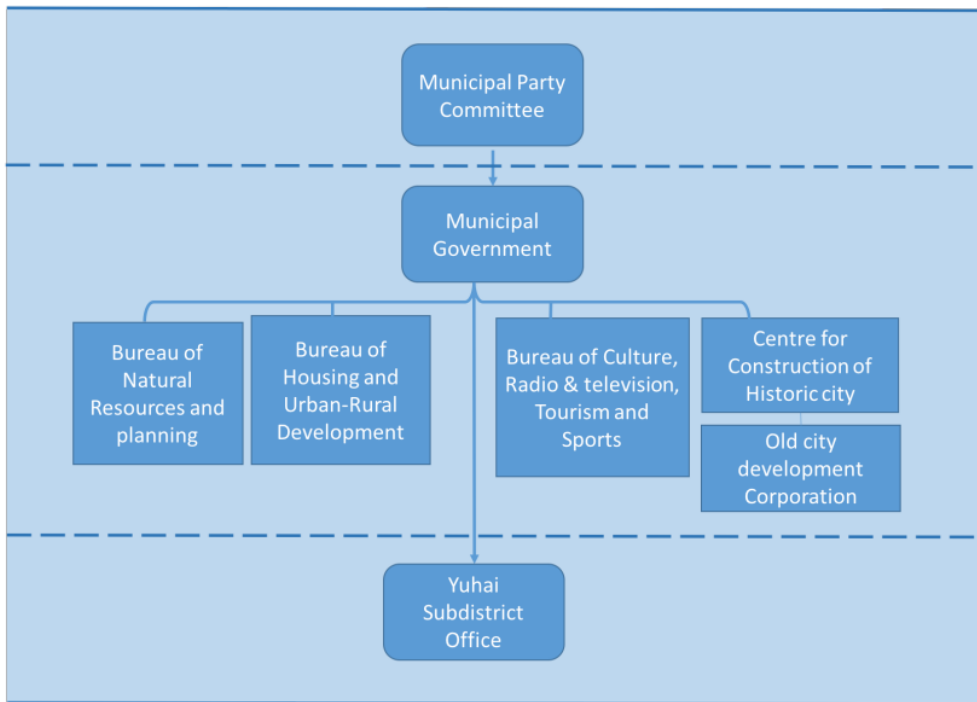
Figure 4 Hierarchical diagram of heritage related government bodies

The city is currently undergoing a series of heritage-led regeneration schemes in the historic urban area. The government is in an ambitious mood to apply for the title of National Historic City. A revision to the conservation planning is in progress but not yet published. Committee members of the CPPCC initiated an investigation into the application and existing situation.

Among four historic conservation areas, Gongyuan Street is regarded as the core of the historic urban area, with two officially protected monuments and sites at national level. The area is located at the commercial centre of the city with numerous adjacent

historic buildings and cultural relics. The first regeneration scheme led by the government took place here in 2017 and finished in late 2018. It adopted a mix of cultural, commercial and leisure-led development to re-present the landscape of Late Qing Dynasty and Early Republican Period. Main strategies include architectural alteration, adaptive reuse of buildings, infrastructural improvement and public realm enhancement. The scheme envisioned the area to be a hub for heritage and traditional culture, renovating it into a harmonious architectural style. The renovation extensively changed facades along the street to create an aura of tradition. In addition to physical transformation, the scheme also aims to regulate local businesses, including removal of inharmonious businesses, upgrading and introducing business that represent traditional culture or intangible heritage. The government has purchased many street front shops and will contract them out to a cultural planning company for a unified business planning and upgrade. Moreover, several similar schemes in adjacent historic conservation areas are either in implementation or designing.

4.2 Framework explanation

The framework is adapted from the model Ashworth presents in dissecting heritage industry in Europe (1994). The original model is to explain the commodification and marketisation of heritage, depicting a process with strong market orientation in the heritage industry. While the case of Rui'an illustrates a similar tendency to embrace the market and to develop a heritage industry, it is still in a preliminary stage of exploration without adequate feedback from users and the market. Therefore, selection and packaging of heritage is still largely the result from top-down decision making process. It is important to note that heritage is understood as a process with fluidity rather than a fixed object.

In Ashworth's model, selection and packaging are combined in the same lump-sum process of interpretation. Here, the model deliberately separates the two actions to allow scrutiny of nuances in these two processes.

they could also be conflicting with each other. Products will then be experienced by various users.

The case study suggests a strong top-down tendency in the construction of heritage at the local level. Although the framework depicts a linear process of heritage production, it does not intend to suggest zero feedback from users in the process. It is an iterative process rather than a linear one in practice. The framework is limited to a linear process due to the scope of study.

The following sections in this chapter will highlight different parts of the theoretical framework: selection, values, key players, packaged heritage product.

4.3 Selectiveness of heritage

Construction of heritage is a selective process (Moore-Cherry & Bonnin, 2018). Heritage is loaded with meanings. It involves careful articulation of a particular historical narrative that actors aims to promote through the specific heritage package (Ashworth 1994). In urban regeneration processes, the selected become heritage, the un-selected become objects for redevelopment and upgrade to conform with the overall agenda of such heritage-led regeneration. In the case of Rui'an, along with modernisation (Ashworth 1994), harmony is an important principle in selection and packaging.

Selection of meaning could be influenced by multiple aspects. National policies set standards for heritage of different scopes, from individual monuments, historic conservation areas to historic cities (MOHURD, 2018). However, rather than a one-way process, the selection takes place in complex relations and constant dynamics with other processes related to heritage production and consumption. While the theoretical framework generalises selection as a binary process, there is nuanced categorisation in practice. The level of protection a site officially attains, the existing situation as well as ownership all comes into consideration.

In the case of Rui'an, the selection process dates back to even before the city's designation as the Provincial Historic City. Designation of individual monuments and buildings as heritage has started since early years after the founding of PRC. Later, conservation planning in 2002 could be regarded as the first attempt for a

comprehensive plan of selection. Over the years, much work has been done in selecting (recognising) sites of conservation values. Boundary delineation of the historic urban area and historic conservation areas embodies the result of selection. The choice has been embedded with strong smells of elitism with its reliance on expertise and government officials. The selection largely serves for shaping narrative around cultural continuity of the city and its link to Chinese history. On the other hand, eager for new development and economic returns from the government compressed the scope of selection.

Selection, despite its elitist inclination, is by no means a univocal process. One ex-official from Culture Bureau reveals in his book of various stances of people: some told me that everything should be protected but some think that we need to be selective. In particular, the government was reluctant to encourage recognition of heritage due to its potential barrier to redevelopment when making the conservation planning in early 2000s. The revision plan of conservation admits that the protection boundary shrank significantly due to economic concerns.

In principle, conservation planning should protect areas inside conservation boundaries from redevelopment or any forms of destruction. In fact, it did not prevent redevelopment from taking place. The redevelopment of a new shopping complex demolished numerous officially entitled heritage sites at the city level. The construction also influenced structural safety of one remaining officially protected site at national level. According to interviewees, a previous version of the redevelopment was to preserve those later demolished buildings but alteration was justified by financial viability. National policies' criteria for historic districts create room for redevelopment. For example, the area inside the core conservation area should be composed of at least 60% of officially protected monuments and sites, historic buildings and buildings of traditional character (MOHURD, 2018). The boundary delineation of historic districts in conservation planning need to conform with the national standards. So it means that the area could always be smaller rather than larger. According to the revised conservation planning, the 2002 conservation planning is not successful in protecting the historic conservation areas. The plan was attacked in multiple discussion meetings in the planning stage so that the boundary shrank and shrank so that many areas with rich historic remains and high in cultural

values were downgraded to coordination areas or moved out of protection areas. It also mentioned the failure in later stages of management and implementation that although Gongyuan Street was not widened, over half of the historic area north of the road were destroyed.

Selection of heritage reveals both the fluidity of boundary and particular narrative constructions. Spatial selection refers to the process and result of boundary delineation. Temporal selection is a particular time frame for heritage product, in which highlights a specific period of history. The official boundary of protection shrunk in both plan making and management due to economic value of redevelopment. The plan making and execution of conservation planning shows politics of heritage and difficulties in conservation. The conservation planning states that the boundary of the historic area was negotiated extensively so that a significant parcel of traditional area was not effectively protected, resulting in the redevelopment project. Contradictions lie in responsibilities taken by the Office in construction of old city and preservation of historic areas, between which the construction is often favoured. It shows that the boundary is fluid, constantly negotiated and re-constructed, subject to the prioritised value at the time. The value perspective will be discussed in the next section as well as in discussion

Besides spatial selection, we see a specific temporal selection within conservation areas. It is reconstruction of a past through creation. It means that stories and artefacts later than this period are neglected in the narration. The project in Gongyuan Street, serves such purpose to tell the story of Rui'an's cultural glories in Late Qing Dynasty and Early Republican Period. The few vernacular buildings before Qing Dynasty remain and function as a private museum, but stories of their past are absent in the image of the street. Two national heritage sites in the spotlight of this narrative are also selectively represented. They experienced different levels of use change in 20th Century. One site was also severely damaged during the redevelopment project in 2010s. It was through lawsuits, renovation, reconstruction and conservation that made into the heritage on this street today. Their entitlement to national heritage did not come effortlessly but credited to continuous local efforts of research, conservation and mobilisation of social capital. However, these are concealed in the official narrative. In future schemes in historic conservation areas, slogans on walls about family

great importance to historic remains in the historic urban area, not only due to cultural reasons but also because of the scarcity of remains resulting from redevelopment.

Different aspects of values do not necessarily co-exist and may be contradictory. Conflicts was a frequently appearing word in fieldwork interviews. They also mentioned the need to find joint points. However, it is not always possible to mitigate or resolve contestation to reach a win-win situation. While economic rationale may have become less dominant in recent years, it is still the priority for local government. GDP being the top one for evaluating political leader's performance, political and economic rationales are intertwined to dominate the decision making.

"We know that a lot needs to be protected in the historic city, especially the historic conservation area. But renovation and protection is intrinsically in conflicts……Especially the infrastructure, it is very outdated" (Interviewee GS1).

The difficulty to allow coexistence of multiple values in heritage will be a focus in the discussion chapter. Dissonance exist in not only where to draw the line between heritage and non-heritage. It is prevalent in urban regeneration where calculative tactics of value are predominant. Whether certain values could be translated into monetary terms is crucial. Interviewees pointed out the problem of run-down infrastructure in historic quarters that demands upgrade. The cost invested in conservation is considered to generate little economic returns compared to redevelopment. Sustainability is often adopted to justify such approach, but there are also interviewees who disapprove such rationale and thinks government should invest in social and cultural values for public interest.

4.5 Multi-facet of heritage product

The scheme in Gongyuan Street marked the start of heritage packaging. The project still complies with the general principle and direction set out in conservation planning of 2002. The conservation planning set 5 conservation themes: history-honoured city, capital of culture, vernacular architectures of Qing and early Republican, picturesque natural scenery and various folk custom. Gongyuan Street is mentioned to exhibit the first three themes in conservation. Different dimensions of heritage represent specific utilisation of heritage based on interpretation for heritage packaging. Multiple aims result in different dimensions of the product.

Figure 6 Rendering of the street
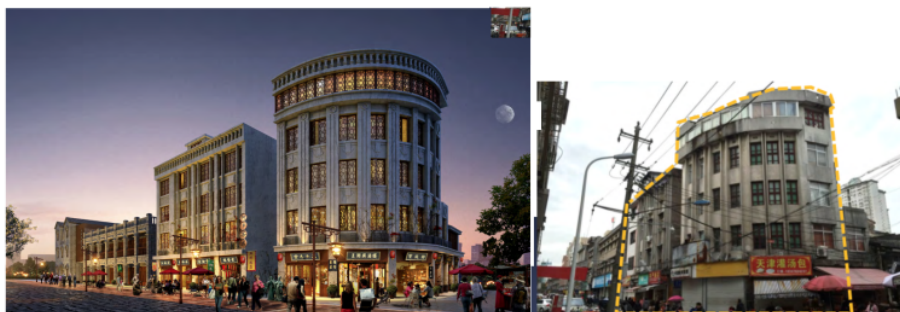
Figure 7 Rendering of one building

Another aim of the regeneration project is to demonstrate and disseminate local culture. The street is packaged into a museum complex where historic sites and intangible heritage are assembled. There is a private library dated from Qing Dynasty and a previous Chinese medical school that are both officially protected sites at national level. A previous factory building has also been adapted to be a museum for intangible heritage, showcasing local folk customs and traditions. The street space as well as some renovated vernacular buildings are used for temporary cultural events, such as the intangible heritage festival in June 2019.

Museums "present imaginative geographies of communities, regions, nations and human history on a global scale" (Nash, 1999: 27-8). "They produced linear narratives, which largely froze time, and were inaccessible to questioning or criticism" (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000: 32). The museum complex attempts to present the cultural climaxes of the city and to educate people about the city traditions. It is a tool for dissemination of cultural information. The assembly of museums on a single street reinforces the narrative that the city is rich in culture.

Heritage-led regeneration projects in Rui'an have also been focusing on producing consumption spaces. As discussed in the section of values, the government is keen to revitalise the commercial environment of the area and to generate profit for long-term management. It also plans to regulate and upgrade types of business in the area to conform to the cultural character. Current business operating along the street still majorly targets at local residents, so commercial activities along the streets vary from real estate agencies, barbers to groceries and food stores. The government will contract out retail spaces that it purchased in the area to a local cultural planning company for packaging and upgrading the commercial environment. In its business plan, the company aims to upgrade consumers' demand and the average level of tourists' consumption level with middle to high end business dotted in between lower-end shops like traditional snacks and handicrafts.

Figure 8 Map of business type from business plan of the cultural company (translated by the researcher)

Both the renovation project and the upcoming business plan indicate a gentrification wave into the area because the business types as well as consuming level will be upgraded, a level that residents nearby may not afford. A high-end Italian restaurant has opened in the area recently in a converted old house. One interviewee envisioned this to lead a trend onwards: "High-end business for leisure and culture, including night-life and slow-life will be introduce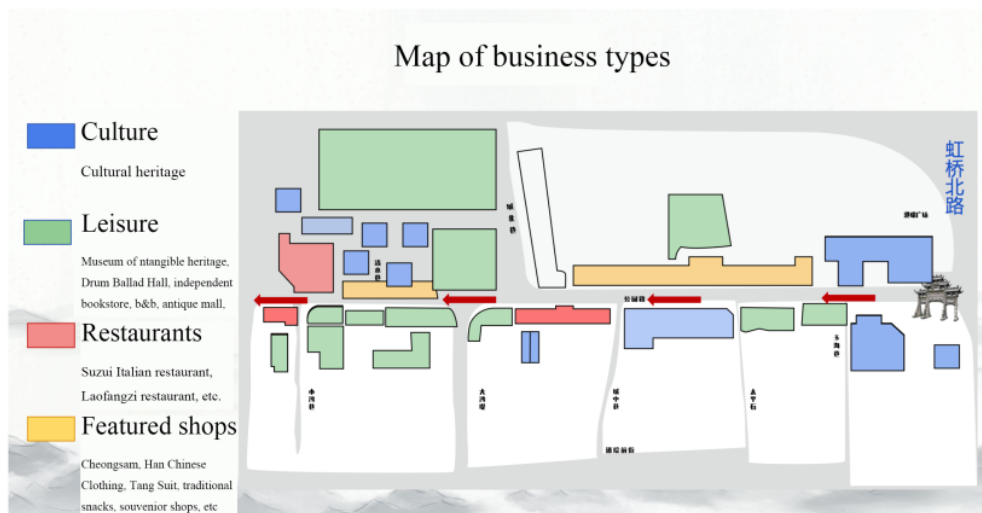d. Low-end featured snacks with local characteristics could also come, tea houses, coffee shops, western catering cultures could all blend in, then we could make the commercial environment better". But the existing shops like food stores and street markets are regarded as "messy, fragmented and small" and could be removed. The cultural company will also commercialise cultural space such as the Drum Ballad Hall, which is now free and open to the public. It plans to invite a famous crosstalk association from Northern China to perform monthly in the venue to attract more audience.

Apart from heritage revitalisation, one aim of the regeneration project is to improve living quality by upgrading infrastructure and creating comfortable street space for daily activities. Together with other upcoming schemes, lived space in historic quarters will be significantly transformed with changes in transport, commercial environment and infrastructure. The area is largely a residential area with convenient access to daily necessities. Meanwhile, the degradation of infrastructure brings problems to local residents. Many old residential quarters are threatened with fire hazard, drainage problems and aging building structure. The regeneration project of Gongyuan Street improved infrastructure such as electric wires and drainage systems. The renovated street is flatter, therefore, safer for pedestrians. Nevertheless, a street market nearby is threatened. It was already closed temporarily due to official visits. There is a sketched plan for its relocation to an indoor market or removal in later stage of regeneration. The street market provides nearby residents with fresh food and other daily supplies. Residents think it would be very inconvenient if the street market is removed. The market started in 1970s from only a few stalks to now both indoor and outdoor markets. The evolvement of the market is tied with the development trajectory of the city, embedded with stories and struggles for livelihood of ordinary people. The upcoming change in the business environment may cause inconvenience to local residents if lower-ends shops are replaced and the street market is removed. However, interviewees working on regeneration projects show little concerns: "this

kind of business type, you can find it outside (the historic conservation area), it is not a big problem…" (Interviewee NS2).

4.5.2 Dissonance in heritage products

Dissonance in space results from conflicts in values. On the macro level, negotiation of boundary in conservation planning reveals the value battle. On a micro level, competition for space in Gongyuan Street between Culture Bureau and the Centre represent the dissonance between space of culture and space of economy. Social and political values could also be in conflict by taking a look inside historic buildings. Historic buildings may have been resided by a famous person or presents architectural significance, which embodies cultural and historic value for certain groups. It could also form part of the political value in becoming National Historic City for local political leaders. But local residents interpret values of the space differently. They may see the value of buildings in its convenient location but little value of building itself due to the low living standards inside.

Not only what the spaces are but also what shall the space become carries with it different voices. For example, there is much room for debate in terms of the approach to beautification of landscape. Some interviewees show their preference in the project to create a conformed character of Late Qing and Republican Period. But some other interviewees think that it is impossible for every building to be the same. That the landscape should show continuity and development of the city through history by keeping buildings and elements of different period in an artistic way. The design should try to respect the evolution of history and allow some time layering, some being Republican, some before 1949, some after 1949. One principle that they all uphold is to respect history. However, the problem is their different understanding of history. Some refer it to the past that is worth preserving and restoring while others refer it to the changes over time. One interviewee even felt a loss of historic characteristics after the renovation of historical townscape.

Different uses elicit competition of space. Beautification of landscape means shrinking of lived space by removing street markets. Upgrade of commercial environment will also replace business for daily necessities into tourism and middle-class oriented consumption space. Commercialisation of the drum ballad venue

indicates a change in the nature of venue from publically accessible cultural space to consumption space with exclusive entrance.

4.6 Key players

The heritage production process is marked with elitist taste. There are key players in the heritage making process, who influence the process with significant weight compared to general public. Some are key interpreters as they have the power and opportunity to convey messages to key decision-makers. Some are key decision makers who can decide the direction. Interviews and meetings reveal the existence of diverse interpretations among key players. While there is room for discussion within these actors, the power of decision making is extremely centralised.

"Now things in China are all at the discretion of the government, the leader, so the leader is very important" (Interviewee NS1).

Key interpreters include senior government officials, deputies to local People's Congress and committee members of CPPCC. When there exist different interpretations, it requires key interpreters to mobilise policies and regulations for persuasion as well as story-telling and bargaining skills.

At the meeting with Culture Bureau, officials disclosed rivalry for the right to use certain space in Gongyuan Street with CCHC. It demonstrates tension among key interpreters. Because power is centralised in the hands of local political leaders (including mayor and other members of Municipal Party Committee), key interpreters need to demonstrate strong ability of persuasion and negotiation to convey a particular interpretation. While it was the Culture Bureau that commissioned the renovation project in Gongyuan Street, it is losing ground in negotiation for right to use some venues there. The Centre has launched its enthusiastic commercialisation of the area as well as new regeneration projects. It fits with leaders' intension to generate income and be sustainable rather than relying on government's budget.

The periphery position of Culture Bureau has not been rare in Rui'an. The earlier redevelopment project north of Gongyuan Street demolished several heritage sites and damaged one remaining heritage significantly. Head of cultural heritage department told about its vulnerable position in warning key decision-makers the possible

damage: "the government has already sold the land, we could do nothing as a small cultural heritage department" (Chinanews, 2013). Despite the marginal position, several interviewees mentioned one figure in Culture Bureau who had contributed greatly in conserving heritage against all tides in past decades. It demonstrates the power of agency in such an imbalanced power structure.

The neglect of everyday heritage like street market illustrates the lack of attention to alternative heritage. While there are also people who mentioned the need to protect heritage from cultural revolution at one of the meetings, such voices are rare and vulnerable.

There is not a platform or mechanism for officials within the government to formally discuss and debate about the issue of heritage making. At the meeting with Culture Bureau, the official admitted that it was the first formal meeting ever discussing about applying for National Historic City. There is a lack of cooperation among bureaus, which could be consequential because different departments have diverging focuses or even conflicting visions. The official from Culture Bureau admitted the segmentation of work among different bureaus: "Culture Bureau, the Centre and Bureau of Housing and Urban-rural Development all have their own agendas."

Voices from the public are channelised in the political structure so they could only express opinion at specific moments, making it difficult to impact decisions timely. While residents are stakeholders and receives consultation, they could not enter the discussion room. Engagement of residents and general public often takes place at later stage of the project with limited choices. For example, only a small group of citizens were invited to a consultation on the proposal of a new regeneration project. While the interviewee tried to demonstrate a democratic process they are adopting, the limited participation both in number and level poses doubt on it. The lack of public engagement is also partly due to the rationale of government officials that the public lack proper knowledge and should be guided. Public view is not investigated or valued, therefore, not able to contribute to understanding of heritage.

National policies on heritage and historic cities do have significance in influencing local actions through standard provision. Local Culture Bureaus could also use national policies for bargaining and negotiation. But there is limited influence from

national policies in implementation due to a lack of stringent supervision in all stages from higher levels of government. Room for local interpretation is two sides of the coin: providing flexibility and local creativity but risks exploitation that triggers effects like careless demolition of heritage.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

Understanding heritage as a process reveals its complexity from selection to packaging and unpacks the embedded multiplicity. Multiplicity indicates diversity, and often times contestation. This chapter will take on analysis in the last chapter and focus on two issues: dissonance and selectivity of heritage process as well as governance and power dynamics in the process.

5.1 Dissonance and selectivity of heritage process

The case of Rui'an has shown the multivalence and multi-facet of heritage as well as dissonance. It may seem inevitable to be selective in face of diversity of heritage in creating heritage product. But selection and packaging are both purposeful, ranging from political, cultural to economic aims. Similar to the temporal politics and selection of heritage in the case of Moore Street in Dublin (Moore-Cherry & Bonnin, 2018), the case of Rui'an demonstrates temporal-spatial selectiveness. Selection of time and space complements and reinforces each other in forming the specific narrative of cultural glory in Late Qing and Early Republican Period. Inheritance of someone is disinheritance of others (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000). Inheritance of the traditional Qing dynasty buildings and renovation for higher-end shops with traditional elements means the disinheritance of livelihoods of many stalkers and shop owners. Evoking interests in traditional culture means cleansing memories of those who lived the street in its evolved messiness. The restoration of heritage is creative destruction that could uproot people's familiarity and sense of place.

Nevertheless, selection and packaging of heritage will hardly finalise from a historical perspective. Seeing heritage as a process in analysis facilitates understanding of its fluidity and instability. The process includes the interrelated interpretation, selection and packaging of heritage as raw material as well as a product. Essential to heritage is the fluidity in value recognition. When certain interpretation of value dominates, it will be illustrated in heritage products. The dominance of certain interpretation is influenced by political-economic elements. The importance attached to culture in cities and local folk customs are unsettled. For example, heritage experts' view on heritage dated back to Qing and Early Republican Period changed from insignificant

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when making the conservation planning in 2002 to culturally important in making the revised plan in 2018.

Heritage is both unstable and tangible. What we see now as the heritage product could be raw material subject to re-interpretation and re-packaging in the future due to new purposes. Although heritage is fluid as a process, heritage product is fixed within a specific time frame, at least to a certain degree. Its material carrier such as pieces of architecture to illustrate specific style of townscape as well as its aims as museums to convey specific messages requires fixation. It is both a support and a restriction. Without such immobilisation, it would be difficult to showcase heritage and convey specific messages due to the fluidity and constant change. In the meantime, fixation demands a selection and boundary, which limits the multiplicity of heritage.

So it is important to analyse within the specific context that particular heritage is situated in, to take into consideration specific time and place, political and economic environment. In the context of urban regeneration, heritage revitalisation links with the notion of regeneration, within which value preference is also crucial. The question what kind of and whose regeneration is fundamental (Rossi & Vanolo, 2013). There are similar traits globally in regeneration of historic urban quarters in literature (Obeng-Odoom,2013; Rossi & Vanolo, 2013). The case of Rui'an echoes features such as commercialisation, development of cultural economy and gentrification. But the case also demonstrates its particularities and varieties in the global spectrum due to its historical context and political-economic situation. Tourism has not significant influenced the city of Rui'an, so the targeting consumers are mostly local citizens.

5.2 Governance and power dynamics in making of heritage

The highly centralised political structure and hierarchical heritage system in China influences greatly the discourse and production of heritage. As said, "China's tangible heritage is under a hierarchical and centralised state administration" (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013: 7). The case of Rui'an proves the power centralisation within the government. But as literature suggest, it is not a unitary top-down process (Blumenfield & Silverman, 2013). There are scalar dynamics in political hierarchies from central, provincial to local level. For example, there is much room for local interpretation of heritage policies set at the central level. The case shows strong

autonomy at the local level in heritage production and packaging. Which heritage product will be recognised at the national level still greatly depends on local interpretation and efforts in packaging as well as mobilisation of social capital. Limited supervision from top-down enhances such autonomy. It could also explain why there are many cases local deviance from central policies.

While there is high level of autonomy at the local level, the power is centralised within the local government with limited discussion, let alone democratic involvement from the public. The case also demonstrates imbalanced power relations within the discussion room. While China differentiates itself in political regime as a socialist country, the "authorised discourse of heritage" and frequent neglect of the vernacular and the ordinary are comparable to many other countries. The foreseen demolition of street market in Rui'an is similar to the potential destiny of Moore Street Market in Dublin. The discourse of heritage is often political and dominated by those in power, because it relates to identity. It also reflects the dialectics of power/knowledge. Power holders in the case of Rui'an had significant say in the process of conserving heritage and making conservation planning.

The rise of neoliberalism greatly altered urban governance and redevelopment in China (He & Wu, 2009), impacting revitalisation of historic quarters and heritage conservation. Scholars adopt theories like urban growth machine and urban regime theory to explain modes of regeneration in China in which local governments and developers form coalitions (Liang, 2017). The government's preference for real-estate development in both the redevelopment project north of Gongyuan Street and the upgrade of commercial environment may indicate elements of urban growth machine. Outsourcing management and business planning of historic conservation areas to a private cultural planning company also implies traces of contractual management of regulatory capitalism in urban governance (Raco, 2014). Though beyond the scope of this study, it could be directions of future research.

To be careful with generalisation of the case, power dynamics in the case of Rui'an may or may not resonate with other cities. Predominance of economic value, lack of public engagement and absence of monitoring possibly resembles many other Chinese cities. There are always multiple bureaus and stakeholders, thus various understanding to be dealt with. However, power relations may demonstrate different pictures due to

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

This study attempts to unpack the notion of heritage in a Chinese context. As shown in the case study, heritage is not merely a technical concept but also a political one. The theoretical framework aims to explain heritage as both a process and products. While there is crystallisation of heritage product on the ground, the process is fluid and iterative. It highlights dynamic power relations in centralised governance structure with loose monitoring mechanism. The study also tries to provide an alternative understanding of heritage in a Chinese context to the traditional Euro-centric conception of tangible heritage, that the concept is influenced strongly by politics, both at national and local level. Instead of following the prevailing critique in literature about local misunderstanding of policies and improper utilisation of heritage, this study put aside such assumption and critically analyse rationales of local practitioners. Using the case study in a county-level city in South-eastern China, the research tries to uncover local dynamics of heritage where limited attention is received above city boundary. The finding underscores political perspective of heritage and how particular political ecology locally could influence heritage conservation.

Reflection and critiques of heritage conservation should focus beyond local implementation. Official definition of heritage in national policies merely represents one construction of the concept. The case demonstrates the need to review heritage policies and implementation mechanism in regard to deviance of local practice to central policies. Instead of criticising local government for their incapacities in following heritage policies, it is worth recognising intrinsic dissonance in heritage and the imbalanced narration power. Further and wider discussion in public is needed. Heritage policies should also take into account existing dynamics in urban regeneration in China where private sectors have actively engaged. Dominance of real estate development is related to factors such as land financing, tax reform and housing commodification (Liang, 2017). They form intricate patterns in regeneration which could trigger wicked problems without careful consideration. While not being the major focus, the case study implies possible influence of neoliberalism and contractualism in local governance.

While this study provides a Chinese-specific context, implications could well reach beyond China and resonate with other countries in terms of heritage revitalisation. Heritage is often selected to serve nationalistic narrative and have strong elitist taste. It is only in recent decades that attention to heritage of ethnic minority groups and working class has increased. Finding from this case, while unable to represent multiplicity of empirical situations around the world, mirrors a process of heritage construction that has been or is taking place globally that receive influence from political and economic forces.

There are several limitations in this research. Firstly, the research has not been able to collect sufficient data in governance due to both time constraints and sensitivity of the topic. Secondly, the research has not been able to provide detailed accounts of some key events back in early 2000s due to limited data. While available data has provided a sketched version, the constraint disables scrutiny of interpretation and selection of heritage during that period, which laid a foundation for recent projects. Thirdly, the research is unable to represent the general situations in China as a single-case study due to diversity of political-economic and historical context in different cities.

Emerging heritage projects in cities like Rui'an means changes and continuous dynamics in heritage process. The importance of political influence in heritage conservation and revitalisation indicates the need to look into heritage politics and governance. Future studies could investigate into detailed governance structure that involve in revitalisation of historic quarters from more than one cities in China. To understand deviance between heritage policy and practice in China still requires further research into policy making and governance structure.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Sample interview questions

1. Background information:

   Name, position, major duties, years of experience

2. Heritage conservation in Rui'an

   Previous actions, the recent project, future plans

   Personal views on existing situation and ideal one

   Values of heritage

3. Regeneration/redevelopment of historic quarters in Rui'an

   Previous actions, the recent project, future plans

   Personal views on existing situation and ideal one

4. Recent projects:

   Personal knowledge about the projects

   Level of involvement

   When did you started to involve?

   what was the positioning at the time?

   Timeline?

   What do you know about the redevelopment projects?

5. Actors in decision making?

   What bureaus are involved?

   Who make decisions?

   What is the division of labour?

6. What is the significance of historic city and historic conservation area?

   The policy change since 2002?

7. What are the difficulties, reflections?

   What about the future?

8. On historic quarters of Rui'an:

   What is the positioning?

   What are the problems?

Appendix 2 Glossary

1. Historic city [Li Shi Wen Hua Ming Cheng]: The city with rich heritage and historical or revolutionary significance, approved and proved by The State Council or provincial government

2. Historic urban area [Li Shi Cheng Qu]: Urban area that could demonstrate the trajectory of historical development or landscape of a particular historical period, including the ancient or old urban area. It refers specifically to the area with a clear historical boundary and that preserves an intact structure as well as townscape, which deserves conservation.

3. Historic conservation area [Li Shi Wen Hua Jie Qu]: Historic area that is of certain size with rich heritage remains and concentrated historic buildings that could fairly fully and authentically demonstrate traditional structure and historical townscape with the approve of provincial-level government.

4. Officially protected monuments and sites [Wen Wu Bao Hu Dan Wei]: historic monuments and sites that are approved by government at or above county-level for conservation. The level of importance varies according to the level of approval government, from county, city, provincial to national level. Historic monuments and sites are tangible and un-transportable remains of value that are created by human beings in history.

5. Conservation planning of historic city [Li Shi Wen Hua Ming Cheng Bao Hu Gui Hua]: a sub-plan of city's comprehensive plan, aiming to conserve the historic city, coordinate conservation and construction development, major contents including setting out principle, contents and focuses for conservation, delineate conservation boundaries and putting forward conservation measures.

6. Late Qing and Early Republican Period [Wan Qing Min Guo Shi Qi]: Late Qing dynasty broadly refers to the period between 1840-1911, starting from the first Opium War when Qing Dynasty started to decline in power and ending with the Revolution of 1911; Early Republican Period or Republican Period in Mainland China refers to the period between 1911-1949, starting from the Revolution and ending with founding of PRC.

Appendix 3 Figures

Figure 9 Slogan of family planning

The mottled slogan (words in red, background in yellow) on the wall reads: Control population size and raise population quality

Figure 10 Partial view of the street market in weekday one afternoon of May, 2019

Appendix 4 Information sheet

(It was translated into Written Chinese version in fieldwork)
Research on Zhongyi Street historic conservation area: regeneration and heritage conservation
Information Sheet
Researcher

Hu Yinuo
Bartlett School of Planning
Faculty of Built Environment
University College London
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What is the purpose of the study?
This study is designed to learn about regeneration and heritage conservation in Historic Conservation Area, to learn about the decision making and governace dynamics in the project, roles and views of different actors, as well as the influence of the abovementioned to the results of historic conservation areas.

Who is doing this research and why?
I am a master student studying at University College London, enrolled in MSc Urban Regeneration in Bartlett School of Planning. I am conducting this study as a thesis project for the course BPLN 0039 Dissertation in Planning, supervised by Miss Elena Bessusi.

What will I be asked to do?
Participants are asked to sit for one, one-hour interview during which they will be asked to discuss the topic of regeneration and heritage conservation of historic conservation areas, mainly about Zhongyi Street. This interview will be recorded for purposes of transcription. Participants will be asked a number of questions relating to this experience, but are encouraged to elaborate on their answers as they see fit. There is no rigid structure, and the interview will be of a conversational nature.

Are there any exclusion criteria?
Please notify your investigator if you are currently receiving treatment for or are diagnosed with any form of mental illness.

Once I take part, can I change my mind?
Yes. After you have read this information and asked any questions you may have we will ask you to complete an Informed Consent Form, however if at any time, before, during or after the sessions you wish to withdraw from the study please just contact the investigator. You can withdraw at any time, for any reason and you will not be asked to explain your reasons for withdrawing.

However, once the results of the study are submitted (expected to be by 2th September, 2019), it will not be possible to withdraw your individual data from the research.

Will I be required to attend any sessions and where will these be?
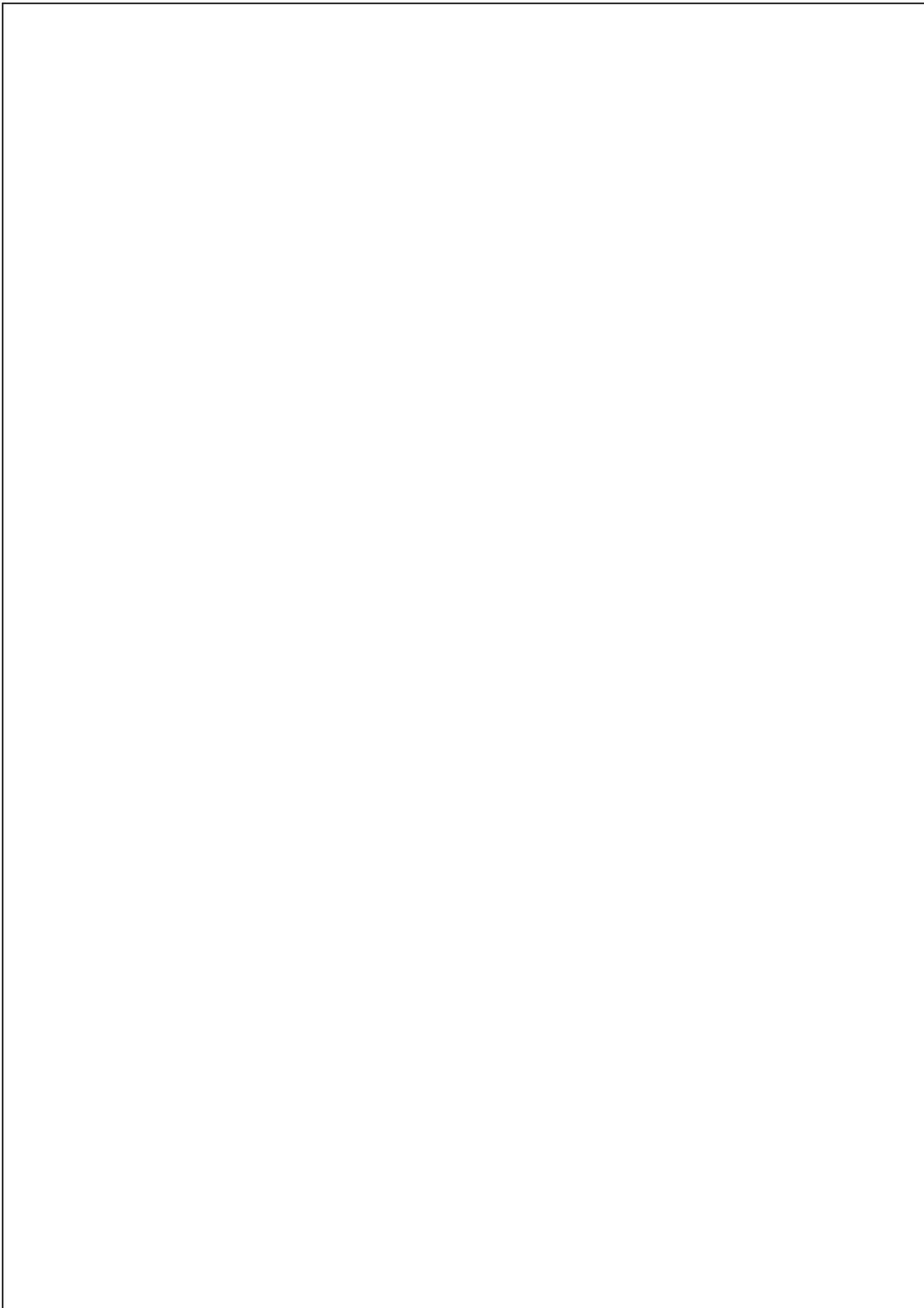
Appendix 5 Informed Consent Form

(It was translated into Written Chinese version in fieldwork)

Research on Zhongyi Street historic conservation area: regeneration and heritage conservation

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

(to be completed after Participant Information Sheet has been read)

The purpose and details of this study have been explained to me. I understand the purpose of and reasons for this study.	Yes □	No □
I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form.	Yes □	No □
I am aware of and understand the risks and commitments involved in this study.	Yes □	No □
I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.	Yes □	No □
I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in the study.	Yes □	No □
I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage for any reason, and that I will not be required to explain my reasons for withdrawing.	Yes □	No □
I understand that after 2nd September, 2019, the results of the study will be submitted and I will be unable to remove my individual data from the study.	Yes □	No □
I understand that all the information I provide will be treated in strict confidence and will be kept anonymous and confidential to the researchers unless (under the statutory obligations of the agencies which the researchers are working with), it is judged that confidentiality will have to be breached for the safety of the participant or others.	Yes □	No □
I agree to participate in this study.	Yes □	No □

Your name   _____

Your signature   _____

Signature of investigator   _____

Date   _____

RISK ASSESSMENT FORM
FIELD / LOCATION WORK

EQUIPMENT	Is equipment used?	No	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. clothing, outboard motors.	Examples of risk: inappropriate, failure, insufficient training to use or repair, injury. Is the risk high / medium / low ?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- ☐ the departmental written Arrangement for equipment is followed
- ☐ participants have been provided with any necessary equipment appropriate for the work
- ☐ all equipment has been inspected, before issue, by a competent person
- ☐ all users have been advised of correct use
- ☐ special equipment is only issued to persons trained in its use by a competent person
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

LONE WORKING	Is lone working a possibility?	No	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. alone or in isolation lone interviews.	Examples of risk: difficult to summon help. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- ☐ the departmental written Arrangement for lone/out of hours working for field work is followed
- ☐ lone or isolated working is not allowed
- ☐ location, route and expected time of return of lone workers is logged daily before work commences
- ☐ all workers have the means of raising an alarm in the event of an emergency, e.g. phone, flare, whistle
- ☐ all workers are fully familiar with emergency procedures
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

ILL HEALTH	**The possibility of ill health always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this Hazard.**
e.g. accident, illness, personal attack, special personal considerations or vulnerabilities.	Examples of risk: injury, asthma, allergies. Is the risk high / medium / low? NO

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

- ☐ an appropriate number of trained first-aiders and first aid kits are present on the field trip
- ☐ all participants have had the necessary inoculations/ carry appropriate prophylactics
- ☐ participants have been advised of the physical demands of the trip and are deemed to be physically suited
- ☐ participants have been adequate advice on harmful plants, animals and substances they may encounter
- ☐ participants who require medication have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

TRANSPORT	**Will transport be required**	**NO**		**Move to next hazard**
		YES	**X**	**Use space below to identify and assess any risks**
e.g. hired vehicles	Examples of risk: accidents arising from lack of maintenance, suitability or training Is the risk high / medium / low?			

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

- ☒ only public transport will be used
- ☐ the vehicle will be hired from a reputable supplier
- ☐ transport must be properly maintained in compliance with relevant national regulations
- ☐ drivers comply with UCL Policy on Drivers http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hr/docs/college_drivers.php
- ☐ drivers have been trained and hold the appropriate licence
- ☐ there will be more than one driver to prevent driver/operator fatigue, and there will be adequate rest periods
- ☐ sufficient spare parts carried to meet foreseeable emergencies
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC	**Will people be dealing with public**	**Yes**	**If 'No' move to next hazard**
			If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. interviews, observing	Examples of risk: personal attack, causing offence, being misinterpreted. Is the risk high / medium / low? Low risk of being misinterpreted		

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

- ☒ all participants are trained in interviewing techniques
- ☐ interviews are contracted out to a third party
- ☐ advice and support from local groups has been sought
- ☐ participants do not wear clothes that might cause offence or attract unwanted attention
- ☒ interviews are conducted at neutral locations or where neither party could be at risk
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

WORKING ON OR NEAR WATER	Will people work on or near water?	**No**	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. rivers, marshland, sea.	Examples of risk: drowning, malaria, hepatitis A, parasites. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- ☐ lone working on or near water will not be allowed
- ☐ coastguard information is understood; all work takes place outside those times when tides could prove a threat
- ☐ all participants are competent swimmers
- ☐ participants always wear adequate protective equipment, e.g. buoyancy aids, wellingtons
- ☐ boat is operated by a competent person
- ☐ all boats are equipped with an alternative means of propulsion e.g. oars
- ☐ participants have received any appropriate inoculations
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

MANUAL HANDLING (MH)	Do MH activities take place?	**No**	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. lifting, carrying, moving large or heavy equipment, physical unsuitability for the task.	Examples of risk: strain, cuts, broken bones. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- ☐ the departmental written Arrangement for MH is followed
- ☐ the supervisor has attended a MH risk assessment course
- ☐ all tasks are within reasonable limits, persons physically unsuited to the MH task are prohibited from such activities
- ☐ all persons performing MH tasks are adequately trained
- ☐ equipment components will be assembled on site
- ☐ any MH task outside the competence of staff will be done by contractors
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

SUBSTANCES	Will participants work with substances	No	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. plants, chemical, biohazard, waste	Examples of risk: ill health - poisoning, infection, illness, burns, cuts. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk
☐	the departmental written Arrangements for dealing with hazardous substances and waste are followed
☐	all participants are given information, training and protective equipment for hazardous substances they may encounter
☐	participants who have allergies have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
☐	waste is disposed of in a responsible manner
☐	suitable containers are provided for hazardous waste
☐	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

OTHER HAZARDS	Have you identified any other hazards?	No	If 'No' move to next section If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
i.e. any other hazards must be noted and assessed here.	Hazard: Risk: is the risk		

CONTROL MEASURES	Give details of control measures in place to control the identified risks

Have you identified any risks that are not adequately controlled?	NO ☒	Move to Declaration
	YES ☐	Use space below to identify the risk and what action was taken

Is this project subject to the UCL requirements on the ethics of Non-NHS Human Research?	No

If yes, please state your Project ID Number

For more information, please refer to: http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/

DECLARATION	The work will be reassessed whenever there is a significant change and at least annually. Those participating in the work have read the assessment.

Select the appropriate statement:

☒ I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that there is no significant residual risk

☐ I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that the risk will be controlled by the method(s) listed above

NAME OF SUPERVISOR Elena Besussi

** SUPERVISOR APPROVAL TO BE CONFIRMED VIA E-MAIL **