

Declaration

I, Rouran Zhang, hereby certify that this thesis is my own work carried out during my PhD study at the Australian National University.

Rouran Zhang
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Acknowledgment

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Abstract

Two key research questions drive this research: **does world heritage listing change the values and stakeholders' understandings of the sites, and if so how?** and if values do change, **What role does tourism play in the way the values may change at Chinese World Heritage sites?** These questions derive from ongoing academic and public policy concerns that UNESCO World Heritage Listing results in increasing tourist interests at sites and that such interest has a negative impact on heritage. World Heritage listing aims to acknowledge and highlight the importance of national heritage sites. However, if, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) and Smith (2006) have argued, listing itself is in fact part of the production of heritage meanings and values, does World Heritage listing simply augment existing values or does it in fact change or otherwise rework and create new values and meanings of sites? Certainly, there has been some concern expressed by UNESCO and heritage commentators (Logan 2001, Askew 2010) that a significant change does occur with listing in so far as listing correlates with increased tourism at sites successfully enshrined on the WHL. Meskell et al. (2015) note that China was the most successful country in terms of increasing the number of World Heritage sites in recent years. Winter and Daly (2012) states that world heritage inscription has brought large-scale tourism in Asia, with particular China. A significant concern in this literature has been that tourism negatively changes or threatens the heritage values of world heritage sites and it is often assumed that increased tourism results in the commodification and simplification of heritage values and meanings (see for example, Lowenthal 1985, 1996; Hewison 1987; Ap and Crompton 1993; Harrison 1994; Hall and McArthur 1998; Leask and Yeoman 1999; McKercher and du Cros 2002; Pedersen 2002; Chen 2009; Kim et al. 2012). This thesis explores these assumptions by examining the ways in which listing may be seen to influence the ways in which the sites are given meaning by a range of stakeholder groups.

To explore these questions, two case studies were examined: West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou and the Ancient Villages of Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun. At each site interviews were conducted with Chinese officials involved in their management and World Heritage nomination and listing, tourist operators, sites managers, tourists and local residents.

Overall, the research reveals the interrelationship between heritage, tourism and local communities is more complex than is generally assumed both in Chinese and international heritage policy and practice. Four interconnected themes emerged in this research.

The first key theme centres on the observation that both the national and local Chinese governments are quite mindful, and perhaps even a little cynical, in that they clearly characterize the World Heritage listing process as a game they are playing, which at the moment has Eurocentric rules and terms. Further, values are often changed in the listing process in so far as Chinese heritage managers rework or interpret, quite consciously as part of the game they are playing, Chinese cultural and historical values into terms understandable within the Eurocentric Authorized Heritage Discourse and the UNESCO outstanding universal values it frames and that are required for World Heritage listing.

The second theme centres on the complex interactions between locals and tourists that suggest WH listing has not necessarily substantially nor negatively changed the values of the site, as many in the heritage literature fear. It instead offered opportunities for local-tourist dialogue that augments local and tourist heritage values. While there were some exceptions (particularly at West Lake where local residents were relocated prior to listing), the majority of locals interviewed at the two case studies tend to have very positive views about tourists visiting their sites. Overall, the world heritage listing and the presence of mass tourists had elicited a sense of pride in local residents. Locals wanted tourists to *'feel'* their sites, and they hoped that the tourists' could invoke a sense of belonging or feelings for the site and communicate with locals. In return, tourists enjoyed communicating with locals. There is a strong sense of contentment that emerged when tourists felt that they had made a connection with locals. Third, the heritage tourists were very active during their visit; the values that they expressed about the sites they visited were often tightly linked to their personal identities. Tourists at heritage sites did not necessarily passively accept the authorised messages or governments' interpretations. They were actively working out, remembering and negotiating their own, often thoughtful and considered, cultural meanings. The fears of commodification and 'dumbing down' of culture and history often associated with mass tourism and associated changes to the value of WH sites (Lowenthal 1996; McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Handler and Gable 1997; Shackel 2013) was not supported by the interviews with tourists.

Fourth, my research also finds that the government controlled, or authorised tourism enterprise, was not as affective in facilitating meaningful cultural interaction between tourists and locals. These interactions, identified by those locals and tourists I interviewed as an important expression of heritage values, facilitated more effectively when local communities controlled and managed heritage tourism. Indeed, the case study of Xidi illustrates that the cultural interactions between tourists and locals were magnified if locals control tourism.

Overall, the thesis argues that, yes, WH listing does change the values afforded to Chinese sites. This is done, in large part, so that the sites and their associated Chinese cultural values will be understood within the requirements of the UNESCO listing process. Tourism also changes the values given to sites by locals, but only in so far that existing values are augmented as locals gain pride and self-esteem not simply through the listing processes, but more specifically and importantly, through a process of sharing and communicating the values of the sites to domestic tourists. This is particularly achieved when locals are in control of local tourism operations. Overall tourism, often devalued in the heritage management policy and practice as a negative problem at World Heritage sites (Ashworth 2009), is revealed as an integral and key value in and of itself to World Heritage sites. Tourists are revealed not as the main culprits in altering the values of heritage sites, but somewhat paradoxically, it is UNESCO itself and the frameworks provided by the OUV that results in the changes feared by those operating within the Authorized Heritage Discourse.

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List of Abbreviations

AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
CNKI	China National Knowledge Infrastructure
ICOMOS	The International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICHC	Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MHURD	Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development
PRC	People Republic of China
SACH	State Administration of Cultural Heritage
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
WH	World Heritage
WHL	World Heritage List
WHS	World Heritage Site
WHC	World Heritage Convention
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1: Introduction

How do tourists and local people interact with heritage sites and each other? I was pondering this question while I walked through the Hongcun World Heritage Site. I am a landscape architect, and my understanding of the meaning of heritage had been influenced and framed by official definition from international authorities such as UNESCO and ICOMOS. As with other heritage architectural practitioners, I privileged the physical importance of the site, and stressed the idea that management and conservation had to ensure that non-renewable heritage resources would be protected for future generations. Of course, I had considered tourism as one of the significant threats to vulnerable heritage sites. However, as I conducted my fieldwork at two Chinese World Heritage sites, tourists talked about their experiences and feelings to me, which reflected a greater sense of active engagement with heritage than I had assumed would be the case. I also observed an intimate link between local people and tourists. I started to rethink the interrelation between tourism and heritage, and considered that this might be a more active and complex dynamic than I had been trained to assume. There was a particular ‘moment’ that enlightened me.

It was a winter season, and I lived in a locally run hostel located on the lakeshore of the ‘South Lake’ in Hongcun. I planned to finish my interviews in Hongcun on December 27th, 2013. However, I was knocked over by fever on the morning of Christmas Day. A woman who is the host of the hostel came to my room to turn off the air conditioning, as there was an unwritten provision that guests should turn off the air conditioning during the daytime to save power, unless they paid extra money. She noticed that I was sick, and asked me whether I needed to take some traditional Chinese medication, which she would like to make for me. I thanked her for her kindness and said I already took some medicine. Then she walked out of my room with the air conditioning still on. About half an hour later, she told me to go downstairs to the courtyard. I struggled to put on my clothes and went downstairs to the courtyard. It was a sunny day. She prepared a bowl of egg noodles with a cup of hot ginger water and invited me to sit inside their traditional ‘火桶 Warm Barrel¹’ (figure 1.1). She told me to ‘think of here as your home, and me as your family.’ I was really touched by the empathy in that ‘moment’ of sitting in the ‘Warm Barrel’ in the traditional Hui courtyard,

¹ The traditional way to keep warm in Anhui province.

eating the hot food, looking at the beautiful view of the South Lake (figure 1.2), and talking to my 'family' in Hongcun. I began to revise my assumptions about the relations between heritage and tourism. Heritage is a process, and constituted by countless, multi-layered 'cultural moments' created by the combination of the activities and interactions between tourists and locals. For myself, the 'cultural moment' described above in Hongcun, the intimate interactions between myself (as tourist), local people, and the physical heritage site created for me a sense of heritage, that is, a sense of belonging and wellbeing.

Can my experiences as a tourist in that situation reflect anything about the interrelation between tourism and heritage more broadly? Is heritage tourism simply an 'inauthentic' leisure activity, as some heritage commentators argue (see for example, McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Choay 2001; Burton 2003; and Mason 2005) or are tourists actually engaged with multi-layered social and cultural work? Is the tourism–heritage relationship simply negative, as much of the literature argues, as it changes or threatens the heritage values of world heritage sites? Certainly, it is often assumed that increased tourism results in the commodification and simplification of heritage values and meanings (see for example, Lowenthal 1985; Hewison 1987; Ap and Crompton 1993; Hall and McArthur 1998; Leask and Yeoman 1999; McKercher and du Cros 2002; Pedersen 2002; Kim et al. 2013). Or is heritage actually constructed by the 'cultural moments' from each tourists' experiences, feelings, and social performances and their interactions with local residents? In responding to these complex problems and questions within heritage and tourism, this thesis examines these assumptions, by posing two central questions: **does World Heritage listing change the values and stakeholders' understandings of the sites, and if so how? If values do change, what role does tourism play in the way the values may change at Chinese World Heritage sites?** From these central questions, a number of subsidiary questions arise:

- To what extent does World Heritage Listing (WHL) change or influence the Chinese governments' (at both national and local levels) understandings of heritage and tourism?
- To what extent does WHL change experts' understanding of heritage and tourism?
- To what extent does WHL change local people's understanding of heritage and tourism?
- What is the domestic tourists' understanding of heritage and tourism?
- What do tourists feel at heritage sites?

- What performances do tourists and local people engage in at heritage sites?
- How do local people react to tourists, and does the presence of tourists change local values?



Fig. 1.1 Warm Barrel
(Source:http://art.china.cn/huihua/2011-12/26/content_4720876.htm)



Fig. 1.2 A view of South Lake (Photo by Rouran Zhang)

1.1 The Significance of the Research Questions

As Winter and Daly (2012) observe, World Heritage practices have brought two significant issues to Asian countries. On the one hand, Asian countries, and China in particular, have become obsessed with World Heritage inscription, a process seen as important for displaying and asserting images of national identity (see also Lowenthal 1998; Meyer 2008; Askew 2010; Yan 2012). So important is Listing in China, that at the time of writing China had fifty sites on the World Heritage List, and is now the country with the second most listings. This concern has been seen by some as a diplomatic gesture, or an assertion of Chinese ‘soft power’ (Harrison 2010; Meskell et al. 2015; Winter 2015). On the other hand, successful World Heritage nomination facilitates dramatic increases in tourists at Asian heritage sites (Shackley 1998; Wu et al. 2002; Su and Wall 2011; Tao & Luca 2011). While this often brings economic benefits to countries, it also creates management issues (Wu et al. 2002; Deng 2005; Liang 2006; Huang 2006; Lu and Zhou 2004; and Zhang and Ma 2006; Su and Teo 2009).

In terms of the first issue, the mainstream social media in China widely reports, over the last 10 years, a nation-wide obsession with World Heritage applications (see, for example, China.com 2004; Xinhuanet.com 2010; Sina.com 2013; People.cn 2014). For instance, on June 27, 2007, UNESCO inscribed The South China Karst to the World Heritage List as a natural site (UNESCO 2014). When the World Heritage Committee announced the successful news, nearly twenty thousand local people congregated in the town centre of Libo², celebrating the most exciting moment in the town's history (*Guizhou Daily* 2007) (figure 1.3).



Fig. 1.3 Locals in Libo Town gather in the town centre to celebrate World Heritage designation (Source: Libo Government)

Yan (2012, 2015) has argued that the Chinese government utilised the iconic status of World Heritage, and its relevant international policies, to reshape the national heritage management system and legitimate national heritage policies and practices. His research identified the discursive influences and policy changes in one of the key national heritage authorities - the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH). He argued that there is an authorised discourse, which he calls the 'harmony discourse', that frames 'non-heritage practices such as public health and moral norms, to legitimise the governmental power', and privileges experts'

² The Libo Karst is located in Libo County, south Guizhou Province. It is a significant component of The South China Karst

or governments' narratives over local discourse (Yan 2015:65). Chinese national heritage management is multi-layered: the Ministry of Education is the department responsible for communicating with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (MHURD) is responsible for the management of natural heritage sites whereas the SACH takes charge of cultural heritage. They are both in charge of Combination Sites and Cultural Landscape management. Wall and Su (2011) note that there is a second layer of governmental management which includes the department of forestry, water resources, environmental protection, religion, ethnic affairs and tourism, all of whom are potentially involved in management, depending on the specific natural, cultural and social characteristics of a heritage site. The third level involves local government, site management officers, visitors, local communities and tourism entrepreneurs. The specific management affairs of heritage sites are implemented by local governments, which are authorised by the MHURD or the SACH. This multi-department and multi-level management structure means that profits and responsibilities overlap, which creates management difficulties for World Heritage application and management. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the extent to which WHL changes the interrelation between Chinese national governments, and in particular the key heritage authorities, the MHURD and the SACH. At a local level, local governments, which have administrative jurisdiction over World Heritage sites, have regarded such sites as new sources of income more than anything else, which may ignore other stakeholder's interests or values, such as those of local communities (Tao and Luca 2011). Yan (2012, 2015), and Su and Teo (2009) have identified that local governments tend to utilise 'World Heritage' as a cultural tool to impose legal hegemony on local communities, in order to ensure site management conforms to government and UNESCO policies. However, little attention has been paid to the process of local governments uses of the World Heritage brand and policies as a tool to construct local narratives during and after the World Heritage listing; and how the government officials and experts formulated the nomination dossier and their purposes in seeking World Heritage listing and their understanding of heritage.

In terms of the second issue, as Winter and Daly (2012) have identified, World Heritage has become a prestigious brand widely used by state parties in the promotion of tourism (see also Labadi 2007; Reichel et al. 2011). With the concomitant growth in the number of heritage tourists, World Heritage sites' status serves as a catalyst for attracting tourists, particularly in developing countries (Shackley 1998). For instance, at the Chinese world heritage site Pingyao ancient city, the annual ticket income grew dramatically from 180,000 RMB in 1998

to 5,000,000 RMB in 1999, an almost 18 fold increase, after its inscription as a WHS in 1997 (Wu et al. 2002; see also Su and Wall 2011). Many other Chinese world heritage sites (such as Fujian Tulou and Old Town of Lijiang) have experienced similar tourist revenue increases after being inscribed on the WHL (China National Knowledge Infrastructure website, update in 2011). However, as local governments use this ‘international brand’, bringing considerable economic profits after successful inscriptions (Li et al. 2007; Tao and Luca 2011), the *China Daily* (2007) reported in an interview with a UNESCO expert that we ‘wish the local governments in China understand that being inscribed on the World Heritage List means more than enjoying tourist profits, but assuming more responsibilities and fulfilling promises.’ The influence of World Heritage listing in Chinese world heritage sites is very different to such sites in Western countries. China has the largest population in the world. World Heritage Sites in China attract and serve a much higher number of domestic tourists than in other countries (Wu et al. 2002). With rapid economic development, mass domestic tourism has developed at a dramatic rate in China. In addition, ‘China has made a transition from being centrally planned to a market-based economy’ (Li et al. 2007: 309), which has given rise to a numerous middle-class population, who can now afford to travel. The China National Tourism Office (CNTO) reports that the number of domestic tourists dramatically increased from 240 million in 1985 to 1610 million in 2007, while the domestic tourism revenue increased incredibly from 8 billion RMB to 777 billion RMB (CNTO 2008).

Tourist activities have caused a variety of increasingly obvious social and environmental impacts, such as environmental degradation, overcrowding, excessive noise and compaction from tramping, resulting in ecological damage and pollution. There is also the issue of cultural commodification, as well as conflict between local residents and tourists (see for example, Harrison 1994; Swarbrooke 1995; Hall and McArthur 1998; Leask and Yeoman 1999; McKercher and du Cros 2002; Starr 2010; Fisher et al. 2008; Su and Teo 2009). In this sense, Wang (2007) notes that Zhang Tinghao, who is a representative to the 2004 National People’s Congress, called for a new law for world heritage site protection, stating that ‘... the masses of tourists are crowding the Forbidden City, Xian's Terracotta Warriors and the Dunhuang caves. All of these destroy the authenticity of world heritage, and in some cases the sites are now beyond saving.’ The *China Daily* (2007) reported that during the World Heritage Committee's annual meeting in Christchurch, New Zealand, there were six Chinese World Heritage sites including the Forbidden City, the Summer Palace, Temple of Heaven, the ancient city of Lijiang in Yunnan Province and Three Parallel Rivers that received

'yellow cards' from UNESCO about possible removal from the list. Tong Mingkang, The Deputy Director of the State Cultural Relics Bureau (in 2007) pointed out one of the significant problems that local government in 'some sites are over profit-driven', particularly in regard to tourism, and he suggested that 'the 'yellow card' warning helps China to understand the real meaning of World Heritage sites, "which might be a good thing"' (China Daily 2007).

The above literature and media reports illustrate two issues. First, the focus of Chinese local governments on economic gains from tourism suggests that they do not understand the 'real meaning' of World Heritage. Secondly, it demonstrates the existence of a Chinese professional heritage concern with heritage visiting that is identical to, as Ashworth (2009) observed, the dominant Western heritage literature's concern that tourism 'destroys' fragile heritage, and that tourists are 'destroyers', which is particularly emphasised in China due to its high number of domestic tourists. However, there is a need to undertake research to determine a clear causality between World Heritage listing and tourist patterns, and the influence this then has on the heritage values of such sites. Taylor (2012:28) states that mainstream tourism concerns often focus on discussing 'marketing, facility management or growth statistics'. The majority of scholars in mainland China also focus on those 'mainstream' practical and management issues (see for instance, Wu et al. 2002; Deng 2005; Liang 2006; Huang 2006; Lu and Zhou 2004; and Zhang and Ma 2006). In recent years, scholars such as Winter et al. (2009), Byrne (2012), Winter and Daly (2012), Zhu (2012) and Winter (2014) have addressed the significant linkage between tourism and heritage in Asian contexts, 'within its wider social, political and cultural contexts, addressing an array of topics, including aesthetics...heritage...and nation building' (Winter et al. 2009:6). Those scholars call for research about the interrelation between tourism and heritage within Asia, as Winter (2014:134) states 'lengthy, multidimensional study and important research still needs to be done in this [Asia] area.'

As Graburn and Barthel-Bouchier (2001) demonstrate a particularly negative image of the tourist exists in public policy and tourism management planning, characterising heritage tourists as passive sightseers, with little or no agency in the meanings they construct at heritage sites (see for example Hewison 1987 for these assumptions at work). Contry to this chacterization, Smith (2006, 2012), Ashworth (2009), Hall (2009) and Waterton and Watson (2014), among others, argue that tourists may bring negative effects, but they may also be mindful and play active roles in constructing heritage meaning during their visiting (see also

Coleman and Crang 2002; Bagnall 2003, Poria et al. 2003; Palmer 2005; Byrne 2009; Sather-Wagstaff 2011; Smith 2012; and Waterton and Watson 2012). However, an active sense of tourists as cultural producers has not yet been addressed in a Chinese context. Although, an increasing number of studies have been concerned with the relationship between tourists and local residents in Asia (see Oakes 1993; Cohen 2000, 2004; Winter 2007; Su and Teo 2009) these have tended to focus on discussing the economic benefits/burdens that tourists bring to local communities (see Butcher 2003; Fisher et al. 2008; Su and Teo 2009; Hitchcock et al. 2010). Alternatively, studies have focused on local agency in adapting to global tourism influences (see Oakes 1993; Cohen 2000, 2004; Erb 2000; Winter 2007; Su and Teo 2009). The agency of tourists is not a topic that has yet been considered in Asia, and in China in particular, nor have studies looked at the cultural and social (as opposed to the economic) interactions of tourists and local residents.

The ignoring of touristic social and cultural value, and ignoring the social and cultural interaction that occurs between host communities and tourists, is largely a result of the naturalising effects of what Laurajane Smith (2006) has labelled the 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD). This is the professional discourse that frames the way heritage is understood and used internationally, and that maintains particular hierarchies of cultural expertise and understanding (Smith 2006). The AHD establishes and sanctions a top-down relationship between experts, heritage sites, and tourists, in which the expert 'translates' the site and its meanings to the tourists. Heritage tourists are then cast as passive consumers in the AHD top-down system. This has tended to result in community resistance to the influence of experts, and this is why community participation in heritage management, interpretation and conservation work is important, and has been extensively stressed in the heritage management literature (see for example Hayden 1997; Newman and McLean 1998; Hodges and Watson 2000; Byrne et al. 2001; Smardz Frost 2004; Smith 2006:35, Smith and Waterton 2009; Waterton and Watson 2010; Little and Shackel 2014; among others). Although this literature has been important in identifying the interaction of stakeholder communities with expert communities the literature has given little consideration to the ways in which the communities and tourists may interact. Nor has attention been paid to how tourists themselves engage in constructing the meaning of heritage in a Chinese context. This gap is largely a result of the naturalising effects of the AHD, which consider heritage as an object frozen in time and space and displayed behind fences, rather than a changing process in which tourists and locals play an active role. Therefore, it is necessary to examine whether

the active sense of tourists' agency exists in a Chinese context. If so, it is also useful to consider if there are differences between China and similar research in Western contexts, such as Poria et al. (2003) and Smith (2006, 2012, 2015) have identified? What do tourists feel at and about Chinese heritage sites? What performances do tourists and locals engage in at Chinese heritage sites? Does World Heritage listing change both tourists' and locals' understandings of the sites?

This thesis is, therefore, significant in addressing the above noted problems and gaps within the heritage and tourism literature, and aims to explore the relationships between heritage and tourism and world heritage and governmental understandings of heritage in a Chinese context. The **objectives** of this thesis are:

- to examine the process of how the Chinese national government (with particular reference to the key heritage authorities the MHURD and the SACH) and local governments uses of the World Heritage brand and policies to achieve their purposes and aspirations, and whether the WHL process has brought any changes to their understanding of heritage and tourism;
- to examine whether the WHL process changes local communities' understanding of heritage;
- to identify domestic tourists understanding of heritage and tourism, and to what extent their understanding of heritage and tourism is influenced by national and local discourses;
- to identify what tourists do and feel at heritage sites;
- to identify what performances tourists and locals engage in at heritage sites;
- to identify local people's reactions to tourists;
- to identify the interactions among governments, local people, tourists and other stakeholders (including experts and tourism companies);
- to identify and comment on the nature of heritage and tourism within a Chinese context.

Overall, the **anticipated benefits** of my research are:

Theoretically, the research will contribute to current debates within heritage studies and studies of tourism that aim to understand how and why tourists engage with heritage (such as Bagnall 2003; Poria et al. 2003; Smith 2006, 2012; and Byrne 2009; among others, see

chapter 2). It will also demonstrate the interrelation between tourism and heritage, and the tensions tourism can create between the way sites are used by audiences and publics, and the expectations of UNESCO and national/regional site managers. In addition, as Winter (2007, 2014), Byrne (2012) and Winter and Daly (2012) identified, there is a significant absence of non-Western understanding of heritage and tourism, and this research will contribute to providing Chinese perspectives of the interactions among tourist – local – government understanding of heritage and tourism.

In terms of practice and policy, international authorities such as UNESCO and ICOMOS are constantly debating the impact of tourism. This work has the potential to contribute to the ongoing development of policies and practices of the UNESCO world heritage program and to local and national management policies in China.

1.2 Case Study Background

This thesis consists of two case studies. They are Chinese cultural landscape sites and ancient villages listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The first is the West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou and the second is in southern Anhui- Xidi and Hongcun. The West Lake Cultural Landscape is located in the city centre of Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejiang province in China. On June 24, 2011, UNESCO inscribed the West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou on the World Heritage List, claiming that it ‘bears an exceptional testimony to the cultural tradition of improving landscapes to create a series of vistas reflecting an idealised fusion between humans and nature’, based on criteria (ii), (iii) and (vi). The Ancient Villages of Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun– are located in the northern and north-eastern part of Yi County in southern Anhui. This region is historically called 徽州 Huizhou and is renowned for its traditional Hui landscape, 程朱理学 Cheng-Zhu philosophy, and 徽商 the Hui merchant tradition. They are about 40 kilometres away from Huangshan Mountain, which is also a World Heritage Site. The two villages are about 15 kilometres apart. UNESCO inscribed the two villages on the World Heritage List, claiming that they represent ‘a type of human settlement created during a feudal period and based on a prosperous trading economy; reflect the socio-economic structure of a long-lived settled period of Chinese history’, and represent ‘the traditional non-urban settlements of China, which have to a very large extent disappeared during the past century”, and are listed on the

basis of criteria (iii), (iv) and (v) (UNESCO, 2000b).

These two selected sites are located relatively close to each other geographically (about 280 km). They are representative of two types of Chinese culture heritage sites, which have very different historical, political, economic and cultural trajectories, leading to observable variability including the type of tourist market for local communities and management systems. In Chapter 3, I will elaborate why the two case studies are important to answering my research questions.

1.3 Thesis Statement

This interdisciplinary thesis is situated within critical heritage studies. I draw on the theoretical framework developed by Laurajane Smith (2006, 2012) that focusses on heritage as a social and cultural process (see also Harvey 2001 and Byrne 2009). I argue that the process of heritage is constructed by the interplay of stakeholders' actual use of heritage. At the national level, the process of heritage is defined by the national heritage authorities, with particular regard to the MHURD and the SACH, and the way they utilise the iconic status of World Heritage in the development of policies, and how these are modified, reformulated and negotiated within the national heritage system. At a local level, the local heritage authorities are quite mindful, and perhaps even a little cynical, in that they clearly characterize the World Heritage listing process as a game they are playing, which at the moment has Eurocentric rules and terms. Further, values are often changed in the listing process, in so far as Chinese heritage managers rework or interpret, quite consciously as part of the game they are playing, Chinese cultural and historical values into terms understandable within the Eurocentric Authorized Heritage Discourse and the UNESCO outstanding universal values it frames, and that are required for World Heritage listing.

More importantly, the process of heritage is not only underpinned by the governments' use of heritage and management practices, it is also constituted by individuals' uses of heritage. I have explored the concept of the active agency of tourists put forward by Bagnall (2003), Poria et al. (2003); Palmer 2005, Smith (2006, 2012), and Byrne (2009, 2012) in a Chinese context. I found that tourists at heritage sites did not necessarily passively accept the governments' authorised messages or interpretations, and that they reflect an active sense of

their understanding of heritage, which is entangled with their personal identities and memories. Many of the tourists' discourses reflect an aesthetic thought process drawing on a poetic sense of the past, which is linked to Lin (1935); Zhang (1986); Wang (1990); Xu (1996) and Han's (2006) observations about Chinese traditional views of nature. This aesthetic thought process with a poetic sense is also widely found in the way locals talk about heritage. The process that the Chinese domestic tourists created is about multi-dimensional and complex 'cultural moments' entangled with their feelings, memories, processes of remembering, place and performance. I found that an active and self-conscious sense of 'feeling', or having an emotional response to heritage, is particularly significant in the Chinese context. This is expressed quite differently to the Western contexts that have been examined by researchers such as Cameron and Gatewood (2000, 2003), Poria et al. (2003) and Smith (2006, 2015). As these researchers have identified, tourists in Western contexts often expressed strong emotional engagement during their visits to heritage sites, however, they tended not to talk explicitly about feeling anything, and feelings were often not clearly articulated (see Smith 2011, 2014, 2015). My thesis argues that the Chinese domestic tourists were explicitly aware that they were having or seeking feelings, and the sense of feeling was often expressed in or around encounters with the physical and/or was connected to communicative encounters with local people.

The other significant heritage process I found were the complex 'cultural moments' constructed by local-tourist interactions. In opposition to scholars such as Oakes (1993), Cohen (2000, 2004), Butcher (2003), Ying and Zhou (2007), and Su and Teo (2009), who identified the agency of local people as key for innovations in heritage site management, I argue that this occurs through and because of the interactions locals have with tourists. Their main focus in tourism research is still about marketing issues and bringing tourists to heritage sites, and the assumption that the narratives determined by marketing and site interpretation is the way tourists understand heritage. My thesis argues that the interactions of tourists and local people not only underpins marketing and economic issues, but also in-depth cultural and social interactions that are constructed by a local-tourist dialogue. I argue that the local-tourist dialogue, on the one hand, generated by the World Heritage listing and the presence of mass tourists, has elicited a sense of pride for local residents. On the other hand, there is a deep dimension to the local-tourist dialogue, in which locals and tourists can be bonded with each other with a deep emotional register. In addition, I argue that the process of use of

heritage by governments can constrain or facilitate the process of local-tourist dialogue. These are the arguments I will elaborate in the following ten Chapters.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The thesis consists of eleven chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 locates this research in the international theoretical contexts of heritage and tourism through a review of this literature. This chapter analyses the controversial literature on heritage and tourism and identifies the ‘Eurocentric’ process of heritage that dominates international policy. It also discusses the theoretical framework I have developed in this thesis, including the ‘authorised heritage discourse’ and idea of heritage as process and performance (Smith 2006), ‘the Chinese harmony discourse’ (Yan 2015), the Chinese traditional concept of ‘harmony with nature’ (Han 2006), and the debates that champion the agency of tourists (Poria et al. 2003; Smith 2006, 2012; among others).

Chapter 3 outlines the methods and approaches used in this thesis. I discuss the importance of the selected case studies to answer my research questions, and how the methods I used, such as qualitative interviews and observation, helped me to address my research questions and aims. The results of the research are outlined in chapters 4 to 9. Chapter 4 is based on my interviews with national government officials and analyses their understanding of heritage and tourism. I examine how they used ‘World Heritage’ as an icon, and how this influenced the development of policies to reshape the national heritage system (see also Zhang 2017 in press).

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 address the West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou. In chapter 5, I explore how the local governments of Hangzhou and the experts who wrote the nomination dossier for West Lake understand the meaning of heritage and tourism, and analyse the process in which they modified the Chinese cultural values into terms understandable within the Eurocentric AHD (see also Zhang 2017 in press). Chapter 6 analyses interviews with both local people and tourists, and argues that that the majority of those interviewed, whether tourists or locals, did not passively accept the authorised discourse that had framed the management and interpretation of West Lake, which stressed a dichotomy between the natural and cultural heritage embedded in the UNESCO/ICOMOS concept of ‘Cultural

Landscape’, rather they expressed an active sense of an aesthetic or poetic idea of the heritage site that was based on a holistic understanding of landscape. Chapter 7 explores what tourists do and feel at West Lake, and identifies the sense of place, identity, feeling, memory, and freedom that characterized many tourists’ response to the site. It also identifies locals’ reaction to tourists, with particular emphasis on the sense of pride that many local people expressed, while also acknowledging the tensions expressed by those locals removed from this landscape.

Chapter 8 and 9 investigate the other case study - the Ancient Villages of Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun. Chapter 8 analyses what tourists do and feel at the two villages, while Chapter 9 explores the complex interaction among tourists, locals, local governments, and the tourism companies in each village. I argue that when local governments and private tourism companies control tourism, as they do in Hongcun, the locals’ sense of place and tourists’ sense of feeling is constrained, and limits positive local-tourist interactions. On the other hand, the village run tourism company at Xidi afforded locals and tourists with more opportunities to interact, and produced a more positive cultural and social experience for both groups.

Chapter 10 compares the two case studies. I identify four themes that emerge from the research and I interlock these themes together by contrasting the two case studies and each stakeholders’ understanding of heritage and tourism. In Chapter 11, the conclusion, I answer the research questions. I also draw out implications and discuss the nature of heritage and tourism in a Chinese context.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Discussions about heritage value have become increasingly important in heritage debates and practice in recent decades (see for example, Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Byrne 1991; Graham et al. 2000; Smith 2006; Labadi 2007; Labadi and Long 2010). Concerns about the heritage value of world heritage properties have been a key aspect of heritage inscription and valorisation for the UNESCO World Heritage program. Accordingly, this chapter has two broad aims. The first is to identify the current debates in heritage studies that this study aims to contribute to, and arising out of this my second aim is to identify the key concepts that will be utilized in this study. Three core debates are identified as crucial for this study. The first of these is the ongoing criticism of the UNESCO World Heritage Program as ‘Eurocentric’, and in particular as ‘Western Eurocentric’, in its perspective (Byrne 1991; Cleere 2001; Meskell 2002, 2015; Waterton 2010; Labadi 2007, 2013; among others). I will discuss the nature of the hegemonic ‘Eurocentric’ discourse which Laurajane Smith (2006) has labelled the ‘authorised heritage discourse’ (AHD). Thus, this chapter firstly explores the role of Western understandings of heritage in framing the World Heritage Program. In discussing this debate China's role in the World Heritage Program is discussed, and the tensions, between China and UNESCO's World Heritage Program and its advisory bodies, are identified. The chapter goes on to explore the issues and events that triggered these tensions. Secondly, the chapter examines the debates concerned with defining and analysing the meaning of heritage, a particular source of international tension. Finally, the chapter explores the role of tourism in heritage debates, yet another area of significant international tension within World Heritage site management. It further examines the interrelationship between tourism and heritage in a Southeast Asian context, particularly with respect to China. In addition, I will analyse the way much of the heritage and tourism literature has constructed the issue of tourism as problematic and tourists as inauthentic; and then I discuss the alternative discourse of the use of heritage concerning community and heritage visiting, and reconsider the agency of tourists. Finally, drawing on Smith (2006), Harvey (2001) and others, I define the concept of heritage used in this research as a performance or a cultural process.

2.2 UNESCO World Heritage Program, Eurocentric process

The concept of 'World Heritage' and its associated ideas have, according to Askew, been destructively used worldwide as an instrument which 'mobilises resources, reproduces dominant arguments and rationales, establishes program agendas and policies, and dispenses status surrounding the conservation and preservation of the thing called "heritage"' (Askew 2010:19). The 1960s and 1970s provoked worldwide awareness and cooperative rescues to save endangered cultural material and the natural world from depredation (see Turtinen 2000; Askew 2010). In order to be consistent with the United Nations' mission to promote a 'culture of peace', the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) adopted the World Heritage Convention (WHC) 1972, which is probably the most influential document in the heritage conservation sphere (Di Giovine 2009). As David Lowenthal (1998) observed, the promulgation of the WHC facilitates global discussions about the modern implications of heritage, and UNESCO state parties obsessively engage with the mechanisms of world heritage inscription. Since then, the usage of 'world heritage' has become an integral part of the multi-faceted phenomenon of globalisation, and has received as much criticism as praise (Askew 2010).

Since the World Heritage Convention was promulgated in 1972, over 191 states have signed the World Heritage Convention (WHC), making it one of the most powerful instrument of heritage protection, not least because it proclaims itself politically neutral and objective, which gives it a level of international scientific credibility (UNESCO 2016). There are currently 1052 sites in 165 countries listed on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2016). State Parties to the WHC have also placed 1650 sites on the 'Tentative List' (UNESCO 2015). The mission of the World Heritage Convention is to 'seek to identify, protect, conserve, present and transmit to future generations cultural and natural heritage of 'Outstanding Universal Value' (UNESCO 2010). In this sense, the WHC created a discursive 'cosmopolitan law' to protect the past for future generations, an aspiration for a shared sense of belonging and global solidarity (Choay 2001: 140; Meskell et al. 2015: 424). Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is the central and fundamental concept within the world heritage nomination process. To be considered for listing as a World Heritage site, properties must be of 'outstanding universal value' (see Jokilehto and Cameron 2008; Labadi 2007, 2013; Meskell et al. 2015). A nominated property must also meet the conditions of integrity and/or

authenticity and have sound protection and management systems (Operational Guidelines 2011).

The World Heritage Centre was established in 1992 in order to coordinate within UNESCO all matters related to World Heritage practice. The World Heritage Centre organises the annual sessions of the World Heritage Committee and provides advice to State Parties in the preparation of site nominations (UNESCO 2015). The Committee consists of twenty-one members as representatives of the State Parties, which, along with the Advisory Bodies responsible for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, determine whether a property is inscribed on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2015). The Advisory Bodies are three international non-governmental organisations which include the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property (the Rome Centre), the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for Preservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN). The three Advisory Bodies are comprised of international experts such as archaeologists, historians, architects, planners and landscape architects, etc., each with their own disciplinary, expertise, national and personal priorities and attachments (Turtinen 2000; Lafrenz Samuels 2009). Based on the World Heritage Convention and the Operational Guidelines, ICOMOS and IUCN are responsible for consulting over cultural and nature heritage nomination issues respectively, while ICCROM takes charge of advice about restoration techniques and training (UNESCO 2015; Turtinen 2000). Those organisations have facilitated the globalisation of the discursive influence of the UNESCO world heritage program (Logan 2001; Askew 2010). As Logan (2001:52) comments:

these organizations continue to play a powerful role on the global scene, laying down international standards for professional practice - 'world's best practice' - in the cultural heritage field as well as influencing thinking in those fields in less direct ways. In these respects UNESCO and its associated bodies may be said to be attempting to impose a common stamp on cultures across the world and their policies creating a logic of global cultural uniformity.

Although the World Heritage program has proven itself both popular and influential around the world, the Convention's approach to OUV, and its relevant notion of authenticity, has not been uncontested. With the concept of OUV and its associated sense of authenticity and

integrity being widely used in the process of world heritage nomination and management, its limitations have been increasingly exposed (Labadi 2007, 2013). Heritage, as defined by UNESCO in the Operational Guidelines (2011), is our inheritance from our ancestors which possesses Outstanding Universal Value, and which we convey to future generations. UNESCO points out that World Heritage Sites represent collective properties of humanity, not just the countries where they exist. Such sites are selected for nomination to the World Heritage List based on their 'outstanding universal value' for listing as cultural and natural heritage properties. The Operational Guidelines (2011) define OUV as:

'Outstanding Universal Value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole'.
(II.A 49 Operational Guidelines 2011)

There are ten criteria for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage list (WHL), six for cultural heritage and four for natural properties. For cultural sites, a site must meet at least one of the following criteria:

- (i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- (ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
- (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.

(The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)'. (II.D 77 Operational Guidelines 2011).

One of the key concepts of 'outstanding universal value' requires selection and evaluation on the basis that some heritage values are more important than others. The international experts who possess specific expertise recognised by UNESCO and its associated organisations have power to decide the hierarchy of heritage values, and actively shape understandings of particular sites through the world heritage listing process (Turtinen 2000; Logan 2001). Over the past decade, many scholars, such as Logan (2001), Musitelli (2002), Taylor (2004, 2010), Smith (2006), Labadi (2007, 2013) and Waterton (2010) have criticised the setting of these ten universal criteria designed criteria for OUV. Labadi (2007) argues that the current criteria of OUV and the statements of authenticity are object-related. The establishment of the World Heritage Convention was originally intended to protect and safeguard the World Heritage properties as well as represent the cultural or natural patrimony of countries around the world. OUV is regarded by the World Heritage Convention as the touchstone for all world heritage properties. Long and Labadi (2010:8) point out that the properties have to meet at least one of the ten criteria, which reflect UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN's assumption of authority 'reinforced by the discourse of apolitical universalism'. Denis Byrne (1991) criticises the concept of universal significance and argues that despite the diversity of heritage in each country, non-Western countries utilise similar forms of assessment and management ideologies that derive from a European viewpoint. This is based on his research, which demonstrates that an ideologically Western understanding of heritage has been imposed both in Thailand and on Indigenous Australia, which marginalises Indigenous and non-Western approaches to heritage (see also Pocock 1997; Cleere 2001; Sullivan 2004; among others). This European influence has seen the World Heritage List dominated by monumentally grand and aesthetically valued sites and places (Arizpe 2000: 36; Cleere 2001; Yoshida 2004: 109). Labadi (2007) supports Byrne's arguments, and illustrates how World Heritage themes and frameworks, as well as the criteria for assessing the OUV of the World Heritage Sites and their authenticity, are Eurocentric. She further identified the imbalance of the World Heritage List, noting that more than half of World Heritage sites are from the European region. This, she argues, is as a result of UNESCO's Eurocentric perspective, based on her quantitative research of 106 world culture heritage sites' dossiers (see also Cleere 2001; Meskell 2002; Long and Labadi 2010; for similar arguments). Recent research conducted by Frey, Pamini and Steiner (2013) and Reyes (2014) on the number of World Heritage sites per

country also confirms, despite UNESCO's recent attempts to be more geographically inclusive, Western Europe's disproportionate representation in the List remains.

2.3 'Boundedness' of Heritage

The object related idea of heritage facilitates a set of boundaries in the UNESCO World Heritage program. The original meaning of the word 'heritage' was generally used to describe 'an inheritance that an individual received in the will of a deceased ancestor or bequeathed when dead to descendants' (Graham et al. 2000:1). Because of the global anxieties about lost and rapid post-war social and physical changes since the Second World War, international authorities like UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN institutionalised the conservation ethic and the 'conserve as found' ethos that had developed since the nineteenth-century (Smith 2006:27; see also Graham 2001; Long and Reeves 2009). Since the adoption of the World Heritage convention in 1972, it has been seen as a canonical text that spreads heritage consciousness and particular heritage practices within national and international settings. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996:2-3) noticed that the formerly precise legal term of 'heritage' has started to dramatically expand its original boundaries, from its primary meaning about individual inheritances into a much broader concept, which refers to physical relics or sites surviving from the past, non-physical or intangible cultural elements from the past, resources or elements from the natural environment, as well as systematically selling products and services linked to the heritage industry. In this sense, the concept of heritage has been conceived as a 'site', 'object', or intangible form of culture defined by Western experts with identifiable boundaries, and is able to be managed by the application of relevant expertise. For instance, the dichotomy in how 'nature' and 'culture' are conceptualised has influenced the way international authorities have framed 'cultural heritage' or 'natural heritage' in heritage practice. However, in recent decades, heritage inscriptions, particularly in the Asian context, are beginning to reflect the fact that nature and culture are starting to be seen as indivisible (see Taylor 2009, 2012; Inaba 2012). Thus, international debates have, since the 1990s, enlarged their understanding of heritage with the introduction of the concept of Cultural Landscape (see Fairclough et al. 1999; Grenville 1999; Cotter et al. 2001; Fairclough and Rippon 2002; Taylor 2009, 2012; Russell 2012).

UNESCO adopted the new cultural landscape category in 1992, which reflects UNESCO's attempt to move from the 'Western notion of separation of culture and nature' within the world heritage program (Taylor 2009:15). The official definition of Cultural Landscape within the process of assessing 'outstanding universal value' is that the property should represent the 'combined works of nature and of man', which illustrates 'evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal' (II.A 47 Operational Guidelines 2011). As Fairclough (1999) argues, the concept of landscape as proposed by the international heritage authorities not only stresses the protection of physical 'sites' with boundaries, but also considers the relationship between linear time periods and sites.

However, the implications of this new concept has been proven to be problematic by many scholars (Taylor 2009, 2010, 2012; Lennon 2003; Lowenthal 2005; Han 2012). Firstly, as Taylor (2012) and Lennon (2012) observe, based on their research in the Asia-Pacific region, there is a dilemma facing The World Heritage Committee as it inscribes and manages cultural landscape sites. The dilemma is that, at first, Cultural Landscape properties are multilayered, which not only includes traditional cultural and natural elements, but also people who have a deep attachment to their centuries-old practices and customs. Existing boundaries defined by the WHC have been deemed insufficient, because many countries cannot find proper management criteria base on the dichotomy between nature and culture in the World Heritage Convention (Araoz 2008; Rössler 2008). Therefore, as Taylor (2009) observes, the international authorities have ignored Asian understandings of landscape, and the international heritage practices based on the Western ethos of protection dispossessed local peoples' traditional rights and occupancy in South, Southeast and East Asia including India, China, Japan and Thailand.

Secondly, as Taylor (2009) argues, the Southeast and East Asian countries often confuse the meaning of the 'international' definition of Cultural Landscape (Taylor 2009). 'Landscape' in Western contexts has been linked to the concept of wilderness or wild nature since the Enlightenment, from which the philosophical dichotomy concerning the concepts of 'nature' and 'culture' emerged (Head 2000b). As Waterton (2005) observed, the international authorities such as UNESCO had deemed 'landscape' as innately 'natural'. In this sense, Taylor (2009:11) indicates that 'people were not seen as part of nature, and landscape was not

seen as a cultural construct'. The conjunction of the word 'cultural' with 'landscape' was derived from a post-late 1980s movement that tends to extend to 'the idea of landscape as a cultural product' (Taylor 2012:2). Since the 1990s, UNESCO accepted the World Heritage categories of cultural landscape, but Lowenthal (2005) has observed that the UNESCO policy documents still marked the sense that preserving nature is a priority over culture, and the heritage nomination, conservation and management process still constrained by boundaries that were formulated or regulated by experts. Therefore, the fluidity and mutability of heritage and the multi-vocality of non-expert users associated with cultural landscapes have been constrained.

Fen Han (2006, 2012), based on her research in China, argues that Chinese academics and practitioners have encountered difficulties in understanding the Western interpretation of the term 'Cultural Landscape'. She identifies that the Chinese traditional sense of landscape is 'a result of the interaction between nature and humans relies on the human-nature relationship driven by views of nature.' (Han 2012: 92; see also Han 2006). One of the significant philosophical Chinese ideologies within Confucianism and Daoism is that nature lives with me in symbiosis, and everything is with me as a whole 天地与我并生，万物与我为一 (Zhuangzi and Xu 1957). In other words, the holistic idea of people, nature and cultural interweaving with identities, memories and other personal spiritual senses have been considered as the traditional Chinese understanding of landscape (see Lin 2001, 2002; Han 2006, 2012). However, many Chinese scholars have extensively discussed and disseminated the discourse of 'Cultural Landscape' (see Zhou et al. 2006; Shan 2009b, 2010b; Han 2010, 2012; Wu 2011; Xi and Zhang 2014). Those scholars believe that the concept of Cultural Landscape fits some Chinese traditional value of harmony between culture and nature, and provides a useful tool both theoretically and practically to fill the gap between nature and culture within the Chinese context (Han 2010). Wu (2011) suggested that the Western concept of cultural landscape provides a great opportunity for the Chinese government to enlarge Chinese world heritage sites. Han (2012:103) points out that UNESCO promulgated the concept of Cultural Landscape, which has moved Chinese scholars, including her, to rethink the 'Chinese traditional views of nature, the interactions between Chinese and nature'. She also identified that because of the cultural differences between China and the West, 'there has been much cross-cultural misconception about the term 'cultural landscape' previously' (Han 2012:103). However, there has been little consideration to date as to why many Chinese people have not been able to make sense of the term Cultural Landscape,

which is widely used in the international literature. One of the tasks of my thesis is to address this issue. Nevertheless, Han (2012:103) wrote approvingly of UNESCO's conception of Cultural Landscape:

World Heritage categories provide a platform to share landscape heritage values and widen our horizons based on cultural diversity. This also offers a great opportunity for China to contribute and to benefit.

Han (2006) points out the significant differences between how China and the West conceptualise heritage. As Lowenthal argues (2005:89), despite UNESCO putting forward the idea of Cultural Landscape in order to combine culture and nature, the dichotomy of nature and culture was already imbedded in Western thinking, in the sense that the idea of 'nature is perfect and culture a nuisance'. Smith (2006:79) believes that heritage management processes are still constrained by boundaries, and used similar management methods, to ensure that 'culture' and nature' are manageable. Therefore, she argues:

any sense of place becomes inevitably constrained by the boundaries defined for it by management practices and classification, listing or scheduling systems that require well definable boundaries.

However, the Chinese traditional sense of 'Harmony of Man with Nature', by contrast with the Western sentiment that nature is superior to culture (see Lowenthal 2005), instead 'emphasized immanence and unity' (Chinaculture.org 2014). Many Chinese scholars believe that the philosophical integration of the harmony of man with nature in China resulted in the most significant characteristics of Chinese culture, which distinguish it from Western dualism, which had led to an opposition between man and nature (Han 2006:186; see also Gao 1989; Wang 1990; Feng 1990; Gong 2001).

However, many Western scholars have recently begun to discuss the intimate link between heritage, identity and memory making (see Graham et al. 2000; Bagnall 2003; Cleere 2001; McLean 2006; Smith 2006, 2011, 2012; Smith and Akagawa 2009: 7). For instance, Graham et al. (2000: 32) argue that 'landscape interconnects with a series of interacting and constantly mutating aspects of identity', which they note includes 'nationalism, gender, sexuality, "race", class, and colonialism/postcolonialism'. However, Cleere (2001), Macdonald (2003), Graham et al. (2005) Smith (2006) and Byrne (2009) criticised the on-the-ground heritage practices that still focus on how the material of heritage and the conservation of its fabric informs a sense of nationalism. Many scholars have discussed the use of material culture in establishing

and sustaining national identities (see for instance Trigger 1989; Hobsbawm 1992; Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Spillman 1997; Boswell and Evans 1999; Carrier 2005; and Hancock 2008). Harvey (2001:320) criticises contemporary heritage practices for focusing on specific technical issues around conserving and managing material culture for the purpose of bolstering national identity, which ignores other non-nationalistic uses of heritage, and its recruitment in the production of identity, power and authority. The marginalisation of non-nationalising uses of heritage and the associated sense of identities are attributed to what Laurajane Smith (2006) has labelled the ‘authorized heritage discourse’ (AHD). The next section will analyse the concept and the consequence of the AHD.

2.4 The Authorized Heritage Discourse

The criticism of world heritage and its global authorising agents (UNESCO in particular) has been linked to the AHD. Smith (2006) argues that the AHD ‘privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building’ (Smith 2006:11), and that the use of this concept is a useful heuristic device with which to analyse heritage policy and practice. The AHD is a professional discourse that frames policy and practice at national and international levels. There is not a single AHD, but there is a dominant Eurocentric one that influences many Western countries, and influential organisations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, though its expression can vary between countries. For instance, Yan (2015:65) puts forward the concept of ‘the Chinese harmony discourse’, which he notes ‘is as hegemonic as the Western authorised heritage discourse’ in practice, which ‘[p]rivileges expert knowledge over local voices, while it empowers government by ignoring local residents’ capability within heritage conservation.’

Waterton (2010) supports Smith’s account of the AHD, and questions UNESCO’s Eurocentric understanding of heritage as deriving from Western intellectuals and professionals such as archaeologists, historians and architects, who have the authority to define and interpret what heritage is. These intellectuals are not only placed at the centre of understanding and defining the heritage values attached to the ten criteria of OUV, but they also dominate the management process in order to safeguard heritage for future generations.

Smith (2006, 2010) based her research in Britain and Australia, and argued that the AHD determines the practices of defining what is or is not legitimate heritage. As she argued, some community groups (i.e. heritage professionals) have the power to make decisions about the hierarchy of heritage values based on their own preferences, while other subordinate communities or groups (i.e. local communities and tourists) can be excluded (see also Smith and Waterton 2009; Waterton and Smith 2010). The AHD simplifies the complexity of the understanding of communities, which as Burkett (2001:24) had previously noted, 'flips into homogeneity, a denial of difference, and an assimilation of the other'. I will further elaborate the concept of community and its role in heritage below.

Many commentators have addressed how dominant communities or authorities use material culture to bolster nationalism (see for example Trigger 1989; Carrier 2005; Diaz-Andreu 2015). Heritage studies and practices focus on the conservation and management of treasured material cultural, while 'any real engagement with debates about how heritage is involved in the production of identity, power and authority are obscured', a process through which national identity becomes naturalised (Smith 2006:17; see also Harvey 2001:320). Both Harvey (2001) and Smith (2006) have noted that the historical origin of heritage management developed in the context of nineteenth-century nationalism and liberal modernity, which meant that Western values were emphasised. The obsessive focus on material culture has fostered what Smith (2006) has termed the 'authorised heritage discourse', which stresses the innate value of material heritage. As Smith (2006:21) argues the authorised heritage discourse has materialised contemporary heritage practices, which become hegemonic, so that "the 'preservation ethic' is imposed on non-Western nations". The UNESCO World Heritage program can thus be seen as a result of this discursive influence and even 'further institutionalised the nineteenth-century preservation ethic' (Smith 2006:27), and 'unintentionally identifies a hierarchy of monuments' (Smith 2006:96).

The operation of the AHD is based on national and international heritage protection and management policies influenced by a European point of view (Smith 2006; Waterton 2010). This AHD relies on 'power/ knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts', which consist of archaeologists, historians, architects, planners and landscape architects (Smith 2006:26). The politicians from international authorities and state parties also use the AHD as a tool for their political and national purposes, which is evident in the competition and tensions between state parties, in terms of either the legitimacy or ownership of the nominated sites seen within political rationales (Beazley 2010). From the perspectives of

experts' and politicians' heritage is seen as material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that are non-renewable, which are assessed by aesthetic, historical, educational and political values. In this sense, the recognition of aesthetic, historical, educational and political values of a site only can be achieved by the guidance of experts. Experts from international authorities or state parties who dominate the politics of heritage lay down the global standards for 'world's best practice' in the heritage field in order to conserve and safeguard the material places or objects that represent important past nations, events, places and people 'for future generations' (Logan 2001; Smith 2006; Waterton 2010).

As Smith (2006) argues, the AHD is embedded in UNESCO's and ICOMOS' practices and policies. At a national level, different State Parties also have dominant discourses or discourses that national bodies want to put forward as legitimate and that they then authorise. In terms of China, Yan (2015) argues that there is a Chinese version of the AHD - a harmony discourse that is the equivalent of, or even more hegemonic than the Western AHD, which he called the 'Chinese harmony discourse', based on his research on Fujian Tulous. He argues that this discourse ostensibly emphasises the harmony between human habitats and nature, however, 'supposedly aiming at maintaining a harmonious society, has created profound dissonance among the inhabitants' (Yan 2015: 65). Yan (2015) notes that he used the term 'Chinese harmony discourse' as it arises from the discourse of 'harmonious relationship between humans and nature', which is the Chinese version of the AHD. There are two meanings embodied in the harmony discourse. On the one hand, the concept of 'harmony between nature and man' has been part of Chinese people's original cosmology and cultural characteristics, which date back to ancient China, to the time of Confucius (Zhang 1986; Wang 1990; Xu 1996; Zhou 1999; Han 2006). Compared with the Western aesthetic theory of empathy and Western philosophy's subject-object dichotomy, the Chinese approach to aesthetic appreciation places more stress on the spirit of empathy as 'fusion between man and object' (Zhou 1999, Han 2006). In this sense, many Chinese world heritage nomination files have used this meaning of harmony, and used it when describing the OUV of the properties under consideration (see Yan 2015's example of Fujian Tulou).

On the other hand, the word 'harmony' also entails another meaning, representing the coherent social fabric of society (Hevia 2001; Yan 2015). As Yan (2015:70) argues, the harmony discourse in heritage practises is to some extent is similar to the AHD, as it is still 'a top-down imposition with a universal framework', rather than considering multiple narratives from non-dominant communities. In addition, the harmony discourse is tied to the national

party's guiding ideology in China, the '*Harmonious Society*' (Yan 2015), which is the key feature of Hu Jintao³'s signature ideology of the '*Scientific Outlook on Development 科学发展观*' promoted since the mid-2000s (Zhong 2006). The initiative of the 'Harmonious Society' aimed to shift China's governing philosophy from being focussed 'around economic growth to overall societal balance and harmony' (The Washington Post 2006). Yan's (2015:78) research on Fujian Tulou demonstrates that in order to maintain a 'Harmonious Society', the dominant authorities 'tends to provide a single narrative for the site's value and privileges expert knowledge over local voices, while it empowers government by ignoring local residents' capability within heritage conservation.'

The politicians from UNESCO state parties use the AHD for their own, usually nationalistic, purposes (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). For example, World Heritage nomination issues and the numbers of the sites listed in China have become a signifier of the nation's image, and are therefore now playing a part in nationalist discourse. As Meyer (2008:179) argues, 'China wants UNESCO World Heritage sites the same way actors want Oscars, for the recognition' (see also Turtinen 2000). The number of inscribed properties also offers a form of 'soft-power' that aims to place China, at least in the view of the Chinese, at the centre of the international stage. As Lowenthal (1998: 239) argued the European domination of the WHL was a statement that the world's heritage was inevitably 'European'. China's extensive program of WH listing is a similar statement about the role and standing of China in past and present international history, and how that will promote contemporary political and economic influence. Luo Zhewen, who is a pioneer architect and archaeologist with significant influence in the heritage area in China, states that Chinese world cultural heritage sites represent the nation's 'ancient history, unique land of charm and splendid scenery ... for thousands and even hundreds of thousands of years, the cultural tradition of the Chinese nation has all along continued without interruption, which is rarely seen among the ancient civilized states' (Luo 2008:20-21).

2.5 World Heritage, Power Relations and Politics

³ Mr. Hu Jintao, was China's President between 2003 and 2012.

While the concept of the 'authorised heritage discourse' has been taken up in much of the critical heritage literature, some scholars, such as Askew (2010), criticised Smith for exaggerating the power of UNESCO and its advisory bodies. These power relations are one of the more controversial issues that indicate divergent perspectives in the heritage literature. However, Turtinen's (2000:5) arguments support the idea of the AHD, as he argues that global organisations such as UNESCO and its advisory bodies have been seen as:

a powerful producer of culture, and a highly influential actor, capable of defining and framing conditions, problems, and solutions, and thus framing the interests and desired actions of others, especially those of the world's nation states.

The World Heritage Program involves a comparative analysis of sites from different cultural backgrounds to rate their value in a hierarchy based on so-called international classifications and standardisation. Turtinen (2000) further argues that UNESCO possesses the power to produce a hegemonic model to define the hierarchy of heritage values and cultural significance of the sites. This is evident in the procedures and technical criteria embedded in the discourse of the World Heritage Program, that has a substantive role in producing global standardising and regulating processes and measures (Turtinen 2000). Therefore, Turtinen maintains that the UNESCO World Heritage Program, and in particular its universal standards and policies, transmitted the information that world heritage is 'a cosmopolitan political project' (Turtinen 2000:7). This global political project has constructed 'a moral and imagined community' (i.e. humankind), and 'the world as one single place' (Turtinen 2000:21). Therefore, he criticises the World Heritage Program as 'highly pragmatic, contradictory, and sometimes hypocritical in practice' (Turtinen 2000:7).

While Askew (2010) acknowledges that Smith (2006) and Turtinen (2000) are right in critiquing UNESCO for its fetish for classification, and in identifying the power of specialists in the bureaucratic process, he nonetheless, argues that they both ignored the flexibility of UNESCO and its advisory bodies. He notes that since the late 1980s, UNESCO's World Heritage Centre has incorporated new understandings of heritage from non-Western countries, as well as widening the number of listed sites and diversity of heritage types in order to make the list more representatives of its member states from different cultural backgrounds. He further indicated national parties are in fact the most powerful decision makers in the World Heritage program, while UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN are only 'soft centres' (Askew 2010; Meskell 2013). This is because UNESCO gives the nomination and management power to

national parties, and national elites not only use World Heritage 'universal' standards and nomination processes as technical tools that function to ensure conservation and preservation of the material sites, but also use material culture in bolstering 'their sovereign interests, using global patrimony as a pawn' (Meskell et al. 2015:427; see also Beazley 2010; Askew 2010; Bortolotto 2010).

Meskell et al. (2015) notes that UNESCO's World Heritage Program has become a political 'game' to bolster national parties' sense of nationalism or other national interests. Based on research over four recent sessions of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee from 2011 to 2014, Meskell et al. (2015) found that the technical approaches and assessment process of OUV from ICOMOS and IUCN have been increasingly questioned and challenged. They pointed out there was a growing disjuncture between the final decisions of world heritage inscription between the World Heritage Committee and its advisory bodies' suggestions (Meskell et al. 2015; see also The Economist 2010; Jokilehto 2011). They also note that national parties have used the soft power of diplomacy and international pressure to influence the voting process of the World Heritage Committee beyond the suggestions of advisory bodies, and have even influenced the guidelines of the Convention (Meskell et al. 2015; see also Luke and Kersel 2012). As Meskell et al. (2015:435) comment:

The substance of heritage and its protection matters less and less, even in conflict situations, and can be manipulated for economic, political or religious advantage by politicians and ambassadors. Delegations are now largely comprised of political appointments rather than heritage experts.

In 2010, a report written by the Norwegian delegation had fore-shadowed Meskell et al.'s (2015) observation that political intervention has trumped technical expertise at the 34th World Heritage Committee. The report further pointed out that China is one of the most vocal nations using the soft power of diplomacy and international pressure on other members at the World Heritage Committee to ensure their own sites were nominated for inscription. Meskell et al. (2015) noted that China was one of the most successful countries in terms of increasing the number of world heritage properties in recent years (from 2002 to 2013), when 17 properties were proposed, and 16 were inscribed. The high success rate was because China had the largest state presence attending the World Heritage Committee, and they 'employ a different system of lobbying such as 'corridor diplomacy' (Hoggart 2011, 86; quoted in

Meskell et al. 2015:432), rather than 'engaging in formal debate during the Committee sessions' (Meskell et al. 2015:432).

In addition, against the arguments that Western nations dominate the World Heritage List (see Cleere 2001; Smith 2006; Labadi 2007; Long and Labadi 2010), recent research conducted by Meskell et al. (2015) notes that the demographics of the Committee in recent years have shifted from European States Parties to emergent nations like the BRICS coalition of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (see also Claudi 2011; Meskell 2013, 2014). As Ferdinand (2012) argues, the BRICS coalition has a joint mission, and they have adopted consensus to uniform voting across the UN General Assembly. In terms of the World Heritage Program, this new powerful group has served on the World Heritage Committee for seven years, and those countries support each other to ignore the suggestion of advisory bodies, even the 'game rules' of the World Heritage Program, in order to guarantee successful world heritage inscription for their regional, religious, social, economic and political benefits (Meskell et al. 2015).

Meskell et al. (2015)'s observation demonstrates that China has used its political soft power against the 'authorised heritage discourse' from Western countries in the world heritage 'game' at an international level. However, despite the changes being witnessed by Meskell et al. (2015) the reliance on the AHD has not entirely waned, rather the AHD speaks to and has become such a 'common sense' understanding of heritage (embedded as Waterton (2010) demonstrated in detail in the Convention and guidelines) that it would be utilised perhaps even more closely by the political operatives than even the experts. As I noted above, Frey, Pamini, and Steiner (2013) and Reyes' (2014) research still shows that the European region disproportionately dominates the WHL – despite China's increased influence and attempts to open up the listing, as Waterton (2010) notes the AHD is so much common sense its influence is not always seen or corrected.

2.6 Evolving of UNESCO World Heritage Program

As a consultant with UNESCO for a long time, William S. Logan (2001) admitted that UNESCO and its associated bodies have imposed so-called 'world's best practice' on state parties in the cultural heritage field by improving international practice (such as the

promulgation of international documents like the World Heritage Convention, and laying down common conservation methodologies and management plan requirements), promoting particular sets of heritage values and conservation practices, and establishing common management practices in World Heritage sites (see also Askew 2010:27; Labadi 2013). However, Logan (2001) is unconvinced that the homogenisation of universal standards and management practises have mainly derived from international authorities, and he believes that the policies and criteria of the World Heritage Program have progressively assimilated new concepts in order to incorporate wider communities' concerns. Askew (2010) notes that the UNESCO World Heritage Centre has been widening the number of listed sites and the diversity of heritage types in order to make the list more representatives of its member states from different cultural backgrounds since the late 1980s. The adoption of the 1994 'Global Strategy' has widened the diversity of the world heritage categories, including cultural landscapes, industrial sites, modern architecture, and inhabited settlements, in order to accommodate diverse and complex sites from different cultural backgrounds. The key concept of 'outstanding universal value' has been evolved 'from listing "the best of the best" ("iconic" or unique sites) to listing "representative of the best", the latter being a reflection of the necessity for comparison due to the surge in the number of nominated sites of similar character' (Askew 2010:30; see also Cameron 2005).

The promulgation of *The Nara Document on Authenticity* in 1994, issued under the names of both UNESCO and ICOMOS, outlines how variant conservation practices should be interpreted, and underscores the importance of the cultural context for heritage. Since then, the term authenticity has been adopted as a central issue by UNESCO. World Heritage properties should meet the criteria of authenticity based on the Operational Guidelines that:

‘Depending on the type of cultural heritage, and its cultural context, properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values (as recognized in the nomination criteria proposed) are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes.’ (II.E 82 Operational Guidelines 2011).

These attributes include ‘form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting; language, and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors.’ (II.E 82 Operational Guidelines) (See also Annex.13 Operational Guidelines 2011). Starn (2002) points out that a concept of 'authenticity' that focuses on preserving the material and inherent

value of heritage was driven by anxiety about the destruction of cityscapes during the Second World War, as well as rapid urban development since the 1960s. In recent decades, as Winter and Daly (2012:8) have noted, there have been dramatic physical changes in Asia since the 1990s, which disconnect people from their sense of place. The United Nations (2008:21) notes that nearly 80% (111 of 140) of new big cities emerging in the world after the 1990s are in Asia. For instance, as Campanella (2008:286) indicates, 'China has built more housing in the last twenty-five years than any nation in history'. Cities in Southeast and East Asia such as Shanghai, Beijing, Tokyo, Singapore, Bangalore and Bangkok can hardly be recognised when compared to photographs taken in the 1970s, and in some cases even the 1990s. Because of the anxiety over losing authenticity and tradition, international authorities adopted the concept of authenticity to protect the physically innate value of heritage from rapid changes in cities.

There are two critiques of the implications of authenticity. From a practical perspective, the concept of 'authenticity' has been used as a condition for world heritage nomination and management for more than two decades, yet many scholars maintain that it is still very hard to test authenticity, particularly in South-Asian nations (see Taylor 2009; Winter and Daly 2012). As Labadi (2010) argues, it is not compulsory to test authenticity associated with intangible meaning in specific cultural contexts for world heritage listing: 'the four degrees of authenticity relating to the 'original' - material, workmanship, design and setting of the site - have been used predominantly by States Parties in the nomination dossiers' (Labadi 2010:76). From an academic perspective, Smith (2006) argues that authenticity is still a part of the AHD that was formulated by experts, and essentially rests on an exaggerated appreciation of materiality. According to research from Chinese scholars such as Zhou et al. (2006), Zhang (2007), Ruan and Li (2008) and Zhang (2010), efforts have been made to translate the Western meaning of 'authenticity' into the Chinese context, and how to accurately include authenticity in Chinese heritage practices. Therefore, the 'official' concept of authenticity still serves within the Western conservation ethic, and is conducted by experts. As Graham (2001: 63) argues:

[A]uthenticity tends to a monologic unquestioning discourse concurrent with the idea of the "nation", it arises also out of contexts in which the nation becomes an active arbiter between the past and a "people" ... [it] combines the prioritisation of "origins" with the "pathos of incessant change".'

The discussions of authenticity in heritage and tourism debates are much more complex than the focus on its physical manifestation suggests, however, and is being increasingly linked to people's emotions and feelings (see for instance, Wang 1999; Smith 2006, 2012; Zhu 2012; Smith and Campbell 2015). I will discuss this issue further below.

Scholars such as Logan (2001) and Askew (2010) note that the adoption of the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ICHC) was another example where UNESCO accommodated alternative heritage forms. UNESCO states that the ICHC moved beyond the 1972 World Heritage Convention, which focused on tangible properties and requirements to represent OUV and its relevant authenticity, to a wider discipline relating to cultural identity, diversity and continuity (UNESCO 2003). The ICHC defined intangible heritage as:

...practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts 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 creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development (Article 1, UNESCO 2003).

The ICHC has been considered to be a counterpoint to the *World Heritage Convention*, and its promulgation as deriving from both academic criticism of the Eurocentric understanding of heritage (see Byrne 1991; Cleere 2001; Sullivan 2004; Labadi 2007; among others), but also the practices from a range of non-Western countries (see Aikawa 2004). Scholars such as Aikawa (2009), Blake (2009), Skounti (2009) and Hafstein (2009) acknowledge that it was a long and complex process for State Parties to draft the ICHC, which brought in non-Western understandings and practises of heritage. As Aikawa (2009) notes, non-Western countries, particularly Japan, have made great efforts to promote the inclusion of the concept of intangible heritage in the UNESCO World Heritage Program, and finally intervened to

influence the development of the ICHC. However, Smith and Waterton (2009) argue that Western countries such as Australia, Canada, the UK, Switzerland and the USA, who abstained from voting for the ratification of ICHC did not understand the significance of the Convention (see also Kurin 2004). From a practical perspective, UNESCO has created an Intangible Heritage list that is separate from the World Heritage list. Therefore, scholars such as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004), Smith and Waterton (2009) and Hafstein (2009) question the implications of the ICHC in practice within nations of different cultural backgrounds. From a theoretical perspective, however, they acknowledge that the creation of ICHC was a milestone meaning making performance against the object-related 'criteria' of WHC. However, the values and meaning of intangible or tangible heritage were predefined by powerful international or national authorities such as UNESCO. Therefore, Kreps (2009:204) worried that the ICHC 'can lead to the standardization and homogenization of practices that are inherently varied, and governed by specific cultural protocol'.

As Smith (2006:111) argued the World Heritage Program is a cultural practice that was legitimised by UNESCO with its own recognition and 'validates certain cultural expressions as "heritage"'. Therefore, Smith and Akagawa (2009:4) are concerned with how successful UNESCO's definition of ICHC is in challenging the Eurocentric understanding of heritage, which has been determined by 'how that is done and by whom, and under what framing criteria and philosophies'. As Smith (2006, 2011, 2012) argues, one of the consequences of the AHD is that it legitimates 'experts', who have the ability or authority to define what is heritage, and is also reliant on institutionalised international and national cultural agencies, points also made by Byrne (1991) and Harvey (2001). Smith (2006) points out the AHD is a self-referential discourse that identifies 'heritage' as old, monumental and grand sites, buildings, monuments and places with aesthetic, scientific values which must be protected for future generations. The AHD defines a set of boundaries of heritage practices that privileges 'monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building', however, at the same time it obscures or devalues the multi-vocality of sub-national cultural and social experiences and heritage understandings (Smith 2006:11). The subordinate groups, such as local communities and tourists, do not have a chance to speak, and they are unlikely to escape from peripheral status in processes which privilege power and knowledge and are dominated by experts and politicians.

Therefore, it is necessary to explore the process of how the dominant authorities translate the concept of world heritage and apply it to subordinate groups, as well as to document the reactions of those marginalised people and communities to dominant discourses, such as the AHD and the 'harmony discourse'. My thesis will address these two issues within a Chinese context. Before I develop my arguments in the rest of my thesis, in the next section, I will discuss other forms of understanding of heritage, arising from discourses of subordinate groups rather than the 'official' meaning based on the AHD and the 'harmony discourse'.

2.7 Community and Heritage Visiting

As Harvey (2001) argues, the dominant ideas of 'heritage' have centred on specific technical issues of conservation and management practices since the late nineteenth-century, and have established a 'universalising' discourse since the advent of the World Heritage Convention. However, the dominant heritage discourse highlights upper and middle classes' sense of identity, and that of dominant ethnic groups, while other wider social and cultural identities have been marginalised (Smith 2006). For instance, some researchers have criticised that what we may now define as the AHD worked to obscure the social and cultural work done by women (Smith 1993, 2008; Dubrow 2003), Indigenous communities (Watkins 2003; Byrne 2009), and ethnic and other community groups (Shackel 2001; Yan 2012; Ashworth et al. 2007), and the working class (Dicks 1997, 2000; Smith et al. 2011). My task in this section is to draw on the wider sense of what heritage is, which incorporates non-experts and sub-dominant identities.

As Graham et, al. (2000), Smith (2006, 2012) and Waterton (2010) observe, the understanding of heritage that stresses the primacy of material culture tends to serve the dominant ideological discourse, but there is also a more self-referential understanding of heritage from non-expert and non-government users. There are two dissenting heritage discourses that have been widely discussed in the literature that stand outside the AHD. The first type of dissenting heritage discourse arises from local communities. The importance of community participation in heritage management, interpretation and conservation work has been extensively stressed in the heritage literature (see for example Hayden 1997; Newman and McLean 1998; Hodges and Watson 2000; Byrne et al. 2001; Smardz Frost 2004; Smith

2006:35, Smith and Waterton 2009; Waterton and Watson 2010; among others). International heritage institutions such as UNESCO and ICOMOS stress that the discourse of community participation is equally significant as the discourse of experts and policy makers. For instance, UNESCO published several official documents and papers to stress that the importance of incorporating the concerns of local communities into the AHD and engage them in the stewardship of heritage conservation and management (see UNESCO 2012, 2014; Brown et al. 2014). In this sense, the concept of community participation is only a 'subaltern' discourse that stands outside the AHD. As Smith (2006:37) demonstrates the international authorities often 'tend to be assimilationist and top-down in nature rather than bottom-up substantive challenges to the AHD.' This has been demonstrated within the Asian context, as studies on Cambodia (Winter 2007), China (du Cros and Lee 2007) and Southeast Asia (Dove et al. 2011) confirm that institutionalised practices dominated by Western discipline-specific knowledge and methodologies neglected localised, non-expert values and ideas.

In addition, this chapter accepted the concept of community put forward by Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton, which shows that communities are not fixed entities and concepts, but are rather unstable and uncertain 'social creations and experiences that are continuously in motion' (Waterton and Smith 2010:8; see also Smith and Waterton 2009). They went on to argue that heritage theory and practise are dominated by an authorised notion of community that 'works to reinforce presumed differences between the white, middle classes and "the rest", as well as the full range of heritage experts and "everybody else"' (Waterton and Smith 2010:5; see also Smith and Waterton 2009). This notion of communities within heritage study is framed by the AHD, which dominated communities via expert help by policymakers, professionals, and scholars who are 'in a position that regulates and assesses the relative worth of other communities of interest both in terms of their aspirations and their identities' (Waterton and Smith 2010:11).

Secondly, via acts of heritage visiting, by tourists and other visitors, alternative and sometimes dissenting heritage discourses can be constructed. However, Smith (2006) points out the AHD incorporates local communities' discourses as subaltern discourses, and has not considered heritage visiting as part of any discourse. Indeed, the AHD attempts to construct heritage as a passive object that heritage visitors are led to rather than an active process (Smith 2006, 2012, 2016). In this sense, the role of global institutions draws on the authorised heritage to manage perceptions:

'the AHD establishes and sanctions a top-down relationship between expert, heritage site and 'visitor', in which the expert 'translates', using Bauman's (1987) sense of the word, the site and its meanings to the visitor' (Smith 2006:34).

Ashworth (2009) has observed that the mainstream literature considered heritage visiting 'destroyed' fragile heritage, and that tourists were 'destroyers'. Firstly, he indicates that much of the heritage literature condemns tourists as shallow, superficial and inauthentic (see also McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Choay 2001; Burton 2003; also Graburn and Barthel-Bouchier 2001, who make similar points). Mason (2004, 2005) also defines the tourist as a passive consumer of received heritage messages. Therefore, the important responsibilities of a heritage manager are to mitigate potentially destructive tourist behaviour, and educate tourists to appreciate the historical, cultural and aesthetic values of the site (Pedersen 2002). Both the international and national authorities have developed educational strategies and policies to educate heritage visitors to appreciate heritage value from within the dominant discourse. An example is ICOMOS' promulgation of The Seoul Declaration on Tourism in Asia's Historic Towns and Areas in 2005, which states that heritage is considered as a non-renewable resource, and tourists should be educated to appreciate and conserve this resource to achieve sustainable tourism without exhausting heritage (ICOMOS 2005). Thus shows that ICOMOS's concern is about the 'importance of accurate and aesthetic interpretation and presentation of heritage places for tourism' (Ashworth 2009:80).

The second problem, as Ashworth (2009) argues, is that much of the heritage literature has characterised tourists and heritage visiting as causing pollution and physical damage to heritage sites, and obscuring or eroding other values of heritage, particularly the aesthetic and visual value of sites. Therefore, the mainstream of the heritage literature has primarily been concerned with visitor management, heritage resource conservation and mitigating negative physical impacts of tourist visitation (see for example, Harrison 1994, Swarbrooke 1995; Hall and McArthur 1998; Leask and Yeoman 1999; McKercher and du Cros 2002; Pedersen 2002 among others). However, since the 1960s and 1970s, mass consumption of heritage tourism had become an important global economic and cultural issue (Lowenthal 1998). The dramatic improvement of transport systems inherently challenged contemporary tourism (Prentice 1993). Mass tourism becomes an important global economic and cultural issue, which has attracted considerable attention from a number of disciplines, including economics, history, and social and cultural studies. Economic commodification and the 'Disneyfication' of mass heritage tourism is one of the key problem in heritage research (Handler and Saxton 1988;

McCrone et al. 1995; Choay 2001; Franklin and Crang 2001; McKercher and Du Cros 2002; Handler and Gable 1997; Winter 2007 and Su and Teo 2009). Patrick Wright (1985) and Robert Hewison (1981, 1987) in particular despairingly argued that Britain had become a heritage theme park because of the development of the 'heritage industry', which they considered as stifling cultural innovation and development in Britain. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990: 54) also noted that 'Nottingham becomes the city of Robin Hood and Heidelberg the city of the student prince'. Handler and Gable (1997), in the United States, pointed out that Colonial Williamsburg becomes a city primarily associated with a sense of patriotism and nationalism. All those critiques show that the 'Disneyfication' of mass tourism simplifies and sanitises past, stifling cultural nuance and creativity.

The third problem, as Ashworth (2009) has argued, is that it is a dilemma that tourism brings economic development and supports the maintenance of heritage sites, and the presence of tourists alters the so-called cultural authenticity of heritage. An extensive tourism and heritage literature, inspired by MacCannell (1973, 1999), argues that tourists are motivated to visit a site by a quest for authenticity. Cohen (1988, 373) explains that authenticity is an 'eminently modern value' and 'prominent motif of modern tourism'. From MacCannell's perspective tourists' are a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in other 'times' and other place away from that person's everyday life' (Urry 2002:10). However, MacCannell (1973, 1999) considers tourism as a prime example of a 'pseudo – event' (see also Cohen 1988; Coleman and Crang 2002). He argues that the advent of mass tourism obliterates cultural authenticity and ensures the 'Disneyfication' of heritage sites. As a result, Dicks (2003) has argued that the emergence of mass heritage tourism has transformed heritage resources into products for consumption via tourism marketing. As Smith (2006:81) argues, this concern is engendered by the AHD, so that:

This process, in which the past is seen (even if it is not) to become divergent from the direct objective and pastoral care and control of 'history', renders any interpretation subject to observations and criticisms of 'sanitization', 'trivialization', lack of authenticity and so forth.

In this sense, tourists and heritage tourism are simply connected to economic consumption, while heritage is only a product that is passively consumed by 'inauthentic' tourists. Because of the criticism of negative effects that tourists bring to heritage sites, the AHD constructs a hierarchy and passive meaning-making process to educate innately 'uncultured' and

'inauthentic' tourists to appreciate particular hierarchies of cultural expertise and experts' understanding of heritage (Smith 2006, 2012). In the next section, I will explore the meaning of tourists beyond the construction of their being passive and incapable of meaning-making within the AHD.

2.8 The Active Sense of Tourists

As noted above, the AHD has constructed a powerful intellectual framework which pre-judges tourism or tourists and what the consequence of tourism or tourists are. For instance, the official definition of tourist from the World Tourism Organization (WTO) (2009) is that it is the act of people travelling away from their usual environments, and or their daily life for 'for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes' (WTO 1995, revised in 2009). In terms of heritage tourists, as McKercher (1993) and McKercher and du Cros (2002, 2003) argue, it is about tourists pursuing educational and recreational goals in a heritage setting.

Smith (2006, 2012) argues that those so called 'official' definitions of tourists have simplified the complexity of tourists' engagement with heritage sites. The definition of tourists within the AHD assumes that tourists are geographically located, while tourists' activities are simply visiting 'other' cultures for a short time away from their everyday life. In this sense, as Smith (2012:212) points out, the traditional definition of tourists 'ignores the possibility that those not living in a particular locality may nonetheless have close historical, cultural or emotional links to a place.' The vulgarity of destruction and commodification associated with heritage tourism base on characterising tourists as passive cultural outsiders, and tourists' activities as a largely passive process. It is necessary to understand how tourists can be active in constructing and consuming heritage sites.

One of the active things that tourists bring to heritage sites is the economic value supporting the maintenance of those sites. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) argues, during the process of commodification of heritage sites, mass tourists not only have negative effects, they also work to create new cultural productions. For instance, the research of scholars such as Oakes's (1993), Winter (2007) Taylor (2009, 2012), Byren (2009), Su and Teo (2009) and Winter and Daly (2012) in Asian contexts shows that mass tourists have brought about

positive social and cultural changes in Asia, particularly in some poverty-stricken areas. Oakes's (1993) based his research in the Miao ethnic heritage sites in southeast Guizhou province in China. He identified commodification of local everyday life, and noted this "empowers the locals to 'effectively maintain a sense of autonomy'" by integrating them into the tourism system and reviving local tradition' (cited in Su and Teo, 2009:34). Su and Teo (2009:9) further emphasise that tourism provides opportunities for local residents 'to modulate transnational cultures and global capital in their everyday lives'. These examples shows that mass tourism in an Asian context has at least in some cases facilitated cultural creativity and site regeneration.

Smith (2006, 2012) and Sather-Wagstaff (2011) critically argue that the heritage sector has a tendency to passively concentrate on heritage tourists' economic or physical impact on heritage sites, while few studies seek to understand what it is that tourists do, think or actively feel in such sites (see also Bærenholdt et al. 2004; Biran et al 2010). There are two levels of interrelation between heritage and tourism. On the one hand, it is within the AHD, which 'reside in the macro or institutional scale with the interchange between the creation of economic resources and marketable cultural meanings' (Smith 2012:213). On the other hand, scholars such as Bagnall (2003), Poria et al (2003), Palmer (2005), Smith (2006, 2012, 2015) and Waterton and Watson (2012), based on their research in Western contexts, argue that the individual visitor performance also constitutes the meaning of heritage. They argue that tourists at heritage sites did not necessarily passively accept the AHD, but exercised agency and engaged in culturally sophisticated activities. Those activities and performances are embodied acts of remembering and commemoration that intimately links tourists' personal sense of identity, feelings and nostalgia, which is constructing or reconstructing their sense of identity, place and belonging. In the last section, I will discuss how the individuals' sense of identity, places and belonging constructs or reconstructs the contemporary meaning of heritage.

2.9 Heritage as a Cultural Process

An extensive Western literature has been critical of mass tourism, believing the meaning of heritage has been eroded by commodification, as well as the sanitisation of history and

culture to amuse 'inauthentic' tourists for tourism income (McCrone et al. 1995; Schouten 1995; Brett 1996; Lowenthal 1998; Choay 2001; Gable and Handler 2003). Ashworth (2009), Hall (2009), Smith (2006, 2012) point out that the mainstream tourism literature has simplified tourism activity, focussing on marketing and consumption. As Smith (2006:44) has indicated these criticisms of commodification and uncultured tourists from the international literature 'share too much space with the authorised discourse', and to some extent facilitate the AHD (see also Harvey 2001). Consequently, it is necessary to discuss the alternative discourses and understandings of heritage beyond the AHD.

Harvey (2001:327) argues that heritage does not only speak to the past, but is a contemporary phenomenon that relates to human action, experience and agency. These phenomena are not only embodied in economic practices, but are rather a wider complex process with national and other cultural identities. Scholars such as Harvey (2001) and Dicks (2000) have identified that heritage consists of social and cultural experiences and practices. However, they failed to identify what social and cultural work people 'do' or how people 'act' at heritage sites. Therefore, Bagnall (2003), Poria et al. (2003), Selby (2004), Palmer (2005), Smith (2006, 2012, 2015), Byrne (2009), Cameron and Gatewood (2012) and Waterton and Watson (2012) have started to fill this blank in the Western context, and argue against the traditional heritage tourism literature, which obscures the legitimacy of tourists' activities in heritage sites. They argue people have agency, and heritage visiting is an embodied experience replete with emotional experiences. For instance, Poria et al. (2003) identified that visitors' sense of places links to their personal feelings, and further influences their behaviours at heritage sites. His research, based on interviews with people visiting heritage sites at The Wailing Wall, Jerusalem, argues that when tourists feel that the site is tied to their family or ethnic connections, a strong sense of feeling emerged. Smith (2006, 2012) observed that visitors often experienced strong emotional engagements, based on her research within Australia, England and the US. She argued that each visitation constructs heritage meaning:

Heritage sites are not simply 'found', nor do they simply 'exist', but rather they are constituted at one level by the management and conservation processes that occur at and around them and, at another level, by the acts of visiting and engagement that people perform at them. (Smith 2012:213)

Crouch (2010), Smith (2012) and Waterton and Watson (2012) have identified the linkage between heritage and tourism that they labelled 'cultural moments', during which the

performances and actions of tourists ultimately give an active sense of meaning to heritage sites in the contemporary world. They criticised the traditional ethic that considered heritage as being frozen in time and space, displayed behind glass, to be gazed upon, but not to be engaged with. They argue that heritage is a verb, that it is about an active sense that people are 'doing', performance and experiencing an encounter with heritage sites.

The idea of the tourist gaze put forward by John Urry (1990) criticises the tendency of heritage authorities to normalise touristic activities and experiences. Crouch (2010, 2012) developed Urry's arguments, and indicates that the tourist gaze is not only about consuming and doing visual and detached activity, rather they are doing cultural work embodied with the engagement of remembering, commemorating, emotional affecting and making sense of their identity. These individual processes of performance construct and reconstruct their sense of identity, place, nostalgia and belonging, which creates a series of 'cultural moments'. In these cultural moments, people remember, forget, reminisce, and make sense of place and their identity in the present. Therefore, tourists and the act of heritage visiting create the contemporary meaning of heritage.

Scholars such as Urry (1996), Misztal (2003) and Smith (2006, 2012) have identified that the association between heritage sites and the engagement of remembering and reminiscing is significant for the study of heritage. Although traditional heritage literature has acknowledged that memory is linked to identity, it has seen memory as a subaltern and insignificant nationalising discourse (Hall 2001). Within the context of the AHD, experts and heritage authorities use their perspective to construct memories, which inevitably link to a sense of nationalism or cultural pride in identity. However, memory is often subjective, and it is not the same as the AHD, and can even be oppositional. As Smith (2006:58) argues:

'Thus, while heritage sites may help societies to remember, it is the legitimacy or facts of that remembrance or commemoration that is privileged and given critical attention, and not the emotional or subjective activity itself that is acknowledged, nor the possibility of meanings that this activity may have outside of the AHD.'

Memory is not an object but rather a process, as Crouch and Parker (2003: 396) argue memory is recalled by a process of 'doing'. Misztal (2003) defines memory is our ability to conceive and understand the world, and it is an active process of remembering and forgetting. Wertsch (2002) argues that remembering is an active process in which links to contemporary requirements of collective or individual memory from the past are involved in the

construction of new subjective meanings. When tourists visit a heritage site, physically being at the site helps them to elicit memories. Those memories further reflect tourists' sense of place, belonging and identity. In this sense, heritage becomes a cultural tool that facilitates tourists' remembering (Wertsch and Billingsley 2011). Therefore, as Smith (2012:214) argues, the 'cultural moment' builds a linkage between tourism and heritage, therefore:

heritage, tourism and remembering interplay with each other to create meanings and understandings of the past that speak to and help people make sense of their sense of place, their own 'identity' or that of those 'others' being visited and explored.

The concept of authenticity is essential to understand the interrelation between heritage and tourism. Authenticity here neither refers to inherent material qualities within the heritage authorised management ethic, nor the traditional idea of the commodification of touristic experience. It is about emotional authenticity and the idea that how people feel, and the intensity of that feeling, helps people to remember and underpins that remembering with a sense of legitimacy and accuracy (Prentice 1998, 2001; Bagnall 2003; Smith 2006, 2012; Zhu 2012; Smith and Campbell 2015). The characteristic of emotional authenticity challenges the traditional understanding of authenticity, which assumes that heritage tourists are inherently passive, rather than acknowledge that authenticity is about an in-depth emotional engagement with experiences (Bagnall 2003; Belhassen et al. 2008). These arguments are based on acknowledging tourists have agency, and engage in various activities activity rather than passively receive authorised messages (Bagnall 2003). As Zhu argues (2012:1150), based on his work in Lijiang in China, authenticity is performative, and is 'embodied in the dialogue between practice and individual engagement and understanding'. Therefore, heritage visiting is not only physical experiences, but also provides tourists with a sense that 'measure the legitimacy of their own social and cultural experiences outside of the heritage sites' (Smith 2006:71).

In this thesis, my analysis will develop critiques base on the meaning of heritage put forward by Laurajane Smith (2006:44). She considers heritage is not reducible to sites, places, buildings or the other material objects, nor can it be simply be viewed as an educational resource; rather it is a 'cultural process engaged with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process'. This idea builds on the idea of heritage developed by Kirshenblatt-Gimblet (1998), who argues that heritage is part of an

ongoing process of cultural production, Dicks' (2000) idea of heritage as a communicative act, and Harvey's (2001) argument that heritage is a 'verb'. For Smith (2006), heritage is an affective embodied practice of meaning-making in which cultural values and the historical narratives and meanings they underpin are continually made and remade through the interaction with not only things and places labelled heritage, but also intangible qualities. Those things and events, often defined as 'heritage', are the cultural tools individuals, governments, communities and international agencies like UNESCO use to help them define and legitimize individual and collective remembering and the meanings that this makes (Smith 2006: 65; see also 2012, 2016). This idea as heritage as a cultural process of meaning making is adopted in this thesis.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter, in outlining the core conceptual issues in the tensions between heritage and tourism, situates the research within the overall framework offered by critical heritage studies. I develop my critiques based on Smith's (2006) conceptualization of the authorised heritage discourse (AHD) and Yan's (2015) identification of the Chinese harmony discourse, to examine how the government officials from both national and local heritage authorities and experts formulated the nomination dossiers, and explore their purposes in seeking World Heritage listing and their understanding of heritage in Chapter 4. In addition, this framework will be used to map the tensions between governments' understanding of the values of the site and those of UNESCO and ICOMOS. Askew (2010) and Meskell et al. (2015) argue that UNESCO serves as an 'iconic symbol', and there is a shift taking place from the dominance of Western states in the decision-making processes of the World Heritage Committee to National Parties such as China. However, has the AHD thus been overturned by increasing Chinese presence in the world heritage area? The degree to which the AHD is or is not influencing international and national debates and practices in China is explored in Chapters 4 and 5.

The concepts and issues that will be used to frame the analysis in the thesis are based on ideas and concepts that privilege the active agency of heritage stakeholders. In addition to the AHD, I also talk about heritage as a process and performance, and stress the importance of emotions (Byrne 2013b; Smith and Campbell 2015), the idea of 'cultural moments' (Smith 2012;

Waterton and Watson 2012; Cameron and Gatewood 2012), the agency of tourists (Bagnall 2003; Poria et al. 2003; Selby 2004; Palmer 2005; Smith 2006, 2012, 2015; Byrne 2009) and use these insights to frame my analysis of tourists in Chapters 6 to 9. In addition, a key issue in much of the heritage tourism literature is the identification of actual and potential tensions between local residents and tourists, but what happens to our understanding of those tensions if we assume tourists and locals are active agents in the way they interact with both heritage and each other? These are issues that will be explored and expanded upon in the following chapters.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to outline the methods employed to answer my research questions. My research adopted a qualitative mixed methods approach, which included case studies, documentary sources, structured interviews, semi-structured interviews and observation. The use of mixed methods in social research has a long history and has been actively promoted (Erzberger and Prein 1997, Greene et al. 2001, Moran-Ellis et al. 2006). Sorensen (2009) argues that single methods may not deal with complex social science research agendas, such as those investigating heritage, and advocates employing complementary mixed methods. Mason (2006:9-10) argues that a qualitative mixed methods approach can help researchers think creatively and 'outside the box' to deal with complex social research, and enhance and extend a researchers' capacities for qualitative explanation. In recent years, qualitative mixed methods have become a key methodology in heritage research (Filippucci 2009). As Filippucci (2009:320) states:

[t]hese methods are drawn from disciplines specialising in the study of 'people', such as sociology and social anthropology, and can be deployed productively to advance our understanding of the phenomenon we call heritage.

My research used qualitative mixed methods, including interviews, archival and public policy analysis, centred on two case study sites. The first is the West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou and the second is the combined Ancient Village sites of Anhui-Xidi and Hongcun. The West Lake Cultural Landscape is located in the city centre of Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejiang province in China. It was inscribed on the World Heritage List on June 24, 2011, on the basis of criteria (ii), (iii) and (vi)⁴. The Ancient Villages of Southern Anhui-Xidi and

⁴ **Criterion (ii):** The improved landscape of West Lake can be seen to reflect Buddhist ideals imported into China from India such as 'Buddhist peacefulness' and 'nature as paintings', and in turn it had a major influence on landscape design in East Asia. Its causeways, islands, bridges, temples, pagodas and well defined views, were widely copied over China, notably in the summer Palace at Beijing and in Japan. The notion of ten poetically named scenic places persisted for seven centuries all over China and also spread to the Korean peninsula after the 16th century, when Korean intellectuals made visits to the West Lake. **Criterion (iii):** The West Lake landscape is an exceptional testimony to the very specific cultural tradition of improving landscapes to create a series of 'pictures' that reflect what was seen as a perfect fusion between people and nature, a tradition that evolved in the Tang and Song Dynasties and has continued its relevance to the present day. The 'improved' West Lake, with its exceptional array of man-made causeways, islands, bridges, gardens, pagodas and temples, against a backdrop of the wooded hills, can be seen as an entity that manifests this tradition in an outstanding way. **Criterion (vi):** The Tang and Song culture of demonstrating harmony between man and nature by improving the landscape to create pictures of

Hongcun are located in the northern and north-eastern part of Yi County in southern Anhui. The two villages are about 15 kilometres apart. UNESCO inscribed the two villages to the World Heritage List in 2000 on the basis of criteria (iii), (iv) and (v)⁵ (UNESCO, 2000).

3.2 Why are the selected sites important in answering my research questions?

The two case studies selected are ideal choices to answer my research questions. Each represents a particular effect of the way World Heritage listing changes the values and stakeholders' understandings of the sites. West Lake, located in the city centre of Hangzhou, which is a well-off area in China, was listed on the WHL in 2011. Besides the changes to the built environment, the local government of Hangzhou has used the 'World Heritage' application to legitimise their huge urban regeneration effort, the 'West Lake Protection Project', since 2001 (ZhejiangXinhua net 2015). After being successfully inscribed, social media locally reported the news with the title '让世界读懂西湖' (See Xinhuanet.com 2011; People.com 2011b; Hangzhou.com 2011), which in English means 'How to translate the meaning of West Lake to the world'. One of the most influential national newspapers, the *China Daily* (2011), interviewed a vice mayor of Hangzhou, who reportedly 'broke into tears' because the international experts finally 'understand the meaning of West Lake', based on strenuous efforts to 'translate the meaning of West Lake to the world'. In this sense, during the process of WHL, Chinese governments modified the value of West Lake to make it understandable for international authorities. This modification process might change the existing values of West Lake, and add new values, as well as influencing local people's and tourists' understandings of the sites. However, little consideration is given to how the government officials and experts formulated the nomination dossier, and explored their opportunities in seeking World Heritage listing and their understanding of heritage. How the Chinese government used the World Heritage 'brand' and policies to construct national and

great beauty, captured by artists and given names by poets, is highly visible in the West Lake Landscape, with its islands, causeways, temples, pagodas and ornamental planting. The value of that tradition has persisted for seven centuries in West Lake and has spread across China and into Japan and Korea, turning it into a tradition of outstanding significance.
(source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1334>)

⁵ **Criteria (iii)** : The villages of Xidi and Hongcun are graphic illustrations of a type of human settlement created during a feudal period and based on a prosperous trading economy. **Criteria (iv)** : In their buildings and their street patterns, the two villages of southern Anhui reflect the socio-economic structure of a long-lived settled period of Chinese history. **Criteria (v)**: The traditional non-urban settlements of China, which have to a very large extent disappeared during the past century, are exceptionally well preserved in the villages of Xidi and Hongcun.
(source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1002>)

local narratives during and after the World Heritage listing, and local people's and tourists' responses to it, has also not been documented. Therefore, West Lake is a typical site useful in answering my first key question; does world heritage listing change the values attributed to the site and stakeholders' understanding of it?

In terms of Xidi and Hongcun, WHL has caused a dramatic increase in tourist numbers. It also brought local management policy changes that focus on strictly implementing the international 'criteria' to ensure the authenticity and integrity of the site (see for instance Ying and Zhou 2007; Gao and Woudstra 2011; Xu et al. 2012, 2014). Xu et al. (2014:805) observed that the management changes impacts on local people's sense of place, as Hongcun locals considered they were being alienated from their houses. In this sense, WHL changed both the governments' and local people's understanding of the site. However, the literature on Xidi and Hongcun attributed the alienation of locals' sense of place to both local governments and tourists. For instance, Xu et al. (2014:805) argues that the local government in Hongcun fossilised the village for the 'convenience of administration and reflects the will of community elites and tourists with the power of discourse.' However, there is little literature that carefully analyses the interrelations among tourists, local residents and governments. Therefore, Xidi and Hongcun is an excellent case study to explore the changes world heritage listing causes for tourists, local people and local governments. In addition, Xidi and Hongcun had been listed on the WHL for more than ten years, while West Lake had been inscribed only two years previously when I conducted my interviews in 2013. It is timely to track and compare how world heritage listing changes the values and stakeholders' understandings of sites that had been listed for a relatively long period for Xidi and Hongcun, and a newly inscribed property such as West Lake.

My second key question is 'What role does tourism play in the way the values may change at Chinese World Heritage sites?'. Winter and Daly (2012:16) note that the transformation from pre to post-industrial society in Asia only took a short period of time compared to Western countries - from the late-twentieth-century to the early twenty-first century. In China, dramatic changes to economies and new forms of wealth accumulation have caused extremely uneven levels of development in different regions. Although the two selected world heritage properties are located relatively close to each other geographically (about 280 KM), West Lake is located in the city centre of Hangzhou, which is a well-off area in China,

while Xidi and Hongcun are located in an area of relative poverty in Yi County⁶. West Lake is ‘a classical master piece and a national cultural icon... [and]represents the Chinese philosophies of “oneness with nature” (Han 2008:1-2). It is a top five touristic destination in China and was already a nationally significant tourist destination before being inscribed on the world heritage list. Tourists are very familiar with the site because of history, stories, poetry and TV programs etc. Therefore, their touristic experiences are varied. However, the majority of the literature discusses how to use WHL to develop ‘international tourism’ (Fu 2004; Luo 2010; Li 2012; Wei 2012; and Zhang 2012) or analyses the appropriate tourism management policies and strategies to manage the expanding tourism market (see Chen 2004; Lv 2006; Wang 2008; Zheng 2008, Luo, Zhou & Qian 2011; Li 2012). Little literature yet documented the experience of tourists, and what they do and feel at heritage sites. Any consideration of local-tourist interactions is also absent in the existing literature.

In terms of Xidi and Hongcun, WHL dramatically boosted the number of tourists since 2000, when the site entered the WHL. Tourism has resulted in changes to local industry, which has moved from being dominated by traditional farming to a focus on the hospitality industry. The majority of local people are engaged in some way with tourism businesses, in particular the hostel which is run by local people. There is a common position in the literature that argues that tourism, when it causes industrial changes such as seen in Xidi and Hongcun, is negative thing, particularly because of commodification (Greenwood 1977; Handler and Saxton 1988; McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Handler and Gable 1997; Waitt 2000; Choay 2001; Greenspan 2002). As Dean MacCannel (1999) argues, the presence of tourists alters the authenticity of the heritage site, particularly for locals. However, as Sather Wagstaff (2011) and Smith (2012:210) maintain:

Indeed, little consideration is given to the interaction that occurs between host communities and tourists and what, ultimately, may be created by this interaction.

My task is to identify the interrelations of local people and tourists in the two villages. Therefore, both West Lake and Xidi and Hongcun are excellent case studies to answer my second question.

In addition, although, the two case studies I selected are representative of two types of

⁶ In 2014, the annual average per capita income in Hangzhou was roughly \$16000, while the annual average per capita income in Yi County was only \$4255 (Zhejiang Government:2015; Yi County Government 2015)

Chinese cultural heritage sites, they have very different historical, political, economic and cultural trajectories, and consequently different tourist markets, nature of the local communities and management systems. The WHL brought changes to both sites. My task in this thesis is to identify why and how these changes happened. Winter and Daly (2012) have addressed the richness and distinctiveness of Chinese heritage practices, and it is impossible to investigate all types of interrelations between tourism and heritage in one PhD thesis. My task is to explore the interaction among stakeholders' uses of heritage in the two selected cultural properties that are typical of a mature touristic site in a developed area (West Lake) and immature touristic sites (Xidi and Hongcun) in an undeveloped area.

3.3 Mixed Methods

3.3.1 Documentary sources

I conducted my fieldwork in China from November 2013 to February 2014. I established a very cooperative relationship with the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, especially the sections of the Heritage and Landscape Department. Based on this relationship, I have been able to acquire hundreds of official announcements, circulars, regulations, planning documents, relevant tourism data, and tourism development strategies through published and unpublished sources (some of these documents are confidential, and while they inform the research I do not have clearance to reference them). The purpose in accessing and employing these resources is to identify, compare and analyse the ongoing policies, documents and nomination dossiers, as well as the current laws and policies for the case study sites. This method can help to analyse the difference between international and Chinese understandings of heritage and tourism at the policy level. This data assisted in elaborating and providing contextual background, and enhanced my qualitative interviews and observational work.

I also reviewed the relevant local newspapers, including *Hangzhou Daily*, *Zhejiang Daily*, *Anhui Daily*, *Chian Tourism News* and *Xinhua Daily Telegraph*. In addition, I analysed internet resources associated with the two case study sites and UNESCO. After the successful inscription of the site (in the case of West Lake), millions of Chinese people have used weibo.com (similar to Twitter) to circulate the news. While the inscription was widely celebrated by the public, they are also concerned about tourism issues that WHL listing may

create at the site. This data allows me to investigate issues of public concern, and were extremely useful in developing and enhancing my interview questions and analysis of the interview data.

3.3.2 Qualitative interviews

The analysis of qualitative interviews is one of the commonly used methods to elicit people's perspectives and attitudes in heritage research. Sorensen (2009:164) notes that heritage researchers should consider interviews 'as a means of gaining information about complex and abstract relations, thoughts and feelings', and 'the method should be adapted to the needs of the specific research involved, rather than predetermined by its existing applications and formats'. Qualitative interviews have been used extensively in heritage studies to explore the interaction between heritage and people, for instance, scholars such as Bagnall (2003); Poria et al. (2003); Selby (2004); Palmer (2005); Smith (2006, 2012, 2015); Byrne (2009); Cameron and Gatewood (2012); Waterton and Watson (2012) and Zhu (2012) have used qualitative interviews to research people's performances, feelings and attitudes as they engage or interact with designated heritage sites and places. However, in the literature on heritage, much less attention has been given to the interaction between local communities and tourists, and what may be created by this interaction (Smith 2012).

My research was conducted using both structured and semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire I used in my research was based on the questionnaire designed by Smith (2006, 2012, 2015) and used in her research in Australia, England and the US. Firstly, I employed semi-structured interviews to analyse how Chinese officials and experts understood the relationship between heritage and tourism, and their aim in nominating the two sites I selected for world heritage listing. Secondly, I conducted structured interviews with tourists and local residents at the two sites. These aimed to explore the meanings that tourists take away from the site, and to identify what tourists do and feel at the heritage sites. I also wanted to investigate local people's reactions to the presence of mass tourists, and to identify changes since the World Heritage Listing of the sites locals had identified. I examined whether tourists were simply passive receivers of an 'authorised heritage discourse' or the meaning of the site created by World Heritage Listing, or whether they played a more active and thoughtful role in understanding the meaning of their visit to the heritage sites. I also conducted comparative analyses of the interview data collected from tourists, locals, officials

and experts to identify and discuss the differences and interactions among those stakeholders in the heritage process.

All of the interviews conducted for this research were recorded by audio taping and note-taking. All interviews were conducted in Mandarin and then translated by myself into English. University ethics clearance was obtained prior to conducting the interviews. The Ethics Clearance Number of this research is TMP10301753932013923181726

Semi-structured interviews with Chinese government officials at both national and local levels, and with experts

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken to determine how Chinese government officials at both national and local levels define heritage and tourism and their responses to their experiences of the World Heritage Listing processes.

a) Interviews with key officials from national governments

I interviewed two directors from the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (MHURD) and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage⁷ (SACH) who are in charge of the world heritage application and management issues, on 2th December and 4th December, 2013 respectively. Interviews were also conducted with an official (GO003) from the China National Commission for UNESCO (under supervision of The Ministry of Education) who is responsible for communicating with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, on 9th December, 2013. The official (GO001) from MHURD did not want to be recorded, so I took notes.

b) Interviews with key officials from local government of Hangzhou

Interviews were conducted with three government officials from the Cultural Heritage Monitoring and Management Centre of West Lake, who were in charge of the world heritage application and management issues. An interview with the director of the centre was undertaken on 13th November 2013. The other two government officials were interviewed on 7th November 2013 and 13th November 2013.

c) Interviews with key local government officials from of Xidi and Hongcun

⁷ They are hereafter referred to as GO001 and GO002 respectively.

Interviews were also conducted with the relevant local government officials who are in charge of the world heritage nomination and management, which include the vice-head of Xidi town government (XD092), and the head of Xidi village (XD093), on 14th and 16th December, 2013, as well as the head and the vice-head of Hongcun Town (HC063) and the head of the Hongcun Village (HC064) on 23th December 2013.

d) Interview with experts

Interviews were conducted with two UNESCO experts from the World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for Asia and the Pacific on 7th November and 20th November 2013 in Hangzhou and Shanghai respectively. I also interviewed two vice-directors from the Institute of Architectural History, which is under the supervision of the China Architecture Design and Research Group, on 4th December in Beijing. The Hangzhou government authorised them to write the nomination dossier for West Lake's world heritage listing. Interviews were also conducted with a researcher from the China Tourism Academy, which is under the supervision of the Tourism Administration.

e) Interview with tourist operators

Interviews were conducted with the vice-head (XD094) and the chief marketing officer (XD095) of the tourism company (Co. Huihuang Ltd) in Xidi on 16th December 2013. I also interviewed the vice-head of the Co. Jingyi Ltd in Hongcun, using the same questions, on 24th December 2013.

Interviews with the Chinese government officials, experts and tourist operators were done confidentially, and material from the interviews has been cited anonymously. The people I proposed to interview were first approached by phone or email. An information sheet and consent form detailing the research, its aims, the ways in which the information from the interview was to be used, the questions to be asked etc, were emailed to the interviewee prior to the interview. A transcript of the interview was provided to the interviewee. Any material quoted in research publications has been verified before publication with the participating interviewees.

Eight open-ended questions I asked in these interviews were (see Appendix I and II):

- How do you personally understand world heritage?
- What do you think about the UNESCO world heritage program?

- What were the reasons given for encouraging the local governments at West Lake or Xidi and Hongcun to apply for World Heritage status?
- Were there any difficulties during the listing process?
- Has World Heritage listing brought any changes to the site?
- Did local communities participate during the listing process of West Lake and Xidi and Hongcun?
- How important is tourism to local communities associated with the site?
- What is your perspective on tourism and tourists?
- How would you characterise the relationship between tourism and heritage at this site?
- Has WHL brought any changes of the management policies of the sites, and if so how?

Additional questions were asked during the interviews in response to issues raised by the interviewee.

The specific aims of interviewing officials, experts and tourist operators was to:

- Identify the interrelations among international authorities, national governments and local governments
- Identify the interrelations between local governments and locals;
- Identify their attitude to tourists;
- Determine the World Heritage application process as applied to the sites in this study;
- Identify their perspectives about any changes in values of the sites that World Heritage inscription of West Lake and Xidi and Hongcun might have caused;
- Determine the management strategies before and after WHL.

Interviews with domestic tourists and local residents

I interviewed a total of 287 tourists and local residents at West Lake and Xidi and Hongcun during my three and a half months' fieldwork (from 6th November 2013 to 22th February 2014), resulting in 2971 minutes of recorded data.

At West Lake, interviews with domestic tourists and local residents were undertaken during November 2013 and February 2014, with 133 people (64 tourists and 69 locals) interviewed at the site. Interviews with domestic tourists and local residents at Xidi and Hongcun were

undertaken during December 2013, with 154 people (Xidi 91 and Hongcun 63) interviewed at the sites. These interviews were the most important part of my research. The interviews were structured, consisting of a number of demographic questions to determine, among other measures, age, gender, occupation, education and how far they had travelled. These were followed by open-ended questions designed to explore the types of identity and memory work that tourists undertook during their visits and their understanding of world heritage and tourism. Open-ended questions were also designed for local residents to identify local reactions to tourists. The interview schedule for each of the sites is included in Appendix III and IV. Fourteen open-ended questions were asked of tourists at West Lake, while twelve open-ended questions were asked at Xidi and Hongcun. In West Lake I asked two more open-ended questions than Xidi and Hongcun, about what categories of world heritage do respondents think made up West Lake? and what do you understand the meaning of cultural landscape to be? The reason is that West Lake is listed as a cultural Landscape site, while Xidi and Hongcun were listed as a cultural heritage site. One of the key issues I identified in Chapter 2 is the significant difference of how heritage is conceptualised in China and the West with regard to the dichotomy of nature and culture, and the concept of Cultural Landscape. I will analyse these two questions in Chapter 6.

At West Lake the interviews with both tourists and locals were conducted by a single interviewer (Rouran Zhang) at three popular touristic sites '曲院风荷, Breeze-ruffled Lotus at Winding Garden', '雷峰夕照 Leifeng Pagoda in the Evening Glow', '苏堤春晓 Su Causeway in the Morning of Spring' around West Lake', West Lake Museum, and Lin Yin Temple, which is an important component of the West Lake nomination. Interviews were also conducted at the main entrances of the villages of Xidi and Hongcun. The interviewer also approached local residents in Xidi and Hongcun by visiting their houses. I also conducted my interviews with local people by living in locally run hostels in both West Lake and Xidi and Hongcun. In West Lake, I stayed at seven different locally run hostels, located around '曲院风荷 Breeze-ruffled Lotus at Winding Garden', '柳浪闻莺 Orioles Singing in the Willows' and Lin Yin Temple. While in Xidi I stayed at five different locally run hostels, and four in Hongcun.

At each site, I approached visitors and local residents to ask if they could spare some time to go through an interview with me. The answers were recorded digitally (unless the visitor objected, then notes are taken). All visitors and local residents' interviews were undertaken

anonymously and no identifying information was collected. All those interviewed were handed an information sheet telling them about the research, reinforcing my verbal statement that the interview was anonymous, and explaining how the information will be used. The rejection rate was about 20% in West Lake⁸, and 10% in Xidi and Hongcun, with higher rejection rates in crowded areas and busy times. The interviewer intended to undertake one-to-one interviews. Sometimes, interviews were also conducted when multiple people (e.g. family or visitor groups) desired to be interviewed collectively. In these cases, each individual was counted as a separate interview as separate points of views tended to be expressed.

Based on the open-end questions, a random sample of transcripts was read through to define thematic responses. Codes were then devised by the researcher for each theme, and all transcripts were read through and coded. During the transcribing and coding process, the researcher can add new codes and alter codes when new themes emerged which were not covered by the sample, and some codes were collapsed. To create descriptive statistics, the demographic data and the coded open-ended questions were entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 22 (SPSS 22), which was used to derive descriptive statistics, and cross-tabulations were undertaken against the demographic variables to determine if variables such as gender and age and so forth influenced the interview results. Given the small size of the database such cross tabulations returned no statistically significance results, nor were patterns in the variation of interview results identified against any of the interview demographic results. As such the results of the cross tabulations are not discussed in the following chapters.

The open-ended questions are as follow (see Appendix III and IV):

- Do you come to West Lake frequently? (for Locals)⁹
- What are your reasons for visiting West Lake? (for Both)¹⁰
- Were your expectations met? (for Tourists)
- What experiences do you value on visiting this site? (for Tourists)
- What messages about the heritage or history of the site do you take away? (for

⁸ The rejection rate at '雷峰夕照 Leifeng Pagoda in the Evening Glow' is about 30%, as it is more crowded than the other interview sites.

⁹ The majority local people in Hangzhou did not geographically live around West Lake, thus I asked the frequency and reasons they visit or use West Lake. As local people in Xidi and Hongcun live inside the villages, the two questions I asked in West Lake were not applicable.

¹⁰ *ibid*

Tourists)

- What does world heritage mean to you? (for Both)
- What categories of world heritage do you think makes up West Lake? (for Both)¹¹
- What do you understand the meaning of cultural landscape to be? (for Both)¹²
- Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List? (for Both)
- Is tourism important to you? (for Tourists¹³).
- What is the relationship between tourism and heritage? (for Both)
- What do you think of the tourism management of the site? (for Both)
- Did you come before it was a World Heritage site, if so have there been any changes to the site? (for returning tourists)
- What do you think of those changes? (for returning tourists)
- What aspects of West Lake/Xidi/Hongcun are most valuable in your opinion? (for Locals)
- Has world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way you use and understand the site? (for Locals)
- Do tourists have any impact on your daily life? (for Locals)
- What are the messages or experiences that you hope visitors take away from the site? (for Locals)

The aims of the interview schedule were to:

- Determine the demography of tourists to the site;
- Determine the frequency of local people's use of the site;
- Determine how local people understand their site;
- Identify issues and themes relevant to tourists and heritage;
- Identify the affective memory and identity work undertaken by tourists during their visit;
- Identify the messages, if any, that visitors may take away from their visits;
- Identify the reactions of locals to tourists;
- Identify the reactions of locals to World heritage listing.

Interviews with local residents who moved away from the West Lake World Heritage

¹¹ West Lake was nominated as a cultural Landscape property, while Xidi and Hongcun were inscribed as a cultural heritage property. The questions are designed for West Lake.

¹² *ibid*

¹³ I did not ask local residents this question.

inscribed area were also undertaken.

Interviews with residents who migrated were undertaken at '嘉绿苑' (Jialvyuan), the place where locals were resettled during the development of West Lake for world heritage listing. As part of the listing process local residents were relocated, as it was considered that their presence around the Lake detracted from the World Heritage values of the Lake (Yang 2007). These interviews were undertaken on 21th and 22th February 2014, with five people (including four retired staff from two state-owned enterprises and one retired soldier). In order to interview the locals who had migrated, I had to ask three government officials to identify the places where they had been moved to (I also interviewed those local government officials). However, they tended to avoid my questions. Therefore, I had to use my personal relationships to find a vice director of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of Hangzhou who was in charge of the moving project. However, as he knew I come from a Western university, he refused my interview, but nevertheless, he gave me the address of the settlements people had migrated to.

All of the interviewees had been living in the old places that are now in the World Heritage inscribed area of West Lake for over forty years. The migration project started in 2003, and more than three thousand people were moved to this new high-rise housing settlement. The five open-ended questions asked are as follows:

- Where did you live before you moved here? When did you move to this place?
- What do you think of the differences between the two places?
- What did local governments negotiate with you for migrating? Was there anything relevant to World Heritage application?
- Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?
- What is the relationship between tourism and heritage from your perspective?

The aims of interviewing this group of local people was to:

- Identify concerns of the residents who migrated after their move;
- Identify the relationship between them and local governments;
- Identify their attitude to tourists;
- Identify their perspectives on the World Heritage Listing of West Lake.

Notes

As I interviewed government officials from both national and local authorities, they were very cautious. As I transcribed my interview data, many of their responses give me a feeling that they were carefully thinking about formulating the ‘correct’ answers. However, this represents ‘typical’ thought process and responses from Chinese officials. However, sometimes, they expressed their personal understanding of heritage and tourism (see Chapter 4, page 86-87; the responses from GO001 and GO002 show discomfort or disjuncture with the UNESCO position on tourists), they are always capable of going back to ‘official’ answers.

In contrast, my interviews with both tourists and local residents in my two case studies were very sincere. Although some tourists did not engage in dialogue, and provided formalistic responses or platitudes, many local residents and tourists however were very engaged with the conversation we were having. As I interviewed them, both local people and tourists were very relaxed, and in some cases very emotional. The frank language, body language and eye contact they were using gave me a strong feeling that they were giving me sincere answers.

3.3.3 Observation

Observations of visitors were undertaken at the Xidi and Hongcun and West Lake tourist sites. This was done to observe what tourists 'do' at these sites and to observe how locals and tourists interact. The data was recorded photographically and by note-taking. Observations were only undertaken in public open spaces at and around both heritage sites. This method was useful to map the interrelationship among different stakeholders. Observations were also undertaken of eleven residents at 'Longjin Tea Plantation Base', which was rejected by the World Heritage Committee for inclusion within the boundary of the nominated area of West Lake. The process of the observation was not planned¹⁴. I was drinking Longjin tea in a local hostel. The eleven tea farmers were informed by the host that I am a student in the area conducting heritage research, so we ended up having an informal talk. This group of local residents were not aware that their site had been excluded from the boundary of the World Heritage area (discussed in Chapter 10).

¹⁴ At the time I conducted my interviews, I only focused on places that were included in the WHL boundary.

In addition, I participated in three different tour groups in Xidi from 14th to 24th December 2013 (with 123 minutes of record data); and I also joined five different tour groups in Hongcun from 20th to 22th December 2013 (with 204 minutes of record data). This was done with the aim of observing what the main focus of interpretations from the tourism company were, and to observe tourists' interests and performances during the tour.

3.4 Conclusion

Qualitative mixed methods, archival research, interviews and observations, were used to record the attitudes and perspectives of officials, local residents and tourists about the world heritage listing at West Lake, Xidi and Hongcun Heritage Sites and the meaning of those sites to them. The methods used also aimed to determine what changes, if any, in the values and meanings of the site had occurred for the various stakeholders, particularly that of local residents and of government officials, following the listing of the sites. The results of these interviews and observations are discussed in chapters 4 to 9.

Chapter 4: National Heritage Discourse: Chinese National Governments, World Heritage and Tourism

4.1 Introduction

In 2015, China marked its thirty-year anniversary as a signatory of the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (World Heritage Convention). During this period China's engagement with the World Heritage system developed in three stages. The first stage, from 1985 to 2000, saw a process in which China accepted the international authorised heritage discourse, and explored its meaning. A significant Chinese architect and heritage expert, Zhewen Luo, who was also an initiator of China's ratification of the *World Heritage Convention*, said that:

As a responsible state party of the World Heritage Program, we must ensure the safeguarding and protection of our World Heritage sites. It is a difficult but glorious task for our ancestors and future generations (Luo 1999).¹⁵

Another influential heritage expert, Professor Zhou Lv noted:

The UNESCO World Heritage Program provided an international framework for the Chinese domestic cultural relic system and reinforced that system. However, without China's participation, the integrity and representativeness of the World Heritage Program is incomplete (Lv 2008:2).¹⁶

Their statements reflect the strong sense of nationalism and patriotism underlying China's ratification of the *World Heritage Convention*. This sense of nationalism emerged in the 1990s and was valued as a significant phenomenon in contemporary China (Zhao 2000; Zhao 2002; Zheng 1999; Su and Teo 2009; Yan 2012). As Su and Teo (2009:56) point out, 'today's nationalism aims to build a strong sense of belonging among the Chinese people so as to foster a political ideology that would facilitate social control in the country.' Although most Chinese knew little about World Heritage in the late 1980s and 1990s, it provided an international platform for expressing Chinese nationalism and soft power. From 1985 to 2000,

¹⁵ The author translated from Luo, Z. (1999). 文物保护五十年回眸 (Review of Fifty Year Anniversary of Chinese Cultural Heritage Protection) (in Chinese) . *Outlook Weekly*, Issue 36.

¹⁶ The author translated from Lv, Z. (2008). 中国文化遗产保护三十年 (the Thirty Year Anniversary of Chinese Cultural Heritage Protection) (in Chinese) *Architecture Journal*. 2008:12 1-5

twenty-three sites were inscribed on the WHL. While the Chinese governments were exploring the rules of the World Heritage Program, they found that they could gain substantial benefits from it. Two benefits are obvious. Firstly, the successful listing of a site fostered a sense of nationalism (see Luo 1999, 2008; Su and Teo 2009). Hevia (2001), based on his research on the Mountain Resort and its Outlying Temples in Chengde (listed on the WHL in 1995), which contains a miniature replica of the Potala Palace of Lhasa, argues that the Chinese government utilised the World Heritage listing process to ‘harmonise’ the Tibetan minority into Han Chinese majority culture (see also Askew 2010). Yan (2012, 2015) further argues that China has actively incorporated a domestic narrative with a strong sense of nationalism in the process of World Heritage nomination, which he labelled ‘the harmony discourse’. For instance, he observed that The Great Wall’s¹⁷ original meaning as ‘the great military defence project of successive Chinese Empires’ (UNESCO 1987), incorporated a domestic narrative that it ‘does not only represent the Chinese fine culture ... but it also constitutes an important part of the cultural heritage of all human beings’ (Yan 2012:58 [quote from SACH 2009[2003]c:477]). Secondly, the Chinese government also found that the ‘World Heritage Brand’ serves as a catalyst for attracting tourists, which has significant utility for economic development, particularly for remote areas. For instance, the Chinese World Heritage ancient city site of Pingyao receives an annual income from ticket sales that grew dramatically from 180,000 RMB in 1998 to 5,000,000 RMB in 1999 after its inscription as a WHS in 1997 (Wu et al. 2002). Many other Chinese World Heritage sites, such as the Old Town of Lijiang, have experienced similar tourist revenue increases after being inscribed on the WHL (Su and Teo 2009). Therefore, Chinese governments at national, provincial and local levels have been preoccupied with World Heritage applications since the 1990s.

The second stage, from 2000 to 2011, was a process in which China gradually came to understand the international AHD, and made adjustments to its original national management systems and heritage policies based on international principles and policies. In 2000, the 24th session of the World Heritage Committee adopted the *Cairns Decision*, which aimed to restrain the number of nomination sites from state parties. The first version of the Cairns Decision only allowed for one site to be proposed to the World Heritage list by each State Party per year (UNESCO 2000). The revised version (issued in 2004) allowed each State Party to put forward two sites, with at least one being a natural heritage site (UNESCO 2004).

¹⁷ The Great Wall was inscribed on World Heritage List on 1987.

This new international policy caused dramatic changes in the Chinese heritage management systems at national, provincial and local levels, as well as its administrative policies (this will be elaborated in the next section). In the meantime, the official national terminology of *Cultural Relics* was replaced by *Cultural Heritage*, and gradually accepted by most Chinese (Shan 2008).

The third stage is from 2011 to the present. In 2011, the 35th session of the World Heritage Committee inscribed West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou on the World Heritage List. It was the first time that China attempted to nominate a cultural property in the 'Cultural Landscape'¹⁸ category. The successful listing of West Lake under this inscription has given Chinese governments greater confidence to nominate new types of World Heritage sites. In 2013, another Cultural Landscape Property, the Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces, was successfully inscribed on the World Heritage List. In 2014, the Chinese government nominated two properties categorised as 'Cultural Routes,' The Grand Canal and Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an – Tian-shan Corridor. Eventually, those two sites were also successfully designated on the 37th session of the World Heritage Committee. The success of these new cultural properties illustrated that China had become quite familiar with the international AHD. The two properties inscribed in 2014 further demonstrate that the Chinese government is capable of manipulating World Heritage Program for its own aims.

Meskell et al. (2015) states that China was the most successful country in terms of the continual listing of World Heritage sites in recent years, and stressed that from 2002 to 2013, 17 sites were proposed, while 16 were inscribed. As noted above, a state party only can nominate one cultural property each year according to the *Cairns Decision*. Therefore, it was the first time China nominated a joint cultural property, Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an – Tian-shan Corridor with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, which used Kyrgyzstan's nomination for World Heritage status. Since 1988, UNESCO has conducted Silk Roads research, and China has been actively involved in the research and dominated the World Heritage application process¹⁹. The sites located in China's territory account for 22 of 33 sites

¹⁸Lushan National Park (inscribed on the World Heritage list on 1996) was the first Chinese Cultural Landscape site defined by UNESCO. *West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou* was the first time Chinese governments used the 'Cultural Landscape' concept to formulate a nomination dossier for an application to the World Heritage Committee.

¹⁹In 1988, UNESCO initiated a study of the Silk Road to promote understanding of cultural diffusion across Eurasia and the protection of cultural heritage. In August 2006, UNESCO and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of the People's Republic of China co-sponsored a conference in Turpan, Xinjiang on the coordination of applications for the Silk Road's designation as a World Heritage Site. At this conference, China and five Central Asia republics, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan agreed to make a joint application in 2010. The six countries formed a

of the Silk Roads property, and the nomination dossier was written by a Chinese agency, the Institute of Architectural History²⁰ (see Deng 2007; Shan 2009; Gao 2014). The aims of the Silk Roads World Heritage application were not only to support nationalism and tourism development, it is supportive of the Chinese international economic policy '*One Belt, One Road*'²¹. In late 2013, President of the People's Republic of China, Xijin Ping, proposed an international strategy called '*One Belt, One Road*' (or The Belt and Road Initiative), which has been seen as 'the most significant and far-reaching initiative that China has ever put forward' (Wu 2015). The strategy underlines China's push to take a more significant role in global affairs, and consists of two components, the land-based '*Silk Road Economic Belt*' and oceangoing '*21st Century Maritime Silk Road*'. The success of the Silk Roads World Heritage nomination has provided substantial cultural and historical support for the '*Silk Road Economic Belt*' project, which aims to build a link between China and Europe through Central and Western Asia into a cohesive economic area⁶. The Chinese government also proposed the '*Maritime Silk Road*' to be nominated in 2016 for the World Heritage List, which linked to the '*21st Century Maritime Silk Road*' project that aimed at investing and fostering collaboration in Southeast Asia, Oceania, and North Africa, through several contiguous bodies of water – the South China Sea, the South Pacific Ocean, and the wider Indian Ocean area²². Therefore, from the Chinese government's perspective, the concept of Silk Roads heritage is not only about the past, rather it is a development concept that serves political and economic strategies in the present.

During the last 30 years' there has been little active discussion or analysis that considered how the World Heritage Program had shaped discourse and practice in China. This Chapter will briefly review China's heritage protection and management systems. I will also set out the analysis of my interview data with three officials who were in charge of the World Heritage nomination and management at the national level, and one official from the Tourism Administration. In effect, this Chapter explores three things. Firstly, it explores the meaning of heritage from the perspective of national authorities, and the reasons for the Chinese

coordinating committee in 2009 to prepare for the joint application. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silk_Road_UNESCO_World_Heritage_Sites)

²⁰Under supervision of the *China Architecture Design and Research Group*

²¹On Sept. 7th 2013, during his state visit to Kazakhstan, Mr. Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China, proposed in his speech at Nazarbayev University that China and the Central Asian countries build an "economic belt along the Silk Road," a trans-Eurasian project spanning the Pacific Ocean to the Baltic Sea. On Oct. 3rd 2013, Xi Jinping proposed a new maritime Silk Road in his speech at the Indonesian Parliament during his state visit to Indonesia. (Source: <http://www.chinausfocus.com/finance-economy/one-belt-and-one-road-far-reaching-initiative/>)

²²Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One_Belt,_One_Road.

government's preoccupation with World Heritage nominations. Secondly, it examines the extent of the influence of the international authorised heritage discourse on practices in China at a national level. Thirdly, it explores the role of tourism in Chinese World Heritage affairs and the in-depth relationship between heritage and tourism at a national level. Overall, the chapter argues that the national governments are quite mindful, and perhaps even a little cynical, in that they are clearly aware the World Heritage game at the international level is controlled by Western experts with Eurocentric rules and terms. However, they understand how to control and manipulate the World Heritage Listing process at national and local levels, in order to translate or modify Chinese values to fit international standards. World Heritage practices have also influenced the national heritage system.

4.2 China's Heritage Management Systems

From 1985 to 2016, fifty Chinese properties (35 cultural [include 5 cultural landscape], 11 natural and 4 combination) have been inscribed on the World Heritage List. Following Italy, China is now ranked second in the world for the total number of listed World Heritage Sites (UNESCO 2016). There are also thirty-eight intangible culture heritage practices listed as of 2012, meaning China has the most listings in the World Intangible Cultural Heritage List (UNESCO 2016b). In addition, fifty-four sites are on the tentative list, and many more may be put forward in due course (UNESCO 2016c). UNESCO requires that State Parties have the responsibility of ensuring the conservation and management of World Heritage sites within their territory. China has a complex heritage management system at the national level. The Ministry of Education is the department responsible for communicating with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre for World Heritage listing issues. The Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (MHURD) is responsible for the management of natural heritage, whereas the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) takes charge of cultural heritage. They are both in charge of Combination Sites.

In 1978, the Chinese government decided to embark on an economic reform program, and in the last two decades, China's tourism industry has become a new growth point for the national economy (Han 2006). The Chinese government realised there is a need to develop management systems to ensure the protection of heritage resources. There are two different heritage management systems that underpin MHURD and SACH. In terms of the heritage

management systems of MHURD, the MHURD established the '*Scenic and Historic Interest Areas*' system in 1981, where the definition of such sites are 'areas with outstanding aesthetic, scientific, cultural and natural value, open for scientific research and tourist activities' (State Council 2006a). The promulgation of '*Scenic and Historic Interest Areas Ordinance*' by the State Council of the People's Republic of China in 2006 legitimated the MHURD power to plan and manage such sites. This system is inspired by a designated national park system defined by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (Han 2006). However, the Chinese version possesses both cultural and natural properties, as Han (2006:7) states 'they are predominantly nature-dominated, while the natural beauty and cultural elements are considered to be at "perfect oneness"'. The IUCN national park system only represents natural protected areas. As of 2017, there were 244 Scenic and Historic Interest Areas designated at the national level (State Council 2017). On the World Heritage list of China, 28 of China's 50 World Heritage sites are Scenic and Historic Interest Areas, or are located in these areas. These 28 World Heritage sites include all 9 natural and 4 combination sites as well as 15 cultural sites (include 3 cultural landscape) which represent the combination of cultural and natural elements from the Chinese' view. Scenic and Historic Interest Areas are also significant components to the World Heritage tentative list for China.

In terms of the heritage management systems of SACH, the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China promulgated the *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* (National People's Congress Standing Committee 2002), which was led by the needs of conservation and the desire to promote tourism at cultural properties, including imperial palaces, temples, historical buildings, monuments as well as some traditional villages with buildings and gardens (Gao and Woudstra 2011). The Ministry of Cultural Heritage takes charge of 'National Cultural Heritage' listed under this Act. In 2001, the SACH, assisted by ICOMOS Australia and the Getty Conservation Institute from the U.S.A., developed the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites China* (ICOMOS China 2002), which is the first set of conservation regulations following international standards implemented as national guidelines for cultural heritage conservation and management. In 2005, the State Council of the People's Republic of China issued *State Council Circular Concerning the Strengthening of Cultural Heritage Conservation* (State Council of PRC 2009[2005]), which means that the official use of the term 'Cultural Heritage' replaced cultural relics as the primary term in the national heritage protection and management system (Shan 2008; Yan 2012). In 2006, the State Council (2006b) reported that

there were 2351 National Cultural Heritage sites in China as of that year. On the World Heritage list of China, 31 World Heritage properties were designated by SACH as 'National Cultural Heritage' before they were inscribed on the WHL as of 2009.

As noted above, *Scenic and Historic Interest Areas* and *National Cultural Heritage* are the two main heritage management systems in the current Chinese administrative setup. The former focuses on 'integrated sites' with cultural and natural values, while the latter aims to manage iconic cultural objects rather than 'sites'. Since China signed the World Heritage Convention in 1985, all the inscribed World Heritage sites, as well as properties on the Tentative List, were selected from these two systems. The Operational Guidelines (2011) mentioned that State Parties to the World Heritage Convention have the responsibility to develop management policies and services to ensure the protection, conservation, and presentation of the heritage. Therefore, the Chinese government has replicated the existing management policies and systems from those developed by *Scenic and Historic Interest Areas* and *National Cultural Heritage*, and used these for the World Heritage sites.

Yan Haiming (2012), in his PhD thesis, has elaborated the complex relationship between the international authorised heritage discourse and Chinese national heritage narratives. He argues that the national narrative and action in China 'play a powerful role in mediating and manipulating the narratives of the World Heritage and the local communities' (Yan 2012:22). However, his research only addressed the heritage issues between the SACH and the international authorised heritage discourse, and failed to acknowledge the significance of how the international authorised heritage discourse influenced the relation between the SACH and the MHURD. In the next section, I will explore the organizational and conceptual interactions between the Chinese governments and the World Heritage program by analysing my interview data from interviews with two directors from the SACH and the MHURD, as well as two officials from the China National Commission for UNESCO and the China Tourism Academy.

4.3 National Governments' Understanding of World Heritage

I interviewed two directors from the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (GO001) and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (GO002), who are in charge of the World Heritage application and management issues, on 2th December and 4th December,

2013, respectively. Interviews were also conducted with an official (GO003) from the China National Commission for UNESCO (under supervision of The Ministry of Education) who is responsible for communicating with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre on 9th December, 2013. One of the key questions I asked was **'How do you personally understand World Heritage?'**

GO001: Well, I agree with UNESCO's definition based on the World Heritage Convention and the Operational Guidelines...The Official definition is not static, which changed with the development of the World Heritage program. However, from my view, there are too many sites on the World Heritage list, particularly cultural sites. I doubt whether heritage values which mainly focus on OUV are suitable for the new development of heritage in third world countries. This is because local communities have such different and in-depth views on heritage values. The OUV represents the European ideology, and the majority of World Heritage sites are in European territory. Even a small old church can be accounted as a World Heritage site. From my perspective, UNESCO should reconsider the standards for OUV and combine similar types of World Heritage sites. I think the Southern China Karst and China Danxia ²³have provided good examples for this.

GO002: Actually, the definition and classification of World Heritage by UNESCO have been developed since the start of the World Heritage program. I think the original 1972 *World Heritage Convention* was based on the *Venice Charter*. Since then, UNESCO has modified the Operational Guidelines in order to embrace the new concepts of World Heritage, which include Cultural Landscape, Cultural Route, Industrial Heritage, Historical Urban Landscape and so forth. As far as I am concerned, the World Heritage Convention reflects the recognition of World Heritage concepts in the 1970s, while the original concepts have been improved by modifying the Operational Guideline over the last forty years. However, the classification of the World Heritage program is different to the Chinese national system.

GO003: We have used the definition from UNESCO in China.

²³The World Heritage Property of South China Karst is a serial property inscribed on 2007 (extended in 2014) that includes seven karst clusters in four Provinces (UNESCO,2014). The World Heritage Property of South China Karst is a serial property inscribed on 2010 that includes seven karst clusters in four Provinces (UNESCO, 2010).

The three government officials' understanding of heritage is underpinned by UNESCO's definition. Their responses were not surprising, because the concept of heritage was rarely mentioned in the Chinese protection and management systems until China signed up to the *World Heritage Convention* in 1985 (Yan 2012). With the Chinese government's acceptance of the concept and policies from UNESCO, problems emerged when those policies were implemented in domestic practices. GO001 realises that the imbalance of the World Heritage List is derived from a Eurocentric based World Heritage Program. The imbalance of the World Heritage List, where more than half of the World Heritage sites are from the European region, has already been well documented by Western scholars (see for example, Cleere 2001; Meskell 2002; Smith 2006; Labadi and Long 2010). Waterton (2010) has further illustrated Smith's (2006) argument that UNESCO's Eurocentric understanding of heritage was derived from Western intellectuals and professionals such as archaeologists, historians and architects who have the authority to define and interpret what heritage is. These intellectuals are not only placed at the centre of understanding and defining heritage meanings, they also dominate the management process in order to safeguard heritage for future generations. Smith (2006) has demonstrated that experts from international authorities dominated heritage narratives and the decision making process, which is a main characteristic of the practices associated with the 'authorised heritage discourse'.

GO002 points out that the heritage definition used by UNESCO has changed and evolved with new concepts and policies since 1972 - as Smith (2006) argues the narratives of the AHD are neither static nor uncontested. Although the international AHD is constantly evolving, intellectuals from international authorities still dominate the legitimising and decision making process of the World Heritage Program. Meskell et al (2015) argue that the power relations of decision making of World Heritage listing has been shifted to State Parties, particularly to some non-Western countries, in recent years. Smith (2006) and Waterton (2010) argue that the AHD has been seen as a 'common sense' of heritage practices and enshrined in the OUV criteria. The changes in the international AHD have caused problems within the Chinese heritage management system. GO001 illustrated this;

GO001: UNESCO has limited the number of new nominations since 2000. You know, China is a big county. UNESCO may think the *Cairns Decision* is just a simple policy change. However, we already developed a systematic system based on the World Heritage Convention and the old version of the Operational Guidelines.

The international policy changes caused heritage application and management problems, and we had to readjust our management systems and policies based on the new international policy.

Before the *Cairns Decision*, UNESCO did not limit the numbers of sites nominated by each country. The provincial governments of China had the right to provide their suggestions of local heritage sites for World Heritage nomination. The MHURD and the SACH would make final decisions to nominate more than two qualified sites, based on the Chinese national heritage management systems. For example, there were four cultural properties inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2000, which were the Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun, Mount Qincheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System, Imperial Tombs of the Ming and Qing Dynasties and Longmen Grottoes (UNESCO 2000d). However, the diffusion of international policies and regulations such as the *Cairns Decision* has changed the power relations within the original national management practises. The MHURD has gradually lost influence, which has been assumed by the SACH, because of the promulgation of the new category Cultural Landscape and the implication of the *Cairns Decision*. The MHURD used to be in charge of the majority of cultural landscape management, based on the Chinese original national heritage management systems, which have different categories and standards than the UNESCO models. In order to introduce the UNESCO model, the central government of China reshaped the power relations in the management system so that the MHURD took charge of natural heritage and the SACH was placed in charge of cultural heritage. However, based on UNESCO's model, cultural landscape belongs to cultural heritage for WHL. Therefore, the changes in power relations have caused conflict within the Chinese management system (Han 2006). Base on this conflict, GO001 and GO002 considered that:

GO001: The management and application issues in cultural heritage sites have some overlap at national level. The implication of the *Cairns Decision* and the new catalogue Cultural Landscape has caused new conflict with national governments. Take West Lake as an example, West Lake was defined as a '风景区 Scenic and Historic Interest Areas with the MHURD in charge of planning and management issues at the national level. Therefore, based on our old rules, the MHURD should in charge of the West Lake WH application. Indeed, the MHURD was in charge of West Lake when it was inscribed on the Tentative List as a combination site. With

the newly announced Cultural Landscape category by UNESCO, the MHURD and local government realised that West Lake should apply for Cultural Landscape status. In this sense, the SACH has argued that Cultural Landscape is a category under cultural heritage. It is their responsibility for West Lake World Heritage Listing issues. However, Cultural Landscape is not a pure cultural heritage, according to Chinese policy and relevant law, West Lake is a *Scenic and Historic Interest Areas*. Our department (the MHURD) have already been in charge of management issues for more than twenty years based on '*风景名胜区条例 Regulations of Scenic and Historic Interest Areas*'. The SACH has no relevant law and regulation at national level, although they encourage local governments to promulgate a local regulation called '*西湖文化景观保护条例 West Lake Cultural Landscape Protection Regulations*'. They also do not have the experience to manage a *Scenic and Historic Interest Area*. Therefore, *Regulations of Scenic and Historic Interest Areas* is still a key management law at West Lake after World Heritage listing.

GO002: Take West Lake as an example. After World Heritage listing, we have listed West Lake on the 7th *全国重点文物保护单位 National Cultural Relics* in 2013, which means connection to the international convention and national law. The implementation of *西湖文化景观保护条例 West Lake Cultural Landscape Protection Regulations* provide a local regulation for World Heritage management. In terms of the relationship between the SACH and the MHURD, we have based it on different law and regulations of heritage issues. In terms of World Heritage application, the MHURD is responsible for World Natural Heritage sites whereas the SACH takes charge of World Cultural Heritage. The SACH is also in charge of Cultural Landscape sites application because it belongs to the cultural heritage category. The MHURD has argued that most Cultural Landscape sites are *风景名胜区* *Scenic and Historic Interest Areas* and based on *风景名胜区条例 Regulations of Scenic and Historic Interest Areas* at the national level. However, you know the evaluation of Cultural Landscape sites are carried out by ICOMOS in consultation with IUCN, while the SACH is more familiar with the system of ICOMOS. Therefore, we have taken charge of the recent Cultural Landscape sites application.

The dissonance and conflict was derived from the promulgation of the *Cairns Decision*. Since then, the MHURD lost power over cultural properties' nomination on the WHL, but they still

have responsibility for the management of cultural properties selected from the Scenic and Historic Interest Areas. The other reason that the MHURD complained was because inscribing a natural property is much more difficult than a cultural site. This is evidenced by there being only 197 natural properties on the World Heritage list compared to 779 cultural sites (UNESCO 2016). Many scholars made strong complaints about the implementation of the *Cairns Decision* (see Li 2005; Li et al 2006; Li 2007b). Li Xiankui, the Director of the Department of Foreign Affairs of MHURD, in his article ‘Breaking Through “Keynes” [Cairns], Promoting the World Heritage to Develop in Harmony’, states that the limitation of the Cairns Decision is that it is:

obviously unfavourable to China as a big legacy county [sic: country]. We prepared a list of more than 100 items of declaring world legacy, and if only one quota is allowed to declare in one year, it will take 100 years to realize the full declaration.’
(Li 2005:27)

He pointed out that one of the significant tasks for holding the 28th Session of the World Heritage Committee in Suzhou was to break through the ‘one country, one quota’ limit (Li 2005:27). His article elaborated on the difficult process that the Chinese experts are now engaged in as they fight to amend the Cairns Decision. Finally, he indicated that the World Heritage Committee had adopted the ‘Suzhou Decision’ and ‘Suzhou Declaration’, which means that the World Heritage Committee will consider requests for the inscription of 45 nominations each year instead of the 30 new ones set by the Cairns Decision (China.org.cn 2004). The Committee also agreed to revise the Cairns Decision and published *Global Strategy: Evaluation of the Cairns-Suzhou Decision* that allowed each State Party to put forward two sites, with at least one being a natural heritage site (UNESCO 2007).

On the other hand, the SACH actively accepted the *Cairns Decision*, and a series of actions and policies have been developed since that date. In 2000, they developed the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (ICOMOS China 2002), which has been seen as the Chinese version of the Burra Charter. In December, 2005 the State Council issued the *State Council Circular Concerning the Strengthening of Cultural Heritage Conservation* (2009[2005]). It represents a milestone of Chinese heritage development as China officially used the term ‘cultural heritage’ to replace ‘cultural relics’ (Shan 2008; Yan 2012). Since then, government authorities and research institutes, as well as official government documents, have been using the term ‘cultural heritage’ to replace the old term ‘cultural relics’. In addition,

the *State Council Circular Concerning the Strengthening of Cultural Heritage Conservation* proclaimed that the second Saturday of June was designated as China’s Cultural Heritage Day. In 2017, the State Council agreed to the request of the MHURD to adjust the ‘Cultural Heritage Day’, and re-brand it as the ‘Cultural and Natural Heritage Day’ from 2017 (State Council 2016). As Yan (2012:96) indicated, the inscription of China’s Cultural Heritage Day 'has drawn remarkable public recognition and appreciation as well as bear witness to the development and solidification of China’s cultural preservation in its “cultural heritage phase.”’ In addition, when the international authorities issued new documents relating to new types of cultural properties, the SACH and ICOMOS China have correspondingly developed Chinese domestic versions (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Comparison of the original international documents with the Chinese version

Name of Documents (original)	Name of Documents (Chinese version)	Comments
The Burra Charter (1999)	The Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (2000,2004)	
The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)	State Council Circular Concerning the Strengthening of Cultural Heritage Conservation (launched in 2005) Law on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2011)	Intangible Cultural Heritage
Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage (launched in 2003)	Wuxi Recommendation on Protecting Industrial Heritage during Fast Economic Development (launched in 2006)	Industrial Heritage
ICOMOS Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (launched in 1999)	Circular on Strengthening the Protection of Vernacular Architecture (launched in 2007)	Vernacular Heritage
one-year Montreal Action Plan focusing on 20th Century Heritage (launched in 2001)	Circular on Strengthening the Protection of 20th Century Heritage ((launched in 2008)	
Routes as Part of Our Cultural Heritage (launched in 1994) Charter on Cultural Routes (launched in 2008)	Wuxi Recommendations on the Protection of Cultural Routes Heritage (launched in 2009)	Cultural Routes

The actions and policies listed in Table 1 demonstrate that the Chinese governments were uncritically accepting the international authorised heritage discourse, and even mirroring the international documents. Waterton (2010) criticises the *China Principles* because, despite having a unique history and different ideology to Western nations, the *China Principles* were not created based on its own national context within Chinese culture and understandings of cultural heritage. Qian (2007) argues that the promulgation of the *China Principles* reflects the Chinese government's endeavour to develop their own national terminology drawing on international heritage discourse. The development of domestic documents and the inscription of China Natural and Cultural Heritage Day demonstrates that China actively endeavours to

participate in the UNESCO World Heritage Program. It aims to play a leading role in heritage preservation and narratives in Asia, and even the world. It also aims to reframe 'itself to be an integral part of the world culture' (Yan 2012:101). In this sense, the Chinese government has developed a preoccupation with accumulating numbers and diversity of World Heritage sites. From the Chinese government's perspective, the increasing numbers of Chinese World Heritage sites, with a diversity types of cultural properties, can reflect China's abundant and varied cultural status (Yan 2012; Li 2007b). As GO002 indicates:

GO002: ...In terms of the WH application, the application of the Cairns Decision has been seen as a turning point in China. As you mentioned Xidi and Hongcun, in my view, these two villages represent Chinese traditional philosophy such as '风水 Fengshui' and '聚族而居 where people live together as a big family'. But, they only represent these Chinese traditional philosophy regionally, while there are other villages can also complement this type of heritage. However, because of the number of nominations to be submitted by each State Party being limited to two, we prefer to consider applying for new types of sites at the national level.

As GO002 noted, the changed international policies had the disadvantage of revealing some of the Chinese values of the sites. He considered that the increasing numbers of Chinese World Heritage sites with diverse types of cultural properties can reflect China's abundance and variety of cultural statuses. His response also reflects that there is a pragmatic working within the policy frameworks offered by UNESCO. GO002 also describes the World Heritage listing process of West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou:

GO002: Actually, you cannot imagine the pressures and challenges we faced. West Lake of Hangzhou is the first Cultural Landscape type of World Heritage in China. West Lake decided to apply as a Cultural Landscape at the very early stages of the World Heritage application process. There are three reasons we supported this application. Firstly, we are confident that West Lake has OUV at an international level. Secondly, West Lake represents Chinese traditional culture merged with its outstanding urban landscape architectures. Thirdly, the local government has put a lot of effort into inscribing West Lake, which includes developing *西湖综合保护工程* the *West Lake Protection and Management Project*. In addition, Hangzhou citizens also had enthusiasm for the World Heritage application. You know, the reputation of West Lake is great in China. We worried that our understanding of

West Lake cannot be recognised by Western experts and scholars. Local governments have done lots of research in order to translate the meaning of West Lake into OUV that Western experts could understand. It is a very hard process. For instance, one of the Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places '断桥残雪' *Lingering Snow on Broken Bridge* has three folder meanings that were very hard to explain to Western experts. As for what kind of beauty or what Chinese ideology of the sites, they may not understand, unless they grow up in the Chinese southern cultural background. Nevertheless, UNESCO understood that West Lake represents the Chinese understanding of landscape and perspectives of beauty.

GO002 briefly reviewed the nomination process of West Lake, which reflects how important being able to translate Chinese understandings of West Lake into terms understandable within the international AHD of 'OUV' was to the nomination. Whether the true meaning of West Lake has been displayed or not in the listing is, as GO002 illustrates, actually unnecessary. UNESCO has tried to build an objective assessment system based on international experts who, with scientific knowledge and understanding, are held to be capable of making objective judgements on World Heritage listing. Ironically, my interview with GO002, who represents key officials in national government, reveals that the advisory body's (ICOMOS) assessment process was subjective, as the Western expert clearly did not understand Chinese values, but still represents the advisory body to evaluate World Heritage properties despite not understanding their cultural background. This is not to say what this expert had an extensive impact on the World Heritage decision, but rather the perception that the Norwegian had misunderstood Chinese values left a strong impression and was a deep concern for the Chinese officials. The officials from local government also talked about this problem, and I will further discuss this in Chapter 5.

This problem is derived not simply from the Eurocentric AHD, but is exacerbated by the *Cairns Decision* that one state party is allowed to submit only one cultural property for evaluation per year. In order to ensure the success rate of applications, the nominated property has to closely adhere to the requirements of the international AHD. Although West Lake has multiple heritage values, it was significant to select those that were the most suitable narratives for international experts' taste. The problem does not simply apply to West Lake, but to most world cultural heritage properties in China. In the last five years, all nomination dossiers have been written by two national research organisations from the

Institute of Architectural History (under supervision by the China Architecture Design and Research Group) and the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, because the two organisations are familiar with the international AHD and have the appropriate expertise to ensure the high rate of successful World Heritage inscriptions (Table 4.2). Smith (2006) has criticised the AHD for tending to exclude local or community stakeholder perspectives. I asked '**Did local communities participate during the listing process of West Lake**'. GO002 and GO003 responded that:

GO002: In terms of West Lake, local residents were not involved in any part of the OUV evaluation and selection process. The evaluation and abstracting the OUV of West Lake was dependent on experts. This is because UNESCO has established the criteria of OUV for World Heritage Listing, as a state party, we have to follow the rules of the game in order to ensure our sites are inscribed on the list. It requires professional expertise, and most locals cannot even understand the six criteria of cultural heritage application. Some local experts may have very deep understanding of the sites, but they cannot translate their ideas into World Heritage criteria. Therefore, the nomination process of OUV evaluation has been dominated by experts. However, local governments have considered local communities' opinions for protection and management of West Lake. For example, we developed a protection and management plan after World Heritage listing, which we have done fieldwork on in order to understand locals' considerations.

GO003: I have participated in several world natural and cultural heritage nominations in recent years, during the listing process, local governments have conducted some seminars in order to hear local communities' concerns. When the experts from international advisory bodies came to evaluate the sites, we also have arranged representations of locals to participate in this process.

Table 4.2: Two organisations have dominated writing the World Heritage nomination dossiers in recent five years

Property name	Year of inscription	Organisations who wrote the nomination dossiers
Historic Monuments of Dengfeng in “The Centre of Heaven and Earth”	2010	Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage
West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou	2011	Institute of Architectural History
Site of Xanadu	2012	Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage
Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces	2013	Institute of Architectural History
Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-	2014	Institute of Architectural History

Tianshan Corridor		
The Grand Canal	2014	Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage

The responses from GO002 and GO003 seems to contradict each other, with GO002 stating locals did not participate in the ‘OUV evaluation and selection process,’ while GO003 said local communities participated in ‘some seminars,’ and they arranged ‘representatives of locals’ to participate in the evaluation process with the advisory body. The response from GO002 confirmed the World Heritage listing process occurred without local participation, at least in the decision-making process. However, GO003’s response was vague, and she only mentioned that local people participated in ‘some seminars.’ Whether the seminars are important or not was unclear. She also mentioned that ‘representatives of locals’ participated in the process when Western experts come to sites. However, she did not mention whether locals put forward any suggestions, and how local government selected the ‘representatives of locals’ was also unclear. Indeed, in Chapter 5, I interviewed the experts who formulated the West Lake nomination dossiers, and they said the same things as GO002, that the decision-making process of World Heritage listing did not involve local input, while the local governments also tended to avoid my questions about community participation.

In addition, the above interview quotes repeatedly mentioned the concept of Cultural Landscape, GO002 states that:

GO002: I think the UNESCO definition that represent 'the combined works by human and nature' is very clear. The West Lake, Lushan National Park and Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces all underpinned the definition of UNESCO. However, Chinese understanding of cultural landscape is far beyond the three main categories.

However, GO002 reflects that the Chinese government uncritically accepted the UNESCO definition of Cultural Landscape, and in his personal perspective, the Chinese understanding of Cultural Landscape is much more profound than that of the international AHD. As Taylor (2009) points out, south-eastern Asia and Eastern Asia have an esoteric view of landscape as seen from the Western point of view. He further indicates that the role of nature is key to understanding the different perceptions between Eastern and Western countries (Taylor 2009, 2010). Han (2012:92) argues that the Chinese understanding of landscape 'as a result of the

interaction between nature and humans relies on the human-nature relationship driven by views of nature.' (see also Han 2006). Confucianism and Daoism are the two most significant Chinese philosophies, which are considered as the roots of Chinese ideology. They have influenced Chinese theories and practices for more than 3000 years (Zhang 1992; Wang 1998; Lin 2001, 2002; Han 2006, 2012). Both of these philosophies have pointed out that landscape refers to 'Oneness with Nature where nature and people form a cosmological whole' (Han 2012:93). This differs from the Western perception of the separation of nature from culture that dates back to Enlightenment rationality (Lowenthal 1998). As discussed in Chapter 2, Western scholars have developed the idea of Cultural Landscape to fill the gap of the dichotomy between culture and nature. They argue that the concept of Cultural Landscape covers the multitude of interactions between humanity and the natural environment, evolved over a long period time by different cultures and groups of people (Rössler 2008; Taylor 2009; Heike and Helen 2010). As indicated in Chapter 6, a large number of Chinese scholars have discussed the practical utility of the concept of Cultural Landscape for Chinese World Heritage applications (see Zhou et al. 2006; Shan 2009b, 2010b; Han 2010; Wu 2011; Xi and Zhang 2014). They indicated that the national heritage system *Scenic and Historic Interest Areas*, which are inclusive of both natural and cultural landscape properties, were influenced by Chinese traditional understandings of landscape and nature. With some modification, the national system could fit the criteria of Cultural Landscape.

The Chinese national authorities have developed a series of principles and policies underpinned by or mirroring the international policies of UNESCO and ICOMOS. This has created dissonance and conflict within the national heritage management systems, particularly after the *Cairns Decision*. The MHURD representative's responses reflect that the department has passively accepted the international AHD. She argues that both natural sites and most Cultural Landscape properties have been selected from the national heritage system *Scenic and Historic Interest Areas*. The adoption of the *Cairns Decision* means that the MHURD lost the power of nominating cultural properties, but they still need to manage those cultural sites based on the national heritage system. On the other hand, the SACH have actively accepted the international AHD by creating Chinese versions of principles and policies underpinned by original documents from UNESCO and ICOMOS, reconstructing its bureaucratic system (see Yan 2012), and replacing the national term 'Cultural Relics' with 'Cultural Heritage' (see Shan 2008; Yan 2012). This appears to have been actively done to

facilitate the listing of Chinese sites on the WHL regardless of whether or not the Chinese cultural values are adequately represented in that listing.

The Chinese government has its own aims in participating in the World Heritage Program. Firstly, as I mentioned above, in the first stage of China's engagement with UNESCO and its World Heritage program, it aimed to express a sense of nationalism and the 'soft power' of China. The Chinese government had been concerned with increasing the quantity and diversity of types of Chinese World Heritage sites, which is seen as one of the most important missions of World Heritage applications. As Li (2007b:38) states: 'We are undoubtedly a big heritage nation, in terms of both quantity and variety, however, as an ancient country that has plentiful natural and cultural heritage, the current quantity of our World Heritage Sites is still not matched with our actual resources' (quoted in Yan 2012:82). Secondly, the Chinese government is being cynical, when it accepted the concepts from the international AHD and translated them into the Chinese domestic heritage discourse in order to play an active role in international heritage affairs. It aims not only to claim domestic solidarity and sovereignty with the world sociality, but also influence Asia and the world decision-making process regarding heritage issues. This has been particularly striking in the *Silk Road* and *Maritime Silk Road* programs, where the Chinese government has used a World Heritage application as a tool to not only enhance its position in the UNESCO World Heritage Program, but also to legitimise cultural and social contexts which serve the Chinese international strategy '*One Belt, One Road*'.

In the next section, I will analyse my interview data about the other significant concept in heritage studies - tourism.

4.4 The Role of Tourism in Chinese Heritage Affairs

In this section my analysis is based on interviews with GO001, GO002 and GO003. I also interviewed an official (GO004) from the China Tourism Academy (under supervision by the Tourism Administration) on 11th December, 2013. Interviews were also conducted with a UNESCO expert (GO005) from the World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for Asia and the Pacific on 20th November, 2013. I asked: '**Are there any changes that World Heritage listing bring to the sites?**'. GO002 and GO003 responded that:

GO002: From my perspective, the first significant benefit is that both national and local governments have paid more attention to protection issues of most world cultural heritage sites after World Heritage listing. It is needful to be aware that the reputation of the World Heritage brand also brought pressure. Local governments have to consider the requirements of World Heritage when they plan to develop any projects or infrastructure. In my view, the increased awareness of protection from the public, as well as the funding support, is the most important thing World Heritage listing has brought to the site. Secondly, 'World Heritage Listing effects' has brought not only domestic tourists' gazes, but also international tourist concerns. Thirdly, the success of World Heritage inscription can stimulate infrastructure development, economic increases, as well as improving locals' quality of life. It is particularly effective with regard to some remote sites such as Xidi and Hongxun. As far as I know, local communities' revenue has dramatically increased after successful listing on the World Heritage List, with touristic revenue accounting for at least 80% or revenue.

GO003: Because of World Heritage, Chinese people have recognised the organisation UNESCO. This international brand could bring many benefits at provincial level. The successful inscription on the WHL means that Chinese cultural or natural beauty has been recognised at a global level. The listing also brings tourism development. In terms of West Lake, the listing has enhanced people's awareness that it is their responsibility to protect the site.

Besides site protection and international reputation, tourism is one of the key issues World Heritage listing brings to sites. GO002 addressed the problem that World Heritage reputation attracts tourists' attention, while tourism brings physical and economic changes to heritage sites. Sather-Wagstaff (2011) states that mainstream heritage studies and management practice have focused on the economic or physical impact that tourists bring to sites and host societies. GO005, reflecting on his understanding of tourism's roles in World Heritage issues, noted that:

GO005: I think tourists just come to a place for a few days, why would you be concerned with the values of the tourists? Well, the nomination file has a concern about tourists that is indeed an issue at the management level. The Operational Guidelines mentioned that. But you talk about value; it is all about local communities. What is good for local communities is good for tourists. So it is the

only thing to say about tourists. Because you deal with locals they are far more important to deal with than tourists. Heritage preservation and conservation is done for the betterment of local communities. It is not for tourists. Tourists are welcome to enjoy the site, and experience the site, and bring their money for locals. But it is all done for the local communities. This is the principle idea behind conservation from my view and also World Heritage conservation. Many national governments focus exclusively on tourism. It is their fault and it is their mistake. It is nothing to do with UNESCO. UNESCO has to deal with the side effects of World Heritage listing. UNESCO deals with the management aspects of tourism.

He criticised many state parties who consider tourism before site protection. His argument represents international authorities' attitude towards tourists, i.e. that tourists should only be considered as a heritage management issue (e.g. Ashworth 2009; Hall 2009; etc.). His argument is confirmed by the officials from the SACH, the China National Commission for UNESCO and the China Tourism Academy. When I asked '**what is the role of tourism in the World Heritage listing process**', they responded that:

GO002: Tourism did not play any role in the World Heritage listing process.

GO003: Tourism? I do not think tourism has been considered during the World Heritage listing process. It is important to discuss the tourism issues after World Heritage listing, and experts would consider whether tourism influences the protection and the OUV of the sites. You know, World Heritage belongs to all human beings, and tourists have right to appreciate this resource. However, international experts have been worried that mass tourists would cause negative effects for heritage protection. I think governments should carefully make tourism strategies in order to limit the number of tourists. The Historic Ensemble of the Potala Palace²⁴ has provided a successful example of limiting the tourist numbers per day. But you know for some popular touristic places such as the Forbidden City, it is hard to carry out such a policy.

GO004: I do not think there is any relevance of tourism in the World Heritage listing process. According to the current criteria and standards of the World Heritage Program, tourism has been seen as a negative effect for the application and management of heritage sites. For example, you know, Shilin Karst had already been

²⁴The Historic Ensemble of the Potala Palace, Lhasa, was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1994.

a well-developed tourism destination. The local governments of Shilin Karst considered that tourism development might be undetermined by their World Heritage application. Therefore, they had made a decision that joined with Libo Karst, and Wulong Karst is applying as Joint World Natural Heritage sites, and were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2007. However, I think tourism plays an active role in heritage operating and management. One of the significant values that relate to tourism is education, so that tourists could learn something from the sites during their visiting.

The narratives from the three respondents illustrate that there was no consideration of the relation between tourism and heritage during the WHL process. Indeed, in their view tourists' activities at heritage sites need only to be considered as a management issue. These views are identical to those of UNESCO and are framed by the AHD (Smith 2006). During the process of World Heritage application, the government officials and heritage sites manager attempted to avoid the tourism issues, rather than explore what tourists do or think at heritage sites, and increased tourism was seen as a potential problem in relation to the Shilin Karst nomination. In addition, GO004 also pointed out that the other relation between tourism and heritage is about education. Smith (2006) argues that education is one of the significant aspects of AHD, in which the idea that educating tourists about the historic and aesthetic values of heritage sites is embedded in international heritage principles and policies. The possibility that tourists or other forms of visitors could have their own agency is simply not considered possible (Smith 2006, 2015; see also Mason 2004; Sather-Wagstaff 2011). GO002 also demonstrates this when he states that:

GO002: In my opinion, tourists have played an important role in heritage issues, they are receivers of the discourse and display of World Heritage OUV and other values.

Tourists are often characterised as passive message receivers, and incapable of meaning-making (Mason 2004, 2005). The international authorities through the AHD construct tourists as part of the hierarchy of the meaning-making system. As Smith (2012:213) notes, 'the idea of the vulgarity of tourism is simply about ensuring the maintenance of certain cultural values and meanings, and the political and cultural hierarchies that they underpin'. The Chinese national authorities uncritically accept the definition of tourism from the international AHD during the WHL process. However, officials from those Chinese national authorities also

realised that there are many positive relations between tourism and heritage in practice. For example:

GO003: Take Hongcun as an example. World Heritage listing has brought not only tourism development, more importantly, both local government and local residents have realised the importance of their cultural development. The local government and tourism operators have created an Anhui traditional opera script that narrates the story of Hongcun called ‘宏村阿菊 *Hongcun A Ju*’, which is currently performing in Beijing. In this sense, the public could understand not only Hongcun's culture, but the regional culture of Anhui. The public could also realise the importance of protecting not only the material things of Hongcun and relevant types of villages, but the intangible cultural of Anhui.

GO004: Firstly, tourism actually plays an active role for both natural and cultural resources protection. On the one hand, local residents have realised the importance of nature resource protection in order to attract more tourists to the site. They also have used the tourism income for the protection and conservation of natural resources. On the other hand, tourism is the key factor for cultural renaissance. For example, according to my research in Old Town of Lijiang, ‘纳西 (Naxi)’ people have recognised their traditional music and ‘东巴(Dongba)’ culture can attract visitors to their place, which also brought tourism income for them. Therefore, the younger generations are enthusiastic to learn or inherit their traditional music and customs, which they were not willing to do before tourism development. Secondly, tourism also plays an active role that stimulates the participation of local communities in heritage issues. For example, there is a village called ‘甲子(Jiazi)’ located at the foot of Jade Dragon Snow Mountain (a mountain massif near Lijiang). The people in Jiazi village’s living used to depend on farming, but shifted to tourism relevant business in the last fifteen years. Tourism has not only brought dramatic increases to their income, but the majority of them have been involved in the new development of the heritage site, while some of them are running businesses renting houses, serving tourists, doing traditional manufacture, and helping manage and protect the site. These are positive factors that tourism has brought to the heritage site. On the other hand, many villages are very poor in Yunnan, Sichuan and Guizhou provinces. The younger generation prefer to find jobs in the city rather than

stay home doing agriculture. There are also insufficient farmlands for everyone in villages in China. Therefore, many villages only left over elder people and children at home. In addition, I have been doing a project with regard to villages in Western China. The Chinese governments have conducted a policy '*退耕还林* *converting farmland to forestry*' since 2002 in order to ensure the natural ecosystem. Therefore, a large number of farmers do not have sufficient farmland. Although national governments have carried out relevant ecological compensation mechanisms, there is not sufficient compensation funding due to the large population in China. I think tourism has provided an alternative positive market mechanism for local communities living in heritage areas.

The two respondents briefly pointed out that besides economic physical improvement, tourism has brought regeneration of natural resources, renaissance of cultural and intangible culture of the sites and local people's awareness of the protection and inheritance of their cultural traditions. These positive relationships between tourism and heritage will be elaborated in the following chapters. In terms of the relationship between tourists and heritage, GO004 argues that:

GO004: I think they are totally interlinked and complement each other. World Heritage has been seen as the highest international brand that stimulates tourists to come to heritage sites. The successful inscription of a World Heritage site could dramatically impact local tourism development. If local communities could benefit from tourists, it is a good thing. But, you know, the aim of the World Heritage Program is protection, which has strict limitations for tourism. For example, Wulingyuan Scenic and Historic Interest Area was warned by UNESCO in 2013 because the touristic infrastructures had influenced the OUV of the sites. However, tourism has many positive effects, which provides a platform for displaying OUV and other important aspects of the sites. Tourism also has provided funding for the protection and management of World Heritage sites, while UNESCO and national governments have limited funding support. In addition, tourism has created a lot of job opportunities for local communities. Therefore, heritage management is important.

From her perspective, the tourists and heritage tourists are interlinked at the management level. I then asked '**what do you think about tourists' role during the World Heritage application process**', and she answered that:

GO004: I think, as stakeholders, their opinions should be considered in the WHL process. Tourists do not own the land and just visit World Heritage sites for a short time. Therefore, WHL has limited impact on tourists, while their perspectives can be taken as a reference. What is more important is to be concerned about locals' perspectives before local governments make decisions about World Heritage application. However, information asymmetries from geographical differences of World Heritage sites have provided very distinct understandings of heritage. In some remote places, local communities do not even know what the World Heritage program is, not to mention how to consider their perspective of World Heritage. In conclusion, the process of public participation has been ignored in the Chinese management and planning system.

As an official from the highest tourism advisory body - the Tourism Administration of China - her argument is similar to GO005's, who I interviewed from UNESCO (GO005). She states that tourists are guests at heritage sites, and they do not consider tourists as a key stakeholder in the WHL process. Their ideas are based on the assumption that tourism is about visiting the 'other' (Smith 2012:212). As Smith (2012:212) critically notes, 'traditional definitions of the tourist miss the complexities of cultural experience and engagement of people - they are defined simply as onlookers.' GO004 points out that local communities are the key stakeholders in WHL and management is important. However, a strong assumption in much of the heritage tourism literature is that tourists have only negative impacts on local communities (see for example, Lowenthal 1985; Ap and Crompton 1993; Hall and McArthur 1998; McKercher and du Cros 2002; Kim et al. 2013) and thus one of the roles of heritage managers is to protect local communities from tourism. She criticises the current Chinese heritage system as omitting the rights of local communities and worries that different stakeholders have their own concerns about what they can gain from WHL:

GO004: I think there are many examples of research regarding the relationship between local communities and tourism. You know, local communities are key stockholders in heritage tourism. However, they have been disregarded because the Chinese local governments have administrative power and the dominant management of heritage tourism issues. According to my research in Lijiang, local communities hardly participated in the process of tourism decision making, they also share a little profit from heritage tourism industry. World Heritage represents the highest touristic resources. The relationship among locals, tourists, local

governments and touristic companies might be more representative than other tourism destinations. I think different stakeholders may have their own perspective. Local government officials may be concerned that World Heritage could bring notable achievements to their official careers; tourist companies may be concerned about the advertising effect brought from 'Big World Heritage Brand'; local communities may be concerned what benefits they can gain after WHL. The West Lake has made a good example, because local governments have made an excellent decision that all park and touristic destinations around the lake area are free for both locals and tourists. The local governments may lose some tourism incomes from sites tickets. However, more tourists have come to visit which stimulate other service industries such as restaurants and hotels, as well as real estate development. More important, both locals and tourists play active roles involved in the heritage tourism of constructing a new West Lake.

GO004 has provided a sophisticated argument that it is important to explore the interaction among stakeholders' expectations from WHL. She used West Lake as an example to explain the positive example of stakeholders' relations, and pointed out the interaction between tourists and local communities in constructing what she called a 'new West Lake'. Whether she realised it or not, her argument points to the possibility that the interactions of tourists and locals are constructing or reconstructing the meaning of heritage at West Lake.

The interaction between tourists and locals has not been well researched, because early studies of tourism constructed tourists as inauthentic, destructive and culturally ignorant (Sather-Wagstaff 2011: 60-1). As I asked the two officials (GO001 and GO002) who directly take charge of the Chinese heritage site the question '**what do you think the relationship between tourist and heritage is**', they answered that:

GO001: The World Heritage Program welcomes and absorbs new concepts or ideas. I think tourism can perfectly link to the World Heritage program, and tourists could understand heritage value during their visiting. You know, if there are no tourists visiting heritage sites, how would they know the value of the sites, and who we protect those sites for? Tourism also promotes communication between tourists and local communities. However, China has a large population. With economic growth, most people have enough money to plan tours. There are dramatic increases in tourists at Chinese heritage sites in the last ten years, however, mass tourists have

created pressures for those sites. For many World Heritage sites, the tourism infrastructure cannot accommodate the number of tourists. This causes negative touristic experiences. It is our responsibility to improve tourism infrastructures, not only for the protection of heritage sites, but also enhancing tourists' experiences. Site managers should keep in mind that conservation and protection are keys in disseminating heritage values to visitors. I think the both national and local tourism departments should consider how to provide more in-depth information to visitors to simultaneously improve their tourist experiences. In my view, I think World Heritage and tourism are interlinked with each other. Tourist problems such as superficial mass tourists and a disordered tourism market are caused by immature Chinese tourism policies. However, the problems we have to deal with are more complex than other countries in the world. We should be patient.

GO002: The majority of people who use heritage site are tourists not experts. World Heritage belongs to everyone in the world. One of the aims of the World Heritage Program is to display the OUV of sites to the public. Therefore, tourists have very close relations with heritage issues. However, we have to pay attention to tourism management, particular the tourism environment bearing capacity, in order to develop sustainable tourism. It is important to plan a comprehensive tourism strategy in order to protect the sites, and simultaneously improve tourists' experiences. Heritage values could be delivered to tourists when they are satisfied with their touristic experiences during their journey. We still have management difficulty during the public holiday seasons.

Although the two respondents mainly talked about the importance of tourism management to heritage sites, however, they pointed out tourists are the key users of heritage sites, rather than experts. As GO001 stated, 'if there are no tourists visiting heritage sites, how would they know the values of the sites, and who we protect those sites for?' Both of the respondents illustrated that the act of visiting by tourists is creating the contemporary meaning of heritage, and the reason to develop systematic heritage protection systems is for tourists. As Smith (2006) argues the performances of heritage are constructed not only by the international or national heritage practices, such as the accumulation of World Heritage lists and the various management practices, but are also formulated by individual acts of visiting heritage places. However, the directors from the Chinese national authorities realised tourists and heritage are interlinked conceptually, yet they still uncritically accept the international AHD and consider

tourists as a management issue in practice, and have not considered what it is tourists may be doing at the sites

The interview with officials shows that tourism has not been considered in the WHL or any decision-making process. Although they nominated that tourism could bring positive effects to heritage sites, they noted that this depended on well-designed management strategies or policies. In terms of tourists, GO004 from the Tourism Administration of China considered the relationship between heritage and tourists is that tourists are passive receivers of the educational, historical and cultural values of heritage sites. However, respondents GO001 & GO002, from two key national heritage authorities, argued that tourists are the key stakeholders in contemporary uses of heritage. Although, as the directors of national heritage authorities, GO001 and GO002 realised the conceptual link between tourists and heritage, tourism or tourists have only been addressed as a heritage management issue.

One of the key reasons that the Chinese government tends to disregard the conceptual relation between tourists and heritage is derived from the influences of the international AHD. Experts have the power to define heritage principles and policies at international, national and local levels. During the World Heritage listing process, experts also have the right to evaluate whether the sites possess outstanding universal value for World Heritage inscription, not tourists or local communities. As noted above, China is preoccupied with international heritage affairs for its own aims, which include expressing nationalism, influencing international heritage policy, and providing cultural and historical support for the national strategy. Therefore, the Chinese governments have accumulated an increasing number and diversity of World Heritage sites. During this accumulation process, it is necessary to explore the rules of the game of the World Heritage Program. Local or tourists' perspectives do not have any influence over WHL. The above interviews even show that the Chinese governments have avoided mentioning the tourism issue during the WHL process.

4.5 Conclusion

The reframing of China's existing policies and bureaucratic systems to take into account international policy has been an active process, in which the Chinese government accepted and incorporated the dominant Western understanding and discourse of heritage. Scholars

such as Byrne (2008), based on his research in Indonesia, show that European/World Heritage values have simply been accepted as ‘right and correct’, often through the colonial process in Southeast Asia. However, I argue in this chapter that the Chinese government at the national level are critically aware of what they are doing. China is not influenced by a colonial or neo-colonial process, rather they clearly characterised the World Heritage listing process as a game they are playing for national and local political and economic purposes.

The Chinese government have gone so far as to mirror and adopt ICOMOS policy documents to ensure that they are ‘playing the game right’, and the way interviewees continually referred to this as a game needs to be given greater consideration. All the interviewees were explicitly aware that the OUVs cannot incorporate the depth of Chinese cultural values for sites – and that that does not overly worry the government. However, one of the issues of playing the game by the rules of the AHD are that tourists and local communities are not given due consideration. Communities are overlooked by, or are spoken for, by experts and tourists are seen as a management issue and not as constitutive of heritage. This is in keeping with international assumptions. However, as outlined at the end of the chapter, GO001 and GO002 saw the need for tourists to come to sites as otherwise what was the point of having such sites, suggesting that there is some discomfort or disjuncture with the UNESCO position. However, a problem emerged as I interviewed GO001 and GO002; if, as they said, we need to display the sites for their OUV, to what extent are they displaying Chinese values and understandings? Do tourists simply take up the OUV, or are they doing something more organically Chinese, or are they assimilating the OUV? I will unpack these issues in the following case study chapters.

Chapter 5: Heritage as a Game: Local Governments' and Experts' Discourses - West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou

5.1 Introduction

Pierre Bourdieu, in his influential sociological work *The Logic of Practice* (1990), coined a potent metaphor, the crucial importance of 'a feel for the game'. He explains a feel for the game as being:

what gives the game a subjective sense – a meaning a *raison d'être*, but also a direction, an orientation impending outcome for those who take part and therefore acknowledge what is at stake...it also gives the game an objective sense, because the sense of the probable outcome that is given by practical mastery of the specific regularities that constitute the economy of a field is the basis of 'sensible' practices, linked intelligibly to the conditions of their enactment, and also among themselves, and therefore immediately filled with sense and rationality for every individual who has the feel for the game. Bourdieu (1990a: 66)

In my thesis, I use the term 'game', a term that emerges in the interviews of Chinese officials at both the national level in the last chapter and at a local level in this chapter, to discuss the process of World Heritage listing. According to Bourdieu, 'a feel for the game' involves:

the practical mastery of the logic or of the imminent necessity of a game - a mastery acquired by experience of the game, and one which works outside conscious control and discourse (in the way that, for instance, techniques of the body do) (Bourdieu 1990b:61).

According to him, in social life, all games have rules that determine what game players can and cannot do. Second, 'games are learned through explicit teaching as well as experientially in practice' (Jenkins 1992:72). Bourdieu argues that:

The regularity that can be grasped statistically, which the feel for the game spontaneously abides by, which you "recognize" practically by "playing the game" ...(Bourdieu 1990b:66)

In this sense, the process of World Heritage listing is a game designed by UNESCO and relevant international authorities. They give the game objective rules and a direction or orientation, and the state parties, as game players, have to 'recognize' those game rules by 'playing the game'. In the last chapter I examined how the Chinese government at the national level plays the World Heritage listing game. In this chapter I discuss how the local government of Hangzhou plays the game.

5.2 Case Study Background

The West Lake Cultural Landscape is located west of the urban centre of Hangzhou, which is the capital city of Zhejiang province (Fig.5.1 and 5. 2). The history of West Lake can be traced back 2000 years to when it was a part of the Qiantang River. Due to soil sedimentation, a lagoon that was the old West Lake emerged to the west of Hangzhou, at the feet of Wu Mountain and the Baoshi Mountains. In the 9th century, the West Lake Landscape as it is known today began to develop. The layout of the West Lake Landscape matured in the 13th century, and was characterised as 'Cloud-capped hills on three sides of the Lake and the City on the fourth' (UNESCO, 2011:47). The lake was divided by the 'two causeways and three isles', which is considered to be one of the significant traditional landscape designs in China²⁵ (Fig. 5.2). The two causeways are the Su and Bai Causeways, which were built by Bai Juyi²⁶ and Su Dongpo²⁷ respectively during the Tang and Song Dynasties (Fig.3). This landscape design at West Lake not only represents a typical traditional Chinese landscape design, but has also influenced landscape design in East Asia, in particular Japan and Korea (UNESCO 2011a).

²⁵ It symbolises the scene of 'three hills in a pool' in the fairyland as described in legends since the Qin and Han dynasties. (Source: West Lake Nomination Dossier:64)

²⁶ Bai Juyi (772–846) was a renowned Chinese poet and Tang Dynasty government official. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bai_Juyi)

²⁷ Su Dongpo (1037–1101), a Chinese writerpoet, painter, calligrapher, pharmacologist, gastronome, and a statesman of the Song Dynasty. A major personality of the Song era, Su was an important figure in Song Dynasty politics. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Su_Shi)



Fig. 5.1&5.2 Location of West Lake cultural landscape (Source: West Lake Nomination document, 2011).

Since the Southern Song Dynasty (13th century), 'Poetically Named Scenic Places'²⁸ emerged, which are called the '西湖十景 Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places of West Lake' in the present (Fig. 5.3). The series of ten scenic places were contributed to by many scholars and artists from the 13th to 18th centuries, which includes (see Fig. 5.4): 苏堤春晓 Su Causeway in the Morning of Spring(A1), 曲院风荷 Breeze-ruffled Lotus at Winding Garden(A2), 平湖秋月 Autumn Moon over the Calm Lake(A3), 断桥残雪 Lingering Snow on Broken Bridge (A4), 花港观鱼 Viewing Fish at Flowery Pond(A5), 柳浪闻莺 Orioles Singing in the Willows(A6), 三潭印月 Three Pools Mirroring the Moon(A7), 双峰插云 Twin Peaks Piercing the Clouds(A8), 雷峰夕照 Leifeng Pagoda in the Evening Glow(A9), 南屏晚钟 Evening Bell Ringing at Nanping Hill(A10). Each of them has its poetic meaning consisting of 5 basic elements, as defined in the nomination documents:

- 1) viewing places (points) and scopes of sights chosen by painters for over 10 centuries;
- 2) a stele with the name of the place inscribed on it following the emperors' calligraphy of the 18th century and sheltered by a pavilion, serving as the mark of the place;
- 3) a four-character poetic name given by poets to the place which has passed down for over 10 centuries;

²⁸ Based on poets' 'aesthetic perception of natural landscape, especially famous scenic places, and on the ideas or feelings he intends to engender, a painter composes a work to capture an 'enframed scenery' of specific conception; then a poet gives the 'enframed scenery' a four-character poetic name according to the aesthetic features of the paintings. Hence a 'scenic place with a 4-character poetic name' came into being; and finally viewers form a landscape unit out of the scenery represented by the painting.' (Source: West Lake Nomination Dossier, 2011:48)

- 4) historic sites, cultural relics, characteristic plants and natural views within the specific scopes of the place that are directly associated to the name of the place;
- 5) Famous literature, historic and artistic works, stories of associated historical figures, as inspired by the place, as well as the spiritual and emotional bonds of traditional Chinese culture these works and stories represent. (West Lake Nomination Dossier 2011:68)

Besides the ‘西湖十景 Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places of West Lake’, there are a great number of other historic monuments and sites (see Fig. 5.3) which are still evolving, which include Baochu Pagoda (B1²⁹), Site of Leifeng Pagoda(B2), Liuhe Pagoda(B3), Jingci Temple(B4), Lingyin Temple(B5), Statues on Feilafeng Peak (B6), Yue Fei’s Tomb (and Temple) (B7), Wenlan Pavilion(B8), Baopu Taoist Monastery(B9), Site of the Qiantang Gate(B10), Site of the Temporary Imperial Palace of the Qing Dynasty(B11), Stele of Wuhe-fu and Lin Bu’s Tomb(B12), Building Complex of Xiling Seal Engravers Society (B13) and Longjing Well (B14) (UNESCO 2011). The nomination dossier of West Lake documents that those sites have 'embodied exceptional wealthy and diverse cultures and traditions, and are supporting component of the nominated property as a ‘lake with cultural meanings’ "(West Lake Nomination Dossier 2011:15).

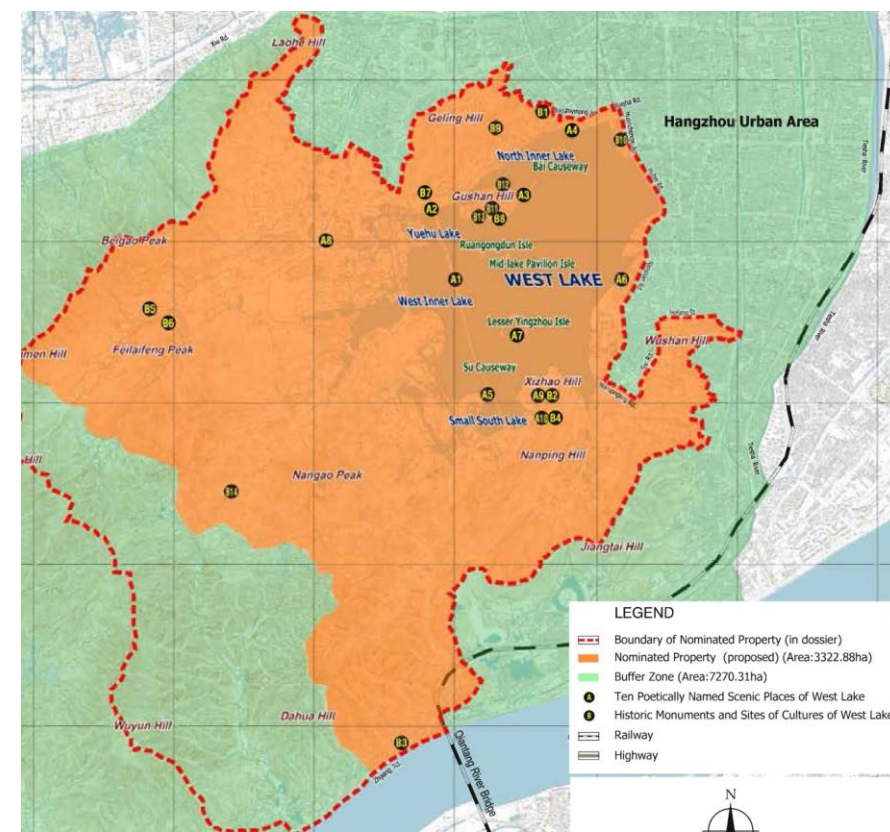


Fig. 5.3 Heritage Area and Buffer Zone Chart of West Lake Cultural Landscape, including Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places of West Lake and other important historic monuments and sites (Source: West Lake Nomination Dossier 2011)

²⁹ B1 refer to the site location on the map (fig.3)

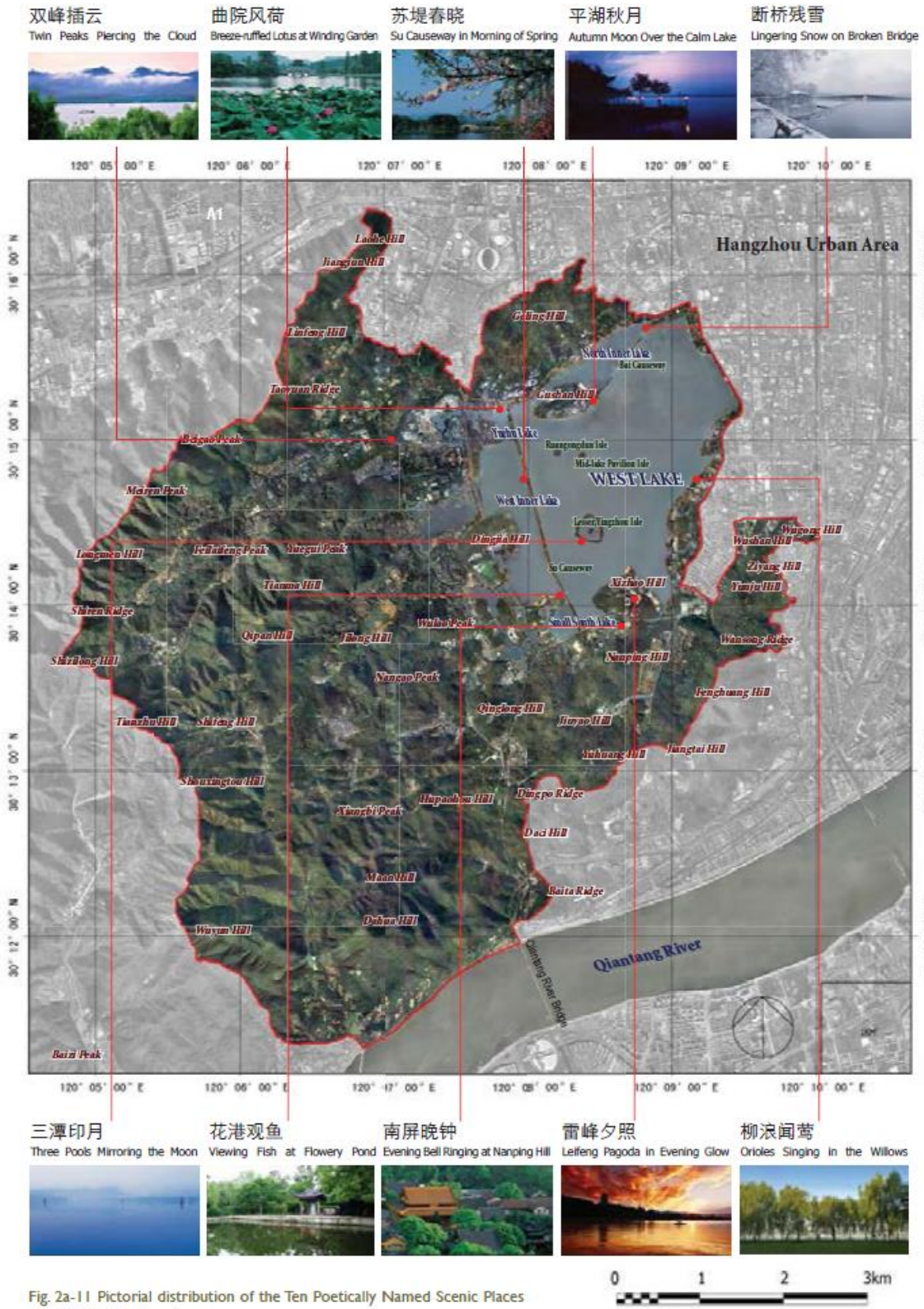


Fig. 2a-11 Pictorial distribution of the Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places of the West Lake Landscape

Figure 4. West Lake Nominated Properties

Fig. 5.4 Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places of West Lake (Source: West Lake Nomination Dossier 2011)

On June 24, 2011, UNESCO inscribed the West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou on the World Heritage List, with a property area of 4235.76 hectares, claiming that it “bears an exceptional testimony to the cultural tradition of improving landscapes to create a series of vistas reflecting an idealized fusion between humans and nature” (UNESCO 2011b) basis of criteria (ii), (iii) and (vi):

‘Criterion (ii): The improved landscape of West Lake can be seen to reflect Buddhist ideals imported into China from India such as 'Buddhist peacefulness' and 'nature as paintings', and in turn it had a major influence on landscape design in East Asia. Its causeways, islands, bridges, temples, pagodas and well defined views, were widely copied over China, notably in the summer Palace at Beijing and in Japan. The notion of ten poetically named scenic places persisted for seven centuries all over China and also spread to the Korean peninsula after the 16th century, when Korean intellectuals made visits to the West Lake.

Criterion (iii): The West Lake landscape is an exceptional testimony to the very specific cultural tradition of improving landscapes to create a series of 'pictures' that reflect what was seen as a perfect fusion between people and nature, a tradition that evolved in the Tang and Song Dynasties and has continued its relevance to the present day. The 'improved' West Lake, with its exceptional array of man-made causeways, islands, bridges, gardens, pagodas and temples, against a backdrop of the wooded hills, can be seen as an entity that manifests this tradition in an outstanding way.

Criterion (vi): The Tang and Song culture of demonstrating harmony between man and nature by improving the landscape to create pictures of great beauty, captured by artists and given names by poets, is highly visible in the West Lake Landscape, with its islands, causeways, temples, pagodas and ornamental planting. The value of that tradition has persisted for seven centuries in West Lake and has spread across China and into Japan and Korea, turning it into a tradition of outstanding significance-’ (UNESCO 2011b).

After the successful inscription of the World Heritage site, millions of Chinese people have used weibo.com (the equivalent of Twitter) to circulate the news. The Hangzhou government put considerable effort into the World Heritage listing. For instance, the local government has

invested billions of RMB for the '西湖综合保护工程 West Lake Protection Project' since 2001, and one of the main aims of the project was to ensure the success of the World Heritage Listing (The Hangzhou Government 2002). In July 2011, one month after West Lake was successfully inscribed on the World Heritage list, the Cultural Heritage Monitoring and Management Centre of West Lake was established to ensure the management and sustainable development of the West Lake Cultural Landscape. The central government of Hangzhou also established the West Lake Research Institute and International Urban Research Centre of Hangzhou, which has published over 31 million words, including the West Lake literature integration 西湖文献集成, Stories of West Lake 西湖全书, General History of West Lake 西湖通史, Lexicon of West Lake 西湖辞典, and Research Report of West Lake 西湖研究报告 during the ten years of the World Heritage listing process (The Cultural Heritage Monitoring and Management Centre of West Lake 2012). These research reports have either documented the cultural history of the past or recorded the achievements of the present. Along with the West Lake Cultural Landscape World Heritage Nomination dossier (West Lake Nomination Dossier 2011), this research, funded by the central government of Hangzhou, incorporated a Chinese version of the authorised heritage discourse, which Yan (2015) called 'the harmony discourse.'

Yan (2015) argues that the harmony discourse is the equivalent of, if not more hegemonic, than the Western AHD. The definition and characteristic of the harmony discourse has been analysed in Chapter 2 (see page 26). My research reveals that, during the World Heritage listing process at West Lake, the harmony discourse has been incorporated into the nomination dossier, local research reports and other local management policies, in a similar way as Yan (2015) demonstrated based on his research on Fujian Tulou. According to the West Lake Cultural Landscape World Heritage Nomination dossier (West Lake Nomination Dossier 2011), the words 'harmony' and 'harmonious' are used 55 times and 46 times respectively. For instance, according to UNESCO's official description (UNESCO 2011b), the West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou represents '[t]he Tang and Song culture of demonstrating harmony between man and nature by improving the landscape to create pictures of great beauty, captured by artists and given names by poets, is highly visible in the West Lake Landscape, with its islands, causeways, temples, pagodas and ornamental planting'. The concept of 'harmony between man and nature' used here was imported directly from the West Lake nomination dossier. Ostensibly, the harmony discourse stresses the inclusion of people, and emphasises the 'fusion between man and object' that is antithetical

the AHD, which focus on the materiality of heritage and privileges the heritage experts' and politicians' expertise. However, as I found when I interviewed the government officials and site managers who are in charge of the World Heritage nomination process for West Lake, the interviewees mentioned that the local communities did not participate in any part of the decision making process for the World Heritage Listing (see page 106 this chapter). The AHD was the key factor that facilitated Chinese policy makers and managers ignoring local communities and their values, rather than the national harmony discourse. Although, as I reviewed the West Lake Nomination Dossier (West Lake Nomination Dossier 2011), the harmony discourse was not only included in the OUV descriptions, but also discursively influenced the West Lake local management principles and policies. The AHD still seemed to be the primary concern of the Chinese government officials and experts, at least during the World Heritage listing process at West Lake (see also page 101-107 of this chapter).

Many other materials support my observations. I reviewed the academic attention that has been paid to the World Heritage listing process, for example, Yang (2007), who focuses on the protection, management and development issues, while Shi (2012) discusses how West Lake meets the criteria of UNESCO, and the connection between material heritage and its spiritual meaning has been considered by Ni & Xu (2012). Those authors either discussed the technical issues that ensured the aesthetic or spiritual values were recognised by the international experts, or introduced ways to appreciate the cultural or spiritual meaning of West Lake. As I reviewed the relevant local newspapers, including the *Hangzhou Daily*, *Zhejiang Daily*, *China Tourism News* and *Xinhua Daily Telegraph*, from 2004-2013, the majority of articles stressed the management strategies needed to meet the international criteria provided by local or national experts (*China Tourism News* 2008); discussed the great sense of pride the WHL brought to Hangzhou citizens (See *Daily Business* 2011); reemphasised the difficulty of the local governments' great efforts to help Western experts 'understand' West Lake (*China Tourism News* 2009; *Zhejiang Daily* 2010; *Daily Business* 2011); and introduced the so called 'international concepts' such as Cultural Landscape, and discussed how those concepts can be used to fit the Chinese World Heritage strategies (*China Business Herald* 2011).

There are also many reports in the tourism literature and newspapers that emerged during the process of WHL. For instance, Fu (2004), Luo (2010), Li (2012), Wei (2012) and Zhang (2012) discussed how to use WHL as a resource to develop so called 'international tourism',

and disseminated the term the ‘International Tourism City Hangzhou’; the changes of governments policies, city planning strategies and tourism strategies that World Heritage listing has brought to the site (see; Lv 2006; Wang 2008; Zheng 2008); and characterised the touristic types of Hangzhou (Li 2005; Li 2007; Hu 2005). Some newspapers wrote about interview reports of locals’ reactions to the increased tourism issues after WHL (see *Zhejiang Daily* 2011, 2013), which simply complimented the governments’ management, such as free entrance fees and improved infrastructure for Hangzhou city. There are also some non-academic surveys conducted with tourists, including a survey of tourists' satisfaction visiting experiences with framed research questionnaires (see Zhejiangzaixian 2013). The purpose of those surveys simply provided statistical data on tourists for tourism development. Few studies focussed their research on how tourists’ sense of West Lake, or what they feel at the site. There are also few in-depth examples of research on local communities' reaction to the presence of mass tourism and the interaction between locals and tourists. I will further discuss this further in Chapter 6.

In addition, the arguments of those academic and non-academic researchers of heritage and tourism during the WHL process of West Lake are mainly from top-down experts’ perspectives or government policies, and described their achievements. Little work has been done from a sociological and anthropological perspective to deeply understand how national and local government officials were likely to be influenced or affected during the World Heritage Listing process. In order to address this, I will explore local authorities' understanding of heritage and tourism by analysing my interview data with local authorities.

5.3 Local Authorities' Concerns about World Heritage Listing and Tourism

On June 24, 2011, West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou was successfully inscribed on the WHL. After its successful inscription, many national and local newspapers and social media circulated the news with the title ‘让世界读懂西湖’ (See Xinhuanet.com 2011; People.com 2011b; Hangzhou.com 2011), which translated in to English means ‘How to translate the meaning of West Lake to the world’. On the one hand those articles generally described the extremely difficult process that the Hangzhou government had put great effort into to improve the infrastructure and change the built environment of West Lake to fit the authenticity and integrity standards of UNESCO (*Zhejiang Daily* 2010).

On the other hand, those articles argued that the key to the successful World Heritage nomination was that the Western examiners and World Heritage Committee finally understood the value of West Lake and how it matched the OUV, though they could not understand the Chinese value of West Lake in the first place. However, those materials only addressed the physical changes and a sense of pride from the upper classes, such as experts and governments' officials. Except for the World Heritage nomination, the reasons for the Hangzhou government's desperate attempts for Western recognition are still unclear. The process of how Chinese experts translated Chinese values for them to be finally understood by international authorities is still vague. In this section I will analyse my interview results with local authorities to explore whether World Heritage listing simply augmented existing values, or did it in fact change or otherwise rework and create new values and meanings of sites? Also, what role does tourism play in any changes of understanding or value to Chinese World Heritage sites from the local authorities' perspectives?

I interviewed the director of the Cultural Heritage Monitoring and Management Centre of West Lake, who was in charge of the World Heritage application and management issues on 13th November, 2013, hereafter referred to as WL140. A government official (WL141) from the Cultural Heritage Monitoring and Management Centre of West Lake was interviewed on 7th November, 2013. On 4th December, 2013, I also interviewed two vice-directors (WL142 and WL143) from the Institute of Architectural History, which is under the supervision of the China Architecture Design and Research Group, and who wrote the nomination dossier for the West Lake World Heritage Listing. One of the key questions I asked was **'How do you personally understand World Heritage?'**

WL140: Well, your question is too broad. As a World Heritage site manager, I have to be very familiar with the standards and demands of the WHC and the operational guidelines, and carry them out in our management system. I do not think discussing my personal understanding is important. I think the concept of World Heritage is a kind of game, which means a process for WH listing. This game has been changing and evolving in recent decades. It is the responsibility of UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN to improve the game rules. The thing we need to consider is to adapt to the new rules and how to apply the international policy to our site. That is what I need to keep in mind.

From her perspective, World Heritage is a game designed by international authorities such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN. She did not care about her personal understanding of World Heritage, the key issue for her was her ability to ‘correctly’ implement international definitions and policies. In fact, the World Heritage listing was a process where local authorities' worked with experts, exploring the game rules of the UNESCO World Heritage Program. During this process, Chinese cultural values or management practices were superseded by the perception that China is playing a game whose rules are set internationally, and therefore everyone involved must forego some of their own cultural understanding in the process.

After Hangzhou, every province and city in China has the ambition of having a heritage site inscribed on the World Heritage List (see, for instance, China.com 2004; Xinhuanet.com 2010; Sina.com 2013; People.cn 2014). One of the significant reasons is nationalism. As Meyer (2008:179) wittily observes, ‘China wants UNESCO World Heritage sites the same way actors want Oscars, for the recognition’. The number of inscribed properties is a form of ‘soft-power’ to increase China’s, at least from the perspective of the Chinese, international political and economic legitimacy. The successful inscription is believed to have reinforced the popularity of Hangzhou at an international level. The interviews with WL142 and 143 demonstrate these issues:

WL142: The local government have made up their mind about WHL a long time ago. The ex-mayor of Hangzhou Guoping Wang had been in charge of the WHL application.

WL143: The citizens of Hangzhou, including Guoping Wang, have been proud of West Lake. West Lake has received all the highest titles at the national level, such as *全国重点文物保护单位 (National Cultural Relics)* and *风景名胜区 (Scenic and Historic Interest Areas)*. They want their site to be recognised at a broader international level, not only the recognition of the reputation, but also their efforts for the protection of West Lake. In addition, their enthusiasm for World Heritage listing is not driven by economic reasons, at least not the key elements.

WL142: I agree, there was no World Heritage site in Zhejiang province before West Lake, which many people were embarrassed about because Zhejiang is a well-developed area in China and also has profound and representative cultural sites. WHL

has brought an international brand that Hangzhou citizens consider has good opportunities for both the economic and cultural development of the city. I think, in other words, that WHL is not the final aim but plays a role as a catalyst for Hangzhou's development.

WL143: The year before government officials invited us to plan the nomination dossier, they already had done research. Their research was not only based on collecting traditional Chinese cultural and historical information, but explored management and planning systems in the contemporary era.

The responses from WL142 and 143 illustrate that before West Lake was successfully inscribed on the WHL, provincial governments felt embarrassed that there was no World Heritage site in Zhejiang province. The inscription strongly reinforced their sense of nationalism. As Guoping Wang, former mayor of Hangzhou and leader of the UNESCO listing application, stated: 'The landscape belongs to not just Hangzhou, but also to (the rest of) China and the whole world,' (Whiteley 2011). As WL143 said, the local government had done a lot of research before they began to write the nomination dossier. In order to be part of the game designed by international authorities, the Hangzhou government had prepared for more than ten years to ensure a successful inscription.

RRZ: What were the reasons that encouraged the local government to apply for World Heritage listing of West Lake?

WL140: Well, the listing process is an absolutely hard and long task. At first, many domestic experts suggested West Lake should apply as a combination site, as they think West Lake possesses both outstanding natural and cultural values. However, we carefully read the standards and demands for combination sites from the Operational Guidelines. Based on the four categories for listing a nature site, West Lake hardly qualified. Therefore, we give up the original thought of applying for a combination site, and focused on a cultural heritage application. With a long process of discussions and seminars by experts, we decided to apply for a cultural landscape listing. West Lake is an outstanding example of the Cultural Landscape category; it represents the work done by humans and nature.

RRZ: Were there any difficulties during the listing process?

WL140: Well, it is very hard to understand the game rules of the World Heritage program, which is the key issue for World Heritage listing. How to explain clearly the OUV of West Lake, and make sure our discourse can be understood by international experts and fits this international game's rules.

RRZ: As far as I know, from your article in 2007, you pointed out the importance of the West Lake Protection Project [2002-1010], and mentioned that some locals have been moved from their houses that were located beside the World Heritage nomination area to other places in the city. Could you please tell me more about this?

WL140: The West Lake Protection Project started in 2002, but was not only for the World Heritage application. It aims to solve several problems of West Lake. Firstly, many public open spaces that belonged to the public were occupied by state-owned enterprises and residents because of reasons of history. The most important task for this project was to move out these residents to new settlements. It is a very hard process. We did not move all of them, and most of the tea farmers and other residents who lived there for generations can stay. But they should renovate the old houses with the guidance of local government, in order to develop well-organised '景中村 village in scenic sites' (Fig.5.5). However, residents who work for state-owned enterprises and their families should move, and the local governments had provided a great offer for their resettlement.

Secondly, the project aimed to improve the water quality of West Lake. The facilities of the old houses, those close to the lake were poor, and domestic sewage directly discharged into the lake which had caused water pollution. There has been a great improvement [in water quality] because of this project.

In addition, during this project, a large area of fishponds, disordered old houses and abandoned farmland located at the west of the West Lake has been returned to wetlands (Fig. 5.6). We also introduced water from the Qiantang River to ensure the water quality of West Lake.



Fig. 5.5 'Village in scenic sites' before (left) and after (right) the West Lake Protection Project (Source from the Hangzhou government)



Fig. 5.6 The physical changes to the Maojiabu area before and after the West Lake Protection Project (Photo in August 2002, sourced from the Hangzhou government)

Apart from specific protection and management projects, the responses show that following the game rules designed by international authorities was the priority during the ten year long listing process. Local governments' effort focused on how to promote attention and recognition from Western experts. In the listing process local government policy makers tried their best to translate Chinese traditional philosophy and understandings of heritage into terms understandable by the international community in order to meet the international standards required for recognition. In this process, local Chinese values were reworked around the AHD, a discourse that favours the idea that heritage is ultimately about national identity (Smith 2006: 48-49). As Askew (2010) explains, one of the key reasons for the popularity of the World Heritage program is that the successful nomination of a site enables states to promote their own nationalism. An example of this can be found in my interview with WL141:

WL141: The listing process is an absolutely hard task. We have to be familiar with the WHC, The Operational Guidelines. We also have to research what the Western heritage experts' and World Heritage Committee's considerations are for the successful listing of sites. It is really a tough process. For example, a Western heritage examiner from Norway who represented the advisory body ICOMOS came to West Lake. During his visit, he mentioned that it was just a normal lake that can be found anywhere in the world, and in particular in his hometown. At first, it is very hard to explain to him a Chinese understanding of West Lake. His background is based on the Western ideology, and he had confused the OUV we tried to explain. Therefore, we have organised many seminars and discussions with both Chinese and Western experts in order to find a way that Western experts could understand what we are trying to express. We also have strictly based the nomination on the Operational Guideline's definition of Cultural Landscape that represents the "combined works of nature and of man" to explain OUV of West Lake and its authenticity and integrity. Finally, the Western experts (including that Norwegian expert from ICOMOS) and the World Heritage Committee recognised the outstanding values of West Lake. I do not know how much they understand, nevertheless West Lake was inscribed on the WHL.

The responses from WL141 reflects those of WL140, in that the process of the World Heritage listing was a process of reading, exploring and understanding the game rules of the UNESCO World Heritage Program. She gave me an impressive example about how difficult it was to translate the Chinese values to Western experts in order to get support from ICOMOS. She indicates that the most important point of the inscription of World Heritage listing was for nationalism. Whether Western experts truly understand the value of West Lake for the Chinese was seen as less important. During my interview with the national government official (GO002) in Chapter 4 (see page 74-75), he also told me the same story of the Norwegian expert from ICOMOS. The local newspapers such as *Zhejiang Daily* (see *China Tourism News* 2009; *Zhejiang Daily* 2010; *Hangzhou.com* 2011), as well as Chinese official websites such as *Xinhuanet.com* (2011) and *People.com* (2011), quoted this ICOMOS expert as well. This reveals a strong and persistent perception that the Chinese and their values could not be understood by Europeans, and the Norwegian expert became a symbol of the need to translate Chinese values for Western contexts. This reflects the perspectives of Chinese officials about the West, as they considered that Chinese values must

be edited based on so called 'international standards' for recognition by the dominant authorities.

The interview with WL143 supports what WL140, WL141 and GO002 said, and she further indicated the details of how those Chinese values have been edited:

WL143: Well, West Lake was our first nomination project. We were not familiar with the six criteria for Cultural Heritage Listing. Professor Tongbing Chen and his team (including us) had discussed with other experts and scholars of Hangzhou in order to abstract the OUV of West Lake. It is a long process. At first, our position of assessing the heritage value of West Lake was based on our traditional recognition of a Chinese Landscape, rather than considered from an international view. Therefore, we had carefully researched the criteria and standards of the WH program. When we re-abstracted and re-formulated the heritage values of West Lake from our earlier works, we always keep in mind that our view should be based on a global perspective. As you mentioned, there are six criteria for assessing a World Cultural Heritage site, they are six different aspects that you understand and interpret a heritage site by, rather than fixed criteria. You know, the main aim of assessing a World Heritage site is OUV, with the six criteria helping to interpret why the site has OUV.

Although WL143 did not mention what exact Chinese values have been edited or compromised, she clearly stated that in order to ensure the successful inscription, 'we always keep in mind that our view should be based on a global perspective'. The *Zhejiang Daily* (2011) published an interview with Professor Tongbing Chen, who was the primary expert in charge of the West Lake World Heritage nomination. She indicated that the sense of feeling is the key issue that cannot be understood by Western peoples:

Since the Southern Song Dynasty, it is a sense of feeling that Chinese can perceive landscape and Chinese painting with specific meanings. However, these meanings are hardly understood by Western people. Therefore, we have to explain West Lake to Western examiners in their ways (*Zhejiang Daily* 2011, translated by Rouran Zhang).

As Professor Tongbing Chen said, the sense of feeling is a key concept that Western people cannot understand. However, the Chinese experts tried their best to pare the square peg of Chinese values to fit into the round hole of UNESCO standards, and focused on making sure

the physical values, historical and cultural values could fit UNESCO's 'OUV' or be understood by Western experts. There is no literature or other materials with which to analyse what the sense of feeling is and why it cannot understand by Western people. One of the tasks of my thesis is to explore what the sense of feeling is, and demonstrate that it is a significant concept representing Chinese values and should be considered in the World Heritage game. I will analyse this issue, which linked to tourists' perceptions in Chapter six (page xx). In addition, the interview with WL143 also reflected what the 'global perspective' of the WHL process focusses on, which shows that the perspectives of local communities about heritage value has been ignored. All local government officials intended to avoid or gave me vague information when I ask them whether the local communities participated or not during the listing process. However, the two experts (WL142 and 143) answered:

WL142: No, they were not. The listing process and final decision was based on discussions between experts and site managers. Local communities did not participate in this project. Actually, most villages are not in the nomination area of the final document.

WL143: Yes, most of the inscribed area is public space. We had nominated the Longjin Tea Plantation Base (Fig.5.7) which included local residents in the final document, and this was rejected by UNESCO. Nevertheless, the listing decision was made according to the discussions with site managers and experts.



Fig. 5.7 Longjin Tea Plantation Base (Source from the Hangzhou government)

The listing process was a combination of work between experts and government officials. Local communities who are supposed to be significant stakeholders had been ignored, while tourists were not necessarily seen as stakeholders. My interviews show that China perceived itself to be playing a game, the rules of which it did not make up. They subverted Chinese values, which could not be explained to Western experts, in favour of those of international policy and expertise. This is important as, ultimately, these values and 'rules' frame the management of West Lake to some extent as the Chinese government must, to maintain the listing, not deviate from the rules of the game. These rules facilitated Chinese policy makers and managers ignoring local communities and their values. Thus, they and other non-government and non-expert stakeholders become marginalized in the management of the site. To follow on from these issues another important question that I asked was, **'Has World Heritage listing brought any changes to the site?'**

WL140: WHL has brought significant changes to Hangzhou, firstly, during these ten years; we always kept in mind the standard and the demands of the World Heritage Convention. We actually have been using the World Heritage listing as a motivation, and using its standards to protect the site, as well as improve the management. We want our city and our site to get international recognition. Our use of the WHL process was hard but significant. What we have learned and gained from the WHL process carried more weight than successful nomination itself. This process is significant for the conservation of the authenticity and integrity of West Lake, as well as the recognition of its culture. This is the first key issue I would like to address, that the WHL process has stimulated protection. Secondly, we have paid more attention to research on the cultural aspects relating to West Lake and Hangzhou, during the listing process. In order to find the discourse of 'OUV' for WHL, we have performed many searches. You know, West Lake has a long history with an extraordinary culture. How to choose the values of our culture, which can represent OUV for UNESCO's taste, is very hard work. During these ten years, we have done much research, which includes hundreds of publications, establishing the West Lake Research Academy and funding thirteen research projects. We are also concerned with the protection and management of West Lake. We are researching the public transport systems, tourism pressure, urban development and so on. This research is because of what the WHL process brings to the sites.

In addition, the success of WH listing means that West Lake has received international recognition. The reputation of West Lake is upgraded from the national and Southeast Asian level to the global level. The Western countries know more about West Lake and Hangzhou because of WH listing, and they visit Hangzhou because it is close to Shanghai. Furthermore, the successful inscription of West Lake means that it is our responsibility to ensure our protection and management are at an international level.

The response shows that the local government had used World Heritage listing as a stimulating factor for site protection and the development of Hangzhou city. The World Heritage listing process also boosted local governments' and researchers' enthusiasm to explore the history and culture of Hangzhou. It also shows a realisation that to maintain the listing; Western international values would need to be maintained in the way the site is managed. However, her arguments reflected her sense of pride based on the successful inscription of the site. WL142 and WL143 also answered this question:

WL143: We have been undertaken some research projects after the WHL of Hangzhou. We reconsidered the process, how we have formulated and abstracted the OUV of West Lake. There are some differences between the OUV we discussed and the international ICOMOS evaluation result, although we had tried our best to follow the instructions of the World Heritage Convention and the Operational Guidelines. Based on the evaluation standards of ICOMOS, the locals who live beside the lake, in the buffer zone, are not accounted to be stakeholders. Because they do not live in the inscribed area, which means that they are irrelevant to the OUV of the site. I still think the Longjin Tea Plantation Base should be inscribed. Locals who live in the buffer zone, even the Hangzhou citizens and tourists are important stakeholders. From my perspective, there are some contradictions in the WH program. If site managers want to 100% ensure the protection of the OUV of heritage sites, they should move out the local communities who are irrelevant to the OUV and may have potential to provide negative effect on the OUV, in particular to most natural heritage sites which possess ecological and biological OUV. Therefore, I think local governments should have a clear mind before they apply for WHL, and the relationship between local communities and OUV. The situation in China with regard to WH is very complex.

WL142: Yes, the main problem is that local governments do not have a clear mind as to why they are applying for a World Heritage site, however, local governments dominate all details of the listing process. I think there is a need to promulgate a rule for regulation at the national level before local governments submit their applications.

WL143: The other problem is that local governments have a great enthusiasm for WH applications. However, they do not have such enthusiasm for protection and management after successful listing. Hangzhou has done a good job of management.

The response from WL143 shows that although West Lake was successfully listed on the WHL, as an expert with an Eastern background, she is still confused about some of the standards within the international discourse. However, her job was to get West Lake inscribed, not argue with those international authorities. WL143 pointed out that he was confused about why the Longjin Tea Plantation Base was rejected by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. In his understanding, the Longjin Tea Plantation Base represents one of the key Chinese values of West Lake, the 'harmony between nature and man'. Yan (2015), based on his research on Fujian Tulou, argues that the Chinese government has incorporated the notion of 'harmony between nature and man' into a Chinese version of the AHD – the 'Chinese harmony discourse' (see Chapter 2, page 26). The Harmony Discourse privileges the national or local political or economic strategies and experts' knowledge in order to create or maintain a 'Harmonious Society' (see Yan 2012, 2015). It also empowers authorities to ignore the voices from other communities.

As I reviewed the West Lake Nomination Dossier (2011), the harmony discourse was not only included in the OUV descriptions, but also discursively influenced the West Lake local management principles and policies. For instance, the Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places, including '断桥残雪 Lingered Snow on Broken Bridge', which could not be understood by the Norwegian expert from ICOMOS, are the key OUV criteria for West Lake inscribed on the World Heritage List. One of the key concepts of those ten places is the embodiment of the notion of 'harmony between nature and man'. There is a contradiction, in that the Norwegian expert from ICOMOS supported the OUV description of West Lake, while my interview clearly shows that both government officials and experts did not think the Western examiner fully understood the Chinese significance of West Lake. On the other hand, the concept of 'harmony between nature and man' is also the key discourse for Longjin Tea Plantation Base,

however it was rejected by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. In the ICOMOS (2011:145) report for the World Heritage Committee, ICOMOS simply states that:

The one area of the landscape that ICOMOS did not consider fully exemplified the ideals of landscape aesthetics were the extensive area of tea gardens to the west of the lake. Although the mountains that rise above the tea gardens form part of the backdrop of the lake the tea plantations are a ‘farmed’ landscape that do not contribute to the designed landscape.

The stated reasons that ICOMOS excluded the Longjin Tea Plantation Base is that the landscape did not fulfil an aesthetic ideal, which sits firmly with the European AHD. Although the Chinese governments at both national and local level expressed confusion and dissatisfaction with the hegemonic international heritage discourse and the dominance of the UNESCO OUV criteria, they have, nonetheless, been quite willing to shave or polish the square peg of Chinese values to fit into the round hole of UNESCO standards. The heritage authorities’ primary concern appears to have been obtaining successful inscriptions of their nominated sites and the benefits they can gain from the World Heritage listing. These benefits include a great sense of pride in both the national and local government and attracting economic capital to the site. Therefore, the Western AHD has dominated the World Heritage listing process of Chinese heritage sites.

In addition, WL143 pointed out a significant issue, which is that many governments at provincial and local level do not have a clear understanding as to why they apply for World Heritage status, WL142 further pointed out that:

WL142: Compared to Western countries, I think the World Heritage Brand is much more important for Chinese governments

WL143: Japanese and Koreans are the same as us.

WL142: You know, I have been to the US and Canada, where they do not care much for the World Heritage program. I went to Australian Convict Sites in Sydney this year, and I could not find the World Heritage sign. Therefore, I asked a site manager the reason, and he said that the sign is located in an unimpressive corner.

WL143: I think what Western people’s concerns are about the management and protection strategies the WH program can bring to a site, and whether their sites have met this highest international standard. They do not care about the World Heritage brand. However, Chinese have paid more attention to this international brand, rather

than the mission of the WH program. I think Chinese local governments should consider why we apply for WH and what the stakeholders need from the WHL. Otherwise, the WH application is meaningless.

WL142: Yeah, I agree. I think the international strategies of protection carried more weight than the brand itself. You know last year after the WHL, local governments have built a huge World Heritage sign at '涌金门 Yongjinmen' (located east of West Lake) (Fig. 5.8). This is in contrast, for example, to that Australian Convict Site in Sydney with regard to the WH brand.



Fig. 5.8 Huge World Heritage sign at '涌金门 Yongjinmen' (source from www.Hangzhou.com.cn)

From the two experts' perspective, there is one thing that provincial and local governments understand, and that is the reputation WHL can bring to a city or province. Protection, they note, is of less significance than getting 'the brand' of WH. Of course, one of the issues about getting a brand is the attention it draws, not simply the attention of international experts, but domestic and international travellers or tourists. However, most of them did not think about who heritage belongs to, or who has the right to define heritage. In the Chinese context, locals who live in World Heritage sites, and tourists who visit heritage sites, do not have the right to participate in any decision making process of World Heritage listing and management. World Heritage listing became an international game played by Chinese politicians, Chinese experts and Western experts. Therefore, the AHD is still the primary concern of the Chinese government officials and experts, at least during the World Heritage listing process at West Lake. I also interviewed both governments' officials and experts for their perspectives on tourism.

RRZ: What do you think of tourism?

WL140: I think tourism and the WH application and inscription have no relevance. I think the key issues of WH concern site protection and management and its relevant authenticity and integrity. But the successful WHL of course brings more tourists to sites. In terms of West Lake, we have considered the tourism problems in the process of WHL, in particular the tourists' pressure at popular touristic points during the public holiday. Therefore, we have made a great effort and developed strategies in order to mitigate negative effects from tourists. For example, we have developed other touristic places such as The Grand Canal [Listed on WHL in 2014] and Xixi National Wetland Park in order to mitigate tourism pressure on West Lake, and also provide a comfortable touristic experience for mass tourists. In addition, you know, West Lake is famous for all Chinese people. Therefore, WHL has brought stable increases of tourists, rather than dramatic changes as at other WH sites. The Listing actually attracted more international tourists.

RRZ: Do you think tourism is one of the key issues that led to West Lake applying for WH listing?

WL140: Absolutely not. As I said, the rules of the World Heritage game do not have any relevance for tourism. The WHC and operational guidelines do not mention anything about tourism. However, tourists, as one of the stakeholders, whether they support the WH application or not, their involvement in the protection of the site by their visiting is important for us. But tourism and World Heritage are two different things.

RRZ: What is your perspective on tourists?

WL140: We have done some research relevant to stakeholders. My perspective is that tourists of course are one of the stakeholders. However, they are not key stakeholders, because they just come to visit for a short time. Locals are far more important than tourists.

Her response illustrates that tourism and heritage are two different issues as understood within the WH 'game.' Although WL140 admitted that tourists are one of the stakeholders, but not a consequential stakeholder, because they just appear for a short time, she noted that, from her understanding of the WH 'game', they had to be treated as irrelevant, or more particularly as a management 'problem'. However, her response also reflects that mass tourists have stimulated the development of other heritage sites, such as The Grand Canal and

Xixi National Wetland Park. In addition, WL140 identified that she considered that local communities are important stakeholders, however, they were not involved in decision making during the World Heritage listing process, as their presence outside of the designated area meant that, according to the rules of WH listing, they could not be included. As she notes this exclusion went against her own understanding of their role, indicating how the WH 'rules' overwrote the values of local experts and policy makers. I also asked WL142 and 143 the questions related to tourism:

RRZ: Did relevant tourism authorities participate during the WHL process?

WL142: Tourism departments at both national and local level did not participate during the listing process.

WL143: Tourism was not the main purpose of WHL.

WL142: Yes. Firstly, West Lake was already very famous in China before WHL, and the tourists' numbers were in the top three of Chinese touristic destinations after the Forbidden City and the Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor. Therefore, unlike Xidi and Hongcun, WHL has not brought dramatic tourism increases to West Lake. During the listing process, we communicated with relevant local governments in order to develop management strategies limiting the number of tourists, as well as mitigating the negative effects of tourism such as destroying cultural relics.

RRZ: What do you think the relationship is between tourism and heritage?

WL143: I think tourism, from the perspective of protection, has been a threat to WHS, not least in China. However, tourism is important for local development at many heritage sites. At some heritage sites, locals and local governments have a great deal of enthusiasm to protect their places because of tourism. You know, tourism is significant for everyone, including me. I always prefer to have a tour in heritage sites. During my visit, I want to have a good touristic experience as most tourists wish, which requires a well-developed tourism infrastructure. You know, tourism is not all bad things. We are using such '展示 display and 传播 disseminated' linked with touristic activities in heritage issues, which means that we have tried to balance the role of tourism.

WL142's discourse represents a mainstream practitioners' perspective on tourism and tourists, in which tourists are regarded as only a problem or threat to be dealt with in terms of their physical impact, and that their main value is economic. WL143 shares a similar idea to WL142, and considered that tourists need to be educated, and used the terms '展示 display and 传播 disseminated' to link tourists and heritage.

5.4 Conclusion

At the international level, as Meskell et al (2015) note, the power relation in the decision making processes of the World Heritage Committee have been shifted from the dominance of Western states, and its influence on particular framing discourses, to the political soft power from National Parties such as China (see also Askew 2010). Contra to Meskell et al.'s (2015) arguments, my research reveals the way that the Chinese governments play the World Heritage game at a national level, and that the Western authorised heritage discourse is still part of this process. The government officials, as well as the experts who are in charge of the World Heritage nomination I interviewed in this research, did not say anything about the political rationale during the World Heritage listing process in the case of West Lake.

The interviews with the government officials and experts illustrated that World Heritage listing is a process influenced by the Chinese government's reading, exploring and understanding of the rules of the game of the UNESCO World Heritage Program, and how Chinese values could be translated into the international authorised heritage discourse. Respondents from governments and experts' perspectives mentioned that although the listing process benefited the protection of the sites and development of the city, the most important aim for World Heritage inscription was to reinforce nationalism. In addition, although local communities were considered as a key stakeholder, they did not participate in any stage of decision making during World Heritage listing. Furthermore, tourists were considered as marginal stakeholders, who threaten the physical integrity and authenticity of a heritage site. The respondents considered that the main value of tourists is economic, and tourists needed to be educated at the World Heritage sites that they are visiting. Therefore, my interview with government officials and experts provides evidence that the meaning of World Heritage is constructed by governments and professional experts, while the perspectives from local communities and tourists have been marginalised or ignored. Using Bourdieu's sense of 'a

feel for the game', World Heritage listing can be seen as a game, and that international authorities such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN, give the game objective rules and an orientation (such as OUV and World Heritage listing criteria), which the Chinese governments at both national and local levels act within and are constrained by:

in the sense of a capacity for practical anticipation of the 'upcoming' future continued in the present, everything that takes place in it seems sensible full of sense and objectivity directed in a judicious direction (Bourdieu 1990a: 66).

As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) and Smith (2006:43) have argued, listing itself is in fact part of the production of social relations, values and meanings about both the past and present. The next Chapter takes up the challenge offered by discussing the impacts of the AHD and the harmony discourse on the marginalised stakeholders - locals and tourists, by interviewing them two years after West Lake was successfully inscribed on the World Heritage list.

Chapter 6: Local Residents and Tourists at West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou - Challenging the Nature/Culture Divide

6.1 Introduction

As the last two chapters illustrated, both the Chinese national and local governments play the World Heritage listing game. This process is still part of the Western AHD and is replete with Eurocentric rules and terms. In the listing process Chinese values and meanings do not often translate well into the Eurocentric discourse and there is an outward modification of Chinese values to ensure listing. Chapters 4 and 5 revealed that 'World Heritage Nomination' has brought about a reshaping and reformulating of the heritage system nationally and regionally by the Chinese government. A part of this involves the elaboration of national and local discourses and visions of China's historical continuity and cultural diversity, in line with the Chinese Communist Party's policies. Smith (2006) argues that international authorities have the power to legitimate certain dominant social and cultural values, and frame other stakeholders as passive message receivers, and ignore those marginal stakeholders' who may have an active sense of the meaning and values of heritage. Yan (2015:78), who based his research on the Fujian Tulou World Heritage site, argues that the Chinese government used World Heritage as a tool to formulate a hegemonic harmony discourse, which not only 'privileges expert knowledge but dismisses local alternatives', but also defines and regulates social behaviours and moral discipline in order to force locals to 'keep the imagined and idealized "harmony"'. However, what are the responses of the two most important stakeholders – local communities and tourists - to these international and national discourses in the Chinese context? Does the World Heritage listing game change the understandings and uses of local communities' and tourists' uses of heritage sites? These are two issues are as yet under-theorized in the literature, and I will explore them in this chapter.

This chapter outlines the results of interviews with 133 local residents and tourists at West Lake in November, 2013. It is the first of two chapters that analyses interviews from West Lake, and this chapter focuses on the meanings of heritage and World Heritage as a concept for local people and tourists, while the next chapter considers what tourists do and feel at

West Lake, as well as local people’s responses to mass tourists after the World Heritage listing. This chapter argues that local and tourist understandings of heritage are active and multidimensional. The majority of locals and tourists did not passively accept the authorised heritage discourse, rather many locals and tourists revealed an aesthetic or poetic thought process, firmly tied to the Chinese traditional philosophy of ‘harmony with nature’, as Lin (1935); Zhang (1986); Wang (1990); Xu (1996) and Han (2006) have illustrated.

6.2 Demographic results of interviews with domestic tourists and local residents

Tables 6.1 to 6.5 show that of the 133 people (64 tourists and 69 locals) interviewed, 54.1% (72) were male and 45.9% (61) were female. The reason that there are slightly more males is that I interviewed ten taxi drivers, who tend to be male. Table 6.1, below, illustrates the frequency of age groups within the interview sample. Those aged 18-34 were the most frequent (62.4%) age group encountered, followed by people over 65 (12.8%). Table 6.3 identifies the occupations of both tourists and locals. The retired people I encountered were predominantly local residents of Hangzhou, who regularly used West Lake as their city park for exercise or recreation. The educational attainment of most visitors and locals was high, with 60.4% of visitors having some level of university education. Hangzhou is one of the wealthiest metropolises in China, with high levels of educational attainment³⁰.

Table 6.1: Gender

		Visitor	Local	
Gender	male	33 51.6%	39 56.5%	72 54.1%
	Female	31 48.4%	30 43.5%	61 45.9%
Total		64	69	133

³⁰ Source: <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/indexch.htm>

	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
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Table 6.2: Age

		Visitor	Local	
Age	under17	1 1.6%	1 1.4%	2 1.5%
	18-24	15 23.4%	16 23.2%	31 23.3%
	25-34	32 50.0%	20 29.0%	52 39.1%
	35-44	5 7.8%	11 15.9%	16 12.0%
	45-54	8 12.5%	1 1.4%	9 6.8%
	55-64	1 1.6%	5 7.2%	6 4.5%
	over 65	2 3.1%	15 21.7%	17 12.8%
	Total	64 100.0%	69 100.0%	133 100.0%

Table 6.3: Occupation

		Visitor	Local	
Occupation	Senior Managerial	2	1	3

	3.2%	1.5%	2.3%
Higher Grade Professional	4	3	7
	6.5%	4.4%	5.4%
Lower Grade Managerial/Professional	17	13	30
	27.4%	19.1%	23.1%
Intermediate occupations/Routine	17	18	35
	27.4%	26.4%	26.9%
Small Employers/own account	2	0	2
	3.2%	0.0%	1.5%
Unemployed	1	1	2
	1.6%	1.5%	1.5%
Student	13	13	26
	21.0%	19.1%	20.0%
Retired	1	19	20
	1.6%	27.9%	15.4%
Other	4	0	4
	6.5%	0.0%	3.1%
Total	62	68	130
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Missing	2	1	3
Total	64	69	133

Table 6.4: Education

	Visitor	Local	
Education Year 12 or equivalent Year	7	11	18

10 or equivalent	11.1%	16.7%	14.0%
Year 9 or below	0	14	14
	0.0%	21.2%	10.9%
undergraduate university degree	35	28	63
	54.0%	43.9%	48.8%
postgraduate university degree (masters and/or PhD)	9	6	15
	14.3%	9.1%	11.6%
trade/technical qualification/apprenticeship/ associate college (vocational)	13	6	19
	20.6%	9.1%	14.7%
Total	63	66	129
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Missing	1	3	4
Total	64	68	133

Interviews with tourists at West Lake were undertaken during November 2013, with 64 people interviewed on site. Table 6.5 records where in China the domestic tourists had come from, with 61.9% having come from Southern China³¹ (the region in which Hangzhou is located). While tourists from Northern China accounted for 31.7%, and only 6.3% had come from central China.

Table 6.6-6.9 show that for 36 (56.3%) of tourists this was their first visit to West Lake, while 29 (43.7%) were return visitors. The majority of tourists 44 (68.8%) had travelled from a home address; followed by 20.3% from a holiday address. The majority (81%) of visitors

³¹ 'Northern China and southern China[a] are two approximate regions within China. The exact boundary between these two regions has never been precisely defined. Nevertheless, the self-perception of Chinese people, especially regional stereotypes, has often been dominated by these two concepts, given that regional differences in culture and language have historically fostered strong regional identities (simplified Chinese: 乡土; traditional Chinese: 鄉土; pinyin: xiāngtǔ) of the Chinese people'.

(Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_and_southern_China)

had planned to visit Hangzhou for less than three days. Only 6 (9.5) % tourists had planned a longer visit of more than a week.

Table 6.5: Which province are you from?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Southern China	39	61.9
	Northern China	20	31.7
	Central China	4	6.3
	Total	63	100.0
Missing		1	
Total		64	

Table 6.6: Have you travelled from a home or holiday address?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Home	44	68.8
	holiday	13	20.3
	business	6	9.4
	other	1	1.6
	Total	64	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		64	

Table 6.7: Have you travelled with a tour group, family, friends or by yourself?

		Frequency	Valid Percent

Valid	Self	19	29.7
	With families/ friends	37	57.8
	Tour group	8	12.5
	Total	64	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		64	

Table 6.8: Is this your first visit?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	First visit	36	56.3
	Return visit	28	43.8
	Total	64	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		64	

Table 6.9: How many days do you plan to visit in Hangzhou

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Less than three days	51	81.0
	More than three days less than a week	6	9.5
	More than a week	4	6.3
	flexible	2	3.2
	Total	63	100.0
Missing		1	
Total		64	

Interviews with 69 local residents at West Lake were undertaken during December 2013. I also on 21 and 22 February 2014 interviewed five locals who migrated from West Lake to a residential area called 'Jialvyuan 嘉绿苑'. This group of locals were persuaded by local governments to move from West Lake in 2003, to ensure the development of West Lake and the success of the World Heritage application process. These five are not counted in the following tables. The reason that I discuss this group separately from other Hangzhou citizens is that they were resettled during the development of West Lake because of the World Heritage listing. As part of the listing process local residents were relocated as it was considered that their presence around the Lake detracted from the integrity and aesthetic values of West Lake (Yang 2007).

Table 6.10 illustrates that more than half (52.2%) of interviewees who had lived in Hangzhou for less than five years defined themselves as 'new Hangzhou citizens', while thirty-three (47.8%) interviewees had lived in Hangzhou for more than five years. These two groups of locals had different reactions to some of the interview questions.

Table 6.11, shows that the majority of locals (71%) frequently spend time at West Lake, while 29% did not come to the site very often. Nearly half (46.4%) of the locals interviewed use West Lake as their 'city park', a place for recreation or enjoying nature.

Table 6.10: How many years have you lived in Hangzhou

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Less than five years	36	52.2
	More than five years	33	47.8
	Total	69	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		69	

Table 6.11: Do you come frequently to West Lake?

	Frequency	Valid Percent

Valid	Yes	49	71.0
	No	20	29.0
	Total	69	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		69	

As discussed in Chapter 2, Smith (2006:44) identifies that via dominant discourse in the West:

attempts at public or community inclusion into heritage programmes are inevitably expressed in assimilatory terms, in that excluded community groups become 'invited' to 'learn', 'share' or become 'educated' about authorized heritage values and meanings.

The following section of this chapter will address the local community's and tourists' reactions to the dominant discourse after West Lake was successfully inscribed on the WHL, by asking four open-ended questions. These questions are aimed at examining whether local communities and tourists passively accepted those dominant discourses, or were they more active and had their own understandings of heritage. The results of each question asked in the structured interviews are outlined below.

6.3 Locals' and tourists' understanding of World Heritage

6.3.1 What does the term World Heritage mean to you?

The first key question I asked for both locals and tourists was '**What does World Heritage mean to you?**' (see Table 6.12) The most frequent response (19.5%) of both locals and tourists was that they did not know about the UNESCO program or they had no idea about World Heritage. The result is not surprising. As discussed in Chapter 4 the concept of 'World Heritage' is a Western idea, and not officially introduced in China until China signed the World Heritage Convention in 1985 (see also Yan 2012). Thus, nearly twenty percent of people I interviewed did not know what 'World Heritage' was.

The second, third, fourth and fifth most frequent responses of both locals and tourists fitted within the AHD, and official versions of what World Heritage is considered to be. Fifteen interviewees (12.7%) considered World Heritage to be related to culture and history, six were tourists and nine were locals; fourteen (11.9%) responses talked about inheritance and/or ancestry, and included seven locals and seven tourists; twelve (10.2%) nominated preservation or doing preservation; and eleven (9.3%) interviewees nominated that natural and cultural heritage were from different categories. Examples of responses that considered World Heritage to be related to culture and history include:

WL062: World Heritage represents a specific culture that has been developed over a long time. Our ancestors and people have made a significant contribution during this process. (WL062, tourist, male, 25-34, works for an electricity company, from Guangdong)

WL104: Well, I do not know the details. I think historical and cultural values are most important for cultural heritage. These values have to link to specific objects, otherwise it is meaningless, which is different from intangible heritage. (WL104, tourist, male, 45-54, postgraduate, teacher, from Jiangsu)

WL002: Well, the difference between humans and monkeys is culture, we can inherit our culture and knowledge generation by generation and the monkey cannot. We are so proud to talk about our glorious culture and history and our past. However, Chinese do not appreciate objects the ancestors left to us. How pathetic! You know, like a music drama has played in an opera house, when the music stops, the architecture is still there. It is a carrier for the music, and for your memory of music. Therefore, architecture, landscape and other things from our ancestors are the carriers of our culture. (WL002, local, male, over 65, postgraduate, teacher)

Both WL104 and WL002 considered that World Heritage is meaningful because of the inherent cultural and historical values of the material heritage. The responses from those three interviewees show that their understanding of World Heritage is based on recognising the significance of material objects, an idea that is similar to the Western authorised discourse. However, the response from WL002 reflects an in-depth philosophical thought process, as he considered material heritage to be linked to people's memories. In his sense, the physical

authenticity of heritage influenced his sense of emotional authenticity. However, he expressed negative emotions about material heritage being degraded, in an active and thoughtful performance he played out at the heritage site.

Examples of responses that considered World Heritage to be related to culture and history include:

WL021: I think World Heritage refers to valuable sites or things that need to be passing to future generations. (WL020, tourists, male, 25-34, bachelor, architect, from Beijing)

WL042: Urr, I think World Heritage is something that culture and history has bequeathed to us. (WL042, tourist, female, 25-34, postgraduate, student, from Beijing)

WL078. World Heritage is a precious gift from god or from our ancestors. It belongs to the whole world. Everyone has a right to visit. (WL078, tourists, female, 18-24, high school level, from Hunan)

Those three examples represent the traditional AHD, which defines heritage as non-renewable sites, objects or culture we inherited from our ancestors, and we have a responsibility to protect and pass it on to the future.

An example of those who nominated preservation or doing preservation, is WL079, who said:

WL079: Urr, World Heritage means protection, as well as education, and we can learn something by our visiting. (WL079, tourist, male, 25-34, unemployed, from Guangdong)

From the perspective of international authorities, one of the key aims of the World Heritage Program is to educate people about culture and history from their perspective (UNESCO 1972). However, besides WL079, only three responses considered World Heritage to be about education.

Examples of respondents who nominated natural and cultural heritage being from different categories include:

WL027: I think World Heritage is a comprehensive concept, which includes landscape sites, scenic and Historic Areas. It also relates to things with historic and cultural meanings. Therefore, the inscription on the WHL of West Lake is qualifies. (WL027, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate student, from Heilongjiang).

WL039: I think there are two categories of World Heritage, cultural and natural heritage. However, UNESCO has used specific criteria to evaluate which sites are qualified may be problematic. I do not know the details of this program, but I think some sites may be ignored by current UNESCO policy. For example, my office in the Netherlands is an industrial World Heritage site. It is inscribed on the list because it represents a milestone for the working environment during the industrial period. I am curious about how UNESCO can use the same criteria to evaluate a building and a landscape. In addition, culture and nature are sometimes merged together. The criteria are just like a cage to separate culture and nature. (WL039, tourists, male, 25-34, postgraduate, landscape architect, from the Netherlands)

WL038: Just like in China, the traditional Chinese philosophy is nature merging into culture, which can be evidenced in most works by Chinese poets and artists. (WL038, tourists, female, 25-34, postgraduate, landscape architect, from the Netherlands; WL039, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, landscape architect, from the Netherlands)

This group of respondents are familiar with the UNESCO World Heritage program. However, some of them, such as WL039, not only stated the definition of World Heritage but also criticised the Eurocentric criteria of the World Heritage program. As noted above, nearly half of interviewees' (44.1%) understanding of the concept of heritage sits within the AHD. Those examples reflect that a large number of tourists and locals accepted the Western discourse of 'World Heritage'. In this sense, the AHD seems to have been successfully disseminated to locals and tourists via the government's interpretations. However, some of the interviewees, such as WL002 and WL039, provided sophisticated answers that reflect their active engage in

an emotional thought process rather than passively accepting the authorised messages. As Bagnall (2003) and Smith (2006) argue, being at the physical sites help to generate people's emotional authenticity, so that 'visitors can validate or measure the legitimacy of their own social and cultural experiences outside of the heritage sites they are visiting, adds another layer of consequence to the idea of performativity.' (Smith 2006:88) Indeed, my interview also documented that there were a large number of locals and tourists' who considered the meaning of 'World Heritage' beyond the AHD. For instance, nine interviewees (7.6%) considered World Heritage had links to identity and/or memory. For example:

WL083: World Heritage represents a kind of precious memory by each person of their visiting. (WL083, tourist, female, 25-34, undergraduate degree, staff for a company, from Liaoning)

WL096: World Heritage represents places or things that can be elicited from our old memories or even a sense of traversing. For example, compared to Shanghai, Hangzhou city has a different history, environment and feeling. Being in Hangzhou, you can feel that the atmosphere from when it used to be the capital city and economic centre of the Southern Song Dynasty. (WL096, tourist, male, 18-24, undergraduate, student, from Shanghai)

WL120: I do not care if West Lake is heritage or not, even the meaning of heritage is not important. How locals and visitors use the West Lake is much more significant. If you insist on an answer, I think heritage is a place for locals and visitors. If both of them satisfied they have been in a heritage, the World Heritage program is successful. (W120, tourist, male, 45-54, College level, government officer, from Hunan)

WL115: I do not know whether my opinion will fit your question or not. I think World Heritage is the stories behind a site or places. If the stories do not exist, the site is meaningless. (WL115, local, male, 25-34, staff from IT Company)

WL115 considered that stories and intangible things are more important than material heritage. WL083 pointed out the linkage between heritage and tourism, which memory brings together. WL096 further considered that tourists' memories and sense of place can be elicited

by visiting heritage sites which reflect their personal or collective identities. The sense of feeling WL096 mentioned is a significant concept in my thesis. WL096 explicitly knew that being in the place had invoked his sense of feeling as he empathetically experienced the 'atmosphere' of West Lake in the Southern Song Dynasty. His sense of feeling was about the communication between the past and the present. In addition, from WL083 and WL096's perspective, heritage, tourism and memories have an interplay with each other, and elicit people's identities. WL120 indicated that locals and tourists have the right to define what heritage is and how to use heritage. This group of interviewees reflect that the meaning of World Heritage is not only about the AHD, but a far more complicated link to people's memories (WL083), their sense of place (WL096, WL115), their sense of feeling (WL096) and the interactions between tourists themselves (WL083) or between tourists and locals (WL120).

A further seven people (5.9%) considered that World Heritage referred to patriotism or nationalism, for example:

WL075: In my opinion, World Heritage represents the national identity and culture, which is the highest international standard. The sites on the list should be kept monitored under this standard. I think West Lake is a little bit over commercial. I doubt whether it still meets this international standard or not. (WL075, tourists, male, 25-34, postgraduate, architect, from Liaoning)

WL126: From my perspective, heritage represents history, influence and international high standard and discourse. (WL126, tourist, male, 55-64, company chairman, from Guangdong)

WL047: I think World Heritage can bring the international gaze to one place. It represents a process of human development. You know, human beings have played an important role in creating West Lake. It is a process of Chinese culture. (WL047, local, female, 25-34, undergraduate, teacher)

WL052: World Heritage used to be seen as a 'sacred' international recognition from many Chinese people. However, with the increasing number of WH sites, WH sites

are no longer special to us. Nevertheless, WH sites still represent a high standard of aesthetic or cultural value in China. (WL052, local, male, 55-64, retired)

WL058: Well, the successful WH listing is a great honour for all citizens of Hangzhou. I think WH represents outstanding cultural or scientific sites in the world. However, the successful WH listing also bring the highest international protection standard. (WL058, local, male, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL054: World Heritage represents unique places with strong characteristics of human beings. Those Chinese WH sites can represent the Chinese image. (WL047, local, female, 18-24, undergraduate, student)

The responses above show that both locals' and tourists' sense of place sometimes refers to patriotism or nationalism. Ten people (8.4%) said World Heritage refers to advertisement or a form of marketable brand, or a 'business card' as one person noted. For example:

WL072: I did not consider this question before. It may be a kind of international system. There are many World Heritage sites in China, and local governments have used this 'international brand' for their own purpose. Many sites therefore have become commercialized. I do not like it. (WL072, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, company staff, from Fujian)

WL089: World Heritage is supposed to be extraordinary examples of culture or landscape. It refers to the highest assessment by international authorities. It has also been seen as a 'touristic brand' for tourism. (WL089, tourist, female, 35-44, bachelor degree, airline staff, from Shanghai)

WL090: You know, governments from the provincial and local levels have a great enthusiasm in putting their heritage sites forward for WHL, just like a competition. After successfully listing a site, the local government quickly moves to apply for another one and uses the listed site as a 'touristic brand' for money. (WL090, tourist, female, 35-44, college level, school teacher, from Beijing)

WL122: It used to be a good program with the highest standards, however, World Heritage serves as a local business card in recent years. (WL122, tourist, female, 35-44, bachelor, college teacher, from Anhui)

WL071: In my opinion, World Heritage is a postcard for West Lake, which can bring international recognition. (WL069, local, male, 25-34, undergraduate, student)

WL131: I think the international reputation the WHL brings to Hangzhou is of importance for us. You know, when I travelled to other provinces, I asked those locals whether they know about Hangzhou or West Lake. Many of them have no idea. Therefore, West Lake's successful listing on the WHL is a great thing for Hangzhou citizens. I think that Hangzhou can compete with Shanghai with s our culture. (WL131, local, female, over 55-64, retired, WL132, local, female, over 55-64, retired)

Superficially, this group of locals' and tourists' understanding of 'World Heritage' were a bit cynical, and they considered 'World Heritage' to be a tool used by national and local governments, as a 'business card' or a 'touristic brand'. Actually, they understood and emphasised national and local government obsessively play the World Heritage game to promote tourism development. Ironically, the officials in both national governments and the local government of West Lake I interviewed (see chapter 4 and 5) did not consider that tourism development was a significant aim for World Heritage listing. In the next two questions I will discuss locals' and tourists' understanding of the site against the categories that UNESCO set out for West Lake.

Table 6.12 What does World Heritage mean to you

	Are your visitor or local		Total
	Tourists	Locals	
What does World Heritage mean to you:	13	10	23
Don't know	23.2%	16.1%	19.5%
Cultural/History in general or specific history	6	9	15
	10.7%	14.5%	12.7%

Inheritance/ancestry	7 12.5%	7 11.3%	14 11.9%
Preservation (doing preservation)	6 10.7%	6 9.7%	12 10.2%
Cultural & natural	4 7.1%	7 11.3%	11 9.3%
Advertise/ regional business card/local business card /famous Touristic brand (positive)	3 5.4%	7 11.3%	10 8.4%
Identity/memory	5 8.9%	4 6.5%	9 7.6%
Patriotism, nationalism	4 7.2%	3 4.7%	7 5.9%
Natural landscape/ Aesthetic	2 3.6%	2 3.2%	4 3.4%
Valuable things, significant	1 1.8%	2 3.2%	3 2.5%
Educational aspects	1 1.8%	1 1.6%	2 1.7%
Material things from the past with cultural meaning and memory	0 0.0%	2 3.2%	2 1.7%
Material things from the past	1 1.8%	1 1.6%	2 1.7%
Over advertised	2 3.6%	0 0.0%	2 1.7%

Opportunities for improving infrastructure/management	1 1.8%	1 1.6%	2 1.7%
Total	56 100.0%	62 100.0%	118 100.0%

6.3.2 What categories of World Heritage do you think makes up West Lake?

The second question I asked was ‘**What categories of World Heritage do you think makes up West Lake?**’ (see Table 2). Only four tourists considered West Lake is pure cultural heritage, but no locals considered this. For example:

WL104: Of course, it is cultural heritage. You know, many cities have a similar or even better lake than West Lake. Why has West Lake been seen as the icon of this region? It is culture. For example, compared to West Lake, East Lake in Wuhan is larger, more beautiful and also located in Wuhan city. However, the historical and cultural accumulation of West Lake made itself unparalleled. Therefore, politicians went to an urban lake always taking West Lake as an example and inscribing "compare favourably with West Lake" (WL104, tourist, male, 45-54, postgraduate, teacher, from Jiangsu).

WL009: It is a Cultural heritage, without the profound cultural elements, it is just a lake. When asked about West Lake, some people will automatically link to Su Donpo, Bai Juyi and Yue Fei, some people will think about the White Snake story; some people will link it to pilgrimage to the Linyin temple. (WL009, local, male, over 65, high school level, retired)

On the contrary, eight locals nominated West Lake is a natural site, while only two tourists shared the same idea with these locals. For example:

WL025: West Lake is the most beautiful lake in the world. It is hard to describe the beauty of the lake. For example, the famous Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places

inscribed because of the different beauty of the four seasons. (WL025, local, male, 25-35, taxi driver)

WL055: It is a natural heritage. West Lake is the most beautiful lake in the world. There is a poetry to describe the natural beauty of West Lake ‘远望青山山如黛，近观绿荷荷似妍 Looking out the green hill just like a Dai³², while looking closely, the green lotus is just like a beautiful woman’ (WL055, local, male, over 65, retired)

The interview data of these two groups of interviewees shows that there is a tendency for some tourists to nominate West Lake is a purely cultural site, while locals considered it is a pure natural site. However, there is no evidence that the AHD influenced their recognition of West Lake, rather their sense of the site as cultural or natural is linked to their personal memories or identities. For instance, WL104, who compared West Lake to East Lake in Wuhan where he used to visit, nominated West Lake as a cultural site. WL055 quoted poetry to express his **sense of feeling** about West Lake, and West Lake as a natural site. The reason is that tourists tend to visit West Lake because of the cultural attractions such as myth, stories, poetry and proverbs etc., while locals visited West Lake for recreation, and they described West Lake as their city park. I will further discuss the reasons for both locals and tourists visiting West Lake in the following chapter (Chapter 7). However, the majority (81.8%) response was shared by both locals (77.4%) and tourists (87%), that West Lake is predominantly a combination site of both culture and nature. Example of these include:

WL006: West Lake possesses both nature and culture. As I said, many sites have a similar lake including, for instance, South Lake in Jiaxing city and East Lake in Shaoxing city. They all look beautiful, but without cultural accumulation. When you are visiting West Lake, you can find every architecture, temple, street and even tree have a long history or an interesting story. These are the reasons why West Lake is outstanding and unique. (WL006, local, male, 18-24, undergraduate, student)

WL009: West Lake is a mixed site but dominated by culture. I would say 70% account for culture, 30% account for nature. Let me ask you a question. Why is the Broken Bridge so famous?

³² Black pigment used by women in ancient times to paint their eyebrows

RRZ: The story?

WL009: Is this bridge made from gold, or is it technologically brilliant? No, there are thousands of bridges just like the Broken Bridge. Why is just this one famous? Because of culture. Without the White Snake story, the poems and the painting, it is just a normal bridge. (WL009, local, male, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL027: I think nature and culture have merged together for a long time. Take Leifeng Pagoda as an example, it has a long and profound history. The origin of this pagoda is that it was built in 977 AD. during the Wuyue Kingdom. It was a Buddhist pagoda, and built for Buddhist reasons or maybe built for one of the imperial concubines (laughs). Leifeng Pagoda is located in the middle of the bridge of Xizhao Hill, face to the lake, and absolutely beautiful scenes. The design of the pagoda and its location reflect the Chinese traditional '风水 Fengshui' concept. The pagoda has been changed during different periods with profound stories and culture. You can find many poems and stories written for the pagoda. (WL027, tourists, male, 25-34, postgraduate, Student, from Heilongjiang).

WL033: In my opinion, West Lake is dominated by nature. There is more than 1500 years of a long history. Hundreds and thousands of paintings, poems and stories were being created to compliment the natural beauty of West Lake. Without the natural elements, the cultural parts were meaningless. For example, the emperor Qianlong named a bridge 'Yudaibridge 玉带桥', because he left his belt on that bridge. The emperor Qianlong passed over thousands of bridges, why is this bridge famous? It is because of the natural beauty of West Lake. In my mind, West Lake accounts 70% for nature. The summer palace that is located in Beijing, I would say 90% accounts for culture. This is because the summer palace serves the imperial family, although it is affected by the design of West Lake. (WL033, local, female, 24-34, postgraduate, landscape architect)

WL043: It is a combination site, however dominated by culture. It represents the cultural differences between Southern and Northern China. For example, the meaning of '断桥残雪 Lingered Snow on Broken Bridge' reflects the scenery on a sunny day after a heavy snow, the snow on the bridge melts and shows the brown floor, which

gives people a feeling that the chain is broken (Fig.6.1). Actually, Southern China hardly ever has heavy snow, which is very normal in Northern China. If this bridge was built at Northern China, people would not have such a feeling. (WL043, tourists, male, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from state-owned enterprise, from Heilongjiang)

WL075: Well I think West Lake is dominated by nature, which could account for 30% of it. In my opinion, the most important [aspect] of a World Heritage [site] is the historical value, which provides meaning to the site. West Lake used to be a capital city of Southern Song Dynasty, and the traditional literature and poems were written to describe the beauty of the Lake. Nature is the key element. (WL075, tourists, male, 25-34, postgraduate, architect, from Liaoning)



Fig. 6.1 The view of 'Lingering Snow on Broken Bridge' (Sourced from West Lake Nomination Dossier 2011:110)

The majority of interviewees considered both the natural and cultural make up of West Lake. However, their sense of place was different, as some of them considered that culture carries more weight than nature (WL006, WL009 and WL027), while some of them nominated nature is more important than culture (WL033, WL043 and WL075). Nevertheless, the answers they provided are very sophisticated, which reflects that they had been engaged in a deep thought process during their visiting rather than receiving the authorised discourse. For example, WL006 compared West Lake to South Lake in Jiaxing and East Lake in Shaoxing,

which linked to his personal memories or experiences when stating his perspective. WL009, WL027 and WL033 told me interesting stories or histories based on their personal interest in answering my question. I would like to stress WL043 here. His senses of place linked to his sense of feeling, when he vividly described what the picture of '断桥残雪 Lingerin Snow on Broken Bridge' means. Ironically, he actually had provided excellent responses to the Norwegian expert not understanding the Chinese values during the World Heritage listing process, which I discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. As Poria et al. (2003) have argued visitors' perception of places are linked to their sense of feeling. They also noted that feeling was important, however they use the term 'feeling' to describe a difficulty their interviewees had in putting their feelings, or even acknowledging them, into words in a Western context (see also Smith 2006, 2012). Many tourists' narratives from my interviews present an aesthetic thought process with frequent use of metaphor. Some of them, such as WL043, WL055 and WL096, were far more explicit about seeking a sense of 'feeling', and is rather difficult to describe what they are feeling in a Western context.

In addition, my interview results reveal that nature and culture are seen as indivisible from by majority of interviewees'. As Head (2000) and Waterton (2005) have illustrated, in the West Enlightenment thought saw a dichotomy between nature and culture, and now informs a desire to protect natural landscapes from human activities. In this sense, the 1972 World Heritage Convention reinforced the dichotomy between nature and culture in the World Heritage system (UNESCO 1972). However, Gong (2001) and Han (2006) argue that a key difference between Chinese and Western culture is the Chinese sense of nature, which Chinese people 'consciously 'natural' pursuit was such a hard journey that it was pursued throughout China's two-thousand-year feudal history' (Han 2006:185). Confucianism and Daoism are the two most significant Chinese philosophies, and are considered to be the roots of Chinese ideology. They have been influenced by Chinese theories and practices for more than 3000 years (Zhang 1992; Wang 1998; Lin 2001, 2002; Han, 2006, 2012). Both of these philosophies have pointed out that the link between culture, nature and people is that of 'Oneness with nature where nature and people form a cosmological whole' (Han 2012: 93). This discourse of harmony is ubiquitous in Chinese school textbooks (Fig. 6.2 and 6.3), paintings, stories and poetry etc., and has influenced local people's and tourists' sense of West Lake. For instance, Figure 6.2 and 6.3 shows the textbooks all Chinese students learn at primary school and high school respectively. The context of those two poems as well as the

illustrations give Chinese readers an empathetic sense of the ancient scholars visiting a pretty landscape with mountains and water features, they are drinking wine, composing poems, and enjoying themselves. The two figures represent how the Chinese people have been influenced by the sense of ‘harmony between culture and nature’ from childhood, which explains why WL043 and WL055 had such a poetic sense of feeling when they were at West Lake.

The sense of ‘harmony between culture and nature’ embodied in Chinese culture is different from the harmony discourse that Yan (2015) addressed (see Chapter 2). Yan (2015) argues the harmony discourse is a Chinese version of the Western AHD, and the Chinese government uses the traditional sense of ‘harmony between culture and nature’ as an ideological narrative to reduce social tension. However, my interview reveals that the majority of local people and tourists I interviewed did not show the influence of the official harmony discourse, rather the sense of ‘harmony between culture and nature’ is embodied in every Chinese person’s sense of feeling, and is further linked to their personal or collective memories and experiences. More discussion of the sense of feeling will follow in Chapter 7. The next question I will discuss is ‘what do you understand the meaning of cultural landscape to be?’ I will explore to what extent local people and tourists understand the Western AHD and West Lake’s nomination as a ‘Cultural Landscape’.



Fig. 6.2 (left) High School Chinese Textbook part ii class 8, (People’s Education Press 2004:29-30)

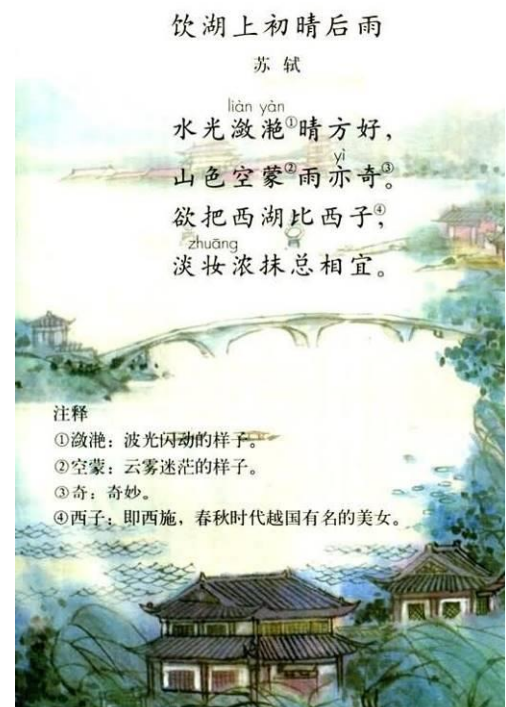


Fig. 6.3 (right) Primary School Chinese Textbook Grade Three Page 85 (People’s Education Press 2003:85)

Table 6.13 What categories of word heritage do you think makes up West Lake?

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		tourists	Locals	
What categories of word heritage do you think of makes up West Lake?	Combination by both nature and culture	40 87.0%	41 77.4%	81 81.8%
	Natural	2 4.3%	8 15.1%	10 10.1%
	Cultural	4 8.7%	0 0.0%	4 4.0%
	Cultural landscape (similar define with UNESCO)	0 0.0%	4 7.5%	4 4.0%
	Total	46 100.0%	53 100.0%	99 100.0%

6.3.3 What do you understand the meaning of cultural landscape to be?

The third question I asked for both locals and tourists is that **what do you understand the meaning of cultural landscape to be?** (see Table 3). Only fourteen tourists answered this question, and four of them didn't understand the meaning, while two tourists nominated the new development of West Lake. Eight tourists were confused but still answered based on their own experiences. Below are two examples:

WL078: I think landscape is a dominant element of West Lake. People are also very important to the sites, and I think locals' daily lives are perfectly merged with tourism development which is better than other places. (WL078, tourist, female, 18-24, high school level, from Hunan)

WL102: I think West Lake represents a city merged with its landscape, a modern city and historical setting. It is fascinating. (WL102, tourist, male, 25-34, college level, hotel manager, from Beijing)

As for locals, four locals nominated the positive development of West Lake over the previous ten years. Eleven (47.8%) did not understand the term ‘cultural landscape’ explicitly, but can describe it. Examples for this question including:

WL007: I think cultural heritage does not just reflect the past, you know, West Lake was a natural lagoon, it has been changed to be such a meaningful place because for more than a thousand years it has been worked on by people. West Lake is still changing now. (WL007, local, female, over 65, postgraduate, teacher)

WL030: I think, compared to the landscape in Suzhou, West Lake is changing in a different period. The new Xixi National Wetland Park is a recent development of West Lake. In general, West Lake is a combination of culture and nature, and culture dominates nature. (WL030, local, female, 45-54)

WL032: Well, I think West Lake is both a natural and cultural site.

WL033: You know, without Bai Juyi, Sun Dongpo, Yang Gong, and other people who were in charge of the management of West Lake, there would be no such beautiful place today. Every generation has contributed to the development of West Lake. We are also making our contribution. In recent decades, there is a project that has used the sludge dug from West Lake to create a new wetland Park, Jiang Yangfan Park (Fig. 6.4).

WL034: Well, this is a part of the West Lake Protection and management Project. It is still unfinished and with very little tourists.

WL032: I think this is a new development of West Lake, with the contemporary technology and modern design.

WL033: I agree, in addition, West Lake has become larger than before, in particular the Mao Jiabu area because of the protection project. In different times people would do something for West Lake (Fig.6.5). (WL032 and WL034, local, female, 24-34, undergraduate, landscape architect; WL033, local, female, 24-34, postgraduate, landscape architect)

WL080: Well, the natural landscape is just one aspect of West Lake, more important are the stories in different places of the Lake. For example, every person in 南山路 Nanshan Road has their own stories, their stories construct the meaning of West Lake. (WL080, local, male, 35-44, manager, bachelor)

It is very hard to analyse this question. The majority of tourists and locals did not know how to answer or were confused by the concept of cultural landscape. Only some locals had a clear answer to this question. One of the significant reasons for this is, as discussed in Chapter 5, both local people and tourists did not participate in the World Heritage listing process. The Hangzhou government only used the Western AHD, including the definition of ‘cultural landscape’, as a guide on how to treat locals and tourists, and disseminated this concept through the internet, newspapers, and TV broadcasts. Therefore, to some extent, the percentage of locals who can describe some characteristics of the cultural landscape were higher than tourists. For instance, WL030, WL032, WL033³³ and WL080 not only pointed out the development and changing process in the past, but were concerned about how the new development in the present had become part of the site.

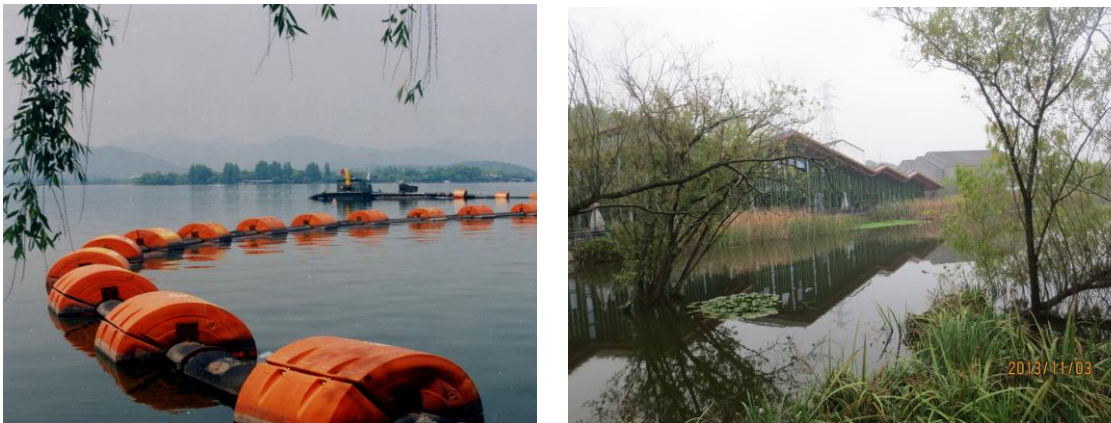


Fig. 6.4 Used the sludge digging form West Lake to create Park-Jiang Yangfan Park

(Source: the left photo from the Hangzhou government, the photo on the right is from <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/98717698>)

³³ WL032 and 33 are landscape architects, which would give them more familiarity with the concept of cultural landscape.



Fig. 6.5 The changes of Maojiabu area before and after West Lake Protection Project Maojiabu area (Source from the Hangzhou government)

Since the 1990s, heritage inscriptions in Asia have begun to reflect the fact that nature and culture are indivisible, thus international debates since 1992 have enlarged their understanding of heritage with the introduction of the concept of cultural landscape (Taylor 2009, 2012; Russell 2012). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the definition of cultural landscape from UNESCO stresses that nominated sites should "represent the 'combined works of nature and of man', with three criteria to evaluate the cultural landscape sites (II.A 47 Operational Guidelines 2011). However, as Taylor (2009) observed, the definition of culture landscape has been confused within the Southeast and East Asia context. One of the reasons, as Winter and Daly (2012) point out, is that the English term translates in Asian languages with some semantic ambiguity and confusion. Obviously, the majority of interviewees at West Lake did not make sense of the term cultural landscape. Since the late 2000s, Chinese scholars have extensively discussed and disseminated the discourse of 'cultural landscape' (see Zhou et al. 2006; Shan 2009b, 2010b; Han 2010; Wu 2011; Xi and Zhang 2014). Those scholars believe that the concept of cultural landscape has some synergy with the Chinese traditional value of harmony between culture and nature, and provided a useful tool both theoretically and practically to fill the gap between nature and culture in China (Han 2010). Wu (2011) suggested that the Western concept of cultural landscape provides an opportunity for the Chinese government to enlarge China's stable of World Heritage sites. Indeed, in the last six years, the Chinese government has successful nominated three cultural landscape properties on the World Heritage list. Ironically, the majority of locals and tourists did not yet understand the meaning of cultural landscape. The final question in this chapter is that 'do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?'

Table 6.14 Do you understand the meaning of cultural landscape?

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
Do you understand the meaning of cultural landscape?	Do not understand literally, but can describe	0 0.0%	11 47.8%	11 29.7%
	Confusion, but still answered base on their own experiences	8 57.1%	2 8.7%	10 27.0%
	No	4 28.6%	4 17.4%	8 21.6%
	Talking about new development of West lake - positive	2 14.3%	4 17.4%	6 16.2%
	Yes	0 0.0%	2 8.7%	2 5.4%
Total		14 100.0%	23 100.0%	37 100.0%

6.3.4 Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?

This question aimed to reveal the importance both locals' and tourists' placed on the World Heritage Listing of West Lake (see Table 4). This question elicited a wide range of answers. Most locals and tourists (82%) considered that it was important that the site was inscribed on the World Heritage List, while only four interviewees (4.5%) (three tourists and one local) did not support WHL. They considered the site had been over advertised and WHL brought excessive commercialisation. For example:

WL049: The national government has spent a lot of money and time to ensure a site is listed on the WHL. However, I do not think it is a good thing. Culture and history are objective, and also subjective from different peoples' perspectives. Everyone has their

own understanding of the culture and history of a site, and does not want excessive advertisement. If we hypothesise that West Lake is a man who has feelings, and someone came to West Lake just because of the reputation of the lake, West Lake would not welcome those visitors. I wish tourists came to West Lake for its culture, history, nature and leisure reasons, rather than simply because it is famous. (WL049, tourists, male, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from a training company, from Zhejiang)

WL049 explicitly spoke about his feelings and engaged a deep empathetic process, in which he offered a metaphor of West Lake as a person who wants people to understand her stories in her heart, rather than a superficial reputation. Although he did not support WHL, being at the place elicited his sense of feeling, which is an active thought process.

The most frequent (20.5%) response given by both locals and tourists who supported WHL was due to economic reasons. For example:

WL020: It is a good thing the listing on the WHL. The reputation of 'World Heritage' can bring more tourists, which will simulate the growth of the local economy (WL020, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, journalist, from Beijing).

WL126: If World Heritage listing can bring positive changes to a site, to the economy, or even the civilisation of a city or region, it is a good thing and of course important. (WL126, tourist, male, 55-64, company chairman, from Guangdong)

WL047: Yes, I think it is important, with particular regard to tourism development. Hangzhou has been seen as a touristic city. You know it is inappropriate to develop large-scale industry in Hangzhou. WHL could help to integrate cultural tourism and economic [growth]. (WL047, local, female, 25-34)

WL131: Yes, it is important. The World Heritage listing is a tough process. The West Lake Protection and Management project started in 2003. Since then, West Lake has become larger and cleaner than before. The fundamental infrastructure, such as transport systems, have greatly improved since 2003. The Hangzhou government has spent more than ten billion (equal to 1.51 billion US dollars) just on rebuilding and the management of the lakeshore and river bank over these ten years. You know, the

effect and experiences of the successful World Heritage listing of West Lake has also triggered the local governments' confidence to apply for World Heritage listing for the Grand Canal. It is an extraordinary chain reaction. You know, The Grand Canal area has become cleaner and well organised, where it used to be a disordered, smelly place and played [a role] as a 'City Sewer'. All the polluted industries have to move out of the area, and are now a series of museums based in the industrial buildings. (WL131, local, female, over 55-64, retired)

Those group of interviewees considered WHL has brought or will bring significant positive economic changes. The above three examples also reflect locals' sense of place and belonging were much stronger than tourists. WL020 and WL126 as a tourist simply stated WHL will bring economic growth, while WL047 and WL131's responses are more emotional and detailed, which they used the words 'inappropriate', 'tough and 'extraordinary' to express their great sense of pride as a citizen of Hangzhou.

Fifteen people (17%) nominated that it is important for constructing local identity, which only includes two tourists, while thirteen locals nominated this. The dramatic difference between locals and tourists was because of the sense of belonging to the site or city. Examples include:

WL007: Yes, it is a great honour for Hangzhou and even China. West Lake not only belongs to Hangzhou; it belongs to China. (WL007, local, female, over 65, postgraduate, teacher)

WL018: It is of course a good thing, which means more people in the world can understand West Lake. They can visit our site to 'feel' the lake, to learn our culture. (WL018, local, female, 35-44, college level, enterprise manager)

WL024: It is a great thing, the former mayor of Hangzhou Wang Guoping is a key person for WHL. He has provided great support during the process of World Heritage listing. (WL024, local, male, 35-44, taxi driver)

WL036: You know, as Marco Polo said, 'Hangzhou is the most beautiful city in the world'. Hangzhou as a touristic city, WHL will bring more popularity and reputation to Hangzhou. It is good. (WL030, local, male, 45-54)

WL035: Yes, it is important. However, I hope WHL could help the regeneration of silk craft production. Silk made in Hangzhou was very famous around the world. There were many silk factories in the city centre thirty years ago. Most of them have been demolished in order to build the new city. The quality of the silk production before is much better than the production of today. Some of the traditional technologies have been lost. (WL035, local, female, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL076: Yes, it is. For example, it was a residential area around 城隍山 Chenghuangshan, however, local governments demolished these disorganised residential houses and built a public square and pedestrian street instead. Local governments also built a musical fountain in this area. These changes have brought lots of activities in the evening. I am very happy about these changes and proud of being a Hangzhou citizen. (WL076, local, female, 55-64, retired)

The above responses show that locals' sense of belonging invoked their strong sense of pride. WL007, WL018 and WL036's senses of pride were invoked because the WHL could increase West Lake's popularity. WL036 in particular was concerned that the WHL could bring more tourists to experience and feel West Lake, which facilitated his sense of pride. Many other locals had similar perspectives, with WL036 considering that increasing tourist numbers are positive changes WHL brought to West Lake, and I will analyse this in more detail in chapter 7. The statement from WL035 reflects her sense of belonging tied to her negative emotion, she told me that she used to work in one of the silk factories, however it was demolished twenty years ago. She engaged in an empathetic moment as I interviewed her, tied to her personal memories. She wished that WHL could help regenerate traditional industry, and further 'regenerate' her memories. In contrast, WL076 nominated the new development the WHL has brought to the city, and invoked his sense of pride because of those new developments. As Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996) point out, dissonance is inherently embodied in the status of heritage. However, WL035 and WL076 have different perspectives on WHL, and were actively engaged in what Smith (2012) labelled 'cultural moments' (see Chapter 2) at the heritage site.

In addition, eleven respondents (12.5%) considered that WHL may help the preservation of the sites. For instance:

WL043: It is good. The international recognition means that people will pay more attention to protection. Protect the original culture and environment. Keep the original importance. If a site is just a scenic point not heritage, commercial [interests] will take advantage. However, West Lake has already changed. I do not like the commercial environment. But the commercial management of West Lake is much better than Lijiang [also a World Heritage cultural site], which is totally changed from a historic town into a commercial town. (WL043, tourists, male, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from state-owned enterprise, from Heilongjiang)

WL067: Well, WHL is important and will help the preservation of the sites, as well as the development of tourism. However, site managers should take into consideration the relationship between mass tourists and the capacity of the site. (WL067, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, student, from Anhui)

WL002: Well, you know, Chinese always follow suite with each other. Some government officials may not know what World Heritage is, and what their obligation is after successful listing. They just follow the example of neighbouring provinces. Nevertheless, WHL helps the preservation of the sites. (WL002, local, male, over 65, postgraduate, teacher)

WL050: Yes, it is important, which means that governments paid a lot of attention to culture and history. (WL050, local, female, 35-44, unemployed)

This group interviewee identified the importance of preservation. WL043 compared Lijiang's case with West Lake to support his arguments, and he considered WHL could not only bring changes of site protection, but also cause commercial changes. The argument from WL002 is a bit cynical. Outwardly, he seems to consider that WHL could help the protection of the site. In fact, he was criticising the phenomena that every province wants their sites inscribed on the WHL without understanding the true meaning of it.

This section reveals that successful inscription on the WHL has influenced both locals' and tourists' sense of place. What I heard from locals reflects a dramatic sense of pride that linked to their sense of place, which was much stronger than tourists'. In this sense, World Heritage listing does not simply augment existing values; rather it creates new values and meanings for sites. Both locals and tourists actively engaged in the process of the creation of new value, thus creating new understandings of heritage.

WL043 reflects the mainstream AHD concept about the importance of preserving the original material of the site. However, it is an active process, and he compared Lijiang's case with West Lake. At the moment, he remembered when he was in Lijiang, and made a comparison with West Lake during his visit. In fact, his old memories influenced his sense of place.

Table 6.15 Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?

		Are you visitor or local?		Total
		Visitor	Local	
Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?	Yes, it is important-economic/tourism positive	9 25.0%	9 17.3%	18 20.5%
	Yes, local identity positive	2 5.6%	13 25.0%	15 17.0%
	Preservation (doing preservation)	7 19.4%	4 7.7%	11 12.5%
	Yes, management/infrastructure improving	2 5.6%	6 11.5%	8 9.1%
	Do not know/ no opinion	1 2.8%	6 11.5%	7 8.0%
	Yes, reinforcing cultural/intangible heritage/urban development	1 2.8%	5 9.6%	6 6.8%
	No, over advertised/ excessive	3	1	4

commercialisation	8.3%	1.9%	4.5%
Yes, social connection between visitors and locals/place	4 11.1%	0 0.0%	4 4.5%
Yes-unelaborated	1 2.8%	3 5.8%	4 4.5%
Yes, nationalistic/patriotism positive	2 5.6%	1 1.9%	3 3.4%
Management challenge	2 5.6%	1 1.9%	3 3.4%
Education	1 2.8%	2 3.8%	3 3.4%
It does not matter	0 0.0%	1 1.9%	1 1.1%
Yes, it is important-urbanisation positive	1 2.8%	0 0.0%	1 1.1%
Total	36 100.0%	52 100.0%	88 100.0%

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has identified and compared locals' and tourists' responses to the international and national discourses in West Lake by asking four open-ended questions. As discussed in Chapter 5, the local government and experts attempted to disseminate the AHD and harmony discourse to locals and tourists. On the face of it, they seem to have been very successful. In terms of the questions I asked about interviewees understanding of the meaning of World

Heritage, although nearly 20% of people I interviewed did not have a sense of what it is, the majority of locals and tourists have accepted the Western discourse of 'World Heritage'. However, many locals' and tourists' answers are active, and much more complex when tied to their personal or collective identities. World Heritage, and being at the World Heritage site, saw many tourists offer active discussions of a sense of feeling (e.g. WL043, WL055, WL096), a sense of belonging (e.g. WL035, WL076), a sense of nationalism or patriotism (e.g. WL075, WL047, WL058), and sense of pride (e.g. WL007, WL036). Those personal senses further linked to interviewees' memories and reflected their personal or collective identities. Therefore, my interview supported Smith's (2006:83) contention that:

Although heritage is something that is done at places, these places became places of heritage both because of the events of meaning making and remembering that occur at them, but also because they lend a sense of occasion and reality to the activities occurring at them.

The interviews also reveal that both locals' and tourists' understanding of West Lake did not reproduce, nor was it based on, the dichotomy between nature and culture that underpins World Heritage practice, and they did not make easy sense of the concept of 'cultural landscape'. This does not mean that locals and tourists do not understand the site, on the contrary, their understanding of West Lake is far more interesting, active and complicated than the AHD and the official harmony discourse allows. For many locals and tourists, their sense of nature and culture are linked together and tied to their sense of place and their sense of feeling. WL043, WL055 and WL096 (many other examples are analysed in Chapter 7) are explicit about seeking a sense of 'feeling', which they express with extensive use of metaphor, and they clearly know what kind of feeling they were experiencing. In other national contexts, Poria et al (2003) and Smith (2006, 2012) noted that feeling was important, however they use the term 'feeling' to describe a difficulty their interviewees had in putting their feelings into words, or even acknowledging them (see also Cameron and Gatewood 2000, 2012). The reason Chinese interviewees are more aware and were clear in describing their sense of feeling may be because of the Chinese interlinked view of nature and culture. As Zhou (1999:39) notes:

Western culture is remarkably characterised by Natural Science that has its origins in Natural Philosophy; while Chinese culture is characterized by the study of humans, for which the core is morality and ethics.

Therefore, what the interviews reveal is that both locals' and tourists' sense of feeling was not only influenced by the aesthetic characteristics of nature and culture, rather they pursued their inner understanding of nature and culture which was tied to their personal memories and experiences. As Lin Yutang (1935:291), who is the one of the most influential Chinese writers and linguists, commented on Chinese painting:

Chinese painting, the flower of Chinese culture, is distinguished by a spirit and an atmosphere all its own... we decidedly feel that the artist has interfered with material reality and presented it to us only as it appears to him, without losing its essential likeness or intelligibility to others [and] it manages to achieve a decidedly subjective appearance of things without creating contortions.

The famous British artist David Hockney also commented that, 'Chinese paintings do have perspective, but their perspective is memory' (quoted in Yang 2003). Locals and tourists being at the heritage site, experiencing the site, means that their sense of feeling constructed heritage from their 'personal inner world'. In this sense, as Smith (2006, 2012) argues, the meaning of heritage is not only constructed from the AHD, rather each individual who visits the site actively constitutes the meaning of heritage. In the next chapter I will further analyze what tourists do and feel at West Lake, as well as locals' reaction to the presence of mass tourists.

Chapter 7: Local Residents and Tourists at West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou: Feeling a Sense of Place

7.1 Introduction

An Chinese old saying goes:

读万卷书，行万里路 Learn knowledge from thousands of books and accumulate experience by travelling thousands of miles.

This is from 董其昌 Dong Qichang, perhaps the most influential Chinese artist from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), who pointed out that travelling and learning are two key accomplishments. The modified popular version, in recent decades, goes:

读万卷书，不如行万里路 It is better to travel ten thousand miles than to read ten thousand books.

Many debate competitions and essay examinations have used this new version, even the First Lady of the United States, Michelle LaVaughn Obama, used it as the topic at her public speech at Peking University in March 2014. Both versions point out the significance of the experiences a person can gain from travelling. The word 行 travel means to spend time in different places, which is the one of the key concept I explore in this thesis.

The previous chapter identified both locals and tourists' responses to international and national discourses in a Chinese context. This chapter has two tasks. Firstly, as discussed in Chapter 2, mainstream practitioners and researchers in heritage studies have tended to describe tourists as superficial, inauthentic, destructive and culturally ignorant (see Graburn and Barthel-Bouchier 2001; Ashworth 2009). Chapter 5 has demonstrated that tourists do not necessarily passively accept the received discourse, rather many actively engaged in creating their own understanding of heritage. To extend our understanding of the ways in which tourists engage, or do not engage, with heritage sites it is useful to explore these issues with the tourists themselves. To address this, a number of questions were asked that explored the reasons for the visit and the experiences tourists valued. Secondly, the mainstream heritage

literature also tends to focus on the negative impacts of tourism on local communities (see Ap and Crompton 1993; Brunt and Courtney 1999). This chapter will discuss local residents' reactions to the presence of mass tourists, and what locals and visitors' understood about the relationship between tourism, heritage and each other. The results of each question asked in the structured interviews is outlined below. Overall, the chapter argues that an active sense of emotional engagement is widely expressed in my interviews with domestic tourists at West Lake. There is a multi-dimensional sense of feeling that emerged, and many tourists talked about their feeling in a self-conscious way that is tied to their sense of connection with physical sites or with local residents. Many local people I interviewed at West Lake also spoke in deep emotional registers that tied to a sense of pride they feel when they connect with tourists.

7.2 Tourists' Sense of Heritage

The demographic results have been analysed in Chapter 6. I will briefly analyse my interview data and transcriptions based on only a few of the key open-end questions. The first question I would like to discuss is **What are your reasons for visiting West Lake?**

7.2.1 What are your reasons for visiting West Lake?

This question was asked of both locals and tourists, which elicited a wide range of answers (Table 7.1). The most frequent response to this question (31.6%) was recreation/leisure, but the majority of responses from locals (thirty-two locals or 46.4%) considered they use West Lake as their 'city park', a place for recreation and enjoying nature, while only ten tourists (15.6%) nominated that they simply go there for recreational reasons. Example of locals' responses include:

WL003: I come here very frequently. Usually, I walk from the botanical garden to 'Autumn Moon over the Calm Lake' and then go back home by bus. I am absolutely happy to be living in Hangzhou. (WL003, local, female, over 65, college level, retired)

WL004: I usually read in '曲院风荷 Breeze-ruffled Lotus at Winding Garden'. I remembered the time when I was not married when I passed through this place, it is interesting. (WL004, local, female, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL006: I come here for some fresh air. It is a nice place for reading; I usually read English here. When I get tired, it is interesting to watch visitors walk around. (WL006, local, male, 18-24, undergraduate, student)

WL035: West Lake is the most beautiful place in the world. I come here very frequently to do some exercise and breath some fresh air. You are never getting tired with such wonderful views around West Lake. (WL035, local, female, over 65, retired)

WL050: Well, the reason is that there are many cultural exhibitions around West Lake. (WL050, local, female, 35-44, unemployed)

WL069: Well, I come here because I want to have some fresh air and enjoy the view. When I was over pressured, sometimes, I would come to West Lake in order to release my pressure. You know, West Lake is a touristic attraction, however, it has been seen as a city park from Hangzhou citizen's [perspective]. Although we know everything about the culture of West Lake, and we are very proud of the Lake, we come to West Lake just like taking a walk in our own garden, for recreation. (WL069, local, male, 25-34, undergraduate, sales manager)

WL003, WL035 and WL069 simply nominated different recreational reasons they came to visit West Lake. However, their responses reflect their sense of belonging, which elicited a strong sense of pride. WL006 noted that the performances of tourists constituted his sense of place. WL004's sense of nostalgia was linked to her memories. The above responses demonstrated that senses of pride, nostalgia and belonging were very frequently elicited during the recreation process from locals, while tourists who nominated the reason they come to visit the site for recreation were not as active as locals. Those locals were not simply engaging in recreation at the lake, but rather undertaking memory work and reminiscing. However, this does not mean that tourists are not as active as locals, but the reasons tourists come to the site are much more complex than locals.

Table 7.1 What are your reasons for visiting West Lake?

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
What are your reasons for visiting West Lake?	Recreation/Leisure	10 15.6%	32 46.4%	42 31.6%
	Myth/stories/poetry/ proverb/ White snake TV show	14 21.9%	3 4.3%	17 12.8%
	Enjoying nature	6 9.4%	6 8.7%	12 9.0%
	Identity/memory	12 18.8%	0 0.0%	12 9.0%
	Cultural reasons	2 3.1%	8 11.6%	10 7.5%
	Working	0 0.0%	7 10.1%	7 5.3%
	Enjoy modern city/Modern city merge into historical settlements	7 10.9%	0 0.0%	7 5.3%
	It is famous/See famous Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places	2 3.1%	3 4.3%	5 3.8%
	Family/religion	5 7.8%	0 0.0%	5 3.8%
	Aesthetic reasons	3 4.7%	1 1.4%	4 3.0%
	Social reasons	3 4.7%	1 1.4%	4 3.0%
	Education	0 0.0%	3 4.3%	3 2.3%
	To see specific exhibition	0 0.0%	3 4.3%	3 2.3%
	Because nationally important	0 0.0%	2 2.9%	2 1.5%
Total		64 100.0%	69 100.0%	133 100.0%

Tourists most frequently (21.9%) reported that they were attracted by myth/stories/poetry/proverbs/ White snake TV show³⁴, for instance:

WL011: Because of the reputation of West Lake, particularly the White Snake TV show, I am going to find my Xu Xian³⁵ during this trip (laughs). (WL011, tourist, female, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from a logistics management company)

WL045: Well as the saying goes, '上有天堂，下有苏杭 Heaven above, Suzhou and Hangzhou below.' (WL045, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, from Heilongjiang)

WL049: Firstly, it is the story of the White Snake. Secondly, a saying goes, Heaven above, Suzhou and Hangzhou below. When you come to Hangzhou, the image of West Lake will jump out of your mind, just like the Forbidden City represents Beijing (WL049, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from a training company, from Zhejiang)

WL084: Well autumn is one of the best seasons for West Lake. I plan to visit again in April, as spring is the other best season.

WL083: In my opinion, I was attracted by Su Dongpo's poetry that '欲把西湖比西子 淡妆浓抹总相宜 'The West Lake looks like the fair lady at her best. Whether she is richly adorned or plainly dressed' (see Fig 6.3 in chapter 6). I am also fascinated by the stories and myths of West Lake. In addition, you know, it is already very cold in Northern China, where you still can enjoy 'green' here.

(WL083, tourist, female, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from a company, from Liaoning;

WL084, tourist, female, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from a company, from Liaoning)

The reasons that those visitors gave for coming to West Lake are linked to their personal understanding or imagination of the site. Nearly a quarter of visitors nominated intangible things including myth, stories, poetry, proverbs, or the White Snake TV show as the inspiration for their visit, rather than seeing material objects. As I discussed in Chapter 6 (see

³⁴ The myth refers to The Legend of the White Snake which is a famous Chinese legend which existed in oral tradition long before any written compilation. The myth has been presented in a number of major Chinese operas, films and television series which include the 1992 White Snake TV show. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legend_of_the_White_Snake)

³⁵ The actor of the White Snake TV show, represented as husband.

Fig 6.3), the textbook all Chinese student have used at primary school gives Chinese students an empathetic sense of the beauty of West Lake. WL083 listed Su Dongpo's poetry which all Chinese students learnt about in primary school. Those collective memories facilitate a Chinese sense of feeling that each Chinese person has their personal imagination of the West Lake. Therefore, the above four tourists had their own understanding or imagination of West Lake before they came, while being at the site may facilitate or change their sense of place.

A further 18.8% (twelve visitors) referred to their identities or memories when they nominated the reasons they came to West Lake. Examples include:

WL040: I came to visit West Lake because of Yue Fei³⁶, who was a famous general who fought against the Jurchen invaders in the early Southern Song Dynasty. I respect Yue Fei; he is my hero; I want to see the place where Yue Fei lived before. I spent a whole day in Yue Fei's Tomb, although I already know everything about him. (WL040, tourist, male, over 65, high school level, retired, from Henan)

WL042: Well, West Lake is a famous scenic point. I live in Northern China, and I want to experience and feel something different in Southern China. (WL042, tourist, female, 25-34, postgraduate, student, from Beijing)

WL043: I come to visit because of the culture and environment. I come from Northern China; Hangzhou represents the culture and weather of Southern China, which is very different from the North.

WL044: Well, I come here because of the White Snake TV show. When I was a kid, I was attracted by this show. When I go across the Broken Bridge, I remembered the scene in that show.

(WL043, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from state-owned enterprise, from Heilongjiang, WL044, tourist, female, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from state-owned enterprise, from Heilongjiang)

WL062: I come from the city of Huizhou in Guangdong province. There is another West Lake in my city, which Su Dongpo also made a great contribution to. I would

³⁶Yue Fei (24 March 1103 – 27 January 1142) , was a military general who lived in the Southern Song dynasty. He is widely seen as a patriot and national folk hero in China. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yue_Fei

like to compare the similarity and differences between the two places. (WL062, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from an eclectic company, from Guangdong)

WL044 said that her memory of the White Snake TV show was the key reason that brought her to the site. Her sense of place was elicited by her memories. WL040 said that Yue Fei was his idol who played an important influence on his life. He did not care about the aesthetic view of West Lake; rather he commemorated his memories by visiting the site. The responses from WL044 and WL040 support Smith's (2012:214) argument that reminiscing and remembering are significant activities or reasons that tourists come to visit heritage sites (see also Nora 1989; Urry 1996; Davison 2005; Smith 2006; Anheier and Isar 2011). The responses from WL042, WL043 and WL062 illustrate that visiting West Lake was linked to their personal identities and that they simply wanted to see or experience the cultural or natural differences between West Lake and where they came from.

In addition, seven visitors (10.9%) went to the site to enjoy the modern city or see how the modern city merged into historical settlements and landscapes. For example:

WL039: Well, there are several reasons. Firstly, the location of West Lake is so unique in the world. Secondly, the landscape design is very representative and different from other cities.

WL038: Yes, the most attractive characteristic of West Lake is that the historical architecture has been perfectly merged into the modern elements. You hardly notice actually you are in the city centre of Hangzhou during your visit. The situation during the holiday season may be different. But now we are absolutely satisfied, just like being in a paradise. (WL038, tourist, female, 25-34, postgraduate, landscape architect, from the Netherlands; WL039, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, landscape architect, from the Netherlands)

WL072: Well, I have been to Hangzhou many times. I come to visit not because of West Lake. I prefer the surroundings, that the modern merges into the historical settlements.

Rouran: What do mean?

WL072: For example, there are many modern hotels and restaurants located at the Nanshan road³⁷. They are new buildings which represent the new development of West Lake, and they have perfectly merged into the traditional setting.

(WL072, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, company staff, from Fujian)

WL075: I am an architect. Therefore I am concerned with urban problems in historical settings, which is represented in Hangzhou. (WL075, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, architect, from Liaoning)

It is interesting that the above examples show that not all visitors wanted to see or were concerned about the OUV or cultural significance of West Lake, as the heritage experts had assumed (see Chapter 5). Tourists also did not just visit for recreational reasons. Rather, they wanted to see the modern part of West Lake or how modern elements merged into historical settings. Ironically, those modern settlements are characterised by national and international heritage experts as issues that threatened the integrity and authenticity of the nominated heritage area.

Furthermore, five visitors (7.8%) nominated family or religious reasons for their visit. For instance:

WL064: Actually, I was born in Taiwan. However Hangzhou is my native place, and I had no relatives here because of the political situation in China sixty years ago. My grandparents very much miss their hometown and always told me stories of West Lake and Hangzhou. Unfortunately, they had no chance to come back before they passed away [becomes emotional]. This time I have joined a tour group to West Lake in order to fulfil their uncompleted wish. I am very impressed by the scenery, culture and history of West Lake, which is just like the stories that my grandparents have told me. I am very proud of my hometown. (WL064, tourist, male, 35-44, undergraduate, engineer, from Taiwan)

³⁷On the east side of West Lake.

WL102: I come to Linyin Temple because I respect Buddha, I am not a Buddhist, however, I think I could be influenced by the spirit of Buddha, to be a peaceful, kind person. (WL102, tourist, male, 25-34, college level, hotel manager, from Beijing)

WL064 provided a very in-depth and emotional response, his grandparents having moved from mainland China to Taiwan because of the Chinese Civil War from 1945 to 1950³⁸. Therefore, WL064 was not just visiting the site; rather he was in search of a lost familial identity. WL012 nominated religious reasons as she wanted to engage in a spiritual connection with Buddha, in the hopes that it might help her to become 'a peaceful, kind person.'

This question reveals that the reasons tourists' come to visit are various and more complex than locals, and were tied to each individual's personal or collective memories, and further reflect their personal identities. The interviews with locals however show a much stronger sense of pride, nostalgia and belonging than the tourist interviews. The interview result shows that both locals and tourist has their own understandings or imaginations about West Lake. Their sense of West Lake has not related to any authorised discourse, rather linked to their memories or experiences. However, being at West Lake or experiencing the site may facilitate or change tourists' sense of place. The next question I will discuss from my interviews with tourists is the question '**What experiences do you value on visiting this place?**'

7.2.2 What experiences do you value on visiting this place?

In answering this, only 15% of tourists considered that they were having a recreational or touristic experience (Table 7.2). More than a quarter of the respondents (28.3%) considered that they were engaged in experiencing the culture and history of West Lake. For example:

WL048: Actually, I did my undergraduate in Luoyang city which is close to the capital city of the Northern Song Dynasty. I wanted to experience the cultural connection between the Northern and Southern Song Dynasty [Hanzhou was the

³⁸ During the Chinese Civil War from 1945 to 1950, approximately two million Nationalist Chinese retreated from mainland China to the island of Taiwan (Cook and John, 2005).

capital city of the Southern Song Dynasty]. However, I was enjoying the history and trying to imagine [myself] in the Southern Song Dynasty, which is always interrupted by some noisy tour group or canteen that is trying to sell their items. (WL048, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from a training company, from Zhejiang)

WL082: I am very interested in the culture and history of the Song Dynasty. I did my undergraduate in Kaifeng city which is the capital city of the Northern Song Dynasty. Well, Hangzhou is the capital city of the Southern Song Dynasty. I am so curious [about] the differences between them. In my opinion, the architecture and landscape are very different, where I prefer Kaifeng city where I can feel the cultural atmosphere of the Song Dynasty. (WL082, tourist, male, 25-34, college level, unemployed, from Henan)

WL122: Well, I have been to the house of Yuqian³⁹ and Hu Xueyan⁴⁰, I also went to the 'Xiling Seal Engravers Society'. When I was in my twenties, I had dreamed of these places, in particular, the 'Xiling Seal Engravers Society', which represents the earliest Chinese national academic institution on the research of epigraphy, sphragistics and seal-engraving. I glad to see the development of this institute over the last ten years. (WL122, tourist, male, 55-64, undergraduate, college teacher, from Anhui)

WL048 and WL082 compared Hangzhou to the cities they were living or used to live in, which represents their sense of belonging invoked by visiting another place that has similar or interlinked historical or cultural background. As Crang (2001:102, quoted in Smith 2006:76) states being in place elicited people's sense of belonging, which:

represents a set of cultural characteristics and says something about where you live, come from and who you are - it provides an anchor of shared experiences between people and a physical demonstration of continuity over time.

³⁹Yu Qian (1398–1457), a native of Qiantang (modern-day Hangzhou, Zhejiang province), was a Chinese Defence Minister during the Ming dynasty.

⁴⁰Hu Xueyan (1823–1885) was a notable businessman in China during the latter Qing dynasty. He was active in banking, real estate, shipping and Chinese medicine. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hu_Xueyan

WL122 reflects that he had a strong sense of belonging that was linked to his sense of national identity, which was tied to his personal memories. Those interviewees reflect, as Smith (2006:75) has identified, the relation between identity and place which:

is not simply representational there is also a pre-representational affect that place has on the expression of identity and social value. However, the term is also used to identify and negotiate those values and meanings that help define both a sense of place and a cultural and social framework for dealing with the present.

Table 7.2 What experiences do you value on visiting this site?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Experience the Culture or History of West Lake/Hangzhou	17	28.3
	Social connection - positive	10	16.7
	Touristic/recreational/happy day out of the site	9	15.0
	Empathy specific history / with people in the past	7	11.7
	Aesthetic	5	8.3
	Spiritual or personal feeling	5	8.3
	Disappointed commercialization/ urbanisation	2	3.3
	Nominating a particular aspect of the site/seeing artefacts	2	3.3
	Too many visitors, crowded	2	3.3
	Positive enjoying urbanisation	1	1.7
	Total	60	100.0
Missing		4	
Total		64	

The next most frequent answer referred to a sense of positive social connection (16.7%). For example:

WL028: What I am interested in is the traditional songs from locals. I liked to sit aside West Lake and listened for hours. Their songs represent the characteristics of Hangzhou city. (WL028, male, 18-24, student, from Guangdong),

WL078: I have impressed by the locals of Hangzhou. They are very kind and give me the feeling that they truly welcome tourists to visit. (WL078, tourist, female, 18-24, high school level, from Hunan)

WL083: I was very much enjoying the moment we were boating on the lake. A local was boating for us, and told us about history, culture and stories of West Lake during the trip. He is such a good person, and he told us it is his honour to interpret the stories of West Lake and Hangzhou. I have learned about interesting stories and people from West Lake from his interpretation, including the stories of Su Xiaoxiao⁴¹ and Dao Ji⁴² monk. (WL083, tourist, female, 25-34, staff from a company, from Liaoning)

WL102: In terms of my experience, it may be different from what you want for your research. Well, on the first day, our company organised a trip cycling around the Lake. However, it has become a competition from different department groups. I think what I have gotten from the trip is the enhancement of our friendship. It is interesting. (WL102, tourist, male, 25-34, college level, hotel manager, from Beijing)

WL118: Compared to my hometown Suzhou, Hangzhou is a city where the modern has merged into a traditional setting. The most memorable thing is locals, and they are so kind. For example, when we planned to set off, a retired lady came to tell us the best way for visiting. I appreciated this. (WL118, tourist, male, 18-24, undergraduate, student, from Jiangsu)

The above examples reflected how the interactions between tourists and locals elicited a positive social connection between individual tourists and locals, which had a positive and active impact on the interpretation of West Lake (WL083), the city (WL028), or local daily lives (WL118). WL102's case shows that experiences at heritage sites help to generate her sense of social connections from tourists themselves. The interaction between tourists themselves, or/and with locals, is a significant theme I identified in this thesis. In the

⁴¹ Su Xiaoxiao (died c. 501) was a famous Chinese courtesan and poet from Qiantang City (now Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province) in the Southern Qi Dynasty (479–502). http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Su_Xiaoxiao

⁴² Daoji (1130–1207), commonly known as Ji Gong, was a Chán Buddhist monk of the Southern Song Dynasty in China. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ji_Gong

following section, and Chapter 8 and Chapter 9, I will further discuss these interactions from both tourists' and locals' perspectives.

A further 11.7% of visitors made active connections or statements that illustrated empathetic links to the past and/or present. Examples include:

WL040: From the perspective of Chinese traditional scholars', Yue Fei is a perfect person who is known to every Chinese as a model for Chinese cultural tradition of loyalty and filial piety. You can find his stories in books or in TV shows. I want to experience and feel something you cannot get from a book or TV. It is a kind of feeling you can gain by visiting the site where Yue Fei had lived before, or visiting the Leifeng Pagoda, Lu Xun had written a famous article 'The collapse of Leifeng Pagoda.' I used to teach this article in a high school. Therefore, I have a deep impression of the Leifeng Pagoda and I always wondered about coming to see it, to see the real Leifeng Pagoda. It is not the description in the book; it is a kind of real feeling. Well, culture is very important for helping us to find this feeling. For example, the Broken Bridge without the story of the White Snake, it is just a normal bridge which you can find in any place in China. Without the cultural meaning, West Lake is just a normal lake with a lot of water. (WL040, tourist, male, over 65, retired, from Henan)

WL064: Yue Fei is my idol. I just watched a TV show called '精忠岳飞 The Patriot Yue Fei', and I watched several times, every time I dissolved in tears. I thought it was a shame that the King in the Southern Song Dynasty killed such a hero, a good person [Yue Fei]. Why did such a glorious Kingdom [Southern Song Dynasty] decay? I think the leader of a country is significant for the past and present. (WL064, tourist, male, 35-44, undergraduate, engineer, from Taiwan)

WL089: On the Broken Bridge and Leifeng Pagoda. I am thinking of the moment Su Dongpo and Baijuyi were writing poetry, and I am right there drinking [wine] with them (laugh)s. (WL089, tourist, female, 35-44, staff from airline company, from Shanghai)

WL040 considered that physically being at the Yue Fei Temple (Fig. 7.1) and Leifeng Pagoda was important for him, noting that 'it is a kind of real feeling.' The 'real feeling,' the emotional authenticity of this feeling (Bagnall 2003), was linked to his sense of nationalism. As every Chinese person knows, Yue Fei has been seen as an ancient patriot who has had great symbolic meaning for Chinese nationalism for generations (James 1972; John et al. 1994). The origin of his sense of nationalism is linked back to collective memories and his personal identity. Heritage for WL040 is not only a physical place, it is rather a process of spirituality-seeking. Many visitors talked about a desire to feel, or the feelings they had during my interviews. I will elaborate this below when I look at the question **'Is tourism important to you?'**



Fig. 7.1 Yue Fei temple (source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/ed/Yue_Fei_temple_12.jpg)



Fig. 7.2 Yue Fei's sculpture in West Lake Museum (source: <http://fang9763.pixnet.net/blog>)



Fig. 7.3 Imagination of The Red Cliff (Painted by Qiu Ying [1494-1552] who was a famous painter in the Ming Dynasty. He had based this painting based on Su Dongpo's poetry - The Red Cliff. Chinese students have studied his poetry in high school) (Photo Source: <http://img0.ph.126.net/>)

The response from WL064 reflects that he deeply empathises with Yue Fei's experience in the past which is linked to his recent memory. The interesting thing is that when I approached him to be interviewed I waited for a long time, as he was taking photos of Yue Fei's sculpture from different angles in the West Lake Museum (Fig 7.2). Physically being in the site elicited his deep emotion of sympathy. Indeed, as I interviewed him about his reasons for visiting West Lake, his initial reason was his sense of searching for a lost familial identity (see above questions). During the time he visited, his sense of place had been changed and linked to different personal memories, while new memories were created. His experience of heritage was about different memories overlapping, which created his sense of heritage. In addition, the response from WL089 provided an interesting context that her sense of place was moving from the past to the present, and from spiritual to realistic. In her case, being in physical places ('on the broken bridge and Leifeng Pagoda') allowed her to be spiritually linked to the past in a quite poetic way, where she was drinking wine with the two ancient literary giants. As discussed in Chapter 5, the school textbook, the traditional Chinese paintings and the stories in everyday Chinese life facilitate Chinese poetic thought processes. The example of WL089 shows a typical Chinese poetic sense of feeling and connection with ancient scholars, surrounded by beautiful landscapes with mountains and water, drinking wine, composing poems, and enjoying the moments of being in the site (Fig 7.3). Keigthley and Pickering (2012) put forward the idea of the mnemonic imagination, which suggests that:

...remembering is a process of reassessing past experience while imagination is what animates the material on which remembering draws. Thus, the interplay between remembering and imagination are vital in comprehending the significance or value of the past for the present and future. (Keigthley and Pickering 2012: 8; quoted in Smith and Campbell 2015:16)

In addition, five tourists (8.3%) said that being at West Lake and Linyin Temple was linked to spiritual or very personal feelings. Examples include:

WL099: Well, I have been to Linying Temple many times. I am a Buddhist. I feel very peaceful and quiet in my soul by visiting here. (WL099, tourist, male, 45-54, undergraduate, company chairman, from Guangdong)

WL129: Well, I was here with my ex-boyfriend five years ago. At that time, West Lake was beautiful. Today, I come here in the same season [emotional]. However, I just climbed the Leifeng Pagoda, and was thinking about the happiness I had before... (WL129, tourist, female, 25-34, undergraduate, company staff, from Inner Mongolia)

WL099 was the only one visitor I interviewed who spent more than one month in Hangzhou. He was not interested in the physical objects or sites; rather he was seeking a 'pilgrimage.' In his case, the sense of pilgrimage was underlined by not simply the length he spent at the site, but the degree of his spiritual need. WL129 reflects on her sense of feeling excited by visiting West Lake, and tied to her personal memory, she remembers a better time associated with a previous visit.

The above responses show that these tourists' experiences at a heritage site are not necessarily passive, nor primarily linked to receiving educational or aesthetic information, as the AHD might expect. Actually, no respondents nominated education as a key issue during their visiting. They come to a heritage site not to be educated, rather they were exploring their own identities in a range of different ways. Their performances at heritage sites confirm what Smith (2006, 2012) has argued can be summarised as 'embodied acts of remembrance and commemoration, which are about negotiating and constructing or reconstructing a sense of place, belonging and understanding in and of the present' (Smith 2012:213). The next question I will discuss is tourists' responses to: **'what messages about the heritage or history of the site do you take away?'**

7.2.3 What messages about the heritage or history of the site do you take away?

This question elicited a wide range of answers. Twelve tourists (22.6%) took away aesthetic messages (Table 7.3). Five (9.4%) took away no message; another two (3.8 %) nominated messages of gratitude or historical debt or legacy; while only one mentioned a message about social connection. However, nearly one-third (30.2%) of tourists took away messages that demonstrated acknowledgement of or interest in the history, culture, folk stories and/or the recent development of West Lake. For example:

Table 7.3 What messages about the heritage or history of the site do you take away?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid		
recognition/gaining or showing respect in the history, culture, folk stories and/or the recent development of West Lake	16	30.2
Aesthetic	12	22.6
Feeling/Spiritual/ Religious messages	10	18.9
Over advertised/ excessive commercialisation	7	13.2
No message	5	9.4
Gratitude/historical debt/legacy	2	3.8
Social connection	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0
Missing	11	
Total	64	

WL027: There are thirty-six West Lake's in China, but why does the West Lake located in Hangzhou seem to be the most famous? It is because of its history and culture. When I walk around the lake, there are always some historic things that attract me. Being in the SU, and Bai crossway, I automatically feel the atmosphere of the Tang and Song period, and I am interested to search the reasons that why Su dongpo and Bai Juyi built them. It is interesting. (WL027, tourist, male, 25-34, student, from Heilongjiang)

WL038: During my visit, I remembered some stories and histories I already knew before. For example, I was feeling about the scenes of the White Snake TV show when I passed through the broken bridge (Fig.7.4).

WL039: Yes, you can remember many stories or histories by visiting. In my opinion, the landscape design is very different from the Netherlands, while the concepts of the design are more straightforward, even a little bit boring from the Dutch perspective, the landscape design of West Lake is more complicated. For example, you can see the

Su Crossway [from where] we are standing, and that is not straightforward (Fig.7.5). Some parts are winding and covered by vegetation. You cannot see through until you come close. Each part of the Crossway, the artificial rock, and even vegetation has stories. In addition, the ancient landscape architects were so smart. Their design reflects the Chinese traditional philosophy and the innate link between nature and people and is much better than the contemporary landscape design in China. (WL038, tourist, female, 25-34, postgraduate, landscape architect, from the Netherlands⁴³; WL039, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, landscape architect, from the Netherlands)

WL040: When visiting the Yue Fei Temple, I was thinking why was such a good person executed because of false charges. There is good or evil in the world; sometimes good may take advantage, sometimes not. History is the best teacher. What can we learn from Yue Fei's case today? How could we know whether good or bad things happened? Why is history always repeated? These questions we need to be given deep consideration.

(WL040, Tourist, male, over 65, High school level, retired, from Henan)

WL042: The story of 'White Snake' is the first thing that comes to my mind. When I was at Broken Bridge and Leifeng Pagoda (Fig.7.6), I felt very romantic, because of Xu Xian and Bai Niangzi's story. (WL042, tourist, female, 18-24, postgraduate, from Beijing)

WL067: I am more interested in the development of the landscape design around the area of West Lake. You know, some works were designed by Wang Shu⁴⁴, which represents the combination of modernity and tradition.

(WL067, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, student, from Anhui)

WL078: Well, the West Lake I used to know is very superficial. I have a deeper understanding of the site during my visit. For example, I thought Leifeng Pagoda was just architecture related to the White Snake story before my visit. Now I understand

⁴³ The two interviewees are Chinese working in the Netherlands.

⁴⁴ Wang Shu (born 4 November 1963) is a Chinese architect based in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province. He is the dean of the School of Architecture of the China Academy of Art. In 2012, Wang became the first Chinese citizen to win the Pritzker Prize, the world's top prize in architecture. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wang_Shui)

the more in-depth knowledge that Leifeng Pagoda is a Buddhist pagoda that had collapsed in 1924 during the Republic period and only the solid brick body remains. When I was standing in front of the remains of the old Leifeng Pagoda, I thought how much wisdom our ancestors had, with their pursuing a peaceful Buddhist philosophy, rather than superficial things that we require today such as desire and money. I will come to West Lake again to learn more I did not know before. (WL078, tourist, female, 18-24, high school level, from Hunan)

WL126: It is a big topic. Well, Hangzhou was the capital city of the Southern Song Dynasty, and has inherited much culture and history. Information about its culture and history can be found from architecture, landscape and locals' daily life. It is of importance to Chinese history. (WL126, tourist, male, 55-64, company chairman, from Gongdong)



Fig. 7.4 The Broken Bridge on the Bai Crossway (image sourced from the Hangzhou government)



Fig 7.5. Su Crossway [left figure] (photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig 7.6. Leifeng Pagoda [right figure] (photo by Rouran Zhang)

Those responses reflect that by being in the West Lake, tourists were actively engaged in receiving and creating messages entangled with their personal identities. In some cases, the

messages tourists received were included within the AHD or official harmony discourse, such as WL126, whose sense of place was tied to his sense of nationalism, while the significant messages WL078 took away centred on his sense of wonder and humility generated by physically being at the site (standing in front of the remains of the old Leifeng Pagoda). However, those group responses also show that the messages that many tourists received or created were far more complicated than the authorised discourse. There are two things I would like to address. On the one hand, WL027, WL038 and WL042 talked about the sense of feeling, and they explicitly know what this feeling is. For WL027 and WL038, their sense of feeling was empathetic to the past and tied to their memories, and while WL027 felt 'the atmosphere in the Tang and Song period,' WL038 felt that she was in the scene of the White Snake TV show. Their sense of feeling was generated by 'being in the SU, and Bai crossway' and 'passed through the Broken Bridge.' WL042's sense of feeling was also invoked by 'being in the Broken Bridge,' and he felt a particular romantic sense of his link to his personal memories of the 'White Snake' story.

On the other hand, a sense of empathy is the other important theme. The discourse from WL040 demonstrated that physically being at the Yuefei Temple made him deeply empathize with Yuefei's experience in the past. During this empathetic process, he was reflecting on the meaning of 'good and evil' in the present. He is engaged in a dialogue between past and present. Landsberg (2004) explained the interlinking of personal and collective memory with imagination and emotion, which she called 'prosthetic memory', which:

describes the encounters people have with historical narratives in places such as museums, and the process whereby that narrative takes on a more personal and deeply felt memory, even though it may not be the past through which that person lived. (Landsberg 2004:135; cited in Smith and Campbell 2015:16)

What is common to this group of interviewees is their sense of physically 'being in the site' or 'experienced the site.' Physical encounter with sites or places interplay with their memories, help them to make sense of their feeling, nationalism and humility, and reflect visitors' identities.

Seven tourists (13.2%), rather than nominating messages as such, talked about the over advertised/ excessive commercialisation of the site. For instance:

WL075: excessive commercialisation and too many modern artificial objects are two problems of West Lake, with particularly the southern site linking to the city centre. I first came to visit West Lake in the evening, and the site was taken over by the shiny neon lights and laser lights. This is not how West Lake is supposed to be in my imagination. West Lake is supposed to be a cultural symbol that represents traditional Southern China, and this has been changed by the commercial settlements. (WL075, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, architect, from Liaoning)

WL106: I think the site is already over commercialised. Most hotels are much more expensive on the weekend and public holidays. We have to pay twice for entrance tickets to see the Linying Temple, with the second charge being the so-called 'pilgrims' fee.' It is ridiculous. (WL106, tourist, male, 55-64, high school level, retired, from Jiangsu)

While both are critical, a sense of place is still important to them. In WL075's case, his sense of place was established by his 'imagination' of West Lake which was 'supposed to be a cultural symbol representing traditional Southern China' (WL075). The visiting process has changed his sense of place from being symbolic of national or regional identities to one of disappointment with an excessively commercialised site. In these cases, the influence on a visitors' sense of place was negative. The next question I will analyse is the tourists being asked **'is tourism important to you?'**

7.2.4 Is tourism important to you?

This question elicited a wide range of answers from tourists. Most (91.6%) of them considered that tourism was indeed important to them. The majority (60.4%) of tourists were visiting for various reasons, including doing identity/memory work (16.7%) (e.g. WL104 below), gaining cultural experiences (10.4%) (e.g. WL027 and WL042 below) and reinforcing knowledge (6.3%) etc. (see Table 7.4 below). I already discussed identity or memory work, and what experiences or knowledge they gain in this chapter. In this section, my focus will analyse why the majority of tourists were visiting, along with one of the significant themes in my thesis, the 'sense of feeling'. First, I will analyse that more than a

third (39.6%) of tourists who nominated recreation, leisure away from work pressure, or the opportunity to experience local customs and food as part of their recreation. For example:

WL012: You cannot imagine how many pressures I have to meet in my job. I have to work overtime almost every day, even on the weekend and public holidays. Tourism, of course, is very important to me. I have taken leave from my work for two weeks, this time. I was sick to see my office and the skyscrapers in Shenzhen. Being in Hangzhou, I can have some fresh air and recharge myself. It is also the best season for visiting. I can walk along the lake and the river. Walking is the best way to 'feel' West Lake. I do not know how to exactly to describe this feeling. It is kind of freedom. (WL012, tourist, female, 25-34, undergraduate, company staff, from Guangdong province)

WL020: Yes, it is important. I work in Beijing; it is the most competitive city in China. I have to work hard.

WL021: Year, I agree.

(WL020, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, journalist, from Beijing; WL021, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, architect, from Beijing)

WL038: Yes, recreational. But, you know, people come to a touristic site, not just for a happy day out but they want to learn something different from their daily life. We just are staying at West Lake for one day. If we have enough time, we will certainly do some more research on the history and culture here. Nevertheless, we still concern with cultural elements in a rushed time.

(WL038, tourists, female, 25-34, postgraduate, landscape architect, from Netherland)

WL074: Yes, it is very important. You know, I like to take photographs. The shooting of experiences around the scenic place '柳浪闻莺 Orioles Singing in the Willows' was so cool. I like this feeling. I also like to enjoy the local customs and food. I do not mind the sites with crowded tourists. In that case, it is interesting to observe them and shoot photos (WL074, tourist, female, under 17, high school, student, from Sichuan).

Table 7.4 Is tourism important to you?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Yes, recreation/leisure from working pressure/experience local custom and food	19	39.6
	Yes, identity/memory work	8	16.7
	Yes, gaining cultural experiences	5	10.4
	Yes, reinforcing knowledge	3	6.3
	vague, happy day out	3	6.3
	Yes, aesthetic appreciation	2	4.2
	Yes, but worried about negative impacts of tourism	2	4.2
	Yes, making empathetic connections	1	2.1
	Yes, reinforcing nationalism	1	2.1
	Yes, for economic reasons	1	2.1
	Yes, but worried about negative impacts of tourism	1	2.1
	Don't Know	1	2.1
	social connection	1	2.1
	Total	48	100.0
Missing		16	
Total		64	

Although the most frequently cited responses to this question from tourists are recreation or leisure, or to 'have a happy day out', as these extracts indicate, much deeper and comprehensive responses were offered to the other open-ended questions. This can be demonstrated by the responses when I asked what experiences tourists valued on visiting the site, in that only 15 percent actually identified recreational experiences (see Table 2). The majority of tourists were looking for experiences beyond the recreational and/or took away in-depth messages even though they considered themselves to be simply recreating. For instance, WL012, WL020 and WL021 initially considered the importance of tourism lay in the fact that they could relax or have a nice day out from their daily working pressures. However, the experiences they valued on visiting have much deeper cultural and social meanings beyond recreation from working pressure. WL021 said that:

I came to West Lake ten years ago. At that time, I had a very deep impression of the old houses around West Lake and the beauty of the lake itself. I come back here because I want to search the old memories and enjoy the histories and natural beauty that I experienced before. However, I am disappointed. Many old houses had been

demolished around the lake and replaced by commercial facilities. It is no longer the West Lake of my memory anymore.

(WL021, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, from Beijing)

WL021 expressed his disappointment because of the commercial changes of West Lake and offered nostalgic memories of a past that was 'better' than the present. The positive experiences when he first visited West Lake engendered a very pleasant memory. This memory influenced his visit at the time I interviewed him. However, the performance of his second visit also engendered a new memory. As Smith (2006:154) pointed out, heritage is a 'theatre of memory,' 'in which the performance of remembering is not only about the past, but also specifically about the creation of new memories that may be returned to and remembered off site.' Unfortunately, for WL021 these new memories were disappointing. In WL038's case, she initially identified the reason of her visit as recreational. However, she recounted that she wanted to learn different things from her daily life if she had enough time. Indeed, being in the physical places helped her recall 'stories and histories' she 'already knew before,' such as when 'I was feeling about the scenes of the White Snake TV show when I passed through the broken bridge'(WL038). The performativity of her visit was also about remembering collective memories, and the visiting process also created new memories.

In addition, WL074 generally identified the importance of tourism was about an aesthetic appreciation and the enjoyment of local food. However, she also made a vague reference to an un-named 'feeling', a vague reference frequently used by other responders. For example:

WL010: It is a kind of **feeling** you can gain from your journeys. I have travelled to many places. For example, I had a kind of **feeling** about the lifestyle of the Ming and Qing dynasties from visiting Beijing. The reason I come to West Lake is that I want to **feel** or experience the culture and customs of the Song dynasty. When I walked on the Su crossway, my imagination automatically linked to the scene when Su Dongpo was walking on that Crossway as well. It is a very real **feeling**. I do not know whether other people have this **feeling** as well. (WL027, tourists, male, 18-24, undergraduate, student, my emphasis)

WL027: Urr...Tourism. Most people pursue natural beauty, or some may like cultural narratives during their tour. For myself, the natural beauty of a site can bring me a

pleasant aesthetic **feeling**. However, cultures I gain knowledge of, or I **felt** from tourism, are more important. It is a spiritual sublimation. When I went to a heritage [site] related to famous people in history, I have been inspired by their story or their spirit.

(WL027, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, Student, from Heilongjiang)

WL042: During my visiting a new place, it is a kind of **feeling** like time-travel, just like I have been in a particular moment of the story or history. (WL042, tourist, female, 25-34, postgraduate, student, from Beijing, my emphasis)

WL048: I was interested in history since I was a kid. I can experience different histories and cultures through tourism. For example, I come to West Lake not just for recreation. I do not have a specific plan of where I should visit. I want to **feel** West Lake, and I am trying to find some in-depth culture or history during my journey. (WL048, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, staff from a training company, from Zhejiang, my emphasis)

WL104: Well, each tourist visits West Lake with a different purpose. For example, most people come to Linying Temple to pray. Some of them pray for religious reasons, some may consider spiritual need. It is a form of traditional Chinese culture. People can gain a kind of **feeling** of religion, spirituality and culture in their journey. (WL104, tourist, male, 45-54, postgraduate, teacher, from Jiangsu, my emphasis)

Cameron and Gatewood (2003, 2012) argue that the sense of feeling represents something spiritually that is difficult to express, which they refer to as 'numinous.' Poria et al. (2003) and Smith and Campbell (2015) argue that the sense of feeling is not necessarily spiritual, but is expressive of genuine emotions that facilitate and legitimate certain memories. However, those Western scholars had difficulty in putting interviewees' feelings into words (see also Smith 2012). In Chapter 6 as well as this chapter, I identified many Chinese tourists and locals who were far more aware of their sense of feeling than I have found in the Western literature. One of the reasons is embodied in the traditional Chinese view of nature and culture, which has been reinforced in school textbooks, Chinese poetry, Chinese traditional paintings and TV shows so that it infuses both the personal and collective memories of Chinese people. However, tourism is the other significant reason that tourists identified and

made sense of their feelings. I identified several types of sense of feelings as I concluded the interview results from West Lake. Firstly, some of the tourists noted that feelings were important. However they use the term 'feeling' to describe something simply felt rather than clearly articulated, as Poria et al (2003) and Smith (2006, 2012) have identified in Western contexts. An example is WL104, whose sense of feeling was vague, perhaps what Cameron and Gatewood (2003, 2012) identified as 'numen-seeking' (see also WL099 in the experience question).

Secondly, some of the tourists were clearly aware they were seeking a sense of 'feeling.' For example, WL078 (see above experience section), whose expression of feeling and genuine emotions linked his affect with social issues. Another example is WL043 (see Chapter 6 category question), whose sense of feeling presented as an aesthetic thought process, when he vividly described the scene of '断桥残雪 Lingered Snow on Broken Bridge' that 'reflects the scenery that on a sunny day after a heavy snow, the snow on the bridge melts and shows the brown floor, which gives people a feeling that the chain is broken'. In contrast, the Norwegian expert who represented ICOMOS to evaluate the West Lake World Heritage nomination did not get the feeling of 'Lingered Snow on Broken Bridge' at all (see Chapters 4 and 5). Also WL049's (see Chapter 6 'Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?' question) sense of feeling, expressed with the use of metaphor, when he imagined West Lake as a human being, and he engaged in an active empathetic process to express West Lake as a person who aspired people's understanding of her stories, rather than a superficial reputation, shows a sensitivity to the emotional aspects of the site.

The linkage between the sense of feeling and empathy were identified in many of my interviews. Tourists such as WL096 (see Chapter 6), WL027 and WL082 (in this Chapter) both displayed a sense of feeling that tried to empathetically engage in the 'atmosphere' of ancient China. Some sense of feeling was romantic or poetic, such as WL089, who referenced vicariously drinking wine with two ancient scholars, and WL042 who was immersed in the romantic scene of The White Snake story. WL040's (see above in the experience and message questions) response was very emotional, and his sense of feeling was deeply empathetic with Yue Fei's story, and he actively engaged in a dialogue between past and present about 'good and evil.'

The sense of feeling is tied to memories, which link to the information we receive all our lives. As noted in the beginning of this Chapter, ‘读万卷书，行万里路 Learn knowledge from thousands of books and accumulate experience by travelling thousands of miles.’ However, the above examples, and indeed all examples in this chapter, demonstrated that being in the site for reasons of tourism not only encouraged their sense of feeling, but also clearly magnified whatever that sense of feeling. Tourism also helps to create a new layer of memories for generating a new sense of feeling. Heritage, therefore, was a place where people felt – and in particular felt connected to something vital, such as a connection to land or connection to their sense of place. The last question I will discuss in this section is about what visitors, both tourists and local people, about think the tourism management of the site.

7.2.5 What do you think about the tourism management of the site?

The last question I asked for both tourists and locals was '**what do you think about the tourism management of the site?**' (see Table 6.5). The most frequent response (28.6%) of both locals and tourists was that they consider the site management is good, but they did not elaborate on their reasons. However, the second most frequent response of interviewees (19.8%) was that they are happy the local government waived the entrance fees to West Lake. Some responses from interviewees elicited a significant theme - a **sense of freedom**. For instance:

WL089: I remembered the last time I was walking through the Su Causeway and enjoying the fantastic autumn feeling at the site. When I wanted to visit '花港观鱼 Viewing Fish at Flowery Pond' (Fig.7.7) where it connects to the Su Causeway, I was blocked by the entrance gate and walls where I had to pay an entrance fee to get in. I suddenly lost my interest in visiting. I think the Hangzhou government did a good thing [to waive the entrance fee]. It is a fantastic journey this time to visit the whole site without seeing those annoying walls and paying entrance fees. (WL089, tourist, female, 35-44, staff from airline company, from Shanghai)

WL099: I was here fifteen years ago. Walls and gates separated West Lake. I had a terrible experience as I had to pay to get in to different 'theme parks' around the lake. I did not worry about my money; rather I remembered that I felt West Lake was cut

into several pieces by those walls and gates. The Hangzhou government did a good thing removing the walls and opening the gates for free. (WL099, tourist, male, 45-54, undergraduate, company chairman, from Guangdong)

WL030: The greatest management change is that the local government open West Lake for free. Ten years ago, I would only visit West Lake if I had to take my friends for sight-seeing. I had to pay the entrance fee for visiting each park such as '花港观鱼 Viewing Fish at Flowery Pond,' '柳浪闻莺 Orioles Singing in the Willows' (Fig.7.7) and '曲院风荷 Breeze-ruffled Lotus at Winding Garden.' Now, I come to those parks around West Lake every week, just like visiting my own garden! It is a feeling of freedom. (WL030, local, male, 45-54, undergraduate)

WL035: I heard many foreign visitors said that 'it is amazing such a beautiful place is free for everyone.' I have to compliment the Hangzhou government for being so far-sighted. (WL035, local, female, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL052: I think the best contribution of Hangzhou city for locals is cultural activities. You know, all the parks around West Lake are free of charge for the last fifteen years, while many museums have been built in the meantime. These facilitate people's sense of belonging to Hangzhou as a citizen. (WL052, local, male, 55-64, retired)



Fig 7.7. Viewing Fish at Flowery Pond (photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig 7.8. Orioles Singing in the Willows (photo by Rouran Zhang)

The four examples above illustrated that not only the physical boundaries of 'walls,' 'fences' and 'entrance gates,' but also the intangible boundary of 'entrance fee' which had blocked both locals and tourists sense of place. Both locals and visitors I interviewed complimented the local government opening the entire area around West Lake for free entrance. For the locals, the three examples above reflect a sense of pride the 'free' site had brought to them. What I would like to point out here is that the sense of metaphor that tourists were using, and the sense of the feeling that tied to an in-depth empathetic process, were magnified when they felt they are 'free'. WL089 actively offered a romantic empathetic scene that she was drinking wine with Su Dongpu and Bai Juyi (I analysed this in the experience question). However, as a return visitor, she also remembered her sense of feeling had been blocked by 'the entrance gate and walls' the last time she visited West Lake. For WL099, his sense of feeling 'was cut into several pieces by those walls and gates.' Therefore, the sense of 'freedom' was key for tourists to register deep emotional engagements when they connected to locals or connected to physical sites. The physical boundaries of 'walls,' 'fences' and 'entrance gates' blocked both tourists and locals' sense of feeling. However, the intangible boundaries, such as government control, influenced people's sense of feeling. I will further discuss this issue in Chapters 8 and 9.

Table 6.5 What do you think the tourism management of the site?

	Are you visitor or local		Total
	Visitor	Local	
What do you think the tourism management of the site?	15 39%	11 20.8%	26 28.6%
Happy site now free	7 18.2%	10 20.8%	16 19.8%
Management/environment improvement positive	3 7.7%	9 17.0%	12 13.0%
Management suggestion	5 12.8%	4 7.5%	9 9.8%
Terrible traffic jam, negative	1 2.6%	5 9.4%	6 6.5%
Illegal taxi/tour guides problems-negative	0 0.0%	5 9.4%	5 5.4%
Happy improvement of the new infrastructure/Traffic	1 2.6%	4 7.5%	6 5.4%
Too many visitors	2	1	3

	5.1%	1.9%	3.3%
commercialisation- negative	3 7.7%	0 0.0%	3 3.3%
Good - other reasons	1 2.6%	1 1.9%	2 2.2%
Not good - Pollution	0 0.0%	1 1.9%	1 1.1%
Management backward	0 0.0%	1 1.9%	1 1.1%
Don't Know	1 2.6%	0 0.0%	1 1.1%
Total	39 100.0%	53 100.0%	92 100.0%

7.2.6 Discussion

As both Graburn and Barthel-Bouchier (2001: 149) and Ashworth (2009) have noted, tourists are often dismissed within heritage studies as a ‘problem’ that can only be resolved through the ‘education’ of visitors as to the meaning and value of heritage (see also Lowenthal, 1992; Jokilehto, 1995; Hall and McArthur, 1998; McKercher and du Cros, 2002). What the interviews of tourists illustrate is that tourists were undertaking in-depth and sophisticated cultural work during their visiting at this heritage site, even though many perceive that they were simply recreating. Tourists were asked about the experiences during their visit to the different sites of West Lake and what those experiences meant to them, and the messages they took away from the site. What emerges from my interview is that sense of place was elicited by visitors' personal (e.g. WL021), collective (e.g. WL038 & WL042) and/or family memories (e.g. WL064). The performativity of the visit to a heritage site was about remembering and reminiscing. It was about remembering the social and cultural values that constitute their social place in Chinese society. Some responses from interviewees, such as WL021 and WL040, reflected that their sense of place was not only about remembering the past, but was also influenced by their experiences in the present. The sense of place entangled with their sense of feeling helps to create new memories during their visit. The new memories could be positive or negative. Nevertheless, it reinforced their sense of the place which could be remembered later. A heritage site is not only a physical place, but is tied to the process of remembering and reminiscing, and can be viewed as a ‘theatre of memory’, as Samuel (1994)

has argued. This process of reminiscing and creating memories generates an explicit sense of feeling which reflects and reinforces visitors' collective or individual memories.

International authorities such as UNESCO emphasise that education is one of the significant purposes of heritage tourism (see Pedersen 2002). However, some visitors, such as WL078 and WL038, said that they wanted to learn something related to the culture or history of West Lake. The majority of tourists to West Lake were not there for education, but rather for the 'feel' of the site. As Coleman and Crang (2002:11) argue, 'tourism is a practice of ontological knowledge, an encounter with space that is both social and incorporates an embodied "feeling of doing"'. Being at the heritage site invoked tourists' sense of feeling and was further tied to their various forms of agency, including a sense of empathy, sense of social or family connection and sense of pride, etc. Another dominant concept that is of concern to international heritage policy is about authenticity, in which unregulated heritage tourism is often defined as destructive of the authenticity of a material heritage site. As McKercher (1993) and McKercher and du Cros (2002, 2003) argue, tourists are marketing oriented, they come to heritage sites for cultural education or amusement, and the presence of tourists threatens the authenticity of heritage. International authorities have promulgated policies to ensure that 'authentic' heritage can be recognised by tourists. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, ICOMOS promulgated The Seoul Declaration on Tourism in Asia's Historic Towns and Areas in 2005 and stresses the 'importance of accurate and aesthetic interpretation and presentation of heritage places for tourism' (Ashworth 2009:80). Therefore, tourists have been defined as 'culturally inauthentic' and as passive sightseers, with little or no agency in the meanings they construct at heritage sites. However, the interviews at West Lake show that the performances of tourists at heritage sites can be mindful and complicated. The respondents often expressed their aspiration to experience authentic experiences. However, these authentic experiences are not only elicited by seeing or experiencing the 'authentic' objects or environment; rather it emerged from a sense of being emotionally engaged by the heritage site during their visiting. The emotions and feelings were tied to their memories, and helped them to construct a sense of place and influenced their social experiences in the present. Bagnall (2003) has suggested the utility of the term 'emotional realism', which reflects the active sense of tourists' engagement, based on her survey at heritage sites in the UK, and Smith (2006:71) further develops this idea:

emotional authenticity in which visitors can validate or measure the

legitimacy of their own social and cultural experiences outside of the heritage sites they are visiting, adds another layer of consequence to the idea of performativity. Thus, heritage performances are not only physical experiences of 'doing', but also emotional experiences of 'being'

Tourists come to heritage sites were not simply 'touring'; they were undertaking 'cultural and social work,' and displaying an active feel for the sites (Poria et al. 2003), remembering and negotiating cultural meanings, as Smith (2006) points out. Therefore, heritage is not only a place with an inherent value derived from the material past, but rather a part of social and cultural processes people can feel at the site, and use to make sense of their identities.

As I interviewed tourists, some of them mentioned that their sense of place was connected with locals. When they 'listened to the locals' songs' (e.g. WL028) or 'feel locals are welcoming to tourists' (e.g. and WL078), a sense of contentment was generated. In the next section, I will discuss locals' reactions to tourism and tourists, and then further discuss the interrelation between locals and tourists.

7.3 Locals' attitudes to tourism and tourists

There is a significant concern in the mainstream literature about the impacts of tourism to local communities (see Ap and Crompton, 1998; Delamere, 2001; Choi and Sirakaya, 2005; Uysal et al. 2012). Much of this literature and the policies of international and national authorities are particularly critical of the destructive potential of mass tourists (Ap and Crompton 1993; Brunt and Courtney 1999; for policies see ICOMOS 2001; Pedersen 2002). The presence of mass tourists at a heritage site has tended to have negative impacts on local communities. The issue of increasing mass tourism to heritage sites is very relevant to China, which had more than 3.6 billion domestic tourist visits in 2014⁴⁵. Hangzhou is a top ten 'touristic city' in China, and received 94.09 million domestic tourists in 2013⁴⁶. During public holidays such as 'golden week' from 1 to 7 October in 2012, West Lake received 5.25 million tourists⁴⁷. Newspapers and mainstream media have reported the increase of mass tourism in West Lake, and worries that mass tourism is having negative effects on locals' daily lives (*Zhejiang Daily* 2013). Some Chinese scholars have discussed how to develop new tourism

⁴⁵ Source: http://www.china.com.cn/travel/txt/2015-02/10/content_34784622.htm

⁴⁶ Hangzhou Government Report 2014. (source: <http://www.hangzhou.gov.cn/main/xxbs/T496065.shtml>)

⁴⁷ Source: <http://gotrip.zjol.com.cn/05gotrip/system/2012/10/10/018861569.shtml>

strategies to address the ‘problem’ of mass tourists at places like West Lake (Li 2012; Wei 2012). However, no academic work has yet been done to analyse locals’ actual reactions to mass tourism and the actual tourists themselves. I will analyse my interview data from four key open-ended questions to explore locals’ attitudes to tourism, tourists and world heritage listing. The first open-ended question I will discuss is **‘What aspects of West Lake are most valuable in your opinion?’**

7.3.1 What aspects of West Lake are most valuable in your opinion?

The responses to this question were quite varied (Table 7.6), with eight (14%) locals citing aesthetic issues, while seven (12.3%) considered that West Lake represents local or regional identity. For example, WL115 said that:

WL115: The four seasons of West Lake will give you different feelings, and it is hard to describe in words. I remembered the times I lost my job, by which I always went to West Lake. Just a cup of tea and talking with some friends made me feel happy and confident with my life. (WL115, local, male, 25-34, staff from IT company)

WL115 thought that people can have different ‘feelings’ in different seasons at West Lake. As noted above, I discussed the significance of tourists’ sense of feeling that helps them make sense of the site or their personal identity. WL115’s sense of feeling refers to his emotional engagement with nature while he was forgetting the discontent of the outside world and pursuing the ‘pure spiritual enjoyment’ of his inner world. This resonates with Han’s (2006:90) conclusion of his monumental work of literature, *The Travel Diaries Xu Xiakethe*, who was the most famous Chinese travel writer in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644),⁴⁸ that:

... all the values of travel were embedded in the travel itself, and this was its essential meaning. In this travel, there was no bitterness at leaving home, no discontent with reality, no worries about life, and no burden of moral cultivation. The only thing it had was pure spiritual enjoyment obtained from beautiful destinations.

⁴⁸ *Xu Xiakethe's Travels* is a famous book in Chinese history, written in the 17th century. It consists mainly of essays describing the travels of the geographer Xu Hongzu (also known as Xu Xiakethe). Over 34 years, Xu produced more than 60 thousand words, including works such as "Guizhou tour diary" and "Yunnan tour diary". This book offers detailed descriptions of geography, hydrology, geology, plants and other phenomena. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xu_Xiakethe%27s_Travels)

The most frequent (21.1%) response nominated cultural or historical reasons. For instance:

WL002: Well I think it is the culture of Hangzhou. (WL002, local, female, over 65, College level, retired)

WL007: 司徒雷登 John Leighton Stuart⁴⁹ who has made a great contribution to Chinese education in the Republic period. He spent most of his life in Hangzhou. However, visitors would not know his history from their visiting. This is because the local government is intent on ignoring particular aspects of history from Republic period for political reasons. (WL007, local, female, over 65, postgraduate, Teacher)

WL018: It is everything about West Lake, not only the lake, the mountain, but also the culture and history. Imagine Hangzhou city is a person; Without West Lake, it is just like a person without eyes. (WL018, local, female, 35-44, college level, enterprise manager)

WL007 is a retired professor from Zhejiang University. He considered that the most valuable aspect of West Lake was not only the history about 司徒雷登 John Leighton Stuart itself, but rather the history or stories that had occurred during the Republic period that were ignored by the authorities. In fact, the most valuable aspects of West Lake in his sense was related to his personal and collective memories. The response from WL018 was simple, her sense of feeling was similar as WL049 (see section above) with the use of metaphor, when she imagined West Lake as a person's eyes. Being at West Lake generated a similar sense of feeling for both tourists and locals. I will further analyse the connection of the sense of feeling between locals and tourists by discussing the next question, '**What are the messages or experiences that you hope visitors take away from the site?**'.

Table 7.6 What aspects of West Lake are most valuable in your opinion?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Cultural/Historical	12	21.1
	Natural environment	11	19.3

⁴⁹ John Leighton Stuart (Chinese: 司徒雷登 1876 – 1962) was a missionary educator who became the first President of Yenching University and later the United States ambassador to China. He was the last person to hold that position before resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries three decades later. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Leighton_Stuart)

Modern setting merge to historical site and still developing	9	15.8
Aesthetic	8	14.0
Local or regional identity	7	12.3
Social values	3	5.3
Depend on different types of people	2	3.5
Don't know	2	3.5
Educational/informational	1	1.8
Combination of natural and cultural	1	1.8
Spiritual	1	1.8
Total	57	100.0
Missing	12	
Total	69	

7.3.2. What are the messages or experiences that you hope visitors take away from the site?

Seven locals (19.4%) hoped that visitors would take away an aesthetic appreciation of the landscape. However, nearly one-third (30.6%) of locals hoped that tourists would recognise and gain cultural experiences from Hangzhou (see Table 7.7). For example:

WL058: West Lake was a lagoon of 钱塘江 the Qiantang River. It has been a process of cultural accumulation for more than 1000 years, and West Lake becomes today's World Heritage site. What [messages] I want tourists to take away from the site is about this cultural process. (WL058, local, male, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL061: When you enjoy the view around West Lake, do you know each scenic place has stories? Therefore, firstly, I hope tourists can take away the stories of these scenic places they are visiting. They represent the glories of culture and history of Hangzhou city. Secondly, I hope tourists can experience the local customs and enjoy the local food. (WL061, local, male, 25-34, undergraduate, engineer)

WL117: Well, mass tourists are more concerned with the reputation and the beautiful landscape of West Lake. You know, 'have hun' is more complex than we are usually thinking. In my opinion, the stories of West Lake are far more important than the

views. Many tourists who visit West Lake must go to the Broken Bridge, however, most visitors, even locals, do not know there are old houses of '蒋介石 Chiang Kai-shek'⁵⁰ and '蒋经国 Chiang Ching-kuo'⁵¹, as well as other famous politicians who used to live beside West Lake very close to the Broken Bridge. You know, this history from the Republic period is important for Hangzhou city. (WL117, local, male, 25-34, taxi driver)

These respondents hope visitors will gain cultural or historical experiences, and the sense of local pride in this history and culture is obvious in these extracts. WL117 literally provided informational suggestions for visitors, however, like WL007 (see above section), his concern was about the history of the Republic period that has been ignored by local authorities. There is some heritage and museums literature that discusses how visitors' emotions can change the received discourse and narratives of history during their visiting (see Soren 2009; Gregory and Witcomb 2007; Witcomb 2012; Smith 2014; Trofanenko 2014). In this sense, as Smith and Campbell (2015:11) identified:

...greater engagement with hidden or marginalized histories and contemporary group sympathy may occur. Central in this process has been the identification of deep empathy, or empathy that moves beyond the “I feel sad” for this other, as key to triggering a response that engages the imagination in such a way that visitors start to question what they know and understand.

The story of '蒋介石 Chiang Kai-shek' and '蒋经国 Chiang Ching-kuo' at West Lake, as WL117 indicated, is a marginalised history by the AHD and official harmony discourse. Recently, news that the villa of Chiang Ching-kuo has been turned into a McDonalds in late 2015 triggered wide online discussion (China.com 2015; Sina.com 2015). Thousands of people circulated this news and discussed whether the Chinese government should re-evaluate the marginated history during the period of the Republic of China (Sina.com 2015).

⁵⁰ Chiang Kai-shek (October 31, 1887 – April 5, 1975), also known as Jiang Jieshi or Jiang Zhongzheng, was a Chinese political and military leader who served as the leader of the Republic of China between 1928 and 1975. (source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chiang_Kai-shek)

⁵¹ Chiang Ching-kuo (1910 – 1988), Kuomintang (KMT) politician and leader, was a Chinese politician and the son of Generalissimo and President Chiang Kai-shek and held numerous posts in the government of the Republic of China (ROC).

In addition, seven locals (19.4%) expected the messages or experiences that the tourists took away would be the sense of feeling. For instance:

WL076: After their visiting, if tourists say to me 'Hangzhou is gorgeous,' I will be very happy and proud of that. Actually, many tourists said to me that 'Well, I want to buy an apartment and settle down around West Lake,' or 'Hangzhou is so beautiful.' At that time, I am heartfelt proud of my city. When some tourists came to ask me 'which places are worth visiting,' I always told them 'everywhere around West Lake.' If you come to West Lake during wintertime, you would understand what '断桥残雪' Lingered Snow on Broken Bridge' means; if you come at spring, you would see the 'colourful flower West Lake,' and many couples sitting around the Lake. There are also many activities in the evening around West Lake, tourists and locals were dancing together sometimes. All locals and tourists are happy. (WL076, local, female, 55-64, retired)

WL080: The ideal tourists' experience at West Lake is to appreciate details of the lake or the city. The feeling during visiting West Lake is most important. (WL080, local, male, 35-44, undergraduate, manager)

WL093: You need to take your time during your visit to West Lake. Otherwise, you won't be able to understand the in-depth meaning of the site. For example, if you visit 三潭印月 Three Pools Mirroring the Moon (Fig.7.9 and 7.10) in a rush, you might think they are just three normal sculptures. However, if you come to the site during the moonlit night, take your time to feel the place, you will suddenly understand how wise and romantic our ancestors were for naming it. Just like Longjin tea, if you drink it very quickly you never know how good the tea is. (WL093, local, male, over 65, retired)

Although the three examples above have different expectations of what visitors can take away from West Lake, there are also similarities between them. They all talked about the sense of feeling that visitors could use to make connections to West Lake or Hangzhou. The sense of feeling that both WL076 and WL093 wanted tourists to feel was a poetic or romantic sense of West Lake. They expressed their sense of pride and considered the meaning of West Lake would be understood by 'taking your time to feel the place' (WL093). What I want to stress here is that the sense of feeling of the Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places of West Lake, such as '断桥残雪 Lingered Snow on Broken Bridge' or '三潭印月 Three Pools Mirroring the Moon', can be easily understood by both locals (e.g. WL076 and WL093) and tourists (e.g. WL043, discussed in Chapter 6) Ironically, they did not make sense to the Norwegian expert, who had expertise and power to suggest whether West Lake's value was sufficient for World Heritage nomination. Other experts and officials from the World Heritage Committee who might not visit or 'feel' West Lake at all, however, had the right to make a decision about World Heritage inscription. The next question I will discuss is the locals' perception of mass tourists to their site.



Fig. 7.9 Three Pools Mirroring the Moon (source from Source from <http://www.intohangzhou.com/Sight/santanyinyue.htm>)

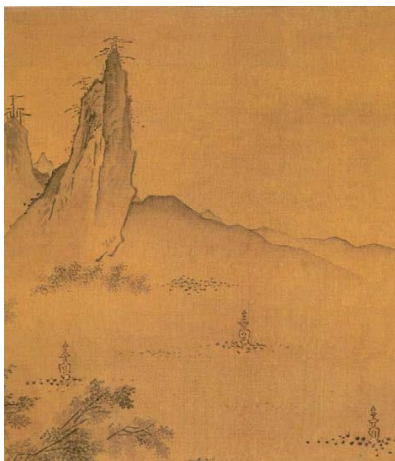


Fig 7.10 Three Pools Mirroring the Moon Painting (Left painting by Ye Xiaoyan, in Southern Song Dynasty [1127-1279]; Right painting by Qi Min, Ming Dynasty [1368-1644])

Table 7.7 What are the messages or experiences that you hope visitors take away from the site?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Gain cultural experience	11	30.6
	Aesthetic	7	19.4
	Feeling	7	19.4
	Appreciate/respect the history and culture of Hangzhou	5	13.9
	Suggestions, depend on what types of tourists	3	8.3
	Recreation/leisure from working pressure	2	5.6
	Specific material things	1	2.8
	Total	36	100.0
Missing		33	
Total		69	

7.3.3 Do tourists have any impact on your daily life?

This question was designed to determine locals' reaction to the presences of mass tourists (see Table 7.8). Ten respondents (20.8%) did not think tourists have any impacts on their daily life, while two (4.2%) nominated concerns about high tourist numbers. For example:

WL080: You know, there are too many tourists during holiday seasons. Locals do not willingly visit West Lake at that time. I think tourists' experiences are probably not very good. In my opinion, there is nothing wrong with tourists. National governments should rethink the policy about public holidays. (WL080, local, male, 35-44, undergraduate, manager)

Table 7.8 Do tourists have any impact on your daily life?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Yes, but doesn't matter, I support tourism development.	10	20.8
	No impact	10	20.8
	Yes, represent local identity/proud/nationalism - positive	8	16.7
	Yes, mass tourists bring economic growth - positive	5	10.4
	Yes, crowded weekend and public holiday- negative	5	10.4
	Yes, happy to communicate with tourists - positive	3	6.3
	Yes, bad traffic conditions - negative	3	6.3
	Yes, mass tourists bring increased price of food or housing estates - negative	2	4.2

No impact-support tourism, but worry about tourism management	2	4.2
Total	48	100.0
Missing	21	
Total	69	

Just under a quarter (20.9%) of locals said that tourists have a negative impact on their daily lives. This included increased prices for food or housing (4.2%), bad traffic conditions (6.3%) and crowding during weekends and public holidays (10.4%). However, more than half of the locals (58.4%) nominated positive impacts that tourists brought to their daily lives. Ten of these people talked about facilitating cultural communication, for example:

WL055: Well, I won't go to West Lake during the 'golden week' (Fig.7.11). There are too many people. But it does not impact my daily life. I have plenty of time to enjoy West Lake. On the contrary, I think tourists coming to our sites will facilitate cultural communication (WL055, local, male, over 65, retired)

WL069: Well, locals never go to touristic sites during holiday seasons. However, I support tourism development. You know, many of us are dealing with high working pressures in our daily life. Travelling to another place is the best way to release our work pressure. (WL069, local, male, 25-34, undergraduate, sales manager)



Fig. 7.11 Mass tourists visited West Lake during the 'golden week' (source from: www.chiadaliy.com (left picture); and Chinanews.com (right picture))

The next most frequent response (16.7%) to these positive answers referred to their strong sense of local identity or nationalism. For example:

WL003: West Lake is a World Heritage site, which not only belongs to locals but belongs to all Chinese, even the world. Everyone has the right to visit. On the weekend and public holidays, locals will leave touristic sites to tourists. We are retired, and we can come here whenever we want. I think no matter who comes to Hangzhou they must love this place. You know, unlike Beijing and Xian, you need to go into the scenic point for photo shooting, while you can shoot photos everywhere in Hangzhou. This is why we have been nominated as a 'touristic city.' (WL003, local, female, over 65, retired)

WL005: Mass tourists come to our site, which means that Hangzhou is the best place in China. Everyone has the right to appreciate the culture and nature of West Lake. When they are visiting our site, I am always happy to tell them the stories and about the public transport systems of Hangzhou during their visiting. During the public holiday, we have left the touristic places to tourists. However, we know where to go around West Lake to avoid mass tourists, places such as 玉泉 Yuquan, 花圃 Huapu and the botanical gardens which are not far from here. (WL005, local, female, over 65, retired)

WL058: You know, as a Hangzhou citizen, I do not come to the touristic sites at West Lake during holiday seasons. We would like to let tourists enjoy West Lake. I think most Hangzhou citizen have done the same thing as me. You know, there are thirty-six 'West Lakes' in China, but our lake is no doubt the most famous one. (WL058, local, male, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL076: Of course not. I would love to see tourists enjoy the beautiful views and take photos. During the holiday seasons, we leave the touristic places to tourists and go to the surrounding mountains. (WL076, local, female, 55-64, retired)

WL097: You know, Hangzhou has become an international city because of tourism. Tea farmers around West Lake used to live upon the traditional farm industry, however, most of them run restaurants and hostels instead. Therefore, they have more spare time to research the traditional tea culture. Tourism has not only brought better living quality but also has enlightened them to explore and develop their traditional

culture. Tourists coming to these villages can be influenced by the tea culture or other cultures of Hangzhou. This is a virtuous circle. (WL097, local, female, 25-34, undergraduate, human resource manager)

WL115: You know during the 'golden week,' not just Hangzhou, most of the Chinese touristic cities are crowded. I have lived in Hangzhou since I was born. Of course, I want people to come to see the beauty of West Lake comfortably. I think West Lake belongs to everyone in the world. However, some decisions should be made by the national government for changing the unreasonable policies and laws about public holidays. (WL115, local, male, 25-34, staff from IT Company)

WL005, WL058 and WL076 mentioned that mass tourists had influenced their daily life, particularly during public holidays. However, they did not hate or curse mass tourists; rather they chose to leave the touristic places to the tourists, choosing to go to West Lake at other times. They state that they are happy that the site is visited. For example, WL005 said that 'when they are visiting our site, I am always happy to tell them the stories and about the public transport systems of Hangzhou during their visit.' WL058 and WL076 expressed similar opinions to WL005, that 'We would like to let tourists enjoy West Lake. I think most Hangzhou citizens have done the same thing as me' (WL058); 'I would live to see tourists enjoy the beautiful views and take photos' (WL076). Their sense of local identity and pride are obvious. L003 and WL115 expressed their strong sense of nationalism. WL003 said that West Lake not 'only belongs to locals, but belongs to all Chinese, even the world.' The presence of mass tourists facilitated and reinforced their sense of nationalism. In addition, WL097 noted that tourism had changed the industry structure for locals who lived around West Lake from traditional agriculture to a service industry. This changes facilitated locals' sense of local identities, which as WL097 said meant that locals began to 'research the traditional tea culture' and to 'explore and develop their traditional culture.'

A number of studies have observed that mass tourism which brings about a change in the working population and a move to the service industry is usually seen as a negative thing, with particular regard to issues of commodification (Greenwood 1977; Handler and Saxton 1988; McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Handler and Gable 1997; Waitt 2000; Choay 2001; Greenspan 2002). Hall (1994) argues that commodification in heritage sites produces a mass-scale production of souvenirs and the trivialization of certain cultural and political

preconceptions, causes to low quality sameness. For instance, as Logan (2012:120) argues, in Lijiang⁵² in China ethnic communities not only move to the service industry but also changed their cultural traditions, which was influenced by the large-scale domestic tourism, with the ‘main motivation for visiting Lijiang being a combination of pleasure-seeking, shopping, restaurant dining’. However, Cohen (1988:383) identified that commodification does not only erode the meaning of heritage, but in many cases introduce or helps create new meanings:

Tourist-oriented products frequently acquire new meanings for the locals, as they become a diacritical mark of their ethnic or cultural identity, a vehicle of self-representation before an external public. However, old meanings do not thereby necessarily disappear, but may remain salient, on a different level, for an internal public, despite commoditisation.

My interview responses from locals, demonstrated Cohen’s (1988) observation that tourism has brought an active sense to locals, for example when WL097 makes the point about researching ‘the traditional tea culture’ and to ‘explore and develop their traditional culture.’ The active interactions between locals and tourists is also found in another case study – the Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun. It is the key issue I will address in Chapters 8 and 9

Five (10.4%) respondents considered that mass tourists have brought economic growth. For instance:

WL006: Well, it does not matter. They actually bring money to us (laughs). We usually come to West Lake on weekdays, and the lake belongs to tourist on public holidays. It is fair. The local governments have used the tourism income for protection, public transport system and infrastructure of the sites. Many cities in China have similar lakes. I think what makes them think Hangzhou unique is the cultural experience. Well, each person has their own experience during visiting. They sometimes get very superficial and informational messages of West Lake from tour guides. However, you need to stay here longer to feel the real West Lake. You know, West Lake has different characteristics in different seasons. If you visit just for fun and aim to take some photos, it is meaningless. You should be concerned with the

⁵² Lijiang is a Chinese World Heritage site, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1997.

culture and environment, what a local resident's daily life in Hangzhou [is like] as well. (WL006, local, male, 18-24, undergraduate, student)

Besides the economic value, WL006 hoped that visitors should stay longer in Hangzhou to 'feel' the 'real West Lake.' Therefore, the sense of feeling about what tourists get facilitated tourists' sense of pride. When tourists can 'feel' the 'real West Lake,' locals' sense of pride are magnified. In addition, three locals (6.3%) said that they were happy to communicate with tourists. For example:

WL051: I am studying Chinese Fine Arts. Therefore, I like to observe people at the touristic site of West Lake. I think tourism bring mass tourists to Hangzhou, and these tourists have brought cultural diversity and vividness to the city. (WL051, local, female, 18-24, undergraduate, student)

The discourse from WL051 reflects that the presence of mass tourists actually brought new identities to the city of Hangzhou, which makes the city more vivid. This section reveals that tourism and tourists to some extent have influenced locals' daily lives. Some influences were negative, such as the increased price of food or housing estates, bad traffic conditions (6.4%) or crowding during weekends at touristic places. However, the majority of locals nominated that tourists had brought positive changes, not only the economic benefit but also, as WL051 said, they 'brought cultural diverse and vividness to the city.' Locals in Hangzhou widely acknowledge that Hangzhou is a touristic city, and that tourists are one of the identities of the city. Therefore, the presence of mass tourists to their city elicited a sense of pride in them. Their sense of pride is magnified when they 'feel' that tourists have an enjoyable touristic experiences and 'feel the real West Lake' (WL006). The next question I discuss is **'has world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way you use and understand the site?'**

7.3.4 Has world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way you use and understand the site?

The next question I asked aimed to explore whether the world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way locals use and understand the site (see Table 7.9). The majority of locals (62.6%) nominated that it had changed in positive ways, while 33.4% locals

considered that WHL had brought no change (15.7%). Only three locals (5.9%) considered that negative changes had occurred. The most frequent (39.2%) responses given by locals was that the process of World Heritage listing had brought environmental improvement:

Table 7.9 Has world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way you use and understand the site?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Environmental improvement	20	39.2
	More tourists	8	15.7
	No change	8	15.7
	improvement of management service	4	7.8
	Site now free - positive	3	5.9
	Education	2	3.9
	Management/infrastructure backward	2	3.9
	Commercialisation- negative	1	2.0
	Increasing in pollution (Air/Water) - negative	1	2.0
	Economic increasing- positive	1	2.0
	Other issues brought changes	1	2.0
	Total	51	100.0
Missing	18		
Total	69		

WL116: Yes, I have to compliment local government as they have done a great job, even though it cost a lot. After the successful listing of West Lake, the whole water system had been changed in a good way. The lake is larger and cleaner, which has a positive impact. (WL116, local, female, 25-34, undergraduate)

WL030: Yes, since the West Lake Protect and Management Project in 2003, some residents from '茅家埠 Maojiabu' have benefited from WHL process, as the government made excellent site planning for those residents. However, many residents from '涌金门 Yongjinmen', which is a beautiful place close to the Lake, had moved to a new settlement in other places in the city. Some have been some conflicts between those residents and local governments. (WL030, local, female, 45-54)

WL036: Yes, local governments have paid more attention to the management of the sites. WL035: Yeah, you know, the reputation of West Lake has been upgraded from

regional or national to international level. The reputation also has brought about a management upgrade. In addition, West Lake has become larger than before. The original West Lake used to be separated into 里西湖 Inner West Lake and 外西湖 Outer West Lake. The two parts of the lake have been connected during the World Heritage listing process.

WL036: Local governments also have been carried out a project that has used the sludge dug from West Lake to fill in some low-lying land, which has become a new wetland park - 江洋畷公园 Jiang Yangfan Park - since 2008. (WL035, local, female, over 65, high school level, retired; WL036, local, female, over 65, retired)

WL055: Yes, there have been huge changes over the last ten years. Local governments had carried out the West Lake Protection and Management Project, built more museums and art galleries, as well as opened many former residences of celebrities. (WL055, local, male, over 65, retired)

WL058: Yes, definitely. West Lake has been changed in different periods. The recent change began from 2003, when the government decided to nominate West Lake for WHL. They had made West Lake larger, deeper and cleaner than before, by introducing water from the Qiantang River. Governments also conducted renovation works around the lake areas including 南山路 Nanshan Road, 杨公堤 Yanggong Causeway and 北山路 Beishan Road. (WL058, local, male, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL061: There have been excellent changes during the last ten years. Firstly, Hangzhou governments had made a great plan that integrated West Lake and its fragmented surroundings into a beautiful and integrated place. Secondly, I think Hangzhou is the first city that made all series of parks and touristic places free to locals and tourists. In my opinion, local governments might consider WHL as their aim, which had influenced their excellent decision making. However, it is not WHL process that brought changes to the sites; rather it was because of these changes before WHL that ensured the successful listing. (WL061, local, male, 25-34, undergraduate, engineer)

The responses from the above locals showed that they believed WHL has brought positive physical changes. As I discussed in Chapter 5, the local government developed ‘西湖综合保护工程 the West Lake Protection Project’ in order to ensure the site fitted the OUV criteria for WHL (The Hangzhou Government 2002). The details of the infrastructure and environmental changes, as WL030, WL055 and WL058 nominated, were embodied in the West Lake Protection Project. However, those locals provided their subjective views that the physical changes reflected their great sense of pride and further reinforced their sense of belonging. WL061’s sense of pride was not only connected to physical changes but also tied to positive government policy changes that waived the entrance fees to West Lake. As noted above, the physical boundaries had blocked both locals and tourists sense of feeling and further disconnected their sense of pride.

Only two locals (3.9%) nominated that WHL enhanced education. As WL003 stated:

WL003: I recently have some new understanding of World Heritage listing. There is a primary education centre that collects history and cultural information for children. This program is supported by the education department of Hangzhou. You know, children are our future. I think the local government is doing the right things, which provide profound cultural and historical information for children. They will have a sense of the identity of Hangzhou's culture from a young age. (WL003, local, female, over 65, college level, retired)

The role of education is considered to be one of the most important aims for heritage tourism by international authorities (see McKercher 1993; McKercher and du Cros 2002, 2003). However, it appears infrequently in the discourse used by both locals and tourists in my interviews. Other positive reasons include that the site is now free to visit (5.9%), increases in local economic opportunities (2%) and the improvement of management services (7.8%). Example of these include:

WL009: Yes, it has changed, I have to mention that from 2003, the Hangzhou government has implemented a large project called ‘West Lake Protection and Management project,’ which aims to manage the environment of West Lake to prepare

for WHL. Second, all scenic places around the lake are free for locals and tourists for the last ten years. I think the governments have done the right things.

(WL009, local, male, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL025: Yes, locals who used to live aside West Lake have benefited from the government policy. I have some local friends who live in the Maojiabu area who told me 'fifteen years ago, we have a very hard time for living, thanks to WHL and government policy, most of us are running traditional restaurants and hostels for tourists and Hangzhou citizens. We are much better-off than before.' (WL025, local, male, 25-35, taxi driver)

WL030: Of course, one of the best things is that all scenic points and gardens are free, which supports the dramatic increase in tourism. More visitors have opportunities to see the beauty of Hangzhou, and they also bring tourism income for us. It is a good thing for the management of the site. (WL030, local, male, 45-54)

WL009 and WL030 complimented the local government for waiving the entrance fees to West Lake. There is a tendency for locals to repeatedly emphasise the importance of waiving the entrance fees. As noted above, the sense of freedom is significantly tied to both locals' sense of pride and tourists' sense of feeling.

During the listing process, there was a group of local communities who were resettled during the development of West Lake due to the world heritage listing. As part of the listing process those group of residents was relocated to a residential quarter called '嘉绿苑 Jialvyuan', as it was considered that their presence around the Lake influenced the integrity of World Heritage values of the Lake (Yang 2007). There is no academic work concerned with these people, and during my interviews three government officials' avoided my attempts to identify the places where they had been moved (see Chapters 2 and 5). Therefore, I had to use my personal relationships to find a vice director of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of Hangzhou who was in charge of this moving project. However, as I told him I come from a Western university, and the interview was a part of my PhD research, he refused requests for an interview, but nevertheless gave me the address of the settlements the people had moved

to, which is located in the city of Hangzhou, 6 kilometres away from the north side of West Lake.

I interviewed those locals (including four retired staff from two state-owned enterprises and one retired soldier) in order to identify the relationship between them and local governments, and their attitude to tourists and WHL. When I asked them about their perspective on the WH application, they answered that they are very happy the West Lake was inscribed on the WHL, as they considered it would mean more visitors would come to see the beauty of the site. However, they did not think that the World Heritage application is the key reason for their being moved. They told me that staff from the local government had made a good offer for them to move, and the staff also complimented their support, which they thought was good for urban development and the World Heritage application. However, all of the interviewees were very unhappy after they moved. Firstly, they complained about the expensive cost of living in the urban area, which local governments had not talked to them about before they moved:

WL134: Well, I do not like it here. The living cost in this area is very expensive, and I have to pay more than 1000 Yuan (equal to 170 US\$) per year for property management. My pensions are not sufficient for such expensive cost of living, where I do not need to pay anything when we lived beside West Lake. (WL134, local, female, over 65, retired)

Second, some of them talked about the inconvenience of the new neighbourhood, its lack of sports facilities and public leisure space. They were also very upset with the local government for forgetting them after they moved to this new settlement. For example:

WL137: Well, local governments used to be very kind to us at the time they ask for our migration. After we settled down to this new place, they have never come back to check whether we were settled or not in the new environment. This area is the public space for us, without big trees and exercise facilities, just a boring playground with ugly sculptures. Another problem is private cars; it is unsafe for our elderly people to live in such a place. (WL135, local, female, 55-64, retired)

Third, they complained about the poor public transport system, which means they have to transfer twice to West Lake where they used to live for exercise or leisure:

WL138: You know, I am retired. My children are not living with us. My husband and I frequently go to West Lake to do some exercise and chat with our old friends. However, we have to take a bus and transfer once to our destination. It is very inconvenient. I miss my old house. Everything was perfect there. (WL138, local, female, over 65, retired)

In addition, they also told me, very emotionally, that they have to build relationships with their new neighbours. It is very important for retired people to have a familiar neighbourhood. For example:

WL135: You know, I had lived in my old place for more than fifty years, it is uneasy for us to move to a new place. I do not know my neighbour. It is very hard to build a new relationship because of the high-rise housing. Some of them already have their circle of friendship. (WL135, local, female, over 65, retired)

The interviews show that the tension was not caused by the development of tourism. It is that local government did not pay much attention of this group of people, particularly after they were moved. In this section, my interview reveals locals' attitudes towards WHL and tourism was influenced by their relation with the government. Against majority responses from locals who have a great sense of pride, those marginated locals reflect some dissonant during the WHL process. As Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996:21) the concept of 'dissonant heritage' implies that (see also Graham et al. 2000, 2005):

..all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's: the original meaning of an inheritance [from which 'heritage' derives] implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially. This disinheritance may be unintentional, temporary, of trivial importance, limited in its effects and concealed; or it may be long-term, widespread, intentional, important and obvious.

7.3.5 Discussion

A significant thing I would like to address here is that I was thinking whether or not I have been told the truth during my interviews. Here are the reasons that I think locals' responses I recorded are sincere. On the one hand, they were not only giving me only positive answers, they also talked about the negatives. Not only the negatives of what tourism brought to the site, such as over commercialisation, crowded weekends and bad traffic conditions etc., but also the dissonance between the local government and displaced locals. On the other hand, they knew that they were talking to a student, and during the interview process, the majority of them were very engaged in the dialog we were having. Compared to the interviews Chapter 4 and 5 with governments' officials and experts were based on, who were carefully formulating their answers and tended to avoid some of my questions, they seemed sincere. Locals and tourists were very relaxed, and sometimes emotional, the frank language they were using gave me the sense that the responses they gave me were authentic.

My interview results show that the majority of locals are willing for tourists to come to West Lake. The presence of mass tourists had elicited locals' sense of pride, tied to their local identities and nationalism. Some of them hoped that tourists would gain cultural experiences and enjoy the nature or landscape aesthetic. Some of them wanted tourists to 'feel' West Lake, and they hoped tourists' sense of belonging could be invoked by communicating with locals or 'feeling' the site. When they became aware that tourists enjoyed their journey and 'felt the real West Lake,' it invoked a sense of contentment and further facilitated and magnified locals' sense of pride. In addition, some respondents considered tourists to have played a stimulating role for the new developments at West Lake. In their opinion, tourism or tourists have changed these sites for the better, not only bringing money to support preservation and new infrastructure, but rather reinforcing locals' sense of traditional cultural and encouraging them to create new cultural experience of West Lake. However, there is an issue with the marginalised locals who were resettled by the local government because of the world heritage listing, and the local government's intention to 'manage' their dissonance by ignoring them and silencing their voices. It reflects the sense of dissonance inherent in heritage. Smith (2006:82) argues that this dissonance is natural for heritage, and argues that:

Heritage is dissonant - it is a constitutive social process that on the one hand is about regulating and legitimizing, and on the other hand is about working out, contesting and challenging a range of cultural and social identities, sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings that

prevail in the present and can be passed to the future.

Before I conclude the three chapters about the case study of West Lake; I will analyse the last question of the chapter, **'What is the relationship between tourism and heritage?'**

7.4 What is the relationship between tourism and heritage?

The last question I asked for both tourists and locals was **'what is the relationship between tourism and heritage?'**(see Table 7.10). Only four respondents (4.8%) nominated negative issues that tourism brought to heritage such as pollution, commercialisation and destruction.

WL049: I like history. I come to visit West Lake for an in-depth understanding of the place, rather than just for leisure purposes. I think many scenic places have been commodified, which ignored more important historic values. I am satisfied with the environment, architects and landscape of West Lake and the tourist management is very good. However, I think West Lake only reflects very superficial cultural elements through object-related things such as architecture, or from tour guides' official interpretation. I think there is a need to bring more deep traditional cultural elements rather than commercial things. (WL049, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, Staff from a training company, from Zhejiang)

WL075: Well, West Lake has already changed into a modern artificial place in terms of the urbanisation of recent decades. It, of course, has the capacity for mass tourism. Mass tourists come may cause problems for other heritage sites such as Jiuzhaigou and Huanglong in Sichuan province, but not for West Lake. Well, just some management suggestion for site manager... (WL075, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, Architect, from Liaoning)

WL130: You know there is an ancient path from 茅家埠 Mao Jiabu to Lin Yin Temple, which has existed for hundreds of years for Buddhists. Many old temples and folk houses were located along this road. During the development of Hangzhou city in the late 90's, especially since 2003 with the West Lake Protection and Management project, the old path, and surrounding architecture had been demolished, and they build a highway instead. You know, the city development has brought great

convenience for us, while we lost some culture and memories during the development. I very much miss this old path, which carried my memories of when I was a child. (WL130, locals, male, 35-44, tea farmer)

The three example shows the active engagements of both tourists and locals. WL049 was not only complaining about the over commercial of the site, but also suggesting the need 'to bring more deep traditional cultural elements.' While WL075 had compared other heritage sites in China to West Lake to make his argument. WL130 expressed deep emotional loss, for him, heritage is not only physical sites but is also linked to his memories. He thus criticised the development of the city not only for changing the physical heritage, but also for influencing his personal memories. They were not just visiting the site, but were also engaged in complicated thought processes.

Table 7.10 What is the relationship between tourism and heritage?

	Are you visitor or local		Total
	Visitor	Local	
What is the relationship between tourism and heritage?	10 27.0%	10 21.3%	20 23.8%
Neutral, tourism bring economic growth, also course negative effects such as pollution/commercialisation			
Tourism is significant element of heritage	8 21.6%	8 17.0%	16 19.0%
Economic growth, positive	3 8.1%	8 17.0%	11 13.1%
Educational/informational	5 13.5%	5 10.6%	10 11.9%
Reinforcing local identity/proud	0 0.0%	6 12.7%	6 7.2%
Management improvement of the city	4 10.8%	2 4.3%	6 7.1%
Pollution/ destructive/ Commercialisation, negative	3 8.1%	1 2.1%	4 4.8%
Significant for recreation/leisure from working pressure	2 5.4%	1 2.1%	3 3.6%
Traffic problems	0 0.0%	3 6.4%	3 3.6%
Reinforcing connection between locals and tourists	1	1	2

	2.7%	2.1%	2.4%
Don't know	1	0	1
	2.7%	0.0%	1.2%
Spiritual need	0	1	1
	0.0%	2.1%	1.2%
increased price of food or housing estates - negative	0	1	1
	0.0%	2.1%	1.2%
Total	37	47	84
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Nearly a quarter of respondents (23.8%) considered that tourism brings economic growth to heritage sites, but also causes negative effects such as pollution and destruction, for example:

WL020: Well, tourism is of course very important, particularly for economic reasons. As to the pressure the mass tourists bring to the site, it is too superficial to blame tourists. West Lake has the capacity to accommodate mass tourists. The problems are caused by policy and site management strategies. (WL020, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, journalist, from Beijing).

WL027: Heritage sites have always been seen as places for tourists' to see things in China. It is hard to say whether this is good or bad for these sites. Some tourists' behaviour may damage the environment, and mass tourists also cause traffic pressure. However, in my opinion, tourism contributes a lot to Hangzhou's economic growth; visitors can communicate with each other, and exchange knowledge by or during their visit.

(WL027, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, Student, from Heilongjiang)

WL081: I think local governments should consider the capacity of the site and develop sustainable tourism.

WL082: Yeah, I would like to plan our tour during the offseason. You can enjoy the quiet and peacefulness of the site, just like today.

WL081: I agree, the reason we come is because of the scenery, not people.

(WL081, tourist, female, 25-34, college level, unemployed, from Henan; WL082, tourist, male, 25-34, college level, unemployed, from Henan)

WL090: In recent years, there are too many tourists, even during the off-season. West Lake is better than other touristic sites and has a large capacity for mass tourists. However, it is not the tourists' fault; everyone has the right to travel. I think it is a policy problem. The National government should reconsider the policy for a public holiday. Local governments also have to improve their management for tourism during the holiday season, such as being able make an appointment before you come. (WL090, tourist, female, 35-44, college level, school teacher, from Beijing)

The above examples show tourists have agency, in that they are actively aware that mass tourists have brought economic growth to heritage, which it is not only accompanied by negative effects such as pollution and destruction, but is also, significantly, a form of cultural communication. The sense of cultural communication between tourists and locals is an important theme of my thesis, contra to UNESCO's idea of 'education' tourists. This concept will be further discussed in Chapters 8 and 9. The next most frequent responses (19%) was that tourism is a significant element of heritage. For example:

WL039: I think tourism is one of the significant purposes of heritage. Tourism brings economic growth to the city, many locals, and other hotels may benefit from tourism. However, I have seen a lot of examples where un-planned tourism development has destroyed touristic sites in Taiwan. In my opinion, governments should pay more attention to the tourism strategy development stage. (WL039, tourist, male, 25-34, postgraduate, Landscape architect, from Netherland)

WL045: Actually, mass tourism to West Lake may cause some inconvenience. However, everyone has the right to appreciate West Lake. From my point of view, tourists are one of the elements of heritage that makes heritage alive. (WL045, tourist, male, 25-34, undergraduate, from Heilongjiang)

WL126: From my perspective, tourism is a significant element of heritage. Heritage is a broad concept. (WL126, tourist, male, 55-64, company chairman, from Guangdong)

WL032: Tourism is part of heritage. From the Song Dynasty to now, tourists always construct the meaning of West Lake. There are more than ten thousand poems written

for West Lake, a large number of these poems are written by tourists, who want to express their appreciation and other personal emotional perceptions of West Lake. You know, we are using the new technologies such as photography, or internet social networks, to express our feelings of visiting a site, just like our ancestors did. It is an accumulating process. We are creating the new culture of West Lake (WL032, local, female, 24-34, landscape architect)

WL050: I think tourism and heritage supplement each other. If relevant local authorities could make a sustainable tourism development plan, tourism will bring more benefit to West Lake. People always want to explore in-depth cultural things when visiting heritage sites. (WL050, local, female, 35-44, unemployed)

WL097: Tourism is the key reasons that has helped West Lake become a better place. Most of the traditional tea farms are running folk restaurants and hostels for tourists and Hangzhou citizens. They are much better-off than before. This area used to be a disordered residential area, now it has turned to not only a tourist destination and a city park for locals, but more importantly is a place for communication between tourists and locals. Now, they are very proud of our culture. What I hope is that the successful inscription on the WHL is a good opportunity to recall and develop the intangible heritage of Hangzhou, such as tea culture and skills of silk production. (WL097, local, female, 25-34, human resource manager, undergraduate)

WL115: Tourism and heritage are interlinked. As I told you, in hostels run by locals', you can find the answers. On the message boards, many tourists have written poems, their emotional message and their stories linking to West Lake or Hangzhou City (Fig. 7.12). Maybe one hundred years later, some of their writing will be famous and documented just like our ancestors before. (WL115, local, male 25-34, staff from IT Company)



Fig. 7.12 Visitors left poetry and emotional messages on the message board (photo by Rouran Zhang)

The responses above show the interrelation between heritage and tourism. On the one hand, WL039 and WL050 considered tourism brought positive economic changes, which were not only the physical changes, but also a form of cultural communication. On the other hand, from WL032's and WL115's perspectives, past visitors created the past of West Lake, while people who visit West Lake in the present are creating West Lake as well. They in particular mentioned the issue of gaining a 'feeling' about the site and the local culture and community. Heritage sites are meaningful because people visit them, and feel for the sites. Each visit is itself constructing the meaning of heritage.

In addition, six locals considered the relationship between tourism and heritage reinforces local identity or pride, while no visitor nominated this. For example:

WL058: Since 2007, local governments encouraged villagers to run tea houses, restaurants, and hostels instead of continuing with traditional farming. Therefore, 80% of villagers are now relying on the service industry rather than farming. You know, our villages are close to West Lake and the city centre, the industrial transformation has benefited both villagers and tourists. (WL058, local, male, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL094: Actually, WHL has brought positive changes to the touristic places of West Lake, but not much for our village. I think the positive changes of our village and relevant villages close to West Lake are because of tourism. Tourists not only bring money to our villages, more importantly, but we also began to be concerned about the

culture of our village and West Lake. We are still tea farmers and very proud of this role. You know, Longjin tea is the one of the best green teas in China; tourists come to my restaurant always willing to ask me about the culture of Longjin tea. We are able of take care of our tea plantation garden while running our restaurants. (WL094, local, male, over 65, high school level, retired)

WL018: Well, WHL is important for the protection of West Lake, and local governments have to be compliant with the laws and regulations of WH. Therefore, there are some strict restrictions on commercial development. You know, West Lake is a touristic city, rather than a commercial city. Tourists come to West Lake in order to gain cultural experiences or do some recreational activities, and most of the tourists do not like the commercial environment. I think the development of Hangzhou city should concern the natural layout of West Lake. (WL018, local, female, 35-44, college level, enterprise manager)

The reason why tourists did not nominate this answer was because that they did not have such a deep sense of belonging to the site as locals did. The three examples above illustrated that tourism not only plays a stimulating factor for positive heritage development but also reinforced their sense of belonging. The economic benefits locals gain from tourism facilitates their sense of communication with tourists, and magnified their sense of pride.

7.5 Conclusion

This Chapter identified the active sense and complex social and cultural work of the domestic tourists engaged in heritage site in a Chinese context, which supports the arguments about tourist agency developed by scholars such as Coleman and Crang (2002); Bagnall (2003); Poria et al. (2003); Palmer (2005); Smith (2006, 2011, 2012); Byrne (2009); Sather-Wagstaff (2011) and Waterton and Watson (2012, 2014). I observed that a 'sense of feeling' is particularly significant in the Chinese experience. Domestic tourists were explicit in acknowledging that they were having or seeking feelings. Poria et al. (2003) and Smith (2006, 2012) in a Western context talk about the importance of tourists having an emotional response to sites, even if this is not explicitly acknowledged by those tourists. At West Lake

domestic tourists were quite explicit about their search for emotional experience. Many tourists engaged with deep emotions when they feel they connected to the physical site (e.g. WL040 and WL089), and/or they were able to communicate with local residents around the heritage sites (e.g. WL028, WL083 and WL118). Local residents in Hangzhou also expressed a great sense of pride and contentment when they communicated with locals and felt that tourists enjoyed their journey to Hangzhou. In addition, government policies (e.g. removing the walls and fences and cancelling the entrance fee) facilitated a sense of freedom for both locals and tourists, which further enhanced their engagement with the physical sites and facilitated their communication with each other.

The case study I conducted at the West Lake Cultural Landscape is discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Several themes and concepts discussed in those three chapters have been artificially separated from each other based on the structure of my thesis. However, the themes emerging from the previous chapters are all interlinked with each other.

In Chapter 5, I discussed how the Hangzhou government was quite mindful, even cynical, about the listing process, in that they not only recognised that they are playing a game but that the game is 'played' under Eurocentric rules and terms. They know some Chinese values do not fit into UNESCO's conception of OUV, and they have 'edited out' those Chinese values, which they felt could not be explained to Western experts, and utilised the discourses of international policy and expertise. After West Lake was inscribed on the WHL, the Hangzhou government used the World Heritage 'brand' and policies to construct local narratives. One of the significant aims as I interview with local officials and experts demonstrates that those dominated stakeholders intend to disseminate the AHD and local discourses to local residents and tourists. As I argued in Chapter 6, the majority of locals and tourists accepted the concept of 'heritage'. However, they were not passively educated by the AHD, rather they incorporated their personal or collective memories, constructing their own understanding of heritage. Chapter 6 also indicated that although both the local government and the Chinese scholars actively disseminated the concept of 'cultural landscape', most locals and tourists I interviewed did not make sense of the idea. However, their sense of heritage is far more active than the AHD, in particular their view of the interrelation between culture, nature and people. For many locals and tourists, heritage is not only the outside world of physical sites or places, rather it is about pursuing their internal world and sense of feeling.

I further discussed the sense of feeling and other active senses of tourists in Chapter 7, by exploring what tourists do and feel during their visits to West Lake. I found that physically being at the site actively elicited tourists' sense of feeling, which was intimately linked to their active use of nostalgia, empathy, nationalism, and social or family connections. Those senses of feeling were 'alive' and changed, depending on tourists' experiences and the messages they had taken from a heritage site. As Poria et al. (2003), Smith (2006, 2012) and Byrne (2012) indicate heritage is about people feeling – and in particular feeling connected to something vital, such as to land or to their sense of place. My research identified that many tourists were explicit about seeking a sense of 'feeling' that tied to their personal or collective memories. Those feelings might refer to, as Cameron and Gatewood (2003, 2012) identified, 'numen-seeking', or links to an aesthetic or poetic thought process, or connecting empathetically with romantic, poetic or sympathetic senses. Locals also have an active sense of feeling which is normally tied to an aesthetic or poetic thought process.

The interactions between locals and tourists is another significant theme that emerged from my interview. The responses from a majority of locals show a great sense of pride. This sense of pride was elicited by two main reasons. One the one hand, tourism brought economic benefit to support the physical development of Hangzhou. On the other hand, there is a deeper sense that when locals communicate with tourists, and they feel tourists enjoy their journey or made a compliment about Hangzhou, or 'felt the real West Lake', their sense of pride was magnified.

There are however some issues I would like to address. West Lake located in is a well-off area and represents a mature national tourist market. As I identified in this chapter tourists come to visit because of various reasons, and they are apparently familiar with the site because of history, stories, poetry and TV programs etc. No tourists nominated that they come to West Lake because of the World Heritage brand. Therefore, the themes I identified may be different in sites located in relatively remote areas, where the World Heritage brand is one of the key reasons attracting visitors. In the next two chapter I will address this by analysing another case study, the Ancient Villages of Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun.

Chapter 8: Cultural Moments at Heritage Sites: The Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun

8.1 Introduction

One ordinary autumn morning in 2005, I was walking around Southern Lake. Looking at the peaceful lake, white houses and their reflections in the water, I began to think that a few days ago, during the ‘golden week,’ hundreds of tourists were enjoying the view and shooting photos beside the lake. How wonderful was this! Suddenly, all my old memories were back. I still remembered that we were holding evening parties in Nanhu School during the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945). I also have a strong memory of every villager gathered around the lake in order to produce steel in the winter, 1958⁵³. During the Cultural Revolution period, all the houses were covered by Big-character posters, in particular the Nanhu School. Our village is just like a living book, it survives and keeps changing in the past, present and future. I started fantasising about the past and the future of Hongcun. What was the scene when our ancients were building Southern Lake 400 years ago? What was the scene at Southern Lake when children were going to Nanhu School when it just built 200 years ago? What will the scene of Southern Lake be in the future? (HC052, local, male, over 65, local scholar; see also Wang 2013:3)

From the perspective of most people, tourism in the ‘golden week’ means extremely crowded and horrible experiences. However, from this local interviewee's narrative, even the most ‘evil’ tourism moment became a precious memory, and an important opportunity to remember and to speculate about not just the past, but also the future.

As Ashworth (2009) argues the mainstream heritage tourism literature has tended to revile tourists, perceiving tourism as a product of economic commodification, and a ‘problem’ that

⁵³ From 1958 to 1963, the campaign called the ‘Great Leap Forward’ was led by Mao Zedong and aimed to rapidly transform the country from an agrarian economy into a socialist society through rapid industrialization and collectivization. The production of steel was seen as one of the key pillars of the ‘Great Leap Forward’, with most individuals in China involved in making steel. [source from (Chan, 2007)]

creates pollution and physical damage, and obscures or erodes the cultural values of heritage (see also Graburn and Barthel-Bouchier 2001; Smith 2006, 2012). Most importantly the presence of tourists at sites have been perceived as making sites 'culturally inauthentic' (Sather-Wagstaff 2011; Shackel 2013). They are either characterised as being incapable of meaning-making or simply disregarded as active agents in the construction of meaning (Ashworth 2009; Hall 2009; Smith 2006, 2012). In this context, tourists are treated as one of the key problematic issues that dominate international authorities' attitudes in the heritage area. This chapter explores the interrelationship between tourism and heritage in a non-Western culture with respect to a Chinese cultural World Heritage site: the Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun. Overall the chapter aims to extend understanding of the way Chinese domestic tourists and local residents understand and use heritage sites, and map the interaction between them. Taking my cue from Ashworth (2009: 81), Hall (2009: 89) and Smith (2012:211), I argue that tourists are significant stakeholders in heritage issues, not only from an economic perspective, but because they are actively undertaking cultural and social activities by their visiting. My research also focuses on the reactions of locals to the intrusion of tourism to their home town. The performances of tourists are diversified and represent transformative '*cultural processes*', as Smith (2006, 2012) has argued, which influences local residents' perspectives. Indeed, they sometimes find that interactions with tourists make them proud of their home, and strengthen their sense of identity, and connection to both material heritage and intangible heritage, which increases their awareness of issues of conservation. In addition, the performances of tourists also influences local governments and the ways in which companies from outside the area understand and uses heritage sites. Therefore, this chapter discusses and maps the interrelations among tourists, local residents, governments and external companies, and then reconstructs the meaning of heritage in this Chinese context.

8.2 Xidi and Hongcun - background and tourism development

The Ancient Villages of Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun – are located in the northern and north-eastern part of Yi County in southern Anhui (Fig. 8.1). Xidi is located at the foot of the mountains, and built along three streams that enter from the centre, north and east of the village (Fig. 8.2 and 8.3). The history of Xidi began in 1047, when it was built based on a traditional geomantic theory to represent the shape of a ship that is constituted by 224 ancient

traditional buildings (Fig. 8.4). The layout of Xidi is based around three ancestral halls. There is a memorial archway at the main entrance of Xidi, where I conducted most of my interviews with tourists (Fig. 8.5). Four 3-meter-wide streets and three main open spaces in front of the Hall of Respect, the Hall of Reminiscence and the Memorial Archway constitute the framework of its road and public spaces (UNESCO 2000c).

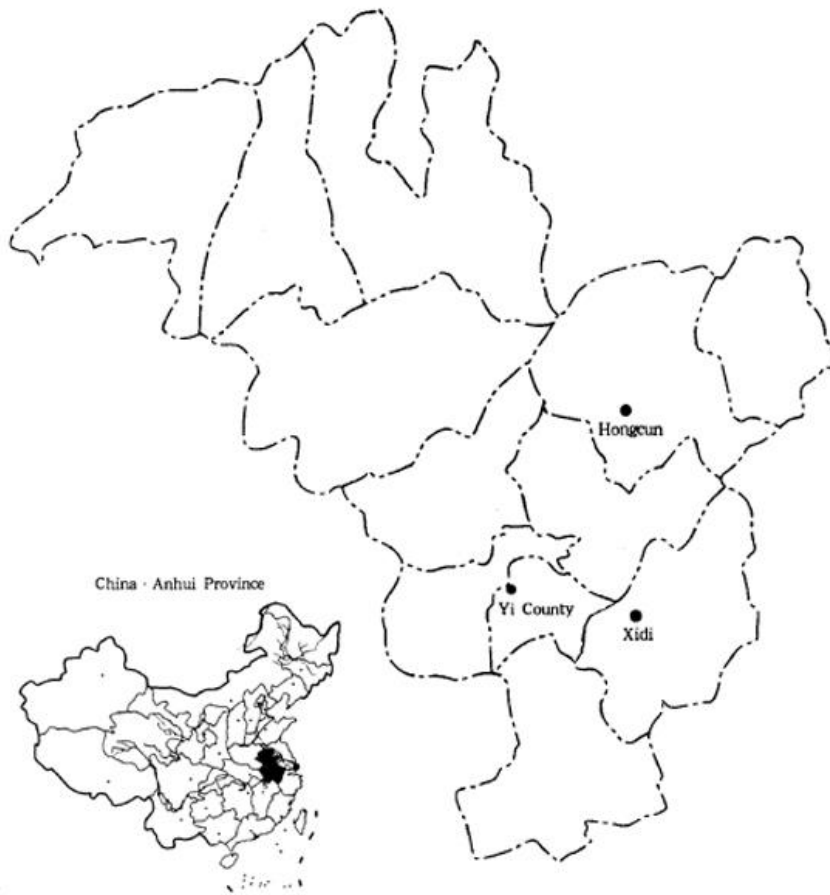


Fig 8.1 Location of Ancient villages of southern Anhui- Xidi and Hongcun (UNESCO 2000c).

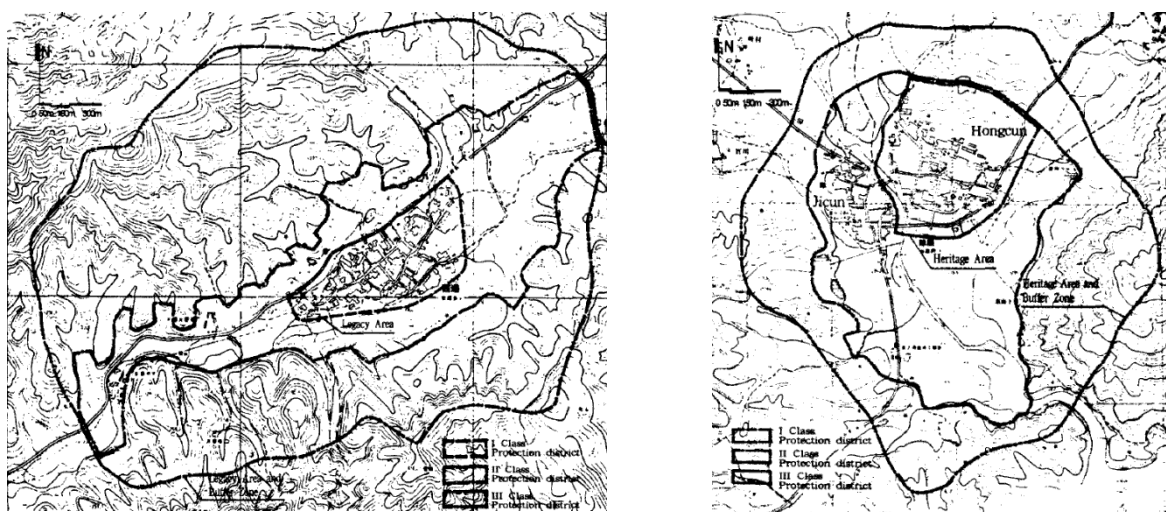


Fig. 8.2&8.3 Heritage Area and Buffer Zone Chart of Ancient Village in Xidi and Hongcun (UNESCO 2000c).



Fig 8.4 The layout of Xidi (Photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig 8.5 Memorial archway at the main entrance of Xidi (Photo by Rouran Zhang)

Hongcun is situated at the foot of Leigang Mountain, and faces two streams (Fig. 8.3). There is a remarkable 400-year old artificial water system which determines the layout of the village, and is composed of water channels that flow through every household in the village, private water gardens, and two ponds called Moon Pond and the South Lake, inside and outside the village (Fig. 8.6 and 8.7). Locals believe that Hongcun was built according to the traditional geomantic theory of bionics as an ox, with the water channels representing its intestines, the Moon Pond representing its stomach, the South Lake representing the ox's belly and the buildings the skin and muscle.



Fig 8.6 The Moon Pond (Photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig 8.7 The South Lake (Photo by Rouran Zhang)

Xidi and Hongcun share many similarities in terms of geographical setting and a similar cultural background, and the ancient buildings are defined as 'epitomes of the architectural style in Anhui area, presenting strong local features in overall arrangement, style and techniques' (UNESCO, 2000c:15). Table 8.1 outlines the characteristics held in common between the two villages.

Table 8.1: Statement and inscription reasons of Xidi and Hongcun

	Xidi	Hongcun
History	Began in 1047 AD (history of about 965 years)	Began in 1131 AD (history of about 875 years)
Population	About 420 households, more than 1300 residents (blood ties linked the inhabitants living in Xidi, and a single family name 'Hu' is shared by the majority of the residents of Xidi)	About 400 households, more than 1200 residents (blood ties linked the inhabitants living in Xidi, and a single family name 'Wang' is shared by the majority of the residents of Hongcun)
Area	12.96 hectares	19.11 hectares
<p>Justification for Inscription</p> <p>(iii) 'The villages of Xidi and Hongcun are graphic illustrations of a type of human settlement created during a feudal period and based on a prosperous trading economy.</p> <p>(vi) In their buildings and their street patterns, the two villages of southern Anhui reflect the socio-economic structure of a long-lived settled period of Chinese history.</p> <p>(v) The traditional non-urban settlements of China, which have to a very large extent disappeared during the past century, are exceptionally well preserved in the villages of Xidi and Hongcun' (UNESCO 2000b).</p>		
<p>Characteristics in Common</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Site planning was directed by Fengshui (geomantic) theories. The villages are usually situated at the foot of mountains and face rivers or lakes, and take full advantage of the flowing water. They accord with the basic requirements of village construction and pay special attention to the environmental requirements. 2. They feature concentration of clans with identical surnames, bound by family and blood ties. 3. They have the tradition of respecting scholars and valuing education. Strong cultural atmosphere was formed with buildings like ancestral halls, academies, memorial archways and water mouth gardens. 4. The architectural styles and types are uniform, but combinations are rich and diverse. Based on timber structures, the main building materials are brick, tile, stone, and timber; 5. The architectural decorations are mainly brick, wood, and stone carvings, which are highly elaborate and artistic. In the halls there are always horizontal tablets with inscription, antithetical couplets and furnishings reflecting the hostis taste, interests and aspirations. Cultivation of courtyard gardens is a trend. 6. The Cheng-Zhu philosophy and ideology dominated people's thought, behaviors and morality. 7. Constructions of the villages were chiefly financed with the huge wealth accumulated by natives 		

who had gone into the world and achieved great commercial or political successes (UNESCO, 2000c:8).

[Source: data from the UNESCO website, official websites of Yixian County, (www.yixian.gov.cn) and Xidi (www.xidi.cn), and the author's interview data]

The two villages were highly praised by the experts from International ICOMOS and listed on the WHL in 2000 at the 24th session of the World Heritage Committee meeting in Cairns, Australia. As I reviewed the nomination dossiers, the international authorities' interests focused on the street patterns, the architecture and decorations, and the integration of houses with comprehensive water systems (UNESCO, 2000; see also Ying and Zhou 2007:99). This objective understanding of heritage is based, as Labadi and Long (2010: 74) argue, on a set of Eurocentric values which suggest that heritage represents the 'original - material, workmanship, design and setting of the site' (Labadi and Long, 2010), which helps inform the development of the authorized heritage discourse. As Smith (2006, 2012; Waterton 2010) argue the AHD defines heritage as a material, finite, fragile and non-renewable resource that current generations must take care of for future generations, and is a discourse that frames both Western national and international policies to protect and interpret sites. The limitations in defining heritage created by the Western AHD has been noted in a range of Asian contexts (Byrne 1991, 2009; Winter 2014; Dewi 2016 amongst others). In China, Ying and Zhou (2007), Gao and Woudstra (2011) and Xu et al. (2012, 2014) have pointed out that officials and experts have the power over decision making of heritage issues in Xidi and Hongcun, which tends to neglect local participation. Therefore, according to Gao and Woudstra (2011), heritage objects and sites in Xidi are treated as if frozen in time and space, like museum objects, displayed behind glass, but not engaged with (see also Xu et al. 2012, 2014). Comparing the tourism process in Xidi and Hongcun, they criticise UNESCO's definition of 'authenticity', which focuses on the original materials and designs, and they supported the management mode in Hongcun which sees local communities more actively engaged in process of constructing heritage, even if it goes against international and national policies of authenticity. However, their arguments focus on how local communities are engaged in constructing material heritage objects in order to attract more tourists to the site. They omitted the key issue of why local people actively engaged in rebuilding and innovating in their gardens in Xidi and Hongcun. This key issue is tourism, as shown below.

In terms of tourism, Xidi and Hongcun share many similarities in terms of population size, economic and socio-cultural conditions, as well as tourist attractions. However, there are dramatic differences between their processes of tourism development. In September 1986, a commercial tourism business started in Xidi, leading to steady growth in tourist numbers and income. The increasing tourist income led to local communities considering the question of how to develop a better plan for their own tourism business. In 1993, Xidi Village established the Xidi Tourism Service Company, run by a locally elected village committee to cover the entire tourism business (Liang and Wang, 2005; Chen 2005; Ying and Zhou 2007). The number of tourists increased from 147 in 1986 to 33,800 in 1993. The Tourism Bureau of Yixian County tried to take charge of Xidi's tourism authority, however, its efforts were strongly rejected by the local community (Liang and Wang, 2005; Ying and Zhou 2007). In 2000, World Heritage listing was seen as a major tourist attraction, with inscription of sites leading to increased visibility through newspaper, TV and other media, which led to the numbers of tourists dramatically increasing from 250,000 in 2001, to 300,000 with ticket-sale revenue of US\$1.125 millions in 2001 (Ying and Zhou 2007). The visitor numbers reached 800,000 and earned US\$5.48 millions from the sale of entrance tickets in 2012 (The Xidi government 2013a).

As the ownership of the Tourism Service Company belongs solely to the Villagers' Committee of Xidi, local people share a large proportion of the tourism revenue (Liang and Wang 2005). According to Liang and Wang's research, the allocation of the ticket sale revenue for locals was nearly 80% in 2002 (Liang and Wang 2005:29). However, my research shows that the figures for the allocation of the ticket sale revenue for locals was 4 million RMB [equal to US\$64,000], which accounted for 11.7% of ticket sales revenue in Xidi in 2012. In 2012, there were 16 hostels, 36 restaurants, and 143 shops and inns run by locals, and more than 70% of locals were engaged in tourism businesses (The Xidi government 2013). In the year 2001, after World Heritage listing, Xidi's average annual income per capita exceeded US\$625, while the same figure for the whole Yi County was only about US\$ 210 (Zhai, 2002). Local satisfaction with the benefits of tourism development at that time has been well documented (Zhai, 2002; Liang and Wang, 2005; Ying and Zhou 2007). However, since 2003, these tourists' numbers and revenue have been exceeded by Hongcun, although Xidi started tourist development much earlier (The Xidi government 2013b).

In 2012, the revenue from the sale of entrance tickets in Hongcun was approximately US\$12.9 million, which was more than twice that of Xidi⁵⁴. Although the villagers in Xidi share a greater percentage of entrance ticket revenue than Hongcun, locals in Xidi complained that compared to business opportunities that tourists have brought to Hongcun, ticket-sale revenue is just a small proportion of their annual income⁵⁵. In addition, I was informed by officials from county and local governments (see interview with XD092 and XD093), staff from Co. Huihuang Ltd (see interview with XD094) and some locals (e.g. XD005 and XD036) that a state-owned enterprise, Co. Huihuang Ltd, has taken charge of tourism development in Xidi and responsible for the promotion of the site. Conflicts emerged among local governments, the franchised company, local communities and tourists. The issues will be elaborated on in the following management section.

Hongcun village shares many similarities with Xidi, however, its tourism development and operation are very different. The development of tourism in Xidi inspired other villages, including Hongcun, in the 1980s. The local community in Hongcun decided to follow the same route as Xidi, but the local government of Yi County in 1994 forced them to develop a franchise with Huangshan Tourism Development Co. Jingyi Ltd in 1998. This is the subsidiary company of a private Beijing-based tourist company, Beijing Zhongkun Investment Group (Chen 2005; Liang and Wang 2005). Zhang Xiao (2008:42), the vice director of the Center for Environment and Development of the Chinese Academy of Social Science defines franchising as ‘government in accordance with relevant laws and regulations, through the mechanism of market competition to choose a public investors or operator to operate and manage the cultural and natural heritage sites within a certain period’. The local government authorised Co. Jingyi Ltd to operate and manage Hongcun for thirty years. Although this company’s instant investments in infrastructure and marketing, and professional management methods, resulted in Hongcun quickly becoming a popular tourist destination and exceeding the income of Xidi, conflict among local governments, the franchised company and local communities emerged. The original contract between the local governments and the external company meant that ‘the company took away 95% of the ticket income with very limited investments. 4% was given to the local township government, while only 1% was left for the community’ (Ying and Zhou, 2007: 101). With the dramatic increase in the number of tourists, the local community considered the original contract was unfair,

⁵⁴ Sourced from the interviews with managers of Co. Jingyi Ltd in Hongcun conducted by the author in December 2013.

⁵⁵ Sourced from the interviews with locals in Xidi conducted by the author in December 2013.

and they submitted a report to the Yi County government, requesting the tourism business ownership arrangement from 2000 be rejected by the county government (Ying and Zhou, 2007). In 2001, the majority of locals (730 people, over 60% of the population) signed a further appeal to the Anhui Provincial Court in 2001, indicating that the county government's encroachment of their rights in tourism, which again failed (Ying and Zhou, 2007). After several discussions, a final agreement was made in 2002 that the Co. Jingyi Ltd took two thirds of the ticket income, the county government took 20%, the local township government 5%, and the community 8% (Liang and Wang 2005; Ying and Zhou 2007; Xu et al. 2012).

Since 2002, the Beijing Zhongkun Investment Group has kept up investments for tourism development in Hongcun. According to my interview with the head of the village and the managers of Co. Jingyi Ltd, the company built a new road directly linking the Huangshan World Heritage site with Hongcun. They considered that this was the significant reason that Hongcun's tourism revenue exceeded Xidi's. The Zhongkun Investment Group has also invested money for advertisement's about Hongcun. For example, more than US\$37 million was paid for the living theatre called '宏村阿菊 *Hongcun A Ju*' (Fig. 8.8). In addition, the company paid a great deal of money for advertising at airports and train stations, as well as through the internet, TV and other media. Furthermore, Zhongkun Investment Group built some high-standard hotels, developed a new touring route and a Business Street of handicrafts and special local products (Fig. 8.9), as well as upgraded tourism facilities and services. From my interview data, the investments and strategies of the Zhongkun Investment Group have been supported by a majority of local communities⁵⁶. However, tensions still exist among locals, local and county governments, as well as the tourism company. I will further discuss the relations between stakeholders in the management section below.



Fig. 8.8 An advertisement for 'Hongcun A Ju' in the car park of Hongcun (photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig. 8.9 Business Street of handicrafts and special local products (photo by Rouran Zhang)

⁵⁶ Sourced from the interviews with eighteen locals in Hongcun, as well as the head of the village and managers of Co. Jingyi Ltd in Hongcun conducted by the author in December 2013.

Since WHL, both villages have been the subject of research, most of which has examined the economic or physical impact of tourists on the heritage sites and local communities (Liu 2005; Su et al. 2005; Ying and Zhou 2007; Gao and Woudsra 2011), policy and management issues (Liang and Wang 2005), authenticity issues (Xu et al. 2012, 2014), and the physical and economic influences of WHL (Chen 2005; Cheng and Morrison. 2008). For example, Gu and Ryan (2010) have researched the local communities' attitudes and satisfaction with regard to the intrusion of tourists in Hongcun. They concentrate on demonstrating the emotional linkage between local communities and the architecture and spatial organisation of the town, as well as relationships between neighbors. However, their research focuses only on local communities and does not examine the interaction between tourists and local communities, or how tourists may, or may not, facilitate constructing the locals people's emotional links to the place. The research of Xu et al. (2012, 2014) pointed out the issue of authenticity is socially constructed and is an evolving concept. They criticised the way 'authenticity' is approached in Xidi and Hongcun as being object-related, static, and with a superficial understanding of international policies, which 'mainly serves for the convenience of administration and reflects the will of community elites and tourists with the power of discourse' (Xu et al. 2014:805). However, her argument still considered tourism to have a negative effect, which requires the management of authenticity to ensure the pleasant or 'authentic' experiences for tourists. Therefore, the current literature considered that professionals, experts and local communities have the right to construct the meaning of heritage, but absolutely not tourists, who were continually perceived as a 'problem' to be managed.

8.3 Interview Results

8.3.1 Demographic results of interviews with domestic tourists and local residents in Xidi

Table 8.2, below, illustrates the interview sample in Xidi. Ninety-one people were interviewed in Xidi, 54.9% (50) were male, and 45.1% (41) were female. Table 8.3 shows the frequency of age groups, those aged 45-54 were the most frequent (33%) age group encountered, followed by people over 25-34 (25.3%) and 35-44 (23.1%). The educational attainment of most visitors was high, with 69.4% of visitors having some level of university education, while locals' educational attainment is relatively low, with 50% educated to year 9

or below, and 36.4% to year 12 or year 10 [with certificates] (See Table 8.4). The low education attainment of locals was due to the remote rural location and poverty of Xidi before tourism development.

Table 8.5 records the occupations of interviewers and shows that tourists' occupations are equally distributed, while the majority (63.6%) of locals are small employers/own account engaged mainly in tourism businesses. Table 8.6 records where in China the domestic tourists had come from, with 70.1% coming from Southern China. Tourists from both Northern China and Central China accounted for 14.9% each.

Table 8.7-8.10 shows that for the majority 56 (81.2%) of tourists this was their first visit to Xidi, while thirteen (18.8%) were return visitors. Just over half, 56.7%, had travelled from a holiday address, and just 43.3% from a home address. Fifty-two visitors (76.5%) travelled with their families/friends/tour groups, and just sixteen (23.5%) travelled by themselves. The majority (98.6%) of visitors had planned to visit in Xidi for less than three days. Only one (1.4) % of tourists had planned a longer visit of more than a week.

Table 8.2: Gender (Xidi)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid male	50	54.9
Female	41	45.1
Total	91	100.0

Table 8.3: Age (Xidi)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid 18-24	9	9.9
25-34	23	25.3
35-44	21	23.1
45-54	30	33.0
55-64	4	4.4
over 65	4	4.4
Total	91	100.0

Table 8.4 Education (Xidi)

	Are you visitor or local		Total
	Visitor	Local	
Education Year 12 or Year 10 (with certificates)	2 3.2%	8 36.4%	10 11.9%
Year 9 or below	2 3.2%	11 50.0%	13 15.5%
undergraduate university degree	39	1	40

	62.9%	4.5%	47.6%
postgraduate university degree (masters and/or PhD)	4 6.5%	0 0.0%	4 4.8%
trade/technical qualification/apprenticeship/associate college (vocational)	15 24.2%	2 9.1%	17 20.2%
Total	62 100.0%	22 100.0%	84 100.0%

Table 8.5: Occupation (Xidi)

Occupation	Are you visitor or local		Total
	Visitor	Local	
Senior Managerial	3 4.8%	0 0.0%	3 3.5%
Higher Grade Professional	13 20.6%	0 0.0%	13 15.3%
Lower Grade Managerial/Professional	15 23.8%	1 4.5%	16 18.8%
Intermediate Occupations/Routine non-manual employment	2 3.2%	0 0.0%	2 2.4%
Small Employers/own account	3 4.8%	14 63.6%	17 20.0%
Lower supervisory/technical	0 0.0%	2 9.1%	2 2.4%
Routine	10 15.9%	2 9.1%	12 14.1%
Unemployed	2 3.2%	0 0.0%	2 2.4%
Student	8 12.7%	0 0.0%	8 9.4%
Retired	7 11.1%	0 0.0%	7 8.2%
Farmer	0 0.0%	3 13.6%	3 3.5%
Total	63 100.0%	22 100.0%	85 100.0%

Table 8.6: Which province are you from? (Xidi)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
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Valid	Southern China	47	70.1
	Northern China	10	14.9
	Central China	10	14.9
	Total	67	100.0
Missing		2	
Total		69	

Table 8.7: Is this your first visit? (Xidi)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	First visit	56	81.2
	Return visit	13	18.8
	Total	69	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		69	

Table 8.8 Have you travelled from a home or holiday address?

(Xidi)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Home	29	43.3
	holiday	38	56.7
	Total	67	100.0
Missing		2	
Total		69	

Table 8.9 Have you travelled with tour groups, family, and friends or by yourself?

(Xidi)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Self	16	23.5
	With families/ friends/tour groups	52	76.5
	Total	68	100.0
Missing		1	
Total		69	

Table 8.10 How many days you plan to visit in Xidi?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Less than three days	68	98.6
	More than three days less than a week	1	1.4
	Total	69	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		69	

8.3.2 Demographic results of interviews with domestic tourists and local residents in Hongcun

Table 8.11 to 8.15 shows that of the sixty-three people interviewed in Hongcun, thirty-three (50.8%) were male and thirty-one (49.2%) were female. Table 8.12, below, illustrates the frequency of age groups within the interview sample, with age 25-34 are most frequently interviewed group, followed by 18-24. Table 8.13 details their educational attainments. More than two thirds of visitors (75%) possessed some level of university education, while 86.4% of locals have relatively low educational attainment (for the same reasons as at Xidi). Table 8.14 shows the occupations of visitors and locals, with tourists' occupations ranging evenly across occupational groups, while the locals' occupations are again similar to Xidi, i.e. 70.6% are small employers/own account.

In terms of tourists, the majority of domestic tourists (69%) come from Southern China, while 16.7% were from Northern China and just 14.9% from Central China (Table 8.15). Table 8.16 shows that the majority (86.7%) of tourists were on their first visit to Hongcun, and just six (13.3%) were return visitors. Twenty-one (46.7%) had travelled from a holiday address, slightly lower than those that had travelled from a home address (53.3%) (Table 8.17). Table 8.18 illustrated that most of the tourists (86.7%) travelled with families/friends/tour group, and only six people travelled alone. The majority (95.6%) of visitors had planned to visit Hongcun for less than three days. Only two (4.4%) of tourists had planned a longer visit of more than a week (Table 8.19).

Table 8.11 Gender(Hongcun)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid male	32	50.8
Female	31	49.2
Total	63	100.0

Table 8.12 Age (Hongcun)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid 18-24	15	23.8
25-34	23	36.5
35-44	9	14.3
45-54	7	11.1
55-64	7	11.1
over 65	2	3.2
Total	63	100.0

Table 8.13 Education (Hongcun)

	Are you visitor or local		Total
	Visitor	Local	
Education Year 12 or equivalent	3 7.5%	6 40.0%	9 16.4%

Year 9 or below	1 2.5%	7 46.7%	8 14.5%
undergraduate university degree	27 67.5%	1 6.7%	28 50.9%
postgraduate university degree (masters and/or Phd)	3 7.5%	0 0.0%	3 5.5%
trade/technical qualification/apprenticeship/associate college (vocational)	6 15.0%	1 6.7%	7 12.7%
Total	40 100.0%	15 100.0%	55 100.0%

Table 8.14 Occupation (Hongcun)

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
Occupation	Senior Managerial	1 2.4%	0 0.0%	1 1.7%
	Higher Grade Professional	6 14.6%	1 5.9%	7 12.1%
	Lower Grade Managerial/Professional	8 19.5%	1 5.9%	9 15.5%
	Small Employers/own account	1 2.4%	12 70.6%	13 22.4%
	Routine	9 22.0%	0 0.0%	9 15.5%
	Unemployed	1 2.4%	0 0.0%	1 1.7%
	Student	13 31.7%	0 0.0%	13 22.4%
	Retired	2 4.9%	2 11.8%	4 6.9%
	Farmer	0 0.0%	1 5.9%	1 1.7%
Total	41 100.0%	17 100.0%	58 100.0%	

Table 8.15 Which province are you from? (Hongcun)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Southern China	29	69.0
	Northern China	7	16.7
	Central China	6	14.3
	Total	42	100.0
Missing		3	
Total		45	

Table 8.16 Is this your first visit? (Hongcun)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	First visit	39	86.7
	Return visit	6	13.3
	Total	45	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		45	

Table 8.17 Have you travelled from a home or holiday address? (Hongcun)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Home	21	46.7
	holiday	24	53.3
	Total	45	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		45	

Table 8.18 Have you travelled with a tour group, family, friends or by yourself? (Hongcun)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Self	6	13.3
	With families/ friends	39	86.7
	Total	45	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		45	

Table 8.19 How many days do you plan to visit Hongcun

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Less than three days	43	95.6
	More than three days less than a week	2	4.4
	Total	45	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		45	

8.4 Tourists and cultural moments

In Chapter 7, I identified tourists as having agency in a way that is often not described in the literature, which tends to see tourists as superficial, inauthentic, destructive and culturally ignorant (Graburn and Barthel 2001). I also identified several themes, including a strong sense of feeling and connection between tourists and locals, which emerged at West Lake. However, West Lake is a top 10 touristic destination in China, and was well-known by most tourists before its World Heritage listing. The touristic experience in Xidi and Hongcun, and

tourists interactions with locals, might be entirely different. This chapter further explores those themes in the context of Xidi and Hongcun, which are relatively small and remote heritage sites compared to West Lake, where World Heritage listing has dramatically increased tourist numbers in both villages. Twelve open-ended questions will be analysed to explore what tourists do and feel at these two villages.

The first question I asked tourists is '**What are your reasons for visiting Xidi/Hongcun?**' (Table 8.20 and 8.21). Only ten (14.7%) and nine (20%) tourists in Xidi and Hongcun respectively nominated that they simply go for recreational reasons. Most frequently (47.1%) and (24.4%) tourists nominated that they had come to visit the traditional architecture or landscape features of the Huizhou. For example:

XD079: I am not here for touristic reasons. I come here to appreciate the traditional Hui architecture. (XD079, tourist, male, 45-54, unemployed)

XD015: I came here because of the traditional Hui buildings. They are original and in very good condition.
(XD015, tourist, female, 25-34, admin officer)

HC018: It is the traditional Hui buildings. You know, the white wall and black roof have been deeply impressed in my memory. I like this kind of feeling. (HC018, tourist, female, 18-24, student)

HC026: I am a website editor. Many tourists have uploaded their own travel experiences in Hongcun online in our tourism section. I was attracted by many beautiful images of the landscape and buildings. I have always been interested in the traditional Hui buildings. Therefore, I have come here. (HC026, tourist, female, 18-24, website editor)

HC018's arguments reflect that what brought her to Hongcun was her sense of feeling. An aesthetic feeling about '*white wall and black roof*' was embodied in her personal memories. HC026 indicated that many tourists wrote about their experiences of visiting a place and uploaded to Social Networking Services such as '*微博 Weibo*', '*微信 We chat*' and '*穷游*

Qiongyou' online. Each visitor has their own stories, experiences and inspirations during their visits, and construct cultural meaning at an individual level, which can, especially through social media, influence other visitors who have not been to the site. As indicated in Chapter 7, some locals (e.g. WL115) talked about tourists in the present who ‘had written poems, their emotional message’ on the message board, which is the same as ancient scholars writing poetry. Those ancient poems have become a significant part of Chinese culture. HC026 demonstrated that tourists have been using contemporary technologies to create new cultural meanings.

Table 8.20 What are your reasons for visiting Xidi ?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Represent traditional architecture or landscape Feature of the Huizhou	32	47.1
	Traditional Hui Cultural reasons	12	17.6
	Recreation/Leisure	10	14.7
	Other	7	10.3
	Come to visit Mount Huang Shan, just dropped by here.	5	7.4
	Aesthetic reasons	2	2.9
	Total	68	100.0
Missing		1	
Total		69	

Table 8.21 What are your reasons for visiting Hongcun ?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Represent traditional architecture or landscape Feature of the Huizhou	11	24.4
	Recreation/Leisure	9	20.0
	Traditional Hui Cultural reasons	9	20.0
	Aesthetic reasons	8	17.8
	Come to visit Mount Huang Shan, just dropped by here.	4	8.9
	Others	4	8.9
	Total	45	100.0
Missing		0	
Total		45	

The second question I asked was '**What experiences do you value on visiting this place?**' (Tables 8.22 and 8.23). In answering this, only 14.7% and 13.6% interviewees in Xidi and Hongcun considered that they were having a recreational or touristic experience. More than

one-third of tourists (35.3%) in Xidi and a quarter (20.5%) in Hongcun considered they are engaged in recognition of culture/history/intangible heritage of the site/region. For example:

XD019: I think for some people who are interested in traditional culture or have an abundant humanistic environment, just one or two hours' tour guide is not enough during the tour. For instance, I just received very superficial cultural messages about Xidi after the tour guide's interpretation. If you want to know more about culture of the site, you should stay here at least one day. (XD019, tourist, male, 25-34)

XD028: When I walked through these old buildings (Fig. 8.10), I can imagine how grand this building used to be. At the moment, I cannot help but take my mind back to the old Xidi, where generations of Xidi people not only built the representative 'Hui building', but created a glorious 'Hui culture' that has influenced the Southern Chinese cultural system. (XD028, tourist, female, 35-44, company CFO)

XD084: I have a very deep impression of traditional calligraphy couplets. (XD084, tourist, female, 45-54)

HC042: I was impressed by the wood carvings and the decorations of each house (Fig. 8.11), not only the magnificent skills but the implied meaning behind them. For example, the decorations of bats implied happiness. Locals arranged their tables with mirrors and porcelain vases meaning safety and happiness. Every detail of the houses has implied meaning, without interpretation, you won't understand. (HC042, tourist, male, 45-54)



Fig. 8.10 Old buildings in Xidi (photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig. 8.11 Local sells wood carvings and decorations in Hongcun (photo by Rouran Zhang)

These examples illustrate that tourists do not simply have fun during their visits, but have different cultural concerns and interests. XD028 linked the material buildings to the past Hui culture underlined by strong approving emotions. During his visit, his sense of feeling was an empathetic process that created an interesting cultural moment, with a dialog from the present to the past. Both XD084 and HC042's concerns were about the intangible heritage of the site. HC042 linked the wood carvings and the decoration in a way that reflected China's traditional philosophy of attaching implied meanings to objects.

The next most frequent answer referred to aesthetics, 20.5% in both Xidi and Hongcun:

XD072: I think Xidi is better than Hongcun, in particular the magnificence of the buildings. There are many advertisements for Hongcun, which describe the 'village of painting.' However, I prefer Xidi. (XD072, tourist, male, 35-44)

XD057: Hongcun is a female, and Xidi is a male. The water view in Hongcun is so beautiful, which makes Hongcun like a woman. The old houses and ancestral temples in Xidi are larger and bigger than Hongcun, so I imagine Xidi is a man. (XD057, tourist, male, 45-54, pharmacist)

HC005: Because of aesthetic reasons, I prefer Xidi over Hongcun. You know most of the buildings in Xidi are just like a small museum or art gallery. When you walk through a door, you can see hundred-year-old tree peony in the garden. The tile carving, the wood carving, and any details of the building are so delicate. Some houses may be small, but the contents they contain are abundant. I can feel the beauty of the four seasons, with the melting of snow in the spring, the clear water flowed freely in the summer, and the withered lotus in the autumn. (HC005, tourist, female, over 65, retired teacher)

XD022: I have a very good memory of when I was at Hongcun thirteen years ago, that is was more natural and open to visitors. However, my experiences in Hongcun this time is just like the product I bought, very commercial. You know, there is a river outside Hongcun. Thirteen years ago it used to be very natural, with beautiful vegetation and soft sand on the riverbank. However, it has turned into an ugly concrete small dam. I think the reason the tourism company and local governments

did this is to ensure the water yield inside the village during the dry season. It is stupid and wrong. (XD022, tourist, male, 25-34, landscape architect)

HC005 expressed her feeling of delight from enjoying the aesthetic view of Xidi. Physically being at the site generated in her a poetic sense of feeling that linked to her imagination of the four seasons at the site. XD022 gave me a depressed emotional response that was linked to his memories of a previous visit. Although he criticised the commercial changes of Hongcun, it was an active process of remembering. Within this remembering process, new memories had been created as well. Indeed, many interviewees, such as HC005 and XD022, who discussed aesthetics, did not only simply nominate aesthetic appreciation, but made an in-depth connection to their feelings and/or personal memory. Their sense of feeling actively created 'live' cultural moments that interwove with the site, the present moments and their memories.

A further 11.8% and 20.5% of tourists in Xidi and Hongcun were doing identity or memory work. Many of them considered collective memories from their own background by making physical contact with the heritage site or specific places, for instance:

XD024: The buildings and landscape in my village were similar as they have Xidi and traditional Hui characteristics. However, they no longer exist. I can find my memories from when I was a boy by visiting this similar environment. (XD024, tourist, male, 35-44, unemployed)

XD029: During this trip, I feel that the landscape of the site represents the strong identity of the Hui culture. My understanding may be different from people who come from a similar cultural background. However, it still arouses my memory of what I used to know of such culture, and this influences my personal emotion. (XD029, tourist, male, 35-44, shipping company)

XD049: During my visit, I listened to the interpretation from a tour guide of the history of the ancestral temple of Mr. Hu (胡家宗祠) (Fig. 8.12), I was thinking that there are hundreds of tourists who walk through this building, but who will think

about the stories that have happened in this place or how many memories of locals and tourists have been recorded by the building? (XD049, tourist, male, 45-54)

HC054: The reason I come here is influenced by my mother, who fondly remembered travelling to Hongcun. And I did have a good time here. Indeed, I was kind of inspired by the conversation when I talked with the hostel owner where I stayed yesterday. I think it is remarkable that Hongcun has inherited its own culture for hundreds of years, even in this commercial environment. It is a very good example for the development of other Chinese old towns. (HC054, tourist, men, 18-24, student)



Fig. 8.12 The ancestral temple of Mr. Hu in Xidi (photo by Rouran Zhang)

XD024 and XD029 came from different part of China. However, both of them have similar cultural affiliations to the site. Therefore, their sense of feeling had been aroused by seeing the landscape in Xidi that is linked to their personal memories, which invoked a similar sense of belonging. XD049 engaged an empathetic process when the cultural moments he created formed a dialogue between the past and present, between the physical building and tourists. The response from HC054 reflects the interaction between tourists and local residents. The interactions I identified in Xidi and Hongcun are more complex than those I analysed at West Lake. I will further elaborate in this chapter and Chapter 9. As Smith (2012:214) has also indicated 'Reminiscing and remembering are often cited as important activities at heritage sites' (see also Nora 1989; Urry 1996; Davison 2005; Smith 2006; Anheier and Isar 2011).

The four examples illustrate that tourists can have empathetic experiences during their visits, which creates their own cultural moments at the heritage site. Their emotional response reflects that they deeply engaged in constructing heritage meaning, and the heritage objects or landscape are the medium that reinforce their sense of belonging and identities.

Table 8.22 What experiences do you value on visiting this site? (Xidi)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Recognition of culture/history/intangible heritage of the site/region	24	35.3
	Aesthetic (related to architectures/landscape)	14	20.6
	Touristic/recreational/happy day out of the site	10	14.7
	Identity/memory work	8	11.8
	Social connection with locals/friends	3	4.4
	Compare between Xidi and Hongcun	3	4.4
	Don't know	2	2.9
	Disappointed commercialization	2	2.9
	Talking about general experiences in others Chinese heritage sites	2	2.9
	Total	68	100.0
Missing		1	
Total		69	

Table 8.23 What experiences do you value on visiting this site? (Hongcun)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Identity/memory work	9	20.5
	Recognition of culture/history/intangible heritage of the site/region	9	20.5
	Aesthetic (related to architectures/landscape)	9	20.5
	Touristic/recreational/happy day out of the site	6	13.6
	Compare between Xidi and Hongcun	4	9.1
	Social connection with locals/friends	3	6.8
	Disappointed commercialization	2	4.5
	Talking about general experiences in others Chinese heritage sites	1	2.3
	Don't know	1	2.3
	Total	44	100.0
Missing		1	
Total		45	

The third question I asked was '**what messages about the heritage or history of the site do you take away?**' (Table 8.24 and 8.25). More than one-third (35.6%) of the tourists in Xidi

took away messages that demonstrated acknowledgement or recognition of the history and culture of the site or the region, while only 14.3% interviewees took away this message in Hongcun. For instance:

XD046: I am interested in the traditional buildings of Xidi, which uses wood as the framework of a building rather than concrete. They also represent typical traditional Hui Chinese architecture. I am an architect. You know, many concrete buildings collapsed during the earthquake, however, this wooden framed traditional building survived for hundreds of years. Our ancients built these wood buildings with old technology and considered '风水 *Fengshui*'. I think I might be inspired by them. (XD046, tourist, male, 25-34, Architect)

XD012: During the trip, I understand the profound traditional culture in Xidi. I think the traditional Confucianism was strongly influenced by their career choice, with the majority of the villagers' ancestors engaged in official careers. (XD012, tourist, female, 25-34, teacher)

XD020: I come to Xidi and Hongcun just for recreational reason. I took many pictures and enjoyed the view in Hongcun. I did not shoot many photos today because the buildings and landscape in Xidi are similar with Hongcun. However, I was impressed by the cultural accumulations in Xidi. For example, the traditional calligraphy couplets implicate the philosophy of Chinese traditional culture. (XD020, tourist, female, 55-64, retired teacher)

XD012 and XD020's interests focus on traditional Chinese culture. While XD046 had taken messages relating to his architectural background and in-depth understanding, when he uses the word inspired he shows his respect for the traditional culture or knowledge. In Hongcun, the most frequent response to the question (26.2 %) was aesthetic, while this represented only 15.3% of the response in Xidi. However, there are still more than a quarter of tourists (23.8%) in both Xidi and Hongcun who took away messages related to feeling or social connection. For example:

XD32: I wish I could come here a year after, still with my best friends. At that time, I wish I am a postgraduate student in Suzhou University (XD032, tourist, female, 18-24, student).

XD044: You know, many locals have run family hostels, restaurants and shops. I communicated with some of the shop owners. What their concerns are, how to sell the local products such as bamboo and stone carving or local books which introduce the culture and intangible culture to me with a high price. I understand their living on tourism. However, I think there should be a good way to disseminate histories, culture, and intangible things to visitors rather trade culture like a commodity (XD044, tourist, female, 18-24, unemployed).

XD047: Compared to Hongcun, which has already become a commercial place, Xidi is my preferred choice for visiting. I have a feeling that Xidi is alive. Locals are doing their own activities in their old houses which were built over 200 years ago. I can see many preserved ducks hang under the roof, and I can feel the slight smoke curling up from kitchen chimneys (XD047, tourist, female, 24-35, teacher).

XD081: I am impressed that most indigenous people stay in the village. They are living on tourism. I am very happy to talk to them. (XD081, tourist, male, 35-44, salesperson)

XD027: You know, when I communicated with locals, they are very proud of the achievements of their ancestors. I agree with that. However, times are changing. They are selling the culture that was created by their ancestors to visitors. (XD027, tourist, male, 45-64, retired)

XD041: I like the feeling in Hongcun at tourist off-season. It is very peaceful. (XD041, tourist, female, 25-34, finance officer)

HC005: Firstly, there is a simple poster posted on the wall of a resident's house (Fig.8.13), which indicates that the house owner is going to butcher a pig and hopes that villagers will come to buy fresh meat at that time. It is funny, very alive. Secondly, I walked into a villagers' house and I saw six big pumpkins. I asked the

house owner whether he can give me the head of one big pumpkin that I want to use it to make a seal. He was very generous and gave it to me. (HC005, tourist, female, over 65, retired teacher)

HC040: Well, I met a local who took me to visit his house. I was impressed by the courtyard, the kitchen, and the fishing pond and the surroundings of the house. I said to him that I would come to stay for about two months when I have a vacation. I started to fantasize the scene when I would wake up on a quiet morning, and then go to the morning market to buy fresh vegetable and have a nice breakfast. After that, I take my drawing paper sitting in the courtyard to do some sketches (Fig. 8.14). How wonderful it is! (HC040, tourist, female, 25-34)

HC016: Just like I went back to the ancient times.

HC017: Yes, he just told me that he wished to see the boudoir through time-travel [laughs]. (HC016, tourist, male, 18-24, lower technical work, HC017, tourist, female, 18-24)



Fig. 8.13 (left figure) Poster posted on the wall about 'butchering a pig' (photo by Rouran Zhang)

Fig. 8.14 (right fig) Tourists communicated with locals in Hongcun (photo by Rouran Zhang)

The responses from XD047 and HC005 illustrated the close interrelation among tourists, locals and the physical heritage site. Both XD005 and HC040 are deeply engaged in communicating with locals, and they also listed unremarkable details such as 'preserved ducks hanging under the roof' and 'draft poster,' which influence their personal emotions. In

this situation, both of them had actively created cultural moments, which represent the close interaction among tourists, locals and the physical heritage site. XD044 and XD027 expressed depressed emotions because they were unsatisfied with the commodification of the site. HC016's response was simple but interesting, while they visited the site in the present his mind was connected to the past. The above responses show the different forms that tourists use to communicate or interact with locals. There is a strong sense of contentment that emerged when tourists feel the 'alive' things related to locals such as 'preserved ducks hanging under the roof, and I can feel the slight smoke curling up from kitchen chimneys', the poster about the day and time the locals were going to butcher a pig, or just simply talked to locals.

Table 8.24 What messages about the heritage or history of the site do you take away (Xidi)?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Cultural recognition/gaining or showing respect	21	35.6
	Feeling/Social connection between visitors and locals or visitors themselves	14	23.8
	Aesthetic	9	15.3
	No message	8	13.6
	changing/living culture	4	6.8
	Preservation message (include intangible heritage, values, either natural or cultural preservation)	2	3.4
	other	1	1.7
	Total	59	100.0
Missing		10	
Total		69	

Table 8.25 What messages about the heritage or history of the site do you take away (Hongcun)?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Aesthetic	11	26.2
	Feeling/Social connection between visitors and locals or visitors themselves	10	23.8
	No message	8	19.0
	Cultural recognition/gaining or showing respect	6	14.3
	nominated specific sites or places	3	7.1
	intangible culture	2	4.8
	Preservation message (include intangible heritage, values, either natural or cultural preservation)	1	2.4

other	1	2.4
Total	42	100.0
Missing	3	
Total	45	

The final question I would like to analyse is ‘**Is tourism important to you?**’ (Table 8.26 and 8.27). The responses to this question were quite varied, with 20% of interviewees in Xidi considering tourism to be important for recreation/leisure, while more than half of visitors (57.1%) nominated this in Hongcun. While 55.6% of visitors in Xidi saw themselves as gaining cultural experiences, 42.8% identified this in Hongcun. For instance:

XD013: World Heritage sites are a kind of tourism resource. You can gain cultural experiences by visiting different heritage sites, and understand what you never know in big cities. This will help you improve yourself. Tourism is also an enjoyable process. (XD067, tourist, male, 55-64, retired)

XD046: Tourism is to gain cultural experiences. It is a kind of experience that relates to your past, present and future (XD046, tourist, male, 25-34, architect).

XD062: You can learn the culture and customs through tourism, while you can also enjoy the view during the visit. (XD062, tourist, female, 45-54, teacher)

XD088: The core of tourism is to gain cultural experiences. (XD088, tourist, male, 35-44, staff from government)

HC025: I think you can gain cultural experiences by visiting a heritage site. You can also disseminate the knowledge to others and get self-improvement. (HC025, tourist, male, 45-54, government officer)

HC010: I think the most important aim of a heritage site is to let more people recognise the place, to understand the culture of Huizhou, to experience what locals' do in their daily life. (HC010, tourist, female, 18-24, external tour guide)

HC015: I think sometimes I can get inspiration by visiting a heritage site. This is a kind of unique experiences that I cannot find elsewhere. It is culture. (HC015, tourist, male, 18-24, student)

Table 8.26 Is tourism important to you (Xidi)?

		Frequency	Valid Percent (%)
Valid	Yes, gain cultural experiences	25	55.6
	Yes, recreation/leisure from working pressure	9	20.0
	Yes, but worried about negative impacts of tourism	6	13.3
	Yes, aesthetic appreciation	1	2.2
	Don't Kwon	1	2.2
	Yes, reinforcing feelings/knowledge	3	6.7
	Total	45	100.0
Missing		24	
Total		69	

Table 8.27 Is tourism important to you (Hongcun)?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Yes, recreation/leisure from working pressure	12	57.2
	Yes, gaining cultural experiences	9	42.8
	Total	21	100.0
Missing		24	
Total		45	

8.5 Discussion – Comparison of Xidi and Hongcun

The findings outlined above show differences between the responses in the two villages that are worth remarking on. Recreation and aesthetics tend to be more frequently cited at the Hongcun than Xidi, which in turn more frequently elicited a sense of cultural recognition and remembering. Why were tourists' responses distinct in these two villages, which share similarities of physical setting and cultural background? One of the significant reasons is the degree and intensity of the way the concept of world heritage and its management was used to frame tourism and heritage practices in the two villages. Both local governments and the tourism company in Hongcun considered heritage as aesthetically pleasing physical objects

or/and landscape that is non-renewable, which required them to protect the site in order so it may be inherited by future generations. This is illustrated by my interview with the head (HC063) and the vice-head (HC064) of Hongcun on 12th December, 2013. When I asked the question **'What does world heritage mean to you?'**

HC064: The inheritance of objects from our ancestors. We have a responsibility to protect them for future generation. In terms of Hongcun, we have to ensure the integrity of the building and the water system.

HC063: We also develop sustainable tourism to ensure protection.

RRZ: Has world heritage listing brought about any changes in the site?

HC064: Yes, I think in the improvement of infrastructure of Hongcun. The tourism markets including local run hostels and restaurants are more organised, they have to obey relevant rules and regulations base on international standard and are supervised by government.

The local governments and the tourism company have constructed a systemic hierarchy of meaning-making in order to impose their understanding of heritage to tourists through narratives from tour guides and advertisements. I interviewed the head of the Co. Jingyi Ltd (HC065), which is the governments' authorised external tourism management company on December 24, 2013:

RRZ: What do you think the Zhongkun Investment Group (Co. Jingyi Ltd) has brought to Hongcun

HC065: We have brought an advanced management mode since 1998. Firstly, the village-based management did not have training systems for tour guides and other tourism management positions before our company took charge. After we had signed a thirty years' contract with County and local governments, we recruited a team of tour guides from Yi County with advanced training programmes. Second, in 1998 our company invested 20 million RMB [equal to US\$3.22 million] in order to improve the water quality, repair or redecorate the traditional houses and build parking lots and hotels. Thirdly, we have kept advertising on TV, newspapers, internet. We also used an opportunity with the movie *'Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon'* directed by Ang

Lee in 2000⁵⁷, which shot in Hongcun to advertise the beautiful views of Hongcun to an international audience. In addition, our company also promoted Hongcun's inscription on the WHL. During the listing process, we invited experts to help us to make a forty-year development plan, which provided a framework for the nomination dossiers. We have also encouraged locals to inherit their traditional handicrafts. For example, we provided funding for the tourism office of the county government to organise a competition of tourism handicrafts in 2000.

The response from an official of the tourism company shows that external capital has brought funding for infrastructural improvement, improving tour guide systems, advertising and encouraging traditional handicraft. However, the primary aims of management were to enhance the aesthetics of the village. I attended five different tour groups from 20th to 22th December 2013 (with 204 minutes' of recorded data). I observed that the interpretations from the company trained tour guides mainly focused on describing the beauty of the landscape, the grand nature of the traditional buildings and identifying the metaphors of the decoration of buildings. Although tour guides did identify the history and customs of the village, their descriptions were nonetheless focussed on the material objects. I interviewed a local scholar (HC028) who has criticised the local governments and the external company, noting that:

HC028: I think the most important thing for world cultural heritage is how to develop sustainable use of the site, rather than [rather than] old style experts concerned about maintaining the physical objects. In my opinion, world cultural heritage is not a patient that needs to be taken care of by governments; rather it is a cultural product. This cultural product produces economic effects, which locals, local governments and tourism companies can benefit from. Culture is the soul of heritage. The tourism company can disseminate culture by advertising. However, no matter how much the company invests, it is just like your clothes, very superficial. In terms of Hongcun, I think...of course, it is important to protect our existing architecture which represents the milestones and the carriers of our culture. However, the protection is not simply for physical building or decorations that we can see. Intangible culture and customs also need to be considered. I am worrying that we are using the culture which was created by our ancestors for living. However, we are not developing our own culture.

⁵⁷ Best Foreign Language Film Oscar award in 2001.

Fifty years later, there are just so called 'old buildings' in Xidi without souls. (HC028, male, 54-65, local scholar)

The local governments and the external capital in Hongcun ignored local perceptions of heritage, and in turn these tourists focus on the material and aesthetics and tend not to mention culture. In Hongcun the management and interpretation of the world heritage sites are framed by the authorised heritage discourse (AHD), and tourists seem to be passive receivers of this framing. The management authorities in Hongcun, using the UNESCO influenced AHD, delivered strong messages about aesthetic and object-related values of heritage, which influenced the individual and collective remembering at the site.

The Xidi world heritage site was run by locals for more than 20 years. Although in mid-2013 the state-owned enterprise Co. Huihuang Ltd has now taken charge, the new tourism company had, at the time the interviews were undertaken, limited influence on existing tourism management. Tourists I interviewed more frequently elicited a sense of culture and remembering in Xidi than in Hongcun. For example, XD047 considered Hongcun a commercial place, while identifying Xidi as 'alive': 'Compared to Hongcun, which had already become a commercial place, Xidi is my preferred choice for visiting. I have a feeling that Xidi is alive'. However, the understanding of heritage from local governments and external companies are similar to the authorities in Hongcun, as they still focus on material objects. The most important thing that has caused such differences between Xidi and Hongcun is that the AHD, in framing the management of Xidi, was not as successful as in Hongcun. Firstly, compared to Hongcun, the Xidi Tourism Service Company did not advertise as much as the Hongcun company. Many locals pointed out this issue, such as XD005, XD031 and XD036, for example:

XD036: Hongcun's tourism management is much better than us, as the private company has invested a lot of money for advertising. Many tourists who live in my hostel told me that they found many advertisements of Hongcun online, but few are about Xidi. (XD036, female, 35-44, local)

Secondly, Zhongkun Investment Group (Co. Jingyi Ltd) has developed a more efficient tour guide system than Xidi⁵⁸. The influence of the AHD within the Xidi tours was not as explicitly identifiable, with slightly less emphasis placed on aesthetics, and thus the AHD was not as strongly present in the tour guide interpretations as at Hongcun. It is possible that this allowed tourists to have a more individually emotional authentic response to visiting Xidi, and allowed greater space for them to develop observations of the site outside of the received AHD messages from authorities. As XD019 mentioned above, 'just one or two hours' tour guide is not enough during the tour', and required more cultural engagement as they had at Hongcun⁵⁹.

The management authorities in both Xidi and Hongcun were primarily concerned with the protection of material objects. They also used their power to educate tourists to appreciate the aesthetic and cultural values of the sites. The dominant heritage tourism studies and practise consider tourism as inauthentic. This concept is derived MacCannell's (1973, 1999) argument that 'tourism is the doomed search for the authentic' (Smith 2012:211). Following from this conceptualisation literature on heritage tourism often defines tourists as mechanistic and tourism as market-oriented (Graburn and Barthel-Bouchier 2001; Smith 2006, 2012; Ashworth 2009). This difference between the two sites is interesting and shows the extent to which the intensity of marketing and interpretation can influence tourists' responses to a site. However, it also needs to be noted that while there was a difference between the two sites, there are similarities as well. It is also important to note that not all tourists were necessarily influenced by the management emphasis on the AHD and many constructed their own meanings – and that this happened at both sites.

8.6 Conclusion

This Chapter reviewed previous scholars' research of Xidi and Hongcun after the World Heritage inscription, in which they clearly identified that World Heritage inscription brought dramatic increasing of tourism development in both villages (Zhai 2002; Chen 2005; Liang and Wang 2005; Ying and Zhou 2007; Cheng et al. 2008; Gao and Woudstra 2011 and Xu et

⁵⁸ Based on my interview data with locals in Xidi. This observation is also based on my attendance of three different tour groups from 14th to 24th December, 2013 (with 123 minutes' of record eddata).

⁵⁹ The tour guide service in both Xidi and Hongcun is about one hour.

al. 2012, 2014). This research had focused on the economic benefits or the negative effects of tourism. My interviews with domestic tourists in Xidi and Hongcun shows the majority of tourists have agency and they actively engaged in social and cultural work in the two villages.

A key issue that the interviews of tourists illustrated is that the cultural moment created by tourists is multi-dimensional. A large number of tourists are engaged in the recognition of the culture and history of the two villages or of Anhui province, doing their own identity or memory work and are engaged in building social connections. For some visitors Xidi and Hongcun are association with the depth and texture to the wider Chinese Southern identity and Confucianism. Compared to West Lake, as I discussed in Chapter 7, which is well-known by every Chinese person because of school textbooks, stories, poetry, paintings and TV shows; many tourists are not very familiar with Xidi and Hongcun. However, my interview data in Xidi and Hongcun shows the similarity of their sense of feeling. Many tourists used the discourse of feeling very clearly, even explicit to augment their sense of connection to physical places, landscape, locals, and traditional Hui culture. The difference is that the sense of feeling tourists expressed in West Lake were about various places, culture in different periods, stories, TV shows, poetry which was tied to the memories related to West Lake they already knew. However, the sense of feeling tourists articulated in Xidi and Hongcun was about what they feel for the physical sites and the connections between locals. Another significant theme is the deep connection between tourists and locals. As I discussed above, there is a strong sense of contentment that emerged when tourists feel they have physical or spiritual connection to locals, as they described the villages as 'alive'. However, my interview with both tourists and the local government officials demonstrated that the government controlled or authorised tourism enterprise does not necessarily facilitate the sense of interaction between tourists and locals. In the next chapter, I will discuss the sense of contentment that locals gain from tourists; and how government control influenced the interactions between tourists and locals.

Some visitors expressed their disappointment or provided some negative observations on commercialisation or pollution problems; nevertheless, they played an active role in the heritage site during their visiting and were active in constructing their own meanings. As a world heritage site, Xidi and Hongcun, in general, were places where people felt – and in particular felt connected to something vital such as a connection to land or connection to deep time (Poria et al. 2003; Byrne 2009, 2013; Smith and Campbell 2015). My interview reveals

that tourists were not simply 'touring'; they were undertaking 'cultural and social work,' actively working out, remembering and negotiating cultural meanings (Smith 2006, 2012). Despite the apparent influences of the AHD employed by management at the two sites and discussed above, overall the work supports the sense of agency illustrated by Smith in her work with heritage visitors in European and Australian contexts (2006, 2011, 2012; see also Bagnall 2003; Byrne 2009, 2013).

I identified that previous research on the local – tourists' interrelations focused on economic benefits and marketing issues (Zhai 2002; Chen 2005; Liang and Wang 2005; Ying and Zhou 2007; Cheng et al. 2008; Gao and Woudstra 2011 and Xu et al. 2012, 2014). In contrast to these researchers, I will analyse the cultural and social interrelations between locals and tourists, and how local governments and tourism companies relate to local-tourist interactions in the next chapter.

Chapter 9: Bonding and Dissonance: The Interrelations among Local Governments, Local Residents and Tourists at the Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun

9.1 Introduction

Chapter 8 identified the active nature of tourists visiting Xidi and Hongcun. They had agency and engaged in various activities in the two villages. Two significant themes have been identified. One theme is the sense of feeling, as many tourists were explicitly aware they were seeking ‘feeling’ that linked to other senses, such as belonging, nostalgia and social connections. The other theme is the deep interaction between tourists and locals. This theme is entangled with tourists’ sense of feeling. When tourists felt they had a connection with locals, this evoked a sense of contentment. In this chapter, my focus turns to the locals. I will analyse locals’ reactions to tourists at their sites and explore the interactions among locals, tourists, the local governments and tourism enterprises. As I discussed in Chapter 7, my interviews with locals at West Lake showed that a sense of pride was the key reason that the majority of locals at West Lake supported tourism. Local people’s interactions with tourists also worked to provide a sense of pride. However, Xidi and Hongcun represent a different type of heritage with different historical, political, economic and cultural backgrounds, nor are they nationally known sites that easily link to national narratives as West Lake does. Locals in West Lake are engaged in a range of occupations, while most of the locals in both Xidi and Hongcun base their living on tourism (see below). Therefore, the interrelations among locals, tourists, local governments and tourism enterprises might be different to what I identified at West Lake. I will address the above issues in this chapter.

The chapter finds that the interactions between tourists and local is not only based on marketing and economic issues, as scholars such as Oakes (1993), Cohen (2000, 2004), and Su and Teo (2009) have identified, but are rather underpinned by what are often deep cultural and social interactions. I also argue that tourist-local’s interactions can be constrained by various governments’ use of heritage.

9.2 Local reactions to tourism

Interviews with local residents at Xidi and Hongcun were undertaken during December 2013, with forty people (Xidi 22 and Hongcun 18) interviewed on the sites (Table 9.1 and 9.2). Table 9.3 and 9.4, illustrate the frequency of age groups within the interview sample. Locals in the 18-24 age group were not interviewed. The main reason is that most locals in that age group were working/searching for jobs outside the villages. The details of educational attainment and occupation were discussed in Chapter 8 (see Table 8.4, 8.5, 8.13 and 14). I will discuss and map the interrelations among tourists, governments and external companies by analysing several open-ended questions.

Table 9.1 Gender (Xidi)

	Are you visitor or local		Total
	Visitor	Local	
Gender male	41	9	50
Female	28	13	41
Total	69	22	91

Table 9.2 Gender (Hongcun)

	Are you visitor or local		Total
	Visitor	Local	
Gender male	23	9	32
Female	22	9	31
Total	45	18	63

Table 9.3 Age (Xidi)

	Are you a visitor or local		Total
	Visitor	Local	
Age 18-24	9	0	9
25-34	18	5	23
35-44	13	8	21
45-54	23	7	30
55-64	3	1	4
over 65	3	1	4
Total	69	22	91

Table 9.4 (Hongcun)

	Are you a visitor or local		Total
	Visitor	Local	
Age 18-24	15	0	15
25-34	17	6	23
35-44	5	4	9
45-54	3	4	7
55-64	4	3	7
over 65	1	1	2
Total	45	18	63

The first question I asked locals was: '**Do you support tourism development in Xidi/Hongcun?**' (Table 9.5 and 9.6). Two interviewees in Xidi and one in Hongcun did not answer this question. However, the remaining thirty-seven locals I interviewed supported

tourism development. The number is not surprising, as 70% of locals are engaged in tourism or tourism related businesses in Xidi, and 90% in Hongcun. Therefore, they have obvious reasons to support tourism. This result is consistent with other studies of locals' attitudes to tourism development in Xidi and Hongcun (see Su et al. 2005; Gu and Ryan 2010). However, local residents care about more than just economic issues, and there are also deeper cultural and social reasons for supporting it. This can be explained by the answers to the following questions.

Table 9.5 Do you support tourism development in Xidi?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Yes	20	100.0
Missing	2	
Total	22	

Table 9.6 Do you support tourism development in Hongcun?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Yes	17	100.0
Missing	1	
Total	18	

When I asked '**Do tourists have any impact on your daily life**' (Table 9.7 and 9.8), the majority of locals in Xidi (57.1%) and in Hongcun (62.5%) said that 'Yes, our living depends on tourism.' Some of them noted that their quality of life has been changed in positive ways because of tourism. Two villagers from Hongcun, who run a local hostel, said that:

HC061: Tourism is good. Our village used to be a very dirty place with cow dung and garbage before the development of tourism. Sometimes there are too many tourists coming to visit. Nevertheless, I do not mind, and I am hoping more tourists come.

HC062: I agree, we are living a better life because of tourism. You cannot imagine how hard the life we used to live was. Twenty years ago, we had to farm day and night. Even in winter, we had to cut down wood in the mountains in order to keep warm. Since the development of tourism, our share of the income from the sale of entrance tickets is 2800RMB [equal 451 US\$] per year. Elderly people can get an extra 200 RMB [equal 32.2US\$] per month. The numbers are increasing each year, which can ensure our basic living allowance even if we do not work.

HC061: Other neighbouring villages also benefit from the tourism development in our village. They always bring their vegetable and other products to our market.

RRZ: I have interviewed a person in another village who argued that tourism development in Xidi and Hongcun brought price rises, which influenced their living quality.

HC061: Well, this is because they envy Hongcun, which has tourism resources which they do not have. However, without tourists coming to our village, no one would buy their products including vegetables, tea, and handiworks. (HC061, local, women, 35-44 local; HC062, local, female, 45-54)

Table 9.7 Do tourists have any impact on your daily life in Xidi?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Yes, our living depends on tourism	12	57.1%
Yes, represent local identity/proud - positive	4	19.0%
Yes, mass tourists bring inflation (house/food, etc.) - negative	2	9.5%
Yes, mass tourists bring economic growth - positive	2	9.5%
Yes, happy to communicate with tourists - positive	1	4.8%
Total	21	100.0%
Missing	1	
Total	22	

Table 9.8 Do tourists have any impact on your daily life in Hongcun?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Yes, our living depends on tourism	10	62.5%
Changes in industrial structure	4	25.0%
Yes, mass tourists bring economic growth - positive	2	12.5%
Total	16	100.0%
Missing	2	
Total	18	

I interviewed two people who lived in a neighbouring village to Xidi. Their responses are similar, although they noted some drawbacks. One of them said that:

XD001: Tourism is a sustainable and clean industry, and as a Huangshan citizen I support it. However, except for villagers in Xidi and Hongcun, who have benefited from the World Heritage brand that attracted tourism investments, tourism also brought increasing food and product prices, which are unfair to the surrounding villages. Many of us prefer to migrate for work in Shanghai, Zhejiang and Jiangsu,

and get a better income than staying in Huangshan city. You know the tourism income belongs to local governments, not local people. (XD001, local, male, 25-34 [from neighbouring village])

In terms of the increasing prices of food and other products that tourism development in Xidi and Hongcun caused for other villages, one of the villagers responded that:

HC053: Yes, more tourists come to our village, and our income is much better than before. We are busier than before during the tourism season.

RRZ: Do you think there are any negative impacts of World Heritage Listing or tourism development?

HC053: Well, some pollution...I think mass tourists bring garbage and increase sanitary waste. I remembered there were many fish and crabs in the river beside the village. We used to wash dishes in the river, and fish gathered to eat the leftovers. The riverbank was very beautiful with white stones, which we used to dry quilts on. However, the government built a concrete riverbank; we cannot approach the river, and the water quality is no longer as clean as before. (see Fig. 9.1).

RRZ: What do you think the impacts of tourism have been for other villages?

HC053: Some of my friends in other villages told me that they are envious of Hongcun, where everyone can share at least 2800RMB [equal 451 US\$] per year. They also complain that the tourism development at Xidi and Hongcun has also brought increasing food prices to the region. However, most of them have brought their vegetables to sell in Hongcun. (HC052, local, female, 25-34)



Fig.9.1 Concrete riverbank in Hongcun (Photo by Rouran Zhang)

Although, as HC053 mentioned, tourism development has brought negative effects, she nonetheless supports tourism. She also believed that other villages benefited from tourism development. As HC061 pointed out, the dissatisfaction of the villages surrounding Xidi and Hongcun is because they do not have such resources, but many of them depend on tourism as well by selling food and craft items. Wang (2013: 186) argues that tourism has brought a whole industry chain of tourism businesses to the region, and he also identified that the tourism development of Hongcun also boosted both economic and infrastructure development to the surrounding villages.

In addition, some locals have made active statements that tourism helps to reinforce local identity and pride. For example, a local tour guide from Hongcun told me that:

XD042: Well, when I was a kid, nobody cared about the old buildings and the history of our village. Since the increasing number of tourists, I was curious why they wanted to come to our wrecked village. Elder villagers told me the reason they come is to visit our traditional architecture and water system. They also told me tourism is the reason that these traditional settings are still being taken care of. Therefore, I have been interested in our culture, not only the building but also more in-depth Hui culture which has been seen as a significant component of Chinese culture. One of the important reasons I am doing this guide job is that I am very proud to communicate with tourists about our culture. (XD042, local, female, 25-34, tour guide)

Tourism also has saved the material form of the two villages. A local from Hongcun said that:

HC048: You know, in our province, there were hundreds of towns or villages similar to Xidi and Hongcun, and even better 30 years ago, however, they had been demolished in order to build so-called 'new towns or villages.' Xidi and Hongcun still had the old setting at that time because of their remote location and poor traffic conditions, and we cannot afford to build a new village. After that, in the late 1980s, in order to develop tourism, we have to keep the old houses. Therefore, it is tourism that saved our villages (HC048, local, male, 35-44)

Furthermore, some locals reported that tourism has helped to reinforce or even save intangible heritage. A local who engaged in traditional wood carving in Xidi told me that:

XD090: My family has engaged in this job for generations. These wood carvings used to be the most important decorations in traditional Hui buildings. However, the new type of building no longer needs it. Without tourists, who can we do this job for? Tourism is the most important reason that our family still inherits this skill. It is better than migrating for work. (XD090, local, female, 45-54)

A further four people (25%) in Hongcun nominated that tourism has changed the industrial structure of the village. For example:

HC052: Well, I have thought about this question over the last ten years. The most significant impact is change to the industrial structure. Ninety percent of locals are now engaged in tourism and relative occupations, they used to depend on farming. Tourism not only benefits Hongcun, but activates the economy and cultural innovation in the region. (HC052, local, male, over 65, local scholar)

However, a few locals nominated that tourism has brought negative things such as pollution (e.g. HC053), but the majority of locals considered tourism as an active factor that has done more than increase economic growth (e.g. HC053, HC061, HC062), and sustained the material sites (e.g. HC048). It also brought cultural gains (e.g. XD042 and XD090) tied to their sense of pride, and facilitated their sense of local identity. There is an extensive literature that argues that when tourism brings about change to the industrial structure, a move to the hospitality industry is usually seen as a negative thing for the local working population, particularly as it commodifies so many aspects of local life (Greenwood 1977; Handler and Saxton 1988; McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Handler and Gable 1997; Waitt 2000; Choay 2001; Greenspan 2002). As noted above, the majority of locals in both Xidi and Hongcun are now engaged in the hospitality industry. Gu and Ryan (2010), based on their research on the resident-host relationships in Hongcun, criticise how the economic structure changes the rural community and brought negative effects, so that the old village feeling was replaced by a more commercial environment. In Chapter 8, my interviews reveal that some tourists identified the commercial feeling of both villages, particularly Hongcun (e.g. XD022 and XD047). However, my interviews reveal that the resident host relationship is more than the commercial or business transaction, it also forms active and complex bonds between tourism and locals. When I asked locals **‘What are the messages or experiences that you**

hope visitors take away from the site', the majority of locals in both Xidi and Hongcun gave an active response, for example:

XD038: The traditional Hui buildings, landscape, and culture of Xidi are unique, you cannot find them elsewhere in the world. Most of the tourists come from big cities such as Shanghai or Beijing where they share similar identities. They want to see something different. You know the former Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Atta Annan said 'Xidi is the most beautiful village of the World' during his visit to Xidi. I have made a lot of friends who used to visit Xidi. Some close friends have been coming to my hostel every year when they have a holiday. Each year, they have sent me postcards, and I send them fresh tea during the tea season (XD038, local, female, 45-54).

HC052: I think it is natural that tourists want to pursue a feeling of freedom during their visit to a site. Tourists are the protagonists in the heritage scenario. What I mean by protagonist, you can find the answer in my book. (HC052, local, male, over 65, local scholar)

XD038 expressed her great sense of pride, and wanted tourists to have a different experience from their daily lives. The sense of pride was widely reported as I conducted my interviews with locals at West Lake (see Chapter 7). However, the significant theme that Xidi and Hongcun reflects is a sense of emotional bonding between locals and tourists. XD038 further told me that she had made deep connections with tourists, and she considered some of these tourists to be her close friends. HC052 has pointed out that tourism is a key factor in heritage issues. He used the word *freedom* to stress that tourists visit a site not only for recreation or receiving educational messages, but rather they are performing emotive and affective cultural practises. As I indicated in Chapter 7, tourists' sense of freedom was magnified when they feel they are not blocked by 'walls,' 'fences' or 'entrance gates.' In Xidi and Hongcun, tourists' sense of freedom was not only blocked by the physical boundaries, but also invisible boundaries of control from local governments and the tourism company. I will further discuss this issue below. In HC052's book *Dream of Hongcun*, he designed a tour for his friend 阿萌 Ms. Meng, whom he had built a deep friendship with. In his book, he engaged in an in-depth empathetic process through which he hoped Ms Meng could feel the contemporary life of

Hongcun, to experience the new and old local customs, and to remember this memorable journey (Wang, 2013:175-184). From his five-page narrative, he described the interplay between locals and tourists as having a different kind of emotional reaction. It is clear he does not see material objects as the key actor of tourism or heritage, rather the deep sense of bonding between locals and tourists construct the meaning of heritage. The interaction between tourists and locals will be further discussed as I analyse the relationship between tourism and heritage

Comparative Discussion

The question 'Do tourists have any impact on your daily life' elicited different answers in the two villages. Most locals in Xidi would like tourists to gain cultural experiences or aesthetic appreciation. However, their responses were always accompanied by criticisms of the inefficient management model developed by local authorities. This particularly focused on the lower tourist numbers in Xidi compared to Hongcun, although they thought that Xidi had better tourism resources. For example:

XD005: Our village has a much better cultural background than Hongcun. However, the advertisement of Hongcun are much better than Xidi. (XD005, local, female, 35-44)

XD036: I hope tourists can receive more cultural information about our Hui culture. I think the integrity of Hui buildings in Xidi is better than Hongcun. However, the tourism company in Hongcun has done a better job than local authorities in Xidi, in particular, the advertisements. (XD036, local, female, 35-44)

XD082: Compared to Xidi, Hongcun has already turned into a commercial place. Most foreign people prefer Hongcun to Xidi, the layout and the aesthetic view of Hongcun look better. If you want to gain more cultural experiences, Xidi is a better choice. (XD082, local, female, 18-24)

XD090: Hongcun is a beautiful painting, while Xidi is a book. You can only enjoy superficial aesthetic value by watching a painting, but you can gain more cultural

inspiration by reading a book. Visitors need to spend more time in Xidi to understand the culture of Xidi. Therefore, I told every guest who stayed in my hostel to advertise Xidi to their friends. (XD090, local, female, 45-54)

Most interviewees in Xidi expressed dissatisfaction, because the majority of tourists chose to visit Hongcun despite their view that Xidi provided better cultural experiences. The response from locals in Hongcun was quite different, most of them wanted tourists to recreate or use their leisure as a respite from their pressures at work, and unlike those from Xidi, did not reference cultural experiences. For instance:

HC052: I want visitors to enjoy the site, to totally relax by visiting Hongcun. No matter what reasons they come to our village initially, the most important is they can forget the pressure of their daily life, and pursue the feeling of freedom. (HC052, local, male, over 65, local scholar)

Indeed, many locals had provided very sophisticated understandings of Hongcun and Xidi. However, they do not mind if the messages tourists taken from Hongcun are shallow or banal. The engagement process from each visitor that linked to the sense of freedom was emphasised as more important than particular messages. There are also the following examples:

HC024: The integrity of the traditional buildings in Xidi is better than Hongcun. However, the layout, the water, traditional buildings and people are perfectly merged in Hongcun. Therefore, you cannot simply say which village is better. Tourists come to our village for different reasons. I just want them to enjoy their journey. (HC024, local, male, 25-34)

HC028: Hongcun represents the Chinese traditional ideology of '天人合一 harmony between man and nature'. Our water, our traditional buildings, our customs, our dialect system, and our people constitute this heritage site. In terms of Xidi, there are more traditional buildings than Hongcun. The stories that are carried by these old buildings are profound in Xidi. However, Xidi does not have a representative building such as '承志堂 Chengzhitang' in Hongcun. Hongcun's water system is much better

[than Xidi], while Xidi has a better road system [than Hongcun]. It is unreasonable to say which village is better. (HC028, local, male, over 65, local scholar)

The reason that locals' responses were distinct in these two villages may be linked to tourism development. As I discussed in Chapter 8, the successful world heritage inscription in 2000 has brought dramatic tourists number to both Xidi and Hongcun, and facilitated industrial movement, from agriculture to the hospitality sector. Tourists' numbers in Xidi had been much higher than Hongcun, but have been exceeded by Hongcun since 2003, and the gap between the tourism revenue of each other is becoming bigger and bigger. In 2013, as I conducted my interviews with locals' in Xidi, ticket revenue in Hongcun was more than twice that of Xidi (The Xidi government 2013). The majority of interviewees were extremely unhappy with the changes to tourism revenue compared to Hongcun, which they attributed to the inefficiency of the Xidi local government (discussed below). Locals' responses in Hongcun were more positive than Xidi, based on the fact that the number of tourist's in Hongcun were more than twice that of Xidi. Nevertheless, tourism itself has been seen as a positive factor by locals in both Xidi and Hongcun, and most locals appear happy with the industrial changes from farming to tourism. Some locals state that tourism has changed their villages and made them better places. This is not just based on bringing in money that can support preservation and new infrastructure. More significantly, tourists aroused the locals' public awareness of the need to respect their own culture and stimulated the protection of both material heritage and intangible heritage. In addition, a sense of bonding has emerged where locals have a deep connection with tourists. Chapter 8 also identified the sense of contentment tourists felt when they connect with locals. This is a significant positive change that tourism has brought to Xidi and Hongcun, and it has not been addressed in the heritage or tourism literature.

9.3 Locals reaction to governments' policies and management mode

The above sections have outlined the views and aspirations of tourists, locals, local government and the tourism companies; this section explores the tensions between them by analysing several open-ended questions. The first question I asked of both locals and tourists was **'What do you think of the tourism management of the site'** (Table 9.9 and 9.10). Tourists nominated problems such as over commercialisation and high entrance ticket fees or

provided some management suggestions. However, the locals' concerns were much more complex and in-depth, which reflected tensions in the relationship between locals, local governments and government authorised enterprises.

When I conducted my interview with locals in Xidi, more than half of them expressed depressed or angry emotions about local governments and the state-owned enterprise (Co. Huihuang Ltd) which had just taken over their locally run tourism program. As I asked their opinion of the management of the site, most locals (85.7%) complained about what they saw as a negative management model. Many of them even ignored other questions I asked and kept expressing their dissatisfaction with current management practices. Some of them criticised the current management policies that were seen as causing young people to move from Xidi. For example:

XD042: Some villagers' houses are relatively far from touristic areas. Therefore, younger villagers from those houses prefer to search for work outside the village. However, most villagers whose houses are around the touristic site have stayed and lived dependent on tourism. (XD042, local, male, 35-44)

XD038: Firstly, Xidi is a world heritage site. It is necessary to ensure the integrity of the old houses. However, our kids are growing up, and they have to move into new houses. According to the management policies, we cannot build new houses in the nomination area. In order to protect the integrity of the original layout of Xidi, we support such policies. The local governments had promised to build a new village which is located in the west of Xidi six years ago. However, it is still a wasteland [Fig. 9.2]. Secondly, the old houses are ours, and villagers have been taken good care of them for hundreds of years. We understand how to maintain our houses. With the tourists coming to our site, our sense of the place and buildings has been improved. However, the local governments' main concern is to repair the touristic areas or places that might be examined by international and national authorities. There are many cracks in the main walls of my old houses (Fig. 9.3). It is very dangerous for both my family and tourists. I have reported the problems to local governments several times, and the officer told me to keep waiting. (XD038, local, female, 45-54)

The responses from XD042 reflects the way in which tourism has caused positive economic growth, while it has also caused unequal distribution of wealth. Locals whose houses are far from the touristic area had to work outside of the village. It seems that the competition that tourism brought Xidi facilitated a sense of alienation within the local community. However, as I reviewed the statistical data of the Yi county government, the rate at which locals in both Xidi and Hongcun searched for jobs were dramatically lower than other villages in the county⁶⁰ (Yi County Government 2015; see also The Xidi Government 2013). Indeed, there is a trend for the rural population to move to urban areas in recent decades because of urbanisation (Winter and Daly 2012). Therefore, tourism, in contrast, is the key factor keeping the population stable in both Xidi and Hongcun, as XD090, HC048 and HC053 mentioned above. XD038 nominated another issue, that the maintenance works conducted by local authorities were focused on pleasing national or international authorities, rather than being concerned with locals needs. This sense of alienation was a primary concern over the state-run tourism company taking over the management of Xidi. In addition, many locals also complained that the focus of the existing management policies was primarily on material objects. For example, I interviewed a local who was repairing his old house (Fig. 9.4). He said that

XD083: My house was built about 150 years ago. The framework of the building was broken and the main wall crushed. I have to rebuild it.

RRZ: Did your repair work need to be approved by local governments?

XD083: Yes!

RRZ: Did the government pay the maintenance cost?

XD083: I already paid 60% of the repair cost, I am still waiting for 40% that the government should pay [angry].

RRZ: You mean according to the relevant policy they should pay you 40% of the costs of the maintenance project?

XD083: Well, local governments do not give the 40% money to me directly. Before the repair project started, local governments authorised a 'certificated' construction company to budget for the expenditure. The expenditure is always much more expensive than the local construction team we usually used before World Heritage Listing. I can use less than 60% of the budget to hire a local construction company to

⁶⁰ The government reports did not publish the exact demographic results of each village, only statements such as 'the population of the County has declined 13.85% from 2001 to 2000, because county residents were working outside the County'. In contrast, the population numbers were stable in Xidi and Hongcun .

complete the job. I think the policy made by national governments is good, so that the maintenance cost expenditure is shared with a proportion of 40%-60% by the local governments and villagers. The problems have been the implementation of such policies by local governments.

RRZ: What kind of problems?

XD083: You know, World Heritage Listing is supposed to be a good thing, it is Xidi's honour. However, it has become a burden for us. Firstly, the cost of repairing old houses is extremely high, and the huge repair costs have forced many of us give up repairing the broken houses. Secondly, the local governments' budget for the expenditure takes a long time, which delays the best time for repairing. In addition, there are strict requirements of the 'certificated' repair company made by local governments to restrain the reasonable development of our own house. It is my house, and I paid the maintenance fee, but I have to obey your unreasonable rules! [angry] World heritage belongs to who? Locals or governments? The local governments should improve their concept of management. In my opinion, there is a soul in our old houses, but it is not just materials. It is traditional technologies and other intangible things. (XD083, local, male, 45-54)



Fig.9.2 Wasteland in Xidi (photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig. 9.3 (right figure) Traditional house under maintenance in Xidi (photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig. 9.4 XD083 was repairing his old house (photo by Rouran Zhang)

In addition, locals such as XD007 pointed out the problem of corruption:

XD007: The corruption has been the most serious problem [angry]. There are two antithetical couplets our locals use to for the irony of the corruption: '从里往外看，都是穷光蛋；从外往里看，都是贪污犯'[Translation: On the surface, officials appear are poor and honest people; in effect, they are grafters]; and '劳动创业最可耻，贪污社会最光荣'[Translation: Labour (farmer) is a shame, corruption is honour]. (XD007, local, female, 45-54)

Furthermore, villagers compared Xidi and Hongcun, and indicated the backwardness of the existing management system in Xidi. Examples are:

XD005: The tourism management in Hongcun has been operated by a private company, while Xidi used to be run by the village-based local company which was recently taken over by local government.

RRZ: Could you tell more details of the tourism management in Xidi?

XD005: Although the management of the village based company was backward, we considered Xidi belonged to us. Since April 2013, the town's government based company has been in charge of tourism management. I did not see any difference in tourism management, but Xidi no longer belongs to us anymore [distressed].

RRZ: Except for the advertisement issue, are there other problems about management?

XD005: Well, there are many restrictions to our normal life. For example, we are not allowed to hang washed clothes outside our old buildings.

RRZ: I have reviewed literature that said when the village based company was in charge of tourism, locals were happy with the management? Is that correct?

XD005: Before World Heritage Listing, Xidi was a very poor village. The Xidi Tourism Service Company was established and gave locals a part of profit sharing with conditions and restrictions, while most of us did not participate in the decision-making process. At that time, we were satisfied because our annual incomes were much better than Hongcun and other villages in Yi County. However, The Xidi Tourism Service Company had satisfied their achievement. Therefore, problems such as corruption and backward management concepts emerged. (XD005, local, female, 35-44)

XD009: The tourists' numbers in Hongcun are much higher than us.

RRZ: Why?

XD009: Because of a private company being in charge of the tourism management in Hongcun, while the villager organised company used to be responsible for tourism management in Xidi. The private company has efficient management ideas and experiences, and they have employed people with higher educational backgrounds and management experience. However, our village based company used outdated management styles, which caused corruption problems. Many tourists come to Xidi

do not know what to see. Recently, the village-based company has been replaced by a state-owned enterprise called Co. Huihuang Ltd.

RRZ: Did villagers in Hongcun agree with the local government decision?

XD009: Yes, we did. But we have to do that. If local governments have made a decision, there is no way we can change it. (XD009, local, male, over 65)

XD031: The management in Hongcun is much better, and Beijing Zhongkun Investment Group has invested millions in tourism development. (XD031, local, female, 25-34)

XD036: Our village company has been taken over by a state-owned enterprise run by town governments.

RRZ: I hear from other villagers that most villagers voted to approve these changes.

XD036: Yes, we did. However, we had to do this. If not, there would be some troubles for my tourism business [angry]. (XD036, local, female, 35-44)

The above interviews show that the conflict between locals, the Xidi Tourism Service Company and the Xidi local government has existed for a long time. Economic benefits that locals gain from tourism, in particular the tourism revenue competition with Hongcun, has been the trigger for the conflict. The majority of locals I interviewed in Xidi considered that Xidi has superior tourism resources, such as old traditional buildings and Hui culture, than Hongcun (e.g. XD 005, XD036 and XD082 above). However, Hongcun's tourism revenue is much higher than Xidi's. They considered the Xidi Tourism Service Company and Xidi local government to be inefficient and corrupt. Ying and Zhou (2007) complimented the Xidi Tourism Service Company being elected by local villagers and standing for locals' interests when they conducted their research from 2001 to 2003. However, they also observed that Xidi's tourism management pattern 'has still been... resting on the benefit level' and there was a 'trend towards the centralization of decision-making right in tourism development to the minority of the community.' (Ying and Zhou 2007:105) My research verified Ying and Zhou (2007)'s prediction, as some locals, such as XD036, reflect that 'the Xidi Tourism Service Company has been controlled by a few villagers for many years, I doubt the sincerity of the tourism revenue they provided' (XD036, woman, 35-44, local). My research, conducted ten years after Ying and Zhou (2007), found that locals' attitudes to the local-run company were reversed. Although the County government took charge of tourism from the

Xidi Tourism Service Company and established a new government-run commercial company in early 2013, locals expressed deep distrust. While they were doubtful whether the new government-run company can improve tourism numbers and efficiency, they are very concerned and angry about the fact that Xidi no longer belongs to them – they feel alienated from their site. In terms of Hongcun, locals did not express distressed or angry emotions as the interviewees did in Xidi. For instance:

HC049: The management of Xidi used to be run by a village committee, and recently has been taken charged by the local government. However, their management is chaotic, with a serious corruption problem. (HC049, local, female, 25-34)

HC024: I understand why Xidi's villagers complained about their management. Locals in Hongcun share a much smaller proportion of the income from entrance tickets via the tourism company than Xidi does. However, the majority of people in both Xidi and Hongcun are more or less involved in the tourism business. Therefore, we would like more visitors to come to our site, which brings much more than just income than sharing the tickets sales. (HC024, local, male, 25-34)

Locals in Xidi expressed strong dissatisfaction or anger with both the local committee run and state-owned enterprise's management practices. While Locals in Hongcun considered the management of the franchised private company was better than at Xidi, it still had weaknesses. They did not express the same negative emotions as interviewees in Xidi. I reviewed the literature of Xidi and Hongcun in Chapter 8, and the work of scholars such as Chen (2005), Liang and Wang (2005) and Ying and Zhou (2007), who conducted their research before 2003, shows a different story. They identified that locals in Xidi used to be satisfied with their tourism development and management before 2003, when the tourists' numbers were much higher than at Hongcun. Hongcun's villagers were extremely unhappy with their tourism management, with some locals stopped from maintaining their buildings and gardens, and even damaging the physical setting to express their dissatisfaction with the franchised company (Ying and Zhou 2007). In 2000, the majority of Hongcun locals (730 villagers, over 60% of the local population) signed an appeal to the Anhui Provincial Court to request the tourism business rights back, though this appeal was rejected by the Anhui Provincial Court (Ying and Zhou 2007:101). After negotiations between locals and the external company, a new agreement was made in 2002 (Ying and Zhou 2007). The literature

shows that the fight back process in Hongcun before 2003 was much fiercer than my interviews showed the situation was in Xidi. My interviews, conducted about ten years later than those of previous researchers, found a reversal of local attitudes towards management in Xidi and Hongcun. They revealed that tourism, in particular its economic value, was the key issue influencing the interrelation among locals, local governments and tourism companies, and government control caused a sense of estrangement of locals to the heritage site. The origin of the conflict between locals and the local governments is because the local communities in both Xidi and Hongcun have no right to participate in any decision-making about tourism management or the World Heritage Listing process. I interviewed a local scholar, who provided a sophisticated answer about tourism management in Hongcun.

HC028: In terms of management, the governments and Tourism Company assert that they have done great jobs of integrating and disseminating the culture of Hongcun. However, what they focus on are material objects or very superficial aspects of the culture of Hongcun. They do not care about the local customs and other intangible aspects of culture which are not listed in the nomination dossiers. For example, many locals in Hongcun used to sell Chinese style baked rolls, melon seeds or other food from a small basket to villagers and tourists. This custom had been seen as 'pollution' of the aesthetic value of the heritage site, and local governments have forbidden this custom to ensure the protection of the site [depressed emotion]. In addition, the authorised narratives by tour guides concentrate on interpreting great and profound antithetical couplets of culture in the past. However, we have used the computer printed couplets with advertisements of companies such as China Mobile Communications Corporation or Agricultural Bank of China instead of the traditional calligraphy couplets. Furthermore, our new generation have learnt Mandarin since primary school, and do not speak our dialect anymore. The dialect is one of the significant aspects of identity in Hongcun, and it might disappear in this century. In my opinion, what belongs to the nation belongs to the world. However, local governments and Tourism Companies' concerns are conservation of the physical heritage objects and neglect of the intangible culture. For example, when the government and Tourism Company consider intangible culture it is used to perform so-called local customs for international or national authorities or tourists in order to entertain them. The problems are not from national governments but come from the corrupted and inefficient local governments. (HC028, local, man, 54-65, local scholar)

From HC028's perspective, local authorities are only concerned to protect the historical and cultural appearance of heritage sites that are recognised by national or international authorities. However, some customs or contemporary culture means more to locals in Hongcun than simply the physical site. He is reporting a sense of alienation from Hongcun's culture; a process which began at the point of developing the WH listing nomination. When I further asked him that **as a local expert, did you participate in the WHL process**, he answered that 'Well, the local governments never ask about my suggestions maybe. They are afraid the national and international authorities know the truth.' Another local scholar provided a similar answer:

HC052: I had not been invited to participate in any of the discussion of World Heritage Listing. It is the local government's decision. (HC052, local, male, over 65, local scholar)

The locals in both Xidi and Hongcun identified the key problem as being that local authorities have been controlling the management process. Therefore, local people's understanding of heritage, particularly their current use of heritage, has been ignored, or even restricted by local authorities. In the next section I will discuss how the local authorities used management policies to 'manage' the two villages.

Table 9.9 What do you think about the tourism management of the site? (Xidi)

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
What do you think about the tourism management of the site?	Negative about the management mode/policies/implementation	0 0.0%	18 85.7%	18 39.1%
	Offers a management suggestion	13 52.0%	0 0.0%	13 28.3%
	High entrance ticket fee	7 28.0%	0 0.0%	7 15.2%
	commercialisation- negative	3 12.0%	0 0.0%	3 6.5%
	Generally, positive	2 8.0%	0 0.0%	2 4.3%
	Positive about the management	0	1	1

	mode/policies/implementation	0.0%	4.8%	2.2%
	Don't Know	0	1	1
		0.0%	4.8%	2.2%
	Happy with improvements to the infrastructure	0	1	1
		0.0%	4.8%	2.2%
Total		25	21	46
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9.10 What do you think the tourism management of the site? (Hongcun)

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
What do you think the tourism management of the site?	Better than Xidi, but still have weakness	0	11	11
		0.0%	73.3%	45.8%
	Offers a management suggestion	5	2	6
		55.6%	13.2%	29.2%
	High entrance ticket fee	3	0	3
	33.3%	0.0%	12.5%	
Negative about the management mode/policies/implementation	0	2	2	
	0.0%	13.3%	8.3%	
Commercialisation- negative	1	0	1	
	11.1%	0.0%	4.2%	
Total		9	15	24
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

9.4 The local management policies – ‘Keep Old, Keep Authentic’

In order to understand town and local governments’ and tourism companies’ view of the above management issues nominated by locals, I interviewed relevant government officials (vice-head of Xidi town government [XD092], head of Xidi village [XD093]⁶¹) who are in charge of the world heritage nomination and management in Xidi on December 14 and 16, 2013:

⁶¹ Xidi town is constituted by six villages with 6248 people. Xidi village is one of the villages in Xidi town, with about 1300 people. [Source: official web sites of Yixian County. (www.yixian.gov.cn)]

RRZ: How would you characterise the relationship between tourism and heritage at this site?

XD092: From my view, locals have realised the importance of their old houses since the development of tourism, which has brought a sense of protection from locals. You can't image how poor we used to be before the early 1990s, when few parents in our neighbouring villages were willing for their girls to marry villagers in Xidi. Now, our old traditional houses provide us with an opportunity to develop tourism. Local governments have a responsibility to ensure the protection of the houses and the traditional layout of Xidi.

RRZ: How do local governments ensure the protection of the site?

XD092: In 2003, the provincial government developed a regulation called '*Wannan Traditional Old Building Protection Regulation 安徽省皖南古民居保护条例*.' During these ten years, this regulation has been seen as our management Bible, which local governments of Xidi strictly implemented for heritage management. From my view, these old traditional houses embodied the cream of Hui culture. Without the old houses, the culture only can be found in the literature. However, during the process of tourism development, locals required redecorating or enlarging their old houses into restaurants and hostels in order to satisfy tourists' demands. Any of their redecorating work or building a new house with traditional styles should be approved by local and county governments. Therefore, when you interview locals, some of them might reflect their dissatisfaction with governments. It is necessary to consider locals' opinions as well as local government's. However, we have to consider site management at the macro level, and it is impossible to satisfy every local's requirements. I think it is significant that locals and governments should cooperate in order to protect our traditional buildings and bring more tourists to Xidi.

RRZ: I have been informed by locals that local governments and Co. Huihuang Ltd. had signed a contract in early 2013 for the company to take charge of the tourism development instead of the Village Company. Could you please give me more details?

XD092: The tourism operation and management used to run by Xidi Tourism Service Company since 1993, which was a locally elected village committee based company. The village based company had done a great job before 2005, which represented an attempt at a new tourism operation and management mode in rural China. However, after WHL, in particular the year 2005, problems have emerged. Compared to

Hongcun, the tourism operation and management were backward; the Xidi Tourism Service Company did not have an advanced plan of tourism marketing and how to attract tourists. Most visitors came to our village for just one hour. Therefore, our county governments had a sense of urgency that we have to integrate the tourism resources in our county territory. A state-owned enterprise Co. Huihuang Ltd, located in Yi County, is now in charge of tourism operations and management in Xidi. The aims of the Co. Huihuang Ltd is to develop sustainable tourism plans that are suitable for different types of tourists, and to enhance touristic experiences.

XD092 clearly talks about heritage as physical objects, to be specific, the traditional Hui buildings and landscape. He argued that the profound Hui culture can only be reflected by well protected old buildings. Therefore, their management was primarily aimed to ensure the protection of old buildings. This, as identified above, caused local dissatisfaction, not simply in the transfer of management authority but also in the sense of alienation from local culture. A situation was similarly noted by some in Hongcun (HC028 above). A local government official at village level (XD093) provided a similar position to that of XD092 on the management mode of Xidi:

RRZ: How would you characterise the relationship between tourism and heritage at this site?

XD093: I think the most valuable things in Xidi are the old traditional houses. Compared to Hongcun, local governments have done a lot to prevent commercialisation. The WHL has brought a dramatic increase in locals' awareness of protection. Local governments have also established strict management policies.

RRZ: Are there any conflicts between local governments and locals?

XD093: Yes, locals wanted to redecorate their houses for tourism uses. However, their behaviour could influence the integrity of the old houses, even the entire layout of Xidi. Therefore, any redecoration work for old buildings should be approved by local governments. We will carefully design a suitable plan and send a certificated construction team to do the work. We also pay 40% of the repair fee.

I also conducted an interview with the vice-head (XD094) and the chief marketing officer (XD095) from the tourism company (Co. Huihuang Ltd) in Xidi. Their considerations

focused on ensuring the protection of the material sites and upgrading tourism services. For example:

RRZ: What do you think are the differences between the state-owned enterprise and village-based management?

XD094: The state-owned enterprise has enhanced relevant protection regulations and policies. The tourism management and operation are much more efficiently conducted by the company, the recruitment of tour guides, and other management positions are more competitive than before.

RRZ: How would you characterise the relationship between tourism and heritage at this site?

XD094: Compared to Hongcun, the protection of the traditional buildings and the integrity of the site layout in Xidi are much better. However, the tourism revenue in Hongcun is much higher. Therefore, our company has developed advanced tourism management methods, and we also integrated most of the tourism resources at the county level. We are confident that the tourism development of Xidi will catch up with Hongcun soon. In addition, we always keep in mind that well-protected houses are our advantage that we will use to develop sustainable tourism.

RRZ: What is your personal understanding of World Heritage?

XD095: From my perspective, World Heritage means protection. In terms of Xidi, villagers, and local governments have made a great effort to ensure the protection issues. Therefore, the integrity of our site is better than Hongcun. From the viewpoint of tourists, WH means the best tourism brand. Locals' and tourists' understanding of WH can be connected. The best protection of a site could bring the highest touristic recognition, while tourism could provide funding for protection, and increase locals' awareness of protection.

In Hongcun, I interviewed the head and the vice-head of Hongcun Town (HC063) and the head of the Hongcun Village⁶² (HC064) on December 23, 2013.

RRZ: What do you think the WHL has brought to the site?

⁶² Hongcun town is constituted by thirteen villages with 13900 people. Hongcun village is one of the villages in Hongcun town, with about 1200 people. [Source: official web sites of Yixian County, (www.yixian.gov.cn)]

HC063: The WHL has brought our economic transformation from agriculture to tourism. Most of the locals have benefited from tourism. For example, last year, locals' average per capita income in Hongcun was 12608 RMB [equal to 2,033 US\$], while the average per capita income in the county was 9700 RMB [equal to 1,565 US\$]. In fact, the real number for the average per capita income in Hongcun was nearly 20000 RMB [equal to 3,225 US\$]. For political reasons, we had reported less than that. In addition, each local can share about 2600 RMB [US\$419] from ticket sales last year. Therefore, what our local governments' consider is how to provide good experiences for tourists and improve locals' living quality.

RRZ: You mentioned the sharing of money from the ticket sales. Can you give me more details?

HC063: 66.6% belongs to Co. Jingyi Ltd, 8% for locals, 20% for heritage protection funding, 4% for county governments, and 1% for tax.

RRZ: Are there any conflicts during the process of management since the development of tourism?

HC064: At the beginning of the tourism development, locals did not benefit from tourism, they wanted to rebuild their old houses in modern styles like in other villages. At that time, their living conditions were very poor, and redecorating the old houses was more expensive than building new buildings. Local governments had to make policies in order to protect the traditional buildings. After WHL, in particular the year 2005, locals realised the benefit of tourism development. The relationship among locals, Co. Jingyi Ltd and our local governments have been positive.

RRZ: What do you think of the role of the Beijing Zhongkun Investment Group?

HC064: Their management concepts are excellent.

HC063: Firstly, if we did not sign the contract with them, we probably wouldn't have been inscribed on the WH list. During the process of WHL, the Zhongkun Investment Group had used their networks to ensure that Hongcun was tied with Xidi for inscription. Secondly, the company has invested millions to improve the infrastructure. They built a new road connecting to Huangshan Mountain in 2003, and Hongcun's tourism income exceeded Xidi's in the same year. They also helped to rebuild or redecorate some old buildings and pathways. In addition, the company has done an excellent job on advertising.

RRZ: How do you think the customs and intangible culture in Hongcun have been protected, developed or decreased?

HC063: We have established a market at the south of Hongcun, where locals can sell their handicrafts, wood carving, bamboo carving and stone carving to visitors. The market is also open to surrounding villages.

RRZ: What do you think the relationship is between tourism and intangible culture or customs?

HC064: Tourism promotes the inheritance of intangible culture. Only visitors can provide the impetus for locals to continue to engage in inheriting handicraft making.

RRZ: Are there any influences the tourism development in Hongcun has brought to other surrounding villages?

HC064: Well, mass tourists have brought food price increases; however, many locals from our neighbouring villages have been able to sell agricultural products to visitors. They also brought their handicrafts to our market. They also benefited from tourism development.

Both HC063 and HC064 complimented the tourism management conducted by Zhongkun Investment Group. Their consideration was focused on developing tourism by protecting old traditional buildings and enhancing the infrastructure of Hongcun. In terms of the question '**are there any conflicts during the process of management since developing tourism?**', HC064 stressed that locals' protection awareness had improved because of the increasing tourism revenue. I also asked the vice-head of the Co. Jingyi Ltd the same question on December 24, 2013. HC065 nominated the process of conflict, compromise and satisfying of the locals' attitudes to Zhongkun Investment Group.:

RRZ: Are there any conflicts among your company, local governments and locals?

HC065: We do not have any conflict with the county or local government yet. The governments have taken charge of site conservation, while our company has been responsible for marketing and tourism operations. Therefore, the most important conservation works have been accounted for by governments, and we have provided funding support. In terms of locals, it was a complex process. In 1998, the first year Zhongkun Investment Group took charge of the tourism operation, our company offered to give 5% of ticket sales plus a fixed payment of about 180,000 RMB [equal to US\$29,032] to locals. Locals were extremely happy with the contract because one year before the tourism management on the site was chaos and the ticket sales were only 170,000 RMB [equal to US\$27,419]. As I mentioned, the company also invested

an extra 20 million RMB [equal to US\$3.22 million] for site conservation and tourism infrastructures. However, because of our investment and advanced tourism development plan, the tourist's numbers dramatically increased. Locals had been unsatisfied with the original contract and told us to get out of Hongcun, particularly from the year 2000 to 2002. In order to solve the problem, our company made a great compromise and signed a new agreement on revenue allocation with county governments and local representative in 2002, where 33% of the ticket income would be for local governments and locals. During these ten years, locals found their share of the ticket revenue to be only a small portion of their revenue; they gain far greater economic benefits from running restaurants, hostels or developing handicrafts. Compared to Xidi, they realised our company had used advanced management work and people networks that brought dramatic increases in tourist numbers. Tourism development also increased locals' sense of public awareness of site protection. Therefore, the relationship between the company and locals has been positive in recent years.

Discussion

The interview with local authorities in both Xidi and Hongcun showed that local authorities understanding of heritage is based on material objects and landscape, and they developed policies and regulations to ensure the authenticity of those precious and non-renewable resources can be protected. Both the Xidi and Hongcun governments, based on the international policies, developed a series of locals policies such as '*Wannan Traditional Old Building Protection Regulation* 安徽省皖南古民居保护条例' to '*strictly implement heritage management*'(XD092). Compare this to the interview I conducted with local authorities in West Lake (see Chapter 5), where the government officials were clearly aware of the need to recognise the AHD to ensure Western examiners were satisfied that the site can be a successful destination. While the Hangzhou government still used the local management policies to manage the site after WHL, they were mindful to state that those local policies needed to not contradict the AHD. Therefore, the majority of interviewees complimented heritage and tourism management in West Lake. However, the locals were clearly dissatisfied with the management models in both Xidi and Hongcun. Xu et al. (2014:805) has analysed Hongcun's management policies, and emphasised that the principle of protection is to ensure

the authenticity and integrity of the site for the ‘convenience of administration and reflects the will of community elites and tourists with the power of discourse.’ They summarised four aspects of those policies:

First, the authenticity of non-material culture is interpreted as ‘non-commercialization’; Second, to ‘keep authentic’ is interpreted purely as protecting the material appearance; Third, it gives a static and one-dimensional explanation of authenticity; Fourth, little attention has been paid to the residents’ needs for life. (Xu et al. 2014:805)

My interview result supports the observations of Xu et al. (2014). The local governments in both villages insisted on using the AHD to educate and even force locals to keep the appearance of the old houses. They were clearly aware of locals’ dissatisfactions, however, they thought locals did not have an ‘international vision’ of protection, and what they did was for the benefit of locals. As HC064 points out, local people in Hongcun initially resisted the franchised company, which locals considered the franchised company could not provide a good tourism development plan. When locals in Hongcun gained great economic benefits from the tourism strategy formulated by the franchised company, and compared to Xidi’s backwards management plan, Hongcun villagers were finally satisfied. Therefore, the local governments and external company in Hongcun considered they should make the decision for locals, and over time, the community would understand the advantages of their strategy. In terms of Xidi, officials I interviewed considered the backwardness of tourism development was attributed to the locally run company who did not have the advantage of a tourism development plan as Hongcun did. Therefore, in order to catch up with Hongcun, ‘we always keep in mind that well-protected houses are our advantage that we will use to develop sustainable tourism.’ The similarity of the two villages is that the local governments both considered strictly following the precepts of the AHD was the ‘international advantage vision’ of management for sustainable development of the site. They did not consider locals had agency and intended to ignore locals’ voices. However, my interview with locals (see above section) clearly show that they understood their sites and houses far more explicitly and in-depth than governments and external companies. As XD038, XD083 and HC028 analysed the local authorities’ implementation of top-down management policies that only focused on ‘material objects or very superficial aspects of the culture of Hongcun’ (HC028), locals had no power to maintain their own houses, and had to anticipate the long-term and what they

saw as corrupt governments' assessment process (XD083). Locals also reflect that the local governments were being crafty, as their priority was to maintain the old houses located in touristic areas or 'places that might be examined by international and national authorities', while houses that not in the touristic area were ignored (XD038). A significant theme that HC028 mentioned is that the local authorities were only concerned about material authenticity that would be recognised by national or international authorities. While they forbade local customs such as locals who 'sell Chinese style baked rolls, melon seeds or other food from a small basket to villagers and tourists', which had been seen as 'pollution' to the authenticity of the site. However, some tourists in both Xidi and Hongcun I interviewed felt their sense of feeling was blocked by the high entrance fee and commercialised environment: For instance:

HC038: It is a theme park that I had to pay 104 RMB (equal to 16.8 USD) to enter [Fig. 9.5]. I felt the site has been managed. (HC038, tourist, male, 25-34)

HC042: 104 RMB entrance fee! It is incredible. The village obviously has been managed. There is an organised touristic souvenir market in the village. It is funny. (HC042, tourist, male, 45-54)

XD026: I had to pay 104 RMB to get thought [Fig. 9.6]. Although the ticket includes the tour guide fees, but I do not want to join it. (XD026, tourist, female, 45-54)



Fig. 9.5 Entrance gate of Hongcun (Photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig. 9.6 Entrance gate of Xidi (Photo by Rouran Zhang)

The three examples show that tourists at both sites had the feeling that the village ‘has been managed’. Their sense of freedom was blocked by both physical boundaries of the site and the management of the local governments and tourism companies. In this sense, the local governments and tourism companies in both Xidi and Hongcun not only treated heritage as a static or dead material thing, they also intended to block the ‘live’ elements and facilitate the sense that heritage should be ‘frozen in time.’ Therefore, the intervention of governments’ control was invisible ‘boundaries’, ‘walls’ or ‘entrance gate’ not only blocked locals’ sense of place but also disturbed tourists’ sense of feeling. XD083 expressed his anger and explained his understanding of heritage:

...World heritage belongs to who? Locals or governments? The local governments should improve their concept of management. In my opinion, there is a soul in our old houses, but it is not just materials. It is traditional technologies and other intangible things. (XD083, local, man, 45-54)

In the next section, I will summarise the interaction among locals, tourists and local governments in Chapter 8 and 9 and discuss the nature of heritage and tourism by analysing the following open-ended questions.

9.5 World Heritage meanings and influences of World Heritage Listing

The question '**What does World Heritage mean to you?**' was asked to both locals and tourists (Table 9.11 and 9.12). This question elicited a wide range of answers. In terms of visitors, nearly a quarter (23.8%) of responses in Xidi and six people (15%) in Hongcun talked about ‘inheritance,’ while no locals in either village nominated this. For example:

XD011: Heritage represents inheritance of culture. It should be unique. (XD011, tourist, female, 35-44, business owner)

XD025: I think heritage refers to inheritance. It is a culture process we can feel, experience and inspire. The World Heritage belongs to everyone in the world. (XD025, tourist, male, 25-34, salesman)

XD045: I think heritage is an inheritance from our ancestors. It has significant meaning in the present.

RRZ: What do you mean by it having significant meaning in the present?

XD045: Heritage can transmit a kind of culture. Culture is intangible, which can be given appearance by objects or a kind of customs and lifestyles is heritage.

(XD045, tourist, male, 45-54, staff from government)

XD065: The older, the more precious.

XD066: I think World Heritage refers to inheritances that are unique, and you cannot find elsewhere.

(XD065 and XD066, tourists, male, 35-44, staff from government)

HC001: I think WH means something precious or unique that is inherited for generations. (HC001, tourist, female, 18-24, student)

HC054: Firstly, heritage means inheritance. However, the true heritage in my mind should involve active development during the process of inheritance. If we only concentrate on inheriting the old things, we would lose more important new understandings of the site. (HC054, tourist, male, 18-24, student)

XD011 and HC001 give quite standard definitions of heritage. However, both XD045 and HC054 argue that the meaning of heritage is more than inheritance and that the present use of heritage is more significant. XD054 has pointed out that the intangible cultural is the core of heritage. XD025, although initially considering that World Heritage refers to inheritance, continues that heritage is a cultural process that people can feel for the site, which demonstrates the argument of Poria et al. (2003) that the linkage between site and people is the sense of feeling. He also pointed out heritage and tourism is a cultural process, so that his perspective dovetails with Smith's (2006, 2012) argument that individual visitation is a part of the process of constructing heritage. HC054 considered heritage is an active process in the present, and he criticised the material understanding of heritage. These are sophisticated understandings of heritage that clearly sit outside of the Western influenced AHD of national and international heritage experts.

Table 9.11 What does World Heritage mean to you (Xidi):

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
What does World Heritage mean to you:	Advertise/ regional business card/local business card/ Touristic brand (positive)	10 15.9%	14 66.7%	24 28.6%
	Inheritance/ancestry	15 23.8%	0 0.0%	15 17.9%
	Cultural background	12 19.0%	1 4.8%	13 15.5%
	Preservation (doing preservation)	4 6.3%	4 19.0%	8 9.5%
	Don't know	7 11.1%	0 0.0%	7 8.3%
	Identity/memory	5 7.9%	0 0.0%	5 6.0%
	History in general or specific history	4 6.3%	0 0.0%	4 4.8%
	Patriotism, nationalism	2 3.2%	1 4.8%	3 3.6%
	Material things from the past	1 1.6%	1 4.8%	2 2.4%
	international high standard	1 1.6%	0 0.0%	1 1.2%
	other	1 1.6%	0 0.0%	1 1.2%
	Unique things	1 1.6%	0 0.0%	1 1.2%
	Total		63 100.0%	21 100.0%

Table 9.12 What does the world heritage mean to you (Hongcun):

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
What does the world heritage mean to you:	Preservation (doing preservation)	8 20.0%	3 23.1%	11 20.8%
	Advertise/ regional business card/local business	2	8	10

card/ Touristic brand (positive)	5.0%	61.5%	18.9%
Don't know	7 17.5%	0 0.0%	7 13.2%
Inheritance/ancestry	6 15.0%	0 0.0%	6 11.3%
Identity/memory	3 7.5%	2 15.4%	5 9.4%
Unique things	4 10.0%	0 0.0%	4 7.5%
Cultural background	2 5.0%	0 0.0%	2 3.8%
Over advertised	2 5.0%	0 0.0%	2 3.8%
History in general or specific history	2 5.0%	0 0.0%	2 3.8%
Patriotism, nationalism	1 2.5%	0 0.0%	1 1.9%
Education	1 2.5%	0 0.0%	1 1.9%
Intangible/Non-material (traditions, memory etc)	1 2.5%	0 0.0%	1 1.9%
Other	1 2.5%	0 0.0%	1 1.9%
Total	40 100.0%	13 100.0%	53 100.0%

Twelve visitors (19%) in Xidi and two (5%) in Hongcun nominated cultural background as central to their definition. For instance:

XD012: There are two types of world heritage, one is cultural heritage that should represent in-depth cultural background; the other one is cultural landscape that should be unique. We should try our best to protect the original environment of WH sites to avoid commercialisation. (XD012, tourist, female, 25-34, teacher)

XD015: World Heritage means non-renewable with in-depth historical and cultural value.

XD016: Culture is the most important aspect of heritage.

(XD015, tourist, female, 25-34, admin officer; XD016, tourist, male, 25-34, admin officer)

XD022: Uniqueness, as a historical witness. But most important is its cultural background. You know, the material thing is just an outer skin of heritage sites. The quintessence is the embodied culture of sites, the story of the building or the landscape. (XD022, tourist, male, 25-34, landscape architect)

Again there is a mix of responses here, some reflect dominant international understandings of heritage such as XD015, however, other visitors offer quite deep and considered understandings, such as that of XD022, that draws on a sense of experience or what Smith (2006) has referred to as performance.

In Hongcun, the most frequent answer to this question by tourists (20%) was preservation (doing preservation or protecting heritage sites), while only four visitors (6.3%) listed this in Xidi. For example:

XD067: I think the aim of World Heritage program is to protect the heritage sites. Attracting tourists, of course, is one of the aims of World Heritage listing, but only if we do a good job of protection (XD067, tourist, male, 18-24, pharmacist)

XD082: Protection. It is important to protect our old houses. Old houses need us to live inside (XD082, local, female, 18-24)

There were four (6.3%) visitors in Xidi and two (5%) in Hongcun that nominated history in general or specific history, or something relegated to the past, for example:

HC045: In my opinion, world heritage means that we no longer use them. If we still use them, it is not heritage. (HC045, tourist, man, 18-24, computer programmer)

HC045's is concerned that if we still use the world heritage site, it will not remain heritage. From his perspective, World Heritage refers to old objects and sits firmly within the AHD definitions of heritage and World Heritage in particular.

In terms of both locals and tourists, the majority of locals 66.7% and 61.5% in Xidi and Hongcun respectively, considered World Heritage was directly associated with a positive economic or business experience.

XD039: WH has allowed Xidi to achieve international recognition. The popularity of our village is very important. Firstly, it is a great honour to be given WHL. Secondly, most of the traditional Hui buildings were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution period and over the last thirty years. The reputation of our site has been useful for the protection of our village. (XD039, local, male, 45-54)

XD042: World Heritage means popularity. You know public media such as TV and the internet help to disseminate and advertise Xidi and Hongcun are on the WHL, which attracts them to come and visit. (XD042, local, male, 35-44)

Only ten (15.9%) and two (5%) visitors at each site have respectively linked this issue to world heritage. Many locals simply answered that world heritage brought more tourists or more people who knew about their village. For example:

XD064: I do not know what the standards of World Heritage Site are. I have been to many World Heritage Sites. However, I still cannot figure out what it is. For me, World Heritage is just advertising.

(XD064, tourist, male, 35-44, staff from government)

XD013: World Heritage brand is the best advertisement for Xidi, which can bring economic growth, site development, and communication at an international level. (XD067, tourist, male, 55-64, retired)

HC002: I have been to a lot of World Heritage sites, some of them are not as good as I imagine. Sometimes, I am wondering why they are world heritage sites? I think the World Heritage and intangible heritage program is for advertising and protection of the site. (HC002, tourist, female, 18-24, student)

Furthermore, five visitors (7.9%) in Xidi and three (7.5%) in Hongcun nominated that world heritage is related to personal or collective identity or memory. Only two (15.4%) locals in Hongcun considered this. For example:

XD028: In my opinion, what belongs to the nation belongs to the world. I mean World Heritage should represent cultures and customs of a region or a nation with a strong identity, and be of importance to specific periods of history. (XD028, tourist, female, 35-44, company CFO)

XD029: I do not know much. I think the landscape of the site may arouse your sense of identity. (XD029, tourist, male, 35-44, shipping)

XD059: As a heritage site, it is necessary to keep the original characteristics of culture and customs. At least, local communities should stay at the site. In my mind, heritage is alive. Without indigenous people, the site is dead, and there is no culture in a dead site.

XD058: Well, Xidi is much better than Lijiang, where has become too commercial a place.

RRZ: You mean local people make heritage alive?

XD059: Not only locals, but tourists should also be involved in the heritage issue, communicate and link to locals. However, local governments are too powerful in the decision-making process. I do not think it is a good idea.

(XD058 and XD059, female, 45-54, tourists, airline business).

HC024: World Heritage refers to identity. Some company wants to create another Hongcun, but it is impossible. They can copy the layout and all material things of Hongcun, make it larger and more beautiful. However, without indigenous people, without the cultures created by our ancestors, and without the culture and the memories we have been creating, it is not heritage. (HC024, local, male, 25-34)

HC042: It depends on what type of heritage, culture or nature. Cultural heritage means identity, which is the combination work between human and nature. Humans can create the most suitable cultural context base on the natural characteristics of where they live. (HC042, tourist, male, 45-54)

HC044: Well, World Heritage is one of the reasons that bring me here. I think it is a good opportunity to use WH brand to strengthen local identity.

HC045: I think originally heritage is a legacy from our ancestors. However, heritage plays an important role in the present day. Firstly, it represents a specific culture of a place or region. Culture is an intangible thing that cannot be presented by it. However, culture can be presented by material things such as these building, and presented by customs or lifestyle of locals. (HC044, tourist, female, 55-64, retired; HC045, tourist, male, 18-24, student)

In these responses, both locals and visitors demonstrated an in-depth understanding of the interrelation between heritage and tourism. XD028 has pointed out an important concept - 'what belongs to the nation belongs to the world.' This concept originated from Lu Xun, one of the greatest literary giants of the last century, which reflects how the identity of the site could be appreciated and experienced locally and internationally. XD029 did not give me the meaning of world heritage. However, his response reveals an interlinkage between material objects or landscape and his personal memory. In addition, the dialogue of XD058 and XD059 reflects the connection between visitors, locals and material heritage sites. Furthermore, HC045 was concerned about the relationship between intangible culture and material heritage. In this sense, material heritage is only one part of heritage, and there are other parts of heritage such as the customs and lifestyles of locals. Therefore, heritage in his sense is a 'live' process, rather than being 'frozen in time.' Above all these responses reflect that tourists play an active role in making heritage meaningful in the present.

The visitors' responses to these questions show that many of them gave answers framed by the authorised heritage discourse, i.e. that world heritage refers to non-renewable sites, objects landscape or intangible things which are inherited from our ancestors, and that it is necessary to preserve these resources for future generations. However, their responses also provided information that they were actively engaged in these protection processes. As for the locals, the majority of them considered that World Heritage was directly associated with a positive economic or business experience. Many of them further indicated that WHL not only has brought dramatic economic growth, with particular reference to tourism development, but also has helped improve villagers' public awareness of the need to respect their culture and protect and improve intangible heritage. Some visitors had more in-depth understandings of

heritage (e.g.HC045), identifying that heritage is not only physical places where people passively receive information, but a place that is constructed by locals' customs, locals' daily lives and individual visitation. As XD025 stated, 'It is a cultural process we can feel, experience and inspire. The WH belongs to everyone in the world'.

Compare this to the interviews I conducted in West Lake, where nearly twenty percent of interviewees did not know the meaning of World Heritage, while the percentage in Xidi (8.3%) and Hongcun (13.2%) was lower than West Lake. Indeed, as I interviewed tourists in Xidi and Hongcun, many of them mentioned that their decision to come to Xidi and Hongcun was to some extent influenced by the World Heritage brand. Few tourists told me that the World Heritage brand influenced their decision to visit West Lake. The next question, I will discuss is **'Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?'**

The question **Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?** was asked of both locals and tourists (Table 9.13 and 9.14). In answering this question, both locals and tourists most frequently (31.1%) considered that it is important for positive economic or tourism reasons. Examples include:

XD006: It is important.

RRZ: Why?

XD006: It has brought more tourists to our site. Our small business depends on tourists. (XD006, local, female, 35-44)

XD062: Yes, it is. The World Heritage brand can help to advertise the site, in particular this small village. (XD062, tourist, female, 45-54, teacher)

HC031: It is important as it can create more income for locals and support local development. (HC031, tourist, male, 55-64, retired)

Table 9.13 Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List? (Xidi)

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
Do you think it is important that	Yes, It is important-	13	10	23

this site is on the World Heritage List?	economic/tourism positive	25.0%	45.5%	31.1%
	Preservation (doing preservation)	16 30.8%	1 4.5%	17 23.0%
	Do not know/ no opinion	9 17.3%	1 4.5%	10 13.5%
	Yes, local identity positive	5 9.6%	2 9.1%	7 9.5%
	yes, but complain about management	0 0.0%	6 27.3%	6 8.1%
	Development of village (Life style change of villages /Infrastructure/ Industrial transformation/Management improvement)	5 9.6%	0 0.0%	5 6.8%
	No, over advertised/ excessive commercialisation	2 3.8%	0 0.0%	2 2.7%
	Yes, reinforcing cultural/intangible heritage	1 1.9%	1 4.5%	2 2.7%
	Yes, nationalistic/patriotism positive	1 1.9%	0 0.0%	1 1.4%
	Yes, social connection between visitors and locals/place	0 0.0%	1 4.5%	1 1.4%
	Total	52 100.0%	22 100.0%	74 100.0%

Table 9.14 Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List? (Hongcun)

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?	Yes, It is important economic/tourism positive	9 31.0%	13 81.3%	22 48.9%
	Preservation (doing preservation)	12 41.4%	2 12.5%	14 31.1%
	Yes, local identity positive	2 6.9%	1 6.3%	3 6.7%
	Do not know/ no opinion	2 6.9%	0 0.0%	2 4.4%
	Development of village (Life style change of villages	2	0	2

/Infrastructure/ Industrial transformation/Management improvement)	6.9%	0.0%	4.4%
Yes, advertise	2	0	2
	6.9%	0.0%	4.4%
Total	29	16	45
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The next most frequent answer is preservation or doing preservation, which seventeen people (23%) and fourteen (31.1%) in Xidi and Hongcun respectively nominated. For example:

XD088: WHL can bring more income to the site, which is significant for protection. (XD088, tourist, male, 35-44, architect)

XD021: It depends on how local governments and site managers use this brand. WHL may bring increasing numbers of tourists, which can provide funding for site protection. However, the development of tourism also may cause commodification. Therefore, the efficiency and effectiveness of management are important. (XD021, tourist, male, 35-44, engineer)

In addition, seven people (9.5%) in Xidi and three (6.5%) in Hongcun nominated WHL had brought benefits to local identity. One local provided a sophisticated response:

HC024: In my opinion, world heritage listing means world level recognition of local identity. The traditional buildings in Hongcun are significant elements for representing this identity. The cultural meaning and feelings embodied in the traditional buildings cannot be reproduced. I remembered an international expert came to evaluate Hongcun during the time of World Heritage listing. He did not go to the pre-designed visit route by local governments and visited the site by himself. I was confused that his interests focused on the old houses and what locals were doing inside. Now, I understand it is the local identity and the locals' lifestyle of Hongcun that attracted that examiner. (HC024, local, male, 25-34)

The majority of interviewees (both tourists and locals) considered World Heritage Listing has brought possible changes, including economic benefits, preservation or doing preservation and enhancing local identities. Only two tourists in Xidi nominated World Heritage Listing

brought commercialisation (XD027 and XD041). However, the numbers are not surprising. Researchers such as Chen (2005) and Liu (2005) identified World Heritage inscription was the most significant reason tourists were attracted to the two villages. In my research, I participated in three different tour groups in Xidi from 14th to 24th December 2013 (with 123 minutes' of recorded data); and I also joined five different tour groups in Hongcun from 20th to 22th December 2013 (with 204 minutes of recorded data). I found that the government or company trained tour guides intended to stress that the sites are on the World Heritage List with a great sense of pride several times. The tour guide is included in the entrance fee in both villages. Thus most of the tourists participated the tour groups, where they might be influenced by the interpretation of the importance of World Heritage.

Compared to West Lake, which I discussed in Chapter 7, World Heritage Listing has brought significant changes to the infrastructure and other physical settings at the city level. At the individual level, except for a great sense of pride, the successful inscription did not bring lifestyle changes for the majority of Hangzhou citizens (except the relocated locals, and locals who runs local hostels around West Lake). However, WHL was significantly influenced locals' way of life in Xidi and Hongcun. I asked locals in both Xidi and Hongcun the question **'has the world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way you use and understand the site?'**. (Table 9.15 and 9.16) The most frequent answer (40.9%) in Xidi is that there was a dramatic increase in tourists' numbers after WHL. However, the tourist numbers increased much slower than at Hongcun in recent years. Four locals (29.4%) in Hongcun considered there were dramatic increases tourist numbers after WHL. For instance:

XD005: Yes, more tourists come to our site after World Heritage listing. Initially, our tourists' numbers were much higher than Hongcun. However, Hongcun has exceeded us in recent years. The Zhongkun Company has done a good job with advertising. You can find many posters of Hongcun at Huangshan airport and train stations. In addition, when you take a taxi in the city or visit any scenic spot in Huangshan, the taxi driver will suggest you go to Hongcun rather than Xidi. Furthermore, the Zhongkun Company has invested 230 million RMB [equal 37.1 million US\$] to direct and advertise a Grand Art and Cultural Show called *'Hongcun A JU 宏村阿菊.'* (XD005, local, female, 35-44)

XD007: WHL brought more tourists to our site, but there has been a decline in recent years.

RRZ: Why?

XD007: Actually, the number of tourists is slightly increased each year. However, the tourist numbers in Hongcun increased much faster than Xidi in that time. In my opinion, their management is better than ours. (XD007, local, female, 55-64)

The responses from XD005 and XD007 suggest that many locals in the two villages are concerned with the economic effects that World Heritage listing has had for the villages. Apparently, when locals in both Xidi and Hongcun talked about the issue of tourism, they spontaneously compared their villages to Hongcun/Xidi. The sense of competition between the two villages are widely addressed by locals. The next most frequent answer in Xidi (27.2%) is that WHL has brought an improvement of villagers' public awareness. Only one local in Hongcun answered in this way. For example:

XD009: Yes, there are dramatic changes every year. For example, garbage was everywhere before WHL, but it has become very clean now. WHL and tourism have enhanced our public awareness. (XD009, local, male, over 65)

XD035: We understand that the protection of our old houses is significant. Tourists come to our place are because of these old houses. We should be responsible for tourists and future generations. (XD035, local, female, 25-34)

XD036: Everyone should have a sense of protection.

RRZ: How about tourists' numbers after WHL?

XD036: The numbers increased very fast in the first two years after WHL, and are still increasing, but not as well as at Hongcun. Do you want me to tell you the truth?

RRZ: Yes.

XD036: The site managers in Hongcun have done much better advertising than us. (XD036, local, female, 35-44)

XD038: It is our home, of course, and we do our best to protect the village. Every villager has this kind of awareness, particularly that WHL brought more tourists. (XD038, local, female, 45-54).

The World Heritage listing has brought about a series of changes in the two villages. Generally, the changes are positive, which influenced locals' livelihood. Economic benefits, particularly increased tourism revenue, are the most obvious changes that many locals told me WHL had brought to them. The local industry has changed from farming to tourism services, and the majority of locals I interviewed were happy and expressed a sense of pride of these changes. The industry changes to the hospitality industry were a part of the complex interactions that occur between locals and tourists. The interactions in West Lake elicited locals' sense of pride (see Chapter 7), while my interviews show that the interactions in Xidi and Hongcun referred to a deep emotional bonding between tourists and locals. There seems to be an interplay between locals, tourists and physical heritage sites, which helps both tourists and locals construct their sense of place, and make heritage meaning in the present. However, government, control, in particular the local governments, and the external tourism management company, used the AHD to manage the two villages, which to some extent disturbed the sense of bonding between tourists and locals. Nevertheless, the governments and external company are part of the heritage, and their interventions change the interaction among tourists, locals and the physical site. There is a spontaneous dynamic negotiable process among tourists, locals, governments and external companies; indeed, this is the process of making heritage. The final question of this chapter will discuss the interrelation between heritage and tourism.

Table 9.15 Has world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way you use and understand the site (Xidi)?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Dramatic tourists' increasing after WHL, but decline in recent years (comparison to Hongcun)	9	40.9
The improvement of villagers' public awareness	6	27.2
More tourists-positive	3	13.6
Management mode changed (negative comment)	2	9.1
No change	1	4.5
Management improvement/New infrastructure	1	4.5

Total	22	100.0
Missing	0	
Total	22	

Table 9.16 Has world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way you use and understand the site (Hongcun)?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid More tourists-positive	5	29.4
Dramatic tourists' increasing after WHL, and has exceeded Xidi since 2005	5	29.4
Reinforcing culture/intangible heritage	2	11.8
Management mode changed (negative comment)	1	5.9
Management mode changed (positive comment)	1	5.9
The improvement of villagers' public awareness	1	5.9
No change	1	5.9
pollution	1	5.9
Total	17	100.0
Missing	1	
Total	18	

9.6 The relationship between tourism and heritage

One of the most significant questions I asked to both locals and tourists was '**what is the relationship between tourism and heritage?**' (Table 9.17 and 9.18). Twenty percent of interviewees (both locals and tourists) in Xidi and 15.2% in Hongcun responded that tourism plays a positive role in the development of heritage site protection. For example:

XD091: I think tourism may help the protection and management of heritage. Governments' protection policies and actions have their limitations. Heritage managers can bring more attention for the site protection by developing tourism. (XD091, tourist, male, 18-24, student)

However, thirteen people (25.5%) in Xidi and eight people in Hongcun (17.4%) considered that while tourism could develop the site or transmit cultural information to visitors, it also brought commercialisation and created protection problems. Examples include:

XD012: It is tricky that tourism has brought development and life quality improvement in Xidi, and locals have more opportunities to communicate with tourists. However, tourism also causes commercialisation, which is bad for traditional culture. (XD012, tourist, female, 25-34, teacher)

XD044: Tourism development is important but as a prerequisite for protection. I think we can learn about cultures and histories by visiting a heritage site. However, it is significant to develop a sustainable tourism plan to avoid negative effects such as over commercialization. (XD044, tourist, female, 18-24, unemployed).

HC001: Ur, tourism can promote the development of a World Heritage site. But it always needs to keep in mind protection, in order to make sustainable use of the site. Second, tourism can let more people understand the site. I mean we come to a World Heritage site not only for just recreation or aesthetic reasons, but we can gain or experience something.

RRZ: What have you gained by visiting the site?

HC001: Enlarged my vision, increase my knowledge.

(HC001, tourist, female, 18-24, student)

HC025: I think the interrelationship between tourism and heritage is controversial. The development of tourism may bring destruction and pollution, however, it also helps the development of the site. It is dependent on the policy and management of local government, and the behaviour of tourists. (HC025, tourist, male, 45-54, government officer)

HC007: Tourism development has brought positive effects, and many villagers living now depends on tourism. However, it also brought pollution. For example, our water is no longer as clean as before. (HC007, local, male, 45-54)

HC047: Well, it is good for the economic development of the village. However, it also brought negative effects. Firstly, our village used to be a quiet place with the chirping of birds. But instead, we have the horns of the vehicles, loudspeakers from tour guides and other different kinds of noise. Secondly, our village used to be very poor, but we were quite happy. Now, most villagers are involved in the tourism business, which has brought competition between us. Thirdly, the water has been polluted, which is influenced by tourism development. (HC047, local, female, 35-44)

Locals' most frequent answer (42.1%) in Xidi was the wish for more tourist visits, and their responses focus on economic effects that tourism has brought to the site, but no one in Hongcun nominated this answer. This confirms the issues that I covered in the discussion part of *locals' reaction to tourists* section.

Seven visitors (13.7%) and five locals (26.3%) in Xidi, as well as two locals (14.3%) in Hongcun, answered that tourism has reinforced a sense of local identity and/or invigorated local pride or enthusiasm for protection. For example:

XD039: Heritage and tourism cannot be separated. The two concepts should be considered together.

RRZ: Why?

XD039: Tourism has brought improvement of villagers' public awareness, which is a benefit for heritage protection. Without this effect, our site would have been destroyed over the last twenty years.

RRZ: You mean tourism has promoted the protection of heritage?

XD039: Yes, you know our old houses are alive, and people should live inside and take care of them. In addition, tourism also helps to save our traditional handicrafts and other intangible heritage. Recently, some villagers want to establish a training class for our traditional skills in order to pass them on to younger generations. (XD039, local, male, 45-54)

XD64: It depends on governments' actions to reinforce the characteristics of the site

XD65: Yes, I think local governments should pay more attention to enhance culture rather than focus on GDP. In addition, local communities should share a large

proportion of tourism revenue, which can simulate locals' enthusiasm for protection and creation.

XD66: I agree. If locals satisfy their position in tourism development, they will do their best to protect and maintain the identity of the site in order to attract more visitors.

(XD064 and XD065 and XD065, tourists, male, 35-44, government staffs)

XD044: I think the most important issue for a heritage site is protection; however, disseminating culture to visitors is equally significant. We can learn about the specific culture or history of the site, gain cultural experiences, understand the process of generation of this culture, and think about how to strengthen this culture. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a sustainable tourism plan. (XD044, tourist, female, 18-24, unemployed).

In addition, eleven visitors (21.6%) in Xidi and four (12.4%) in Hongcun provided very sophisticated answers to this question and considered that tourism is a significant element of heritage. For example:

XD021: I think those two are interlinked. Heritage is part of tourism. We can learn Chinese histories and cultures through tourism. Heritage is evidence of the process of human history. (XD021, tourist, male, 35-44, engineer)

XD045: I think tourism is a significant part of heritage. Heritage is a necessary part of tourism as well. The reason heritage is so important in the present is because of tourism. There are many valuable things or experiences you can gain during your visiting, but you have to spend enough time and pay more attention on your trip. If no one comes to visit a heritage site, it is a meaningless place. However, tourism's links to heritage are complex processes that involve governments, tourism companies, tourists and locals. They are sometimes contradictory.

RRZ: What do you mean by contradictory?

XD045: Firstly, tourism is treated as a product by local governments and touristic companies whose concern is what benefits they can gain from the tourism industry. Their behaviours cause commodification and pollution of a heritage site. However, tourism also brings positive site development and protection. Secondly, some new

built infrastructures cause very controversial attitudes from stakeholders. For example, local governments build a new road which is wider than the ancient road. Some people may be critical as the concrete road destroyed the old packway and influences the integrity of heritage. However, some locals and tourists may compromise over this new road which brings convenience to their lives or enhances the touristic experience. However, [it can be] criticised by some people who think it is destroying the cultural authenticity from the past.

RRZ: Is there any way to solve this problem in your opinion?

XD045: This contradiction is irreconcilable!

(XD045, tourist, male, 45-54, government staff)

XD047: I think tourism can support the development of heritage sites. Protection, of course, is of importance. However, in my opinion, heritage is alive rather than a static thing, tourists are a component of heritage. (XD047, tourist, female, 18-24).

XD073: World Heritage is created by UNESCO for protection reasons, while tourism provides economic gain for local communities. They conflict outwardly. However, they are interlinked in many aspects. The most important are that tourism provides funding for protection of the site.

(XD073, tourist, male, 35-44, architect)

XD073 considers the economic linkage between tourism and heritage. However, all of the above examples talk about tourism and heritage as interlinked experiences. This is particularly illustrated by XD045, XD47 and XD039, who all see heritage and tourism as co-dependent, and interrelating not just to produce economic benefits but also to create cultural and heritage meanings – indeed as XD045 put it: ‘If no one comes to visit a heritage site, it is a meaningless place’.

Furthermore, there are three people (one in Xidi and two in Hongcun) who also provided an in-depth answer that tourism is a significant element of heritage. For instance:

XD033: Well, the most important are the stories that happened or will happen in my old house, rather than the material or aesthetic things. I changed my house into a hostel more than ten years ago, and have served thousands of tourists. I always enjoy

communicating with them. You know, they come here for learning traditional 'Hui culture,' enjoying the Confucianism that is carried forward by 朱熹 Zhu Xi, or for their own personal reasons. But all of these stories have become a part of the story of my house. (XD033, local, female, 35-44)

HC051: In the early morning, I saw my neighbour emerge out of the mist, with some dirt on her shoes. She was carrying a basket of fresh vegetables from her farm to the morning market. I smiled and said hi to her and then I went to Mr. Wang's house which is close to Moon Pool to have a cup of tea and some breakfast. From his house, I saw four women were washing clothes in the pool. They were chatting with each other, laughing. In the meantime, there were several elder people who were drinking porridge at the opposite site of Moon Pool. Suddenly, I heard a large group of footsteps getting closer, and I knew today's first group of guests was coming. Some of these visitors were asking about the culture or the customs of the village from the local tour guide; and some of them were shooting photos of the pool, the houses, the reflections and the villagers. I like this kind of lifestyle. (HC051, local, female, 45-54.)

HC052: What I mentioned in my book means that Hongcun is composed of every segment of history, the stories are happening in the present and the future scenarios...I think people... both locals and tourists are key elements in a heritage site. People play active roles in the site. The old houses cannot survive without locals, while locals cannot live without tourists. Compared to Lijiang and Wuzhen, where many locals moved outside (or were forced to move outside) of the old town; Hongcun still have been [able to] keep the original locals. The new residents in Wuzhen were selected by tourism companies, they were not familiar with each other and had to do performances for tourists based on rules formulated by the tourism company. What both Lijiang and Wuzhen lost were the neighbourly relations and traditional customs. You know, most of the hostels in Hongcun are run by original villagers, and we have kept the neighbourly relations and customs. In this process, tourists play an active role in constructing the new neighbourhood, and locals have tried their best to enhance both the material environment and build a connection with visitors. Therefore, the relation between tourism and heritage sites are a dynamic process. However, people

are always the key to this process, which connects the past, present and future of Hongcun. (HC052, local, male, over 65, local scholar)

From XD033's perspective, the interconnection between heritage and tourism does not only reside in the material heritage but rather it also exists during the visits of tourists. Each performance from the individual visitor is constitutive of the meaning of heritage. In HC051's opinion, she just described an ordinary morning of her daily life. Obviously, villagers were one of the best 'living landscapes' that visitors were interested in. But from our locals' perspective, they already had been comfortable with those visitors, they also enjoyed watching visitors and communicating with them. Tourists were already embodied in locals' daily life, and there is a sense of contentment emerging when locals felt they formed emotional bonds with tourists. At the beginning of this Chapter, HC052 pointed out tourism has become one of the most precious memories in his life, and is an important component of a heritage site. From his view, both tourists and locals are actors in constructing present heritage meaning.

Table 9.17 What is the relationship between tourism and heritage sites? (Xidi)

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
What is the relationship between tourism and heritage sites?	Development of village, positive (Infrastructure/Industrial transformation/ Management improvement)	9 17.6%	5 26.3%	14 20.0%
	Development of the site/cultural transmission (positive), but worried about commercialisation or bad protection	13 25.5%	0 0.0%	13 18.6%
	Reinforcing local identity/proud/enthusiasm for protection	7 13.7%	5 26.3%	12 17.1%
	Tourism and heritage are interlinked	11 21.6%	1 5.3%	12 17.1%
	As a WH site, I hope more tourists come to visit, which means more income we can gain.	0 0.0%	8 42.1%	8 11.4%
	Commercialisation, negative	4 7.8%	0 0.0%	4 5.7%
	Neutral, tourism will bring economic	4	0	4

	growth, also will course pollution/commercialisation	7.8%	0.0%	5.7%
	Don't know	2	0	2
		3.9%	0.0%	2.9%
	Reinforcing connection between locals and tourists	1	0	1
		2.0%	0.0%	1.4%
Total		51	19	70
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9.18 What is the relationship between tourism and heritage sites? (Hongcun)

		Are you visitor or local		Total
		Visitor	Local	
What is the relationship between tourism and heritage sites?	Development of the site/cultural transmission (positive), but should aware of commercialisation or bad protection	6	2	8
		18.8%	14.3%	17.4%
	Development of village, positive (Infrastructure/Industrial transformation/ Management improvement)	4	3	7
		12.5%	21.4%	15.2%
	Tourism is significant element of heritage	4	2	6
		12.5%	14.3%	13.0%
	other	6	0	6
		18.8%	0.0%	13.0%
	Neutral, tourism will bring economic growth, also will course pollution/commercialisation	2	2	4
		6.3%	14.3%	8.7%
	economic growth	1	2	3
		3.1%	14.3%	6.5%
preservation message	3	0	3	
	9.4%	0.0%	6.5%	
Reinforcing local identity/proud/ enthusiasm for protection	0	2	2	
	0.0%	14.3%	4.3%	
Don't know	1	1	2	
	3.1%	7.1%	4.3%	
Negative effects: Pollution (air, water, garbage), \ Inflation of prices (house/food, etc.), Mass tourists (crowded)	2	0	2	
	6.3%	0.0%	4.3%	
cultural transmission	1	0	1	
	3.1%	0.0%	2.2%	
Reinforcing connection between locals and tourists/past and present	1	0	1	
	3.1%	0.0%	2.2%	

Commercialisation, negative	1 3.1%	0 0.0%	1 2.2%
Total	32 100.0%	14 100.0%	46 100.0%

Discussion

Some of the interviewees responded that tourism plays a positive role in the development and maintenance of heritage sites. Their responses reflect that it is not only economic increases or physical infrastructure which tourists have contributed to heritage sites, rather it is a social and cultural process where tourists play active roles in the construction, development and maintenance of heritage sites. Many visitors considered tourism brought positive developments, but they also worried that tourism caused commercialisation and created protection problems. As Hall (2009:80-90, quoted in Smith 2012:213) points out, sometimes the negative effects which tourists brought to sites 'are consensual and normative understandings as new understandings of the past are created'. My research shows that the majority of locals nominated positive interconnections that tourism has facilitated at heritage sites, which include reinforcing local identity, pride and enthusiasm for protection, and the development and the economic growth of villages. However, this is offset by the ways in which government and the tourism companies are alienating them from their sites and culture. This ultimately rests on differing understandings of not only heritage, but also the nature of tourism, and the failure of government and the tourism company to understand the complex relationship between them – a relationship that locals and tourists themselves appear to have a better understanding of.

Some visitors and locals provided very in-depth answers that recognise tourism and heritage are linked with each other. Smith (2006, 2012) argues that the interrelation between heritage and tourism does not only occur at international or state level by the accumulation of heritage lists, or by developing management or protection policies and practices. Rather, the performance is the act of individuals visiting such heritage places. XD045 expressed it this way: 'If no one comes to visit a heritage site, it is a meaningless place'. This can be illustrated by above three locals (XD033, HC051 and HC052) narratives, wherein tourism and heritage interplay with each other to create '*cultural moments*' which help both locals and tourists construct their memories, and make sense of their sense of place or identity.

9.7 Conclusion

This Chapter discussed how tourism and tourists not only brought economic benefits to Xidi and Hongcun, but also brought cultural gains. The majority of locals in both villages have been engaged in the hospitality industry. Against many arguments from the literature that suggest industrial structures changing from traditional agriculture to the tourism industry is usually seen as a negative thing, particularly in regard to commodification (Greenwood 1977; Handler and Saxton 1988; McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Handler and Gable 1997; Waitt 2000; Choay 2001; Greenspan 2002). The majority of locals were very happy and proud about the industrial transformation, and they considered tourism to be an active factor that sustained the material sites (e.g. HC048), kept them out of poverty and provided more working opportunities (HC052, HC028), as well as arousing or enhancing locals' public awareness to respect their culture and inherit and carry forward the intangible heritage (e.g. XD042, XD090). More importantly, tourism facilitated cultural and social interactions between locals and tourists. My interview with both tourists and locals reveals that in many cases there is a deep sense of emotional connection/bonding between locals and tourists when they felt they communicated or connected with each other. There is a cultural and social impact of WHL and increasing tourism. While some residents reported on the negative impacts of tourism found by other researchers, this was not the full story. Locals, particularly in Xidi, where they had greater control over tourism, reported a range of positive economic as well as cultural and social gains.

This chapter also discussed how the local governments of both villages used a so-called 'international standard' that resulted in maintaining the physical authenticity of the sites to legitimate their local management policies, and imposed those policies on locals through management practices. Contrary to Yan's (2012, 2015) research on Fujian Tulou World Heritage site, where the local government used the concept 'harmony' to legitimate their hegemonic values, the case of Xidi and Hongcun illustrated that the hegemonic process the local governments in both villages enjoyed was still framed within the European AHD as represented by the 'international standard'. In addition, the majority of locals in both villages, and in particular in Xidi, expressed disappointment with those management policies and practices from governments and tourism companies, which they considered significant in blocking their sense of place and causing alienation for their villages. Tourists also felt the

sites, and in particular Hongcun, 'ha been managed' too much. Their sense of freedom was constrained by both physical boundaries of the site and the management practices from the local governments and tourism companies. In this sense, the management policies and practises conducted by local governments and tourism companies caused dissonance in the two villages.

Chapter 8 and 9 analysed my interview data from the Ancient Villages of Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun. Three significant themes emerged and intertwined with each other. Firstly, tourists visits to Xidi and Hongcun were tightly linked to their personal identities, and the meaning of visiting appears to be something simply felt. Compared to West Lake (see Chapter 7), tourists in Xidi and Hongcun did not have such diverse feelings as my interviewees in West Lake. Many tourists showed that their sense of feeling was tied to the physical place or landscape and to locals. However, those simply interactions among tourists, locals and site are very active and show strong emotional engagement. When tourists felt the site is 'alive', such as XD047 identifying 'preserved ducks hang under the roof, and I can feel the slight smoke curling up from kitchen chimneys' (see Chapter 8) the sense of contentment emerged. The sense of contentment was identified with both locals and tourists, which links to the second theme of the two chapters.

The second theme emerged is the in-depth interactions or bonding between tourists and locals, which is more complex has the same very deep emotional engagement of both locals and tourists than I discovered in West Lake (see Chapter 7). In West Lake, the sense of contentment emerged when locals acknowledged tourists enjoy themselves and felt the beauty or the culture of West Lake. This sense of contentment was tied to their sense of pride. However, locals I interviewed in both Xidi and Hongcun not only wanted tourists to feel the physical site or the culture; rather sometimes they build a bond with tourists. For instance, XD038, had made a 'close friend' in her hostel, and they frequently communicated with each other and 'exchanged postcards' and 'fresh tea.' HC052, in his book *Dream of Hongcun*, engaged in a very deep empathetic process when he dreamed his friend Ms. Meng come to visit and how he shows Ms. Meng the contemporary life of Hongcun (Wang 2013:175-184). When this sense of bonding has been built between local residents and tourists, locals felt a great sense of contentment.

The final theme of the two chapters is that government control disturbed the interaction between locals and the site, tourists and the site, and locals and tourists. As I conducted my interviews at West Lake (see Chapter 7), the majority of locals and tourists strongly complimented the heritage and tourism management done by the Hangzhou governments. Both locals and tourists considered the Hangzhou government's having demolished the 'walls' and 'fences,' and all fees at West Lake facilitated their sense of 'freedom.' However, as I interviewed with locals and tourists dissatisfied with the heritage and tourism management of the local governments and tourism companies was apparent. From the tourists' perspective, they felt that the two villages are 'managed' (e.g. HC038, HC042, and XD026). Their sense of freedom was not only obstructed by 'gates', 'walls' and 'high entrance fees,' it was also blocked by the government controls which adhered to the AHD to manage heritage as a static object. In terms of locals, they had better understanding of their sites. However, the local governments and tourism companies not only marginalised by the local residents in any decision-making process, they also set up rules and management strategies that 'followed the international criteria' to restrict locals' traditions and customs in order to keep the site 'authentic'. Thus, locals I interviewed felt a sense of alienation from their site. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996) have put forward the concept of 'dissonant heritage' that encompasses the negative issues that tourism or tourists bring to the heritage site. However, in the case of Xidi and Hongcun, the 'dissonant' was not brought by tourists, but rather the local governments.

Chapter 10: Discussion

10.1 Introduction

Two key research questions drive this research: **does World Heritage listing change the values and stakeholders' understandings of the sites, and if so how?**, and if values do change, **what role does tourism play in the way the values may change at Chinese World Heritage sites?** Overall, the research reveals the interrelationship between heritage, tourism and local communities is more complex than is generally assumed, both in Chinese and international heritage policy and practice. Several themes have emerged from the previous chapters in response to my research questions. These are discussed here, as well as their implications for ongoing debates about World Heritage tourism in heritage studies and heritage management policy.

The first key theme centres on the observation that both the national and local Chinese governments are quite mindful, and perhaps even a little cynical, in that they clearly characterize the World Heritage listing process as a game they are playing, which at the moment has Eurocentric rules and terms. In the listing process Chinese values and meanings do not often translate well into the Eurocentric discourse and there is an outward modification of Chinese values to ensure listing. My research reveals that 'World Heritage Nomination' has led Chinese governments to start to reshape and reformulate the heritage system nationwide, and establish national and local discourses and visions of China's historical continuity and cultural diversity that fit the Chinese Communist Party's ideology. My research also reveals that the majority of interviewees, both tourists and local residents, extensively accepted the term 'heritage'. The concept of 'heritage' was intimately linked to both locals' and tourists' sense of pride and nationalism, and has been influential in various disciplines such as economics, archaeology, urban planning, architecture, among others, and proliferated in Chinese people's daily lives.

A second theme is the identification of the set of complex interactions that occur between locals and tourists. The majority of locals at the two case study sites tend to have very positive views about tourists visiting their sites. Overall, the World Heritage listing and the

presence of mass tourists had elicited a sense of pride in local residents. Locals wanted tourists to *feel* their sites, and they hoped that the tourists' could invoke a sense of belonging or feeling for the site and engage in communication with locals. In return, tourists enjoyed communicating with the locals as well. There is a strong sense of contentment that emerged when tourists feel they had made a connection with locals. My research also finds that the government control and authorised tourism enterprises do not necessarily facilitate what all the case studies have been showing people find valuable - cultural interaction between tourists and locals. What Xidi shows is that those cultural interactions between tourists and locals become magnified if locals control tourism. There is also a subtheme emerging from the second theme. My survey reveals that the sense of the metaphors that tourists were using, and the sense of the contentment they gain, were magnified when they felt they had 'freedom'. The sense of 'freedom' is one of the keys that tourists register as deep emotional and intellectual engagement when they connected to locals, or connected to physical sites. However, the sense of 'freedom' was influenced by government management during the World Heritage listing process in my two case studies.

In addition, my research also shows that heritage tourists visited sites that were tightly linked to their personal identities, and that the meaning of visiting appears to be something simply felt rather than clearly able to be articulated. Poria et al. (2003) have argued that visitors' perceptions of places are linked to their personal feelings, which further influences their behaviours at heritage sites. They also noted that feeling was important, however they use the term 'feeling' to describe a difficulty their interviewees had in putting their feelings into words, or even acknowledging them (see also Smith 2006, 2012). All of my three case studies show that many tourists' narratives present an aesthetic thought process with frequent use of metaphor in a self-conscious way. Some of them were far more overt about seeking a sense of 'feeling', far more so than what Poria et al (2003) recorded in Israel and Smith (2006, 2015) recorded in England, Australia and the United States. Heritage, therefore, was a place where people felt – and in particular felt connected to something vital, such as a connection to land or connection to their sense of place.

Finally, my research reveals that tourists at heritage sites did not necessarily passively accept the authorised messages or governments' interpretations. They were regularly undertaking in-depth and sophisticated '*cultural and social work*', actively working out, remembering and negotiating cultural meanings. Despite the apparent influences of the AHD employed by

management at the two sites and discussed above, overall the work supports the sense of agency illustrated by Smith in her work with heritage visitors in (2006, 2011, 2012), and other researchers such as Bagnall 2003, Palmer 2005; Byrne (2009), Sather-Wagstaff (2011) and Waterton and Watson (2012) in Western contexts. My research, using qualitative visitor interviews as previous research has done, has been carried out in a non-Western context. While there are similarities recorded in this data in relation to agency there are also significant differences. Chinese visitors tended to employ metaphors far more frequently than is reported in similar research, and they are, on the whole, more explicitly aware they are constructing the meaning of heritage and utilising the past in the present. As I argue below, the sense of metaphor of Chinese visitors can link back to Han Feng's (2006) thesis, in which she demonstrated that Chinese traditional philosophy and the idea of '*Oneness with nature*' has influenced Chinese understanding of heritage. The task of this chapter is to synthesise the above four themes and reconceptualise the connection between heritage and tourism.

10.2 Changes to Governmental Understanding of Heritage

As has now been extensively discussed in the international literature, the globalisation of the World Heritage Program can be identified as a hegemonic process, with the so-called 'universal' standard largely deriving from Western countries (Byrne 1991; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006; Labadi 2007, 2013) One of the key concepts of the UNESCO World Heritage Program is the idea of 'outstanding universal value', which requires the selection and evaluation of sites on the basis that some heritage values are not only more important than others but will be so in all circumstances. UNESCO identifies international experts as having specific expertise, and its associated organisations have the 'specific expertise' to influence the hierarchy of heritage values, thus they have power to influence the discourses of particular sites through the World Heritage listing process (Turtinen 2000; Logan 2001). Although Meskell et al. (2015) argue that a shift is taking place in the dominance of Western states in the decision-making processes of the World Heritage Committee, the authority of particular framing discourses about the value of heritage remain enshrined in the OUV criteria. Since 1985, when China ratified the *World Heritage Convention*, the Chinese government has been engaged in a long process that has gradually accepted, understood and negotiated the concept of 'World Heritage'. Over the last thirty years, the Chinese government realised that 'World Heritage' is not only entangled with practical issues of cultural,

environmental or historical preservation, but also influences the discursive structure of identity, power and authority. The World Heritage nomination process has become a wonderful opportunity to display China's national image and project 'soft' power, and has facilitated the construction of a stable and harmonious national discourse (Yan 2015). Thus, the Chinese government's responses to the *World Heritage Convention* and its relevant policies are actively, even obsessively, concerned with inscribing sites on the World Heritage list (Meyer 2008; Yan 2012).

As Lowenthal (1994), Smith (2006) and Labadi (2007) argue, the Western understanding of heritage is intrinsically interwoven with senses of nationalism and the material past. From the Chinese heritage authorities' perspective, the introduced concept of 'World Heritage' has been helping to build Chinese national and cultural identity. In 2016, at the time of writing, China has 50 World Heritage sites, the second most of any country in the world (UNESCO 2016). My data from interviews with national government officials who are in charge of the Chinese World Heritage applications and management show that the quantity and diversity of World Heritage sites and types project the 'China image' onto the world cultural stage. Winter and Daly (2012: 3) argue that Asian countries, in particular China, use 'World Heritage' inscription to demonstrate national power and confidence, so that 'the past is embraced as part of the future.' The most significant task for national heritage authorities is to ensure the increasing numbers and types of properties presented for World Heritage nomination. Ostensibly, the Chinese government seems uncritically accepting of the received authorized heritage discourse which frames international heritage practise. Essentially, they are quite mindful, even cynical. As I discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the statements from both national and local governments' clearly show that they could not convert Chinese values to fit the OUV, and they frequently used the word 'game' to describe the World Heritage listing process. In their sense, World Heritage is an imitation process of UNESCO and other international authorities' regulations and policies (Yan 2012; Meyer 2009). Chapter 4 identified that the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) actively imitated documents from international authorities when framing national documents or policies. My research reveals that the Chinese governments at both national and local level have been cynical and pragmatic during this replication process, as they have intended to use the *World Heritage Convention* as a cultural script for implementing Chinese political, economic and cultural strategies in the domestic and international arenas.

At the national level, the World Heritage program and its relevant policies have inspired changes leading to the reshaping and reformulation the national heritage system by Chinese governments. National and local discourses and visions of China's historical continuity and cultural diversity have been promulgated, in line with the Chinese Communist Party's position. The adoption of the *Venice Charter* of 1964 and the *World Heritage Convention* of 1972 are significant milestones in established Eurocentric heritage discourse and international heritage practice. Since then, there have been extensive debates about the significant of developing 'best practise' for heritage conservation and management worldwide (for instance, McGimsey 1972; Lipe 1977; Sullivan and Bowdler 1984; Fung and Allen 1984; Johnston 1992; Clark 1999, 2005; Pearson and Sullivan 1995; Byrne et al. 2001). Smith (2004, 2006) pointed out that the governments of Australia and the United States in the 1970s adopted international Charters and Conventions for protecting their natural and cultural resources. The two countries also adapted the Eurocentric heritage discourse from international documents, and further developed their heritage practices⁶³ to suit local issues and aspirations (Smith 2006).

In China, since the reform and opening policy in the late 1970s, the People's Republic of China has established nation-wide systems of cultural and natural conservation. Just like Australia and the United States, the Chinese government introduced the Western concept of World Heritage and the relevant International Charters and Conventions. However, the process that the Chinese government used to incorporate the international regulations and policies into the existing national policies and bureaucratic systems are complicated. Based on the *World Heritage Convention*, the Chinese government has institutionalised and modified China's heritage management system since the early 1980s (Han 2006; Luo 2008; Yan 2012). As several of the interviews with national officials (e.g. GO001 and GO002) I discuss in Chapter 4 showed, when they talked about international policies (such as the concept of Cultural Landscape and the *Cairns Decision*), the institutional reframing of China's existing policies and bureaucratic systems to take in to account international policy has been an active process, in which the Chinese government actively accepted and incorporated the dominant Western understanding and discourse of heritage. Scholars such as Byrne (2008), based on his research in Thailand, show that European/World Heritage values

⁶³ For instance, Australian ICOMOS issued the *Burra Charter* [1979, 1999, 2013] which incorporates significance and assessment processes for cultural heritage properties. Many European countries, in particular the UK, have actively included the *Burra Charter* in their heritage practise.

have simply been accepted as 'right and correct', often through the colonial process in Southeast Asia (see also Dewi 2016). The interview I conducted with the officials in Chapter 4 and 5 reveals Chinese governments at both the national and local levels are critically aware of what they are doing. China is not influenced by a colonial or neo-colonial process; rather they clearly characterised the World Heritage listing process as a game they are playing for national and local political and economic purposes. The formal director of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), Shan Jixiang, metaphorically used a traditional old Chinese saying, 'a stone from other hills may serve to polish the jade of this one' to indicate Western heritage policy can be 'polished' to fit the Chinese situation (People.com 2011; Ye and Kong 2011; Yan 2012:42). The Chinese government claims that it is important to both absorb the 'advanced and progressive' Western heritage policy and ensure the recognition of Chinese-oriented characteristics (Cao 2007; Li 2007; SACH 2009[2002]; Yan 2012). The diffusion of the international policies at a national level has changed the existing bureaucratic systems and management policies.

At first, the Chinese government has issued a series of principles and policies based on the existing international policies. For example, in 2000, they developed the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (ICOMOS China 2002), which has been characterized as the Chinese version of the *Burra Charter* of 1999 (Waterton 2010; Yan 2012). Those introduced and modified policies have provided practical tools for translating or shaping Chinese heritage values to conform to the UNESCO World Heritage standard. Second, the Chinese government has used the term 'cultural heritage' instead of the old term 'cultural relics', as represented by the national document: *State Council Circular Concerning the Strengthening of Cultural Heritage Conservation* (2009[2005]). The Chinese government has also kept renewing and incorporating new heritage concepts such as intangible heritage, cultural landscape, cultural route and industrial heritage into national policies. The discourse of heritage in China has been dramatically changed during the last two decades, and certainly since the adoption of the *China Principles*. Third, the Chinese government has reinforced the concept of 'heritage' in peoples' daily lives. For instance, the creation of Chinese National Cultural Heritage Day from 2006, the nation-wide debate critical of the Korean nominated Dragon Boat Festival⁶⁴ in the World Intangible Cultural Heritage list in 2004, and the recent protests over the successful Japanese inscription of Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial

⁶⁴ In Korean called Ganjeung Danojie, which the Chinese people consider originates from the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival.

Revolution: Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding and Coal Mining on the World Heritage List (WHL) in 2015, have demonstrated that World Heritage serves as a political tool for nationalism. This is illustrated by on May 14th 2005, a Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Han Ying, claiming that: 'world cultural heritage nomination should be consistent with the United Nations' fundamental principles for the "culture of peace"...Chinese people are strongly against this nomination, which only nominated the 'glory' side of the history, and ignored its cruel fact that using Chinese and Korean labourers and as tool of Japanese militarism and colonialism'⁶⁵ (*China Daily* 2015).

Therefore, I argue that in spite of the origins of cultural and natural preservation, the World Heritage program has been seen as a political game by the Chinese government. The Chinese government has used the *World Heritage Convention* as a cultural script and has been an active participant in international heritage activities. It aims to establish a legitimised national discourse congruent with the Chinese Communist party line of '*Building a harmonious socialist society*'. Yan (2012, 2015) has used the term '*Chinese harmony discourse*' to interpret this process:

On the one hand, it provides a set of scientific statements, which are disseminated among people with educational programs and mass media; it asserts that the knowledge provided by the government on heritage preservation has solid scientific roots and represents advanced theories of preservation. On the other hand, it is unfolded with the nationalistic discourse that spreads the message that it is the nation imbued with heritage that supplies its people security and position in the world society. Therefore, preserving and appreciating national heritage is emotionally powerful and evocative for the citizens (Yan 2012:273).

The changed national policies and discourses have caused dissonance. China is a country of extraordinary levels of political, cultural, religious and ethnic diversity, and the Chinese central government had established a sophisticated heritage bureaucratic system before being influenced by the *World Heritage Convention*. The Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (MHURD) and the SACH are two national authorities that are responsible for Chinese heritage affairs. The UNESCO heritage categories, in particular the definition of Cultural Landscape, are not compatible with the existing Chinese heritage system. This has

⁶⁵ Translate by the author

caused conflicts between the two national authorities over World Heritage applications and management, as well as policy making (Chen and Zhao 2003; Zhang 2006). Although policy changes have been made in recent decades, the problem is still unresolved. The essential difference is that some Chinese values and ideologies often come into conflict with European understandings of heritage, and cannot fit into UNESCO World Heritage criteria and policies. This study shows that the Chinese government intends to modify the Chinese values to fit the UNESCO World Heritage criteria during the World Heritage Listing process, in a self-conscious and active process often referred to as being a ‘game’.

10.3 World Heritage as a Game

The interviews I conducted with the two experts (WL142 and WL143) who wrote the nomination dossiers for West Lake⁶⁶ revealed that these experts had been under enormous pressure from the local government of Hangzhou before West Lake’s successful inscription on the World Heritage List. In addition to the Hangzhou government, Chinese local governments were concerned that ensuring the success rate of inscribing their sites on the World Heritage List was their most important political task. Hence, the primary aim for those experts was to translate and modify Chinese values to fit into UNESCO’s conception of six cultural criteria of OUV. Both of the officials from national and local governments told me the story about the misunderstanding of the Chinese values from the Norwegian ICOMOS experts, and the difficult process of explaining and translating the value of West Lake for international recognition (See Chapter 4 and 5). Just to clarify, the Norwegian experts from ICOMOS, of course, given time, could understand⁶⁷, but this is not the point. The point to stress here is that the perception existed that Chinese values could not be understood by Europeans, and the Norwegian became the symbol of the need to translate Chinese values into Western contexts. It is about how the Chinese officials I interviewed perceived the European point of view. It is a long process that took ten years’ preparation by the local governments of Hangzhou. As I interviewed the Hangzhou local government officials and the two experts (WL142 and WL143) in 2013 (two years after West Lake was awarded World Heritage listing), they still questioned why the World Heritage Committee had rejected the Longjin Tea Plantation Base that had been incorporated into the nomination area. They did

⁶⁶ The two experts are from the Institute of Architectural History, who are authorised by national and local authorities to take charge of writing the nomination dossiers for four world cultural heritage properties since 2011.

⁶⁷ Indeed, this Norwegian ICOMOS expert strongly recommended West Lake’s inscription on the WHL.

not understand, after they had tried so hard to modify Chinese values to fit the OUVs, that they were rejected by international authorities. They also questioned who has the right to decide what is 'outstanding universal value'. (see Chapter 5)

In terms of the Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun, the sites were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2000, ten years earlier than West Lake. The vice-head of the Co. Jingyi Ltd⁶⁸ (HC065), who participated in the World Heritage listing process told me that:

HC065: UNESCO assigned a Japanese expert from ICOMOS to evaluate our village (Hongcun). The local government organised a committee to explore how to show the best of Hongcun to the Japanese expert. They had spent a lot of time to cleaning the touristic area and designed a route for the expert's visit. However, the expert refused to visit the designed route, and he did not want an escort with the local government's official either. He spent an afternoon in the village just by himself, visited locals' houses randomly. It was a rainy day in April, we saw him light a cigarette, and sit aside with an elder villager in front of the Nanhu School. His translator told us he would not smoke in the public space unless he completely enjoyed the site. Therefore, I heard that he highly supports the inscribing of our village at the World Heritage Committee.

In contrast to the Norwegian expert who examined West Lake, the World Heritage assessment process in Xidi and Hongcun was quite different. Clearly, the Japanese expert, as someone from the East Asian region, could more easily understand the Chinese culture than the Norwegian expert. UNESCO has tried to build an objective assessment system based on international experts who possess scientific knowledge and outstanding expertise, and are capable of making an objective judgement on World Heritage listing. Ironically, two of my case studies reveal that the advisory body (ICOMOS) assessment process was subjective, as the Norwegian expert did not understand the Chinese values, and the decision made by the Japanese expert was influenced by his personal emotional factors. In terms of the World Heritage Committee, although West Lake was successfully listed on the World Heritage List, the World Heritage Committee rejected the Longjin Tea Plantation Base's inclusion in the

⁶⁸ The governments' authorised company that is in charge of tourism management.

boundary of the nominated area (fig.10.1 and 10.2). As the interview with the national experts (WL142 and WL143) revealed, they were confused why the area did not fit the six criteria of outstanding universal value. In addition, the local governments' officials, experts who formulated the nomination dossiers, all agreed that the area is a significant part of the West Lake Cultural Landscape, which 'bears an important value of Chinese Tea-Zen cultural tradition' (West Lake Nomination Dossier 2001:16). The survey I conducted with local residents at the Longjin Tea Plantation Base shows that locals were shocked when I informed them the area was excluded from the World Heritage inscription area. Some locals believed I had made a mistake, as the UNESCO experts would find it impossible to reject such a unique tea cultural site given their 'international vision'. Therefore, there would appear to be, at many levels, a disjunction between Chinese understanding of the site and Western understanding of the site. If experts from UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN have the ability to make objective judgements of OUV, why had they assigned someone who does not understand Chinese values to decide the fate of the West Lake World Heritage nomination? At least, in this case, the marginalised locals' perspective was not ignored by Chinese policy makers and managers, but by the international experts.



Fig. 10.1 and 10.2 Longjin Tea Plantation Base (Photo by Rouran Zhang)

Although, the Chinese governments at both national and local levels expressed confusion and dissatisfaction with the hegemonic international heritage discourse and the domination of the UNESCO OUV criteria, they have, nonetheless, been quite willing to shave the square peg of Chinese values to fit into the round hole of UNESCO standards. The heritage authorities' primary concern appears to have been to obtain successful inscriptions of their nominated sites for the benefits they can gain from World Heritage listing. These benefits include a great sense of pride for both the national and local governments and attracting capital to the site.

The economic benefit has brought physical and cultural changes to the nominated properties, which is interwoven with the issue of tourism. In terms of my research, West Lake is a top five touristic destination in China and represents a nationally significant, mature tourist market before its inscription on the WHL. The local authorities I interviewed considered the international reputation and the sense of pride that World Heritage inscription earned were their primary concerns. In terms of tourism issues, they had great confidence in their tourism development, and developed strategies to manage the issues caused by tourism. In contrast, tourism development has been the primary concern in Xidi and Hongcun, as the two villages are located in a relatively remote and impoverished area in Anhui province. They were a relatively immature tourist market before World Heritage inscription, and inscription has substantially boosted tourist numbers in both villages (The Xidi Government 2013a). Indeed, the majority of local communities in these two villages rely on the tourism industry. I will elaborate the sense of pride and economic benefit in the following section.

On June 24, 2011, when the World Heritage Committee announced West Lake's inscription, one of the most influential Chinese international media outlets, the *China Daily*, interviewed Zhang Jiangting, the vice mayor of Hangzhou, who reportedly '*broke into tears*' over the announcement (*China Daily* 2011):

Zhang knows the city has come a long way in helping the West Lake get recognized by the WHC. He remembered the first time the West Lake made a bid several years ago and how a European World Heritage expert had told him: "There are thousands of lakes like that in my hometown." (*China Daily* 2011).

My research demonstrates that a sense of pride from international cultural recognition is one of the benefits that the Chinese governments expect to gain from participating in the World Heritage 'game'. The reason that China obsessively watches for signs of international cultural recognition is that China, in the last century, has experienced 'traumas of loss and change and fears of a menacing future' (Lowenthal 1994:11, Yan 2012). The World Heritage 'game' provides an arena that enables the presentation of China's cultural diversity and social stability to an international audience. As indicated in Chapter 5, World Heritage nomination has been seen as a significant political duty for local governments, and WL140 and WL141 clearly stated that they were under pressure to ensure the site could be designated. Since the implementation of the *Cairns Decision* (see Chapter 4), the rejection or a postponement of a

site's nomination has been seen as humiliating and inexcusable mistake (Yan 2012). For instance, the Chinese government proposed two properties, West Lake Cultural Landscape in Hangzhou (a cultural property) and Wudalianchi National Park in Heilongjiang province (a natural property) in 2011. The World Heritage Committee inscribed West Lake and rejected the Wudalianchi National Park (UNESCO 2011). The responses from Chinese mainstream newspapers and others internet media are interesting. On the one hand, they celebrated the remarkable achievements of the Hangzhou government. On the other hand, they attributed the failure of Wudalianchi National Park to the local government's 'initiative to withdraw the application with courage', rather than reporting that it had in fact been rejected by the World Heritage Committee (see Chinanews 2011; UNESCO 2011[Reference to the failure]). The reason that the media intended to avoid the fact of the failure of the nomination was because it was hard to admit a political failure had occurred for both local and national governments.

The quality of management is another significant change that WHL causes. At a national level, the diffusion of international policies and regulations has changed the power relations within the original national management practices. The MHURD has gradually lost its power and given it to the SACH because of the promulgation of the new category Cultural Landscape and the implication of the *Cairns Decision*. The MHURD used to be in charge of the majority of cultural landscape management, based on the Chinese original national heritage management system, which has different categories and standards than the UNESCO models. In order to introduce the UNESCO model, the central government of China reshaped responsibilities in the management system so that the MHURD took charge of natural heritage and the SACH was placed in charge of cultural heritage. However, based on UNESCO's model, cultural landscapes are a part of cultural heritage for WHL. Therefore, the changes in power relations have caused conflict within the Chinese management system (Han 2006).

At a local level, after West Lake was inscribed on the WHL, the SACH and the Hangzhou government promulgated '*西湖文化景观保护条例 West Lake Cultural Landscape Protection Regulations*' that corresponded with the UNESCO standards. However, the national policy '*风景名胜区条例 Regulations of Scenic and Historic Interest Areas*' is still effective. The latter policy is a national policy that promulgated rules and regulations to manage all types of Scenic and Historic Interest Areas (include West Lake) supervised by the MHURD, while the

former policy is a local policy that formulated specific rules for West Lake's supervision by the SACH. Therefore, the local government has managed West Lake based on two sets of regulations supervised by multiple national departments. Although the two policies do not have obvious conflicts, it does however represent the legitimacy of who has the power to supervise the management of West Lake at a national level. Despite the dissonances and conflicts of management legitimacy between the two national authorities, the local government of Hangzhou has done a good job of site management, and the majority of locals and tourists I interviewed complimented the management of the site (see Chapter 7). During the World Heritage listing process, UNESCO's World Heritage standards were used as a stimulating factor for the Hangzhou city development. For instance, since 2001, the local government of Hangzhou had used the 'World Heritage' application to legitimise their huge urban development project '*西湖综合保护工程 West Lake Protection Project*' (Yang 2007). The local government invested billions of RMB to 'reform' and protect West Lake and its surrounding area (West Lake National Scenic Area Planning Stratagem 2002-2020). The Majority of the locals I interviewed provided positive comments about the project, mentioning such things as improved water quality, the enlarged lake area and opening the West Lake free of charge (this will be elaborated in the following section). The project further influenced The Grand Canal's successful inscription on the WHL in 2014. However, there were negative factors as well. The local government persuaded a group of local communities who used to live close to West Lake to support the West Lake application to World Heritage status by removing themselves from around the lake to a residential quarter called '*嘉绿苑 Jialvyuan*'. While most of these locals I interviewed were proud of West Lake's successful inscription, they were dissatisfied and complained that the local government did not pay much attention to them after their sacrifice for the city.

At Xidi and Hongcun, the local government promulgated '*Wannan Traditional Old Building Protection Regulation 安徽省皖南古民居保护条例*', which is underpinned by UNESCO's policies. The local authorities I interviewed clearly expressed that their management exactly followed international policies and rules. In fact, their management was based on strictly conserving the physical site, buildings and landscape. In their sense, the diversity and 'glory' of their culture can only be demonstrated by the scientific and aesthetic values of physical objects. However, my research reveals that the local management policy 'inspired' by UNESCO standards has actually caused chaos to locals' daily lives, as locals are not allowed

to maintain their own buildings using traditional methods, but must wait for 'professional' teams authorised by local governments. Therefore, the management policies facilitated by Chinese policy makers and managers marginalised locals' right to the site. My interviews show that many locals have a sense that they were being alienated from their own culture (this will be elaborated on in the following section).

An extensive literature has criticised World Heritage as being a hegemonic process with an imposed Eurocentric ideology to non-Western countries (Byrne 1991; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006; Labadi 2007, 2013). However, as Yan (2012:258) argues in China's case, this is not so simple: 'UNESCO influences were to a large extent voluntarily and actively pursued by China's authorities, including the government and professionals' and 'it was a process of negotiation imbued with adaptation and resistance'. This research supports Yan's (2012) contention that the Chinese heritage authorities actively and voluntarily accepted the 'game rules' of the World Heritage Program. However, this research also illustrates that, firstly, the Chinese governments have used World Heritage as cultural script to reshape the heritage system nationwide and established a national discourse and vision of China's historical continuity and cultural diversity in line with the Chinese Communist Party policy. Secondly, the Chinese governments have intended to formulate and enhance national discourse during the World Heritage application and management process. However, from my perspective, if state parties want to join the game, they have to obey the game rules. My research has clearly shown that as a 'game player', China has modified Chinese values to fit into the rules of the World Heritage game at both national and local levels, and in doing so, has created or refocused its nationalistic heritage discourse, using both a domestic and international audience to authorize China's standing in the world. My interviews in Xidi and Hongcun demonstrated a similar process to what Yan (2015:71) found being applied to Fujian Tulou⁶⁹, where the local government uses World Heritage as a cultural tool, based on their local expertise, to 'create a fossilised tradition for the local communities. The residents, under this discursive frame, are forced to perform an 'authentic' mode of living, without being heard.' However, Yan's research reveals the local government also used the 'harmony discourse' to legitimise their management, while the local governments in Xidi and Hongcun did not mention the 'harmony discourse', rather they followed the 'international standards'.

⁶⁹ Fujian Toulou is also a World Heritage site listed in 2007.

Nevertheless, the local government in both Fujian Tulou and Xidi and Hongcun considered locals are incapable of protecting the ‘authenticity’ of their houses without proper supervision by governments.

As noted above, 'World Heritage ' has been used as a cultural script by both the Chinese national and local governments for reshaping and reformulating the heritage system, and establishing a legitimated discursive nationalistic discourse. At some points, it seems effective. My research reveals that the majority of interviewees, no matter whether they were tourists or locals, widely accepted the term 'heritage' (see Chapters 6 and 9). The concept of 'heritage' has been intimately linked to both locals' and tourists' sense of pride and nationalism, and has been influential in various disciplines such as economics, archaeology, urban planning and architecture, among others, and proliferated in Chinese people's daily lives. However, my interview shows that many locals and tourists have their own distinct and in-depth understandings of heritage, shaped by neither the international authorised discourse, which is concerned with 'grand narratives of nation and aesthetics, and as bolstering and privileging expert and professional judgements and stewardship over 'the past"' (Smith 2006:42), nor the national harmony discourse of a socially harmonious and culturally diverse society (Yan 2015) (see Chapter 6). In the following sections, I will examine and compare the understandings and experiences of heritage recorded in interviews with tourists and locals with that of Chinese experts and government understandings, and explore to what extent the World Heritage listing may have changed the Chinese people's understanding of the sites. The perceptions of the changes that tourists and locals feel for the site will be discussed using the following themes. In the next section, I will discuss to what extent the AHD influence locals and tourists' perceptions of heritage.

10.4 The Influences of the Authorised Heritage Discourse

As Smith (2006:42) argues, the impact of the AHD has created a set of social and cultural practises, which tend to marginalise non-expert stakeholders from decision making about heritage. At West Lake, during the WHL process, local government and experts formulated World Heritage nomination dossiers without any public participation. Local authorities and expert values dominated the process. The local government and experts attempted to educate locals' and tourists' about heritage through the international discourse of OUV and the

national harmony discourse. However, my interviews reveal that many locals and tourists were constructing their ideas of heritage and the meanings of the sites without necessarily referencing the authorised discourse. For instance, local government reformed the West Lake Museum in accordance with the OUV of West Lake in the nomination dossiers. As I conducted three days' (including a weekend and a week day) of observations at the West Lake Museum, the visitors (including locals) who come to the museum did not pay much attention to the 'OUV exhibition' area, certainly very few visitors mentioned or discussed their understanding of West Lake in terms of the scientific values of the OUV's when I interviewed them. Rather, most visitors stressed or talked about their emotional experiences and interactions with West Lake, locals and other tourists. As I discussed in Chapter 6, both locals and tourists I interviewed were not influenced by the international discourse about the meaning of 'Natural Heritage' and 'Cultural Heritage'; they also did not make sense of the concept of 'cultural landscape'. It does not mean that locals and tourists do not understand the meaning of heritage, on the contrary, their sense of West Lake are far more active and complex than the AHD and the Chinese harmony discourse addressed. Both locals and tourists I interviewed did not agree on the separation between nature and culture based on their understanding of West Lake. This demonstrated the arguments of Taylor (2009, 2012) and Inaba (2012), who argue that nature and culture are indivisible in Asia. For many locals and tourists, their understanding of nature, culture and heritage is based on their sense of feeling of being in a place. For instance, WL043 described the poetic meaning of '断桥残雪 Lingered Snow on Broken Bridge' to make his arguments about the combination of culture and nature:

WL043: ...the meaning of '断桥残雪 Lingered Snow on Broken Bridge' reflects the scenery that on a sunny day after a heavy snow, the snow on the bridge melts and shows the brown floor, which gives people a feeling that the chain is broken. (WL043, tourist, male, 25-34, Bachelor, staff from state-owned enterprise, from Heilongjiang) (quoted in Chapter 6, Page 135)

From his perspective, and many other people's (see WL055) I interviewed in West Lake (see Chapter 6), the boundary between defining 'natural heritage', 'cultural heritage' or 'cultural landscape' are meaningless. Despite this, many Chinese researchers have discussed and disseminated the discourse of 'cultural landscape' with great enthusiasm (see Zhou et al.

2006; Shan 2009b, 2010b; Han 2010; Wu 2011; Xi and Zhang 2014). Both locals and tourists I interviewed were more concerned about their personal ‘feel’ of heritage tied to personal memories and experiences, which further reflected their personal or collective identities. As I discussed in Chapter 6, locals’ and tourists’ senses of heritage were a combination of things evoked by physically being at the site, and were influenced by their self-conscious pursuit of nature and culture in an inner world tied to their personal memories and experiences. Therefore, the sense of feeling about the aesthetic and poetic thought process demonstrated by tourists I interviewed at West Lake created a cultural moment that was a dialog between their internal world and the outside world. To illustrate this, I note a story of sense of feeling from Wang Yangming⁷⁰, who is the one of the most influential Chinese idealist Neo-Confucians:

The Teacher [Wang] was taking recreation at Nanchen. One of his friends pointed to the flowers and trees on a cliff and said: "You say that there is nothing under heaven external to the mind. What relation to my mind have these flowers and trees on the high mountains, which blossom and drop of themselves?" The Teacher said: "When you cease regarding these flowers, they become quiet with your mind. When you see them, their colours at once become clear. From this you can know that these flowers are not external to your mind." He further said: "Perception has no structure upon which it depends: it uses the colour of all things as its structure. The ear has no structure upon which it depends: it uses the sounds of things as its structure. The nose has no structure: it uses the odours of things as its structure. The mouth has no structure: it uses the taste of things as its structure. The mind has no structure: it uses the right and wrong influences of heaven, earth, and things as structure. (Wang and Henke 1964: 31-32, the text has been modernized by Prof. Arkenberg⁷¹)

Many of the interviewees, such as WL043, expressed an explicit poetic sense of feeling when they talked about their understanding of nature and culture. Han (2006:186) argues that the concept of ‘*Oneness with nature*’ or ‘*Harmony of Man with Nature*’⁷² are embodied in every

⁷⁰ Wang Yangming (31 October 1472 – 9 January 1529), was a Chinese idealist Neo-Confucian philosopher, official, educationist, calligraphist and general during the Ming dynasty. After Zhu Xi, he is commonly regarded as the most important Neo-Confucian thinker, with interpretations of Confucianism that denied the rationalist dualism of the orthodox philosophy of Zhu Xi. Wang was known as "Yangming Xiansheng" and/or "Yangming Zi" in literary circles: both mean "Master Yangming". (Source from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wang_Yangming)

⁷¹ Source: <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/eastasia/wangyang1.asp>

⁷² Chinese philosophy, by contrast with Western thinking, has from the start emphasized immanence and unity. Where Western dualism led to an opposition between man and nature, Chinese monism stress the harmony between the two. Most

Chinese person's personal or collective memories. The source of the 'harmony' concept can be found in the school textbooks, the poetry, the traditional Chinese paintings and the stories in everyday Chinese daily life, which facilitate the poetic thought process and sense of feeling I identified. The sense of 'Harmony of Man with Nature' embodied in traditional Chinese culture is different from what Yan (2015) labelled the harmony discourse, which he argues is the Chinese hegemonic discourse and a Chinese version of the Western AHD. The sense of 'Harmony of Man with Nature' that I identified linked to both locals and tourists' personal feeling of the site, and is tied to their memories and experiences. The sense of feeling is active and complex. I will further discuss the issue of feeling at the following section.

At Xidi and Hongcun, as above noted, no matter whether the local government misunderstood or misused the UNESCO standard, the policies implemented that reference UNESCO have caused local dissonance. My research demonstrates that the power relations underlying the discourse in the Chinese context is no different than that identified in the European context by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996), Macdonald (2003), Graham et al. (2000) and Smith (2006). The national and local authorities and experts who represent the upper, middle and ruling classes have the power to define the meaning and nature of heritage. Therefore, the consequences of the AHD marginalise the majority middle and lower classes' understanding of heritage. The main content of this study is to explore the changes those marginalised stakeholders' understandings of heritage may have undergone during the WHL process. This process is entangled with another significant issue - tourism.

10.5 Economic Gain, Cultural Gain

The tension between tourism and heritage has existed for a long time. From a practical understanding of heritage, the literature has been concerned with managing tourism impacts on heritage sites. As Ashworth (2009) has argued, mainstream heritage tourism literature characterises tourists as a problem. Tourists are routinely defined as causing economic commodification (McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Lowenthal 1998; Choay 2001; Greenspan 2002), pollution and physical damage to sites, and they obscure or erode other

Chinese philosophers share this unique view no matter how different their views on other issues may be. (Source: chinaculture.org)

values of heritage (Swarbrooke 1995; Hall and McArthur 1998; Leask and Yeoman 1999; McKercher and du Cros 2002). Moreover, these views tend to be embedded in international ICOMOS heritage policies and practices (Ashworth 2009; Watson et al. 2012). The interviews with national government officials revealed that they too followed this negative dominant perspective on tourism and tourists, in that they regarded tourists as a problem or threat that needs to be 'managed' in terms of their physical impact. They characterised tourism as one of the trickiest issues they need to deal with both before and after World Heritage listing. The two experts (WL142 and WL143, see Chapter 5) told me that tourism problems would influence the World Heritage nomination. When they wrote the nomination dossiers, they avoided using the word 'tourism', and substituted it with a new term, 'display and dissemination'. The economic effects of tourism were the only perceived benefit of tourism and both the national governments' officials and experts admitted that they focused on this in the dossiers.

While tourists may bring about the negative effects noted above, they may also have positive effects. The majority of locals I interviewed at the two case study sites considered that tourism and tourists caused them to have a great sense of pride. This sense of pride is constructed from both the economic and cultural gains received from tourism and tourists. In terms of the economic gain, locals in Hangzhou, no matter if they were a 'new Hangzhou citizen'⁷³ or an 'old Hangzhou citizen', considered tourism and tourists to have raised funding that supported positive changes to their sites. Those changes include improvement to water quality, an enlarged lake area, and the creation of a new touristic area such as Xixi National Wetland Park and Jiang Yangfan Park, along with other infrastructural improvements. The infrastructural improvements funded by tourism can also be witnessed in Xidi and Hongcun. The tourists' numbers in Xidi increased from 250,000, with ticket-sale revenue of US\$0.7 million in 2000, to 800,000 with ticket-sale revenue of US\$5.48 million in 2001, following the WHL, while the ticket-sale revenue increased even more dramatically from US\$0.15 million to US\$ 12.9million in Hongcun (Ying and Zhou 2007; The Xidi Government 2013). The majority of locals believed that tourism is the most significant reason their villages still existed and were vital (for example see HC048 quoted in Chapter 9 Page 252). My data also shows that the majority of locals are engaged in tourism or tourism related business in the two villages. Tourism has caused an industrial transformation from traditional agricultural

⁷³ Fifty-two percent of locals I interviewed had lived in Hangzhou for less than five years, and many of this group of people defined themselves as 'New Hangzhou Citizens'.

and tea farming to tourism services. Locals were very happy and proud of the industrial transformation, as they considered tourism development had saved them from poverty, so that the young villagers could stay in to help the tourism business rather search for jobs elsewhere, as occurred in many other surrounding villages (e.g. HC052, HC028 in Chapter 9).

More importantly, there were cultural gains from tourism at the sites of the two case studies. The majority of locals were very willing for tourists to come to their sites. At West Lake, locals mentioned that mass tourists come to the site, which they were proud of. Some of them were proud of their cultural, historical and physical setting (e.g. WL058, WL080, WL093 in Chapter 7). Some of them were just simply proud to be a Hangzhou citizen in a city receiving worldwide recognition (e.g. WL007, WL036, WL076 in Chapter 7); some of them hoped people could inherit and innovate intangible culture such as the Longjin tea culture, silk skills and routines from the Southern Song dynasty (e.g. WL035, WL094, WL097 in Chapter 7); and some of them are proud of the new developments in the city (e.g. WL035, WL055, WL131 in Chapter 7). Surveys conducted in Xidi and Hongcun revealed that tourism itself has been seen as a positive factor by villagers from a non-economic perspective. Some locals considered tourists aroused locals' public awareness of the need to respect their culture and are a stimulating factor for the protection and improvement of intangible heritage (e.g. XD042, XD090 in Chapter 9).

10.6 Cultural Moments Created by Tourists

Much of the heritage and tourism literature has defined tourists as 'culturally inauthentic', passive sightseers, with little or no agency in the meanings they construct at heritage sites (see for example, McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; MacCannell 1999; Choay 2001: 4-5; Burton 2003; Mason 2004, 2005). A key issue that the interviews of tourists in the two case studies illustrate is that tourists have agency, and they are undertaking in-depth and sophisticated cultural work during their visits to heritage sites. At West Lake (see Chapter 7), a significant national icon, tourists were very familiar with the site and its meanings because of the history, stories, poetry and TV program, etc. Many tourists came to West Lake not for the aesthetic reasons that dominate the criteria on which this site gained World Heritage status, rather they came to gain cultural experiences, which link to histories, myth, stories,

poetries, proverbs, the White Snake TV show and other intangible things (e.g. WL011, WL040, WL044, WL045, WL083). The reasons they were attracted to West Lake were linked to their personal or collective memories. They wanted to reminisce and remember those memories during their journey. Some of the tourists wanted to see the modern part of West Lake or how modern elements merged into the historical setting (e.g. WL039, WL072). Ironically, those modern settlements are characterised by UNESCO and the Chinese governments as threatening the integrity and authenticity of the UNESCO criteria.

My research also reveals that there is a complex interrelation between tourists and the heritage sites. The overall engagement of those interviewed at the West Lake tended to be multi-dimensional, drawing on different aspects of emotional registers. Tourists' sense of nationalism (e.g. WL075), identities (e.g. WL064), belonging (e.g. WL048), nostalgia (e.g. WL129), and humility (e.g. WL078) were evoked by encounters with the physical sites or objects during their visit. With few exceptions, tourists' engagement facilitated a strong sense of emotional authenticity, based on the process of remembering and reminiscing that were entangle with their personal and collective memories. For instance, WL048 and WL082 compared Hangzhou to the city they were living in or used to live in, which represents their sense of belonging elicited by seeing another place with similar or interlinked historical or cultural backgrounds; WL064 engaged a powerful emotional register when he was reminiscing and searching for lost identity related to his family, as his grandparents moved from mainland China to Taiwan because of the Chinese Civil War from 1945 to 1950; WL039's sense of place was based on his expertise, and he compared the differences of design ideology and concepts between China and the Netherlands; WL099's sense of place was linked to his religion, and he saw his visit as a 'pilgrimage'.

In some cases, my survey shows a deep emotional engagement was linked to intellectual engagement. For example, WL040 demonstrated that physically being at the Yue Fei Temple made him deeply empathize with Yue Fei's experience in the past. During this empathetic process, he reflected on the meaning of 'good and evil' in the present engaging in a dialogue between past and present.

In the case of Xidi and Hongcun, the cultural and historical elements are not as complicated as those at West Lake. The World Heritage brand is one of the significant reasons people come to visit. A large number of tourists were engaged in acts of recognition of the culture

and history of the two villages or Anhui province, doing their own identity or memory work, and were engaged in building social connections. For some visitors, the built environment of Xidi and Hongcun were associated with the depth and texture of wider Chinese Southern identity and Confucianism. For example, XD028 and XD049 linked the material buildings to the past Hui culture underlined by an emotion of adoration. Physical encounters with old buildings helped generate an interesting cultural moment with a dialog between the present and the past. XD024 and XD029 were geographically separated, from different parts of China. However, both of them had a similar cultural affiliation to the site. Therefore, their memories had been aroused by seeing the landscape in Xidi, which invoked a similar sense of belonging. Although some tourists' perspectives of the two sites were impacted by the AHD, which focuses on aesthetic values, many tourists however were actively engaged in a complex aesthetic thought process rather than passively accepting the received messages of the AHD (e.g. XD057, HC005, HC040). For instance, XD057 used a metaphor to describe 'Hongcun is a woman, and Xidi is a man', with an aesthetic view of Hongcun and the grand scale of buildings in Hongcun evoking his sense of feeling. HC005 was deeply engaged in the cultural moment she created, with physically being at the site eliciting her poetic sense of feeling linked to her imagination of the four seasons:

HC005...When you walk through a door, you can see hundred-year-old tree peony in the garden. The tile carving, the wood carving, and any details of the building are so delicate. Some houses may be small, but the contents they contain are abundant. I can feel the beauty of the four seasons, with the melting of snow in the spring, the clear water flowed freely in the summer, and the withered lotus in the autumn. (HC005, tourist, female, over 65, retired teacher) (quoted from Chapter 9, page 231)

Those tourists' aesthetic thought processes were invoked by a physical encounter with places, which linked to their personal or collective memories. My two case studies illustrate tourists' emotional responses and reflect that, although some tourists offered formalistic or platitudinous responses in their interviews, the majority of them showed that tourists deeply engaged in constructing heritage meaning with registers of emotional engagement, sometimes positive with an active sense, while sometimes negative with frustrated feeling, the heritage objects or landscape becoming a medium to reinforce their sense of belonging and identities. Some negative impacts of tourism, in particular cultural commodification and commercial changes, have been mentioned during my interview. For instance, WL021 expressed his

disappointment about the commercial changes at West Lake. His sense of unpleasantness was linked to a sense of nostalgia, as he had a very pleasant experience during his first visit to West Lake ten years ago; WL049 was disappointed with his journey because he felt commodification eroded other historical values what he had expected. Examples were also evident in Xidi and Hongcun; XD022 criticised the commercial changes of Hongcun, which also influenced his sense of nostalgia about a pleasant journey he had taken thirteen years ago. Although some tourists were aware of the negative impacts of tourism, it was an engagement process of creating heritage. No matter the positive or negative memories created by the interaction between tourists and heritage, those memories make heritage meaningful and alive.

My interview reveals that tourists were not simply 'touring'; they were undertaking 'cultural and social work', actively working out, remembering and negotiating cultural meanings. Despite the apparent influences of the AHD employed by management at the two sites and discussed above, overall the work supports the sense of agency illustrated by Smith (2006, 2011, 2012), Sather-Wagstaff (2011) and Byrne (2009) in their work with heritage visitors in England, the United States, Australia and Thailand. My research using qualitative visitor interviews was carried out in a Chinese context. There are two themes that emerged from tourists' discourse that is different from other cultural contexts, which refer to the sense of feeling and the interactions between tourists and locals. In the following two sections I will unpack these two themes.

10.7 Sense of Feeling

Poria et al. (2003) have argued that visitors' perception of places links to their personal feelings, and further influences their behaviours at heritage sites. He acknowledged that his research, based on interviews with people visiting the heritage site The Wailing Wall, Israel, which has a strong association with tourists' feelings tied to their family or ethnicity. Cameron and Gatewood (2000, 2003) also identified a sense of feeling, which they called 'numinous', that attempted to describe a visitors' sense of being spiritually linked to the past. They considered that some tourists at heritage sites are undertaking 'numen-seeking'. Smith (2006, 2015) observed that visitors often had strong emotional engagements, however, they tended not to talk explicitly about feeling anything. Smith based her research within Australia, England and US contexts, and reports (pers. comm.) that there is little overt

acknowledgement that tourists were having or seeking certain feelings at sites, although their responses indicated that they were feeling something. Nonetheless, the degree of emotional authenticity that they felt was important in validating the meanings they were making.

Based on those scholars' research, my research further develops their arguments in the Chinese context. I have found that there is a more complex and multi-dimensional sense of feeling that emerges from my two case studies' interviews, which reveals that people talk about their feelings in a far more self-conscious way than the data Cameron and Gatewood (2000, 2003), Poria et al (2003) or Smith (2006, 2015) have recorded.

Firstly, some of the tourists were clearly aware they were seeking a sense of 'feeling' that tied to their sense of place. It is a dialog between the personal and the physical site. All of my three case studies showed that many tourists' narratives presented an aesthetic thought process with extensive use of metaphor. On the one hand, some of them were explicitly aware of the very subtle natural aesthetic beauty surrounding them. For instance, XD057 metaphorically thought that 'Hongcun is a woman and Xidi is a man' which '[t]he water view in Hongcun is so beautiful, which makes Hongcun like a woman. The old houses and ancestral temples in Xidi are larger and bigger than Hongcun, so I imagine Xidi is a man'; HC005 described her sense of place at Hongcun as being able see that the four seasons were 'alive' there (see above quotes).

On the other hand, some of the tourists' senses of feeling evoked by their encounters with the physical sites revealed deeper emotional engagements. There is a sense of the poetic that is tied to the idea of emotion and feeling my research revealed, which is far more overt than Bagnall (2003), Poria et al. (2003) and Smith (2006, 2015) found in Western contexts. For instance, WL043 (see Chapter 6 category question), when he vividly described the scene of '断桥残雪 Lingerin Snow on Broken Bridge' that 'reflects the scenery that on a sunny day after a heavy snow, the snow on the bridge melts and shows the brown floor, which gives people a feeling that the chain is broken'. I interviewed him in Autumn, he easily described his aesthetic feeling in the winter season. In the interview with local residents, such as WL076 (See chapter 7), he also understands the poetic meaning of the 'Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places' such as '断桥残雪 Lingerin Snow on Broken Bridge means', and he wanted tourists to understand and feel these poetic meanings as well. My research reveals that

Chinese people (both tourists and locals) who I interviewed seem to easily understand the poetic meaning of West Lake (e.g. see also WL093). Ironically, '断桥残雪 Lingered Snow on Broken Bridge' was the place the local government and experts tried to, but failed, to explain the poetic meaning of to the Norwegian expert from ICOMOS. The reason is that this poetic or aesthetic thought process was embodied in Chinese traditional culture, and represents and speaks to Chinese identity and is easily made sense of by Chinese people. While Westerners were not influenced in this way, even the Norwegian expert's expertise could not readily fill the gap of cultural differences. This gap supports Han Feng's (2006) thesis, where she demonstrated the Chinese traditional philosophy precept of '*Oneness with nature*' (or harmony with nature as noted above) has influenced Chinese understanding of heritage (see also the essential spirit of traditional Chinese philosophies identified by Zhang 1986; Wang 1990; Xu 1996). Han (2006) argues that:

Chinese philosophies are about human beings and their highest practices involve the aesthetic pursuit of life itself. (Han 2006:187)

Nature, interpreted by Chinese philosophical, moral and aesthetic values, greatly contributed to the aesthetic construction of all aspects of everyday traditional life, from the ideal society to the ideal personality. Life, morals, politics, aesthetics everything could be interpreted by *Shanshui*, which had totally penetrated human ideology. Nature was spiritually and materially reconstructed by the Chinese when the boundary between human beings and nature disappeared. (Han 2006:190) (See also Xu 1996, Peng 1998, Zhang 2005)

This poetic sense of feeling was also widely expressed by tourists quoting poetry from ancient scholars. For instance, WL083's (see Chapter 7) sense of feeling was evoked by the poetry before she actually went to the site, and she quoted one of the most popular poems from Su Dongpo's '*饮湖上初晴后雨 After rain comes fair sunshine*':

'欲把西湖比西子，淡妆浓抹总相宜。 West Lake is like the beauty, Xizi [Xi Shi]⁷⁴,
With light or heavy makeup, always beautiful!'

⁷⁴ **Xi Shi (Hsi Shih** 506 BC – ?) was one of the renowned Four Beauties of ancient China. She was said to have lived during the end of Spring and Autumn Period in Zhuji, the capital of the ancient State of Yue. Xi Shi's beauty was said to be so

Sun Dongpo, in this poem, used metaphor comparing West Lake to Xizi, who is one of the renowned *Four Beauties* of ancient China. Some tourists came to West Lake expecting to experience the scene that the poetry described. Their sense of place was elicited as they felt the metaphor and the meaning in the poetry become entangled with their personal or collective memories. Those memories further influence their emotional engagement and the way they understand the world. I have just nominated one poem, however thousands of poems have been written to describe the beauty and stories of West Lake by the ancient Chinese. The ancient scholars, such as Sun Dongpo, created the meaning of heritage in the past, and tourists in the present are creating the contemporary meaning of heritage. As WL115 comments that

...On the message board, many tourists had written poems, their emotional message and their stories linking to West Lake or Hangzhou City. Maybe one hundred years later, some of their writing will be famous and documented just like our ancestors before. (WL115, local, male 25-34, staff from IT Company) (requoted from Chapter 7, page 207)

The sense of feeling was also expressed by some of the tourists metaphorically, though they are explicitly aware that they are constructing their own meaning of heritage and utilising the past in the present. Some of those senses of feeling become entangle with the issue of authenticity. For instance, XD049's sense of feeling was tied to the physical authenticity of the building, and he considered that the physical authenticity of the old houses could invoke his sense of feeling, and that his mind was drawing on the past to witness the memories of the building. WL040 had aware that being in the Yue Fei Temple allowed him to have an emphatic emotional engagement with Yue Fei's stories in the past, and further influenced his view of the world in the present. The physical authenticity of the Yue Fei Temple triggered his feeling that he was engaging in a dialog between past and present. However, sometimes visitors' sense of feeling does not link to the physical authenticity of the site. For example, WL043's and WL089's (see Chapter 7) senses of place were tied to what they felt was an empathetic process with romantic and poetic elements, WL089 who wanted to drink wine

extreme that while leaning over a balcony to look at the fish in the pond, the fish would be so dazzled that they forgot to swim and sank away from the surface. This description serves as the first two characters of the Chinese idiom 沉魚落雁, 閉月羞花 which is used to compliment someone's beauty. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xi_Shi)

with two ancient scholars, and WL042 who was immersed in the romantic scene from The White Snake story. Their feelings were moving between the past and the present, and from the spiritual to the mundane. In their case, being in the physical place allowed them to be spiritually linked to the past in a quite poetic way. This deep intellectual engagement was not evoked by the physical authenticity of the site, but was rather influenced by her personal memories and the experiences of her journey. As Swarbrooke (1996:A69) states 'the reality of a product or experience is probably less important....than the consumer's perception of it'. People's sense of emotional authenticity and those poetic thought processes can be traced back to Chinese Confucian philosophy and Wang Yangming, who considered that:

[O]bjects do not exist entirely apart from the mind because the mind shapes them. He believed that it is not the world that shapes the mind, but the mind that gives reason to the world. Therefore, the mind alone is the source of all reason.

(Source from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wang_Yangming)

Therefore, I argue that sometimes visitors' emotional authenticity, at times influenced by physical authenticity and sometimes not, but no matter in what circumstances, these examples of emotional authenticity link to visitors' personal or collective memories and their social and cultural experiences. Hence, the importance of physical authenticity depends on the extent to which it elicits people's emotional engagement. My research has confirmed the arguments of emotional authenticity developed by Bagnall (2003), Smith (2006, 2012) and Zhu (2012). As Smith (2006:70) states:

This idea of emotional realism, or emotional authenticity in which visitors can validate or measure the legitimacy of their own social and cultural experiences outside of the heritage sites they are visiting, adds another layer of consequence to the idea of performativity.

There is a significant issue I would like to raise, which is that the questionnaire I used in my interview was based on the questionnaire designed by Smith (2006, 2012, 2015) and used in her research in Australia, England and the US. There is a tendency that the differences my research reveals in comparison to the Western findings is the sense of feeling Chinese visitors tend to employ and that they are, on the whole, more explicitly aware of what they are feeling at and about the sites, and utilise the past in the present more than has been reported in other cultural contexts (see for example Smith 2006, 2012, 2015; Sather-Wagstaff 2011).

My interviews with tourists at all three case study sites also reveal that the sense of feeling is not only tied to their sense of place, but is also linked to their sense of interactions with locals.

Poria et al. (2003) and Smith (2006, 2015) have discussed the issue of tourists' feeling connected to a site and this influencing their performances. My research further develops their argument by illustrating that there is an interplay of identity going on among tourists, locals and third parties (local governments and tourism companies) at Xidi and Hongcun. At Xidi, many tourists I interviewed had a feeling that Xidi is 'alive'. Although I also received some responses that visitors considered Hongcun to be alive as well (e.g. HC005, HC040), however, the general proportion was not as great as at Xidi. Some tourists had been to both places, but considered Xidi to be more alive, but felt a sense of alienation at Hongcun. As noted above, there was a lot of interaction between tourists and locals in both villages. However, there were third party controls in both villages as well, and the third party's control in Hongcun was more effective than Xidi, which interrupted the interactions between locals and tourists. Therefore, tourists had felt that the intimate relationship they felt when they were communicating with locals, without mediation by a third party, was typical of Xidi rather than Hongcun, where the interplay had been removed or influenced by third parties. The interactions that occur between tourists and locals is another significant theme and will be discussed in the next section.

There is a sub-theme that links to tourists' sense of feeling, which I refer to as a sense of '*freedom*'. Poria et al. (2003:248) considered 'tourists who are motivated by the heritage attributes of the sites, and considered these attributes to be part of their own heritage, have a deeper sense of emotional engagement and connection to the site than those tourists who are motivated by relaxation or entertainment. However, as I interviewed tourists at my three case study sites, no matter whether tourists' motivations to visit the site was for in-depth cultural and historical engagement, or just for relaxation or recreational reasons, they had expressed deep emotional engagement when they felt a sense of freedom during the journey. For instance, some tourists' motivation to visit West Lake was for recreation from working pressure (e.g. WL012), and experiencing a site with lots of natural features gave them a feeling of 'freedom'. There is a Chinese tradition that many travellers in the ancient times, such as *Bai Juyi* and *Su Shi*, pursued the beauty of nature to forget reality. Han (2006:90) used the term '*Shanshui Tour*' to argue that:

In this travel, there was no bitterness at leaving home, no discontent with reality, no worries about life, and no burden of moral cultivation. The only thing it had was pure spiritual enjoyment obtained from beautiful destinations.

Thousands of poems describe the beauty of West Lake, which has been created by people who tried to engage themselves with nature and escaped from reality during their journey. Therefore, I argue that some tourists that come to heritage sites are not pursuing any other external things, rather they are searching for the feeling of *'freedom'*. However, sometimes their sense of freedom is blocked or restrained by physical and invisible boundaries. The physical boundaries include 'walls,' 'fences' and 'entrance gates', while the invisible boundaries are 'entrance fees' and 'government control'. Some tourists' I interviewed in the three case studies showed to some extent how their sense of freedom was influenced by those boundaries. At West Lake, some tourists I interviewed (see WL089, WL099 in Chapter 7) complimented the Hangzhou government for opening up the entire area around West Lake by removing the entrance fee. WL089, who actively engaged in a poetic and romantic cultural moment she created by imagining drinking wine with ancient scholars, as a return visitor considered both the physical boundaries; 'walls,' 'fences' or 'entrance gate', and invisible boundaries - 'entrance fee'; interrupted her sense of feeling when she last visited. While WL099 considered his sense of feeling *'was cut into several pieces by those walls and gates.'* In terms of Xidi and Hongcun, visitors such as HC038, HC042 and XD028 were dissatisfied with the heritage and tourism management of the local governments and tourism companies, and they considered their sense of feeling 'has been managed' by not only the 'gates', 'walls' and 'high entrance fees,' but rather constrained by the government controls drawing on the AHD to fossilise the two villages as a theme park. Therefore, the three case studies show that the sense of freedom is one of the keys that help tourists register deep emotions and facilitate their different kinds of sense of feeling, however, this can be obstructed by physical and intangible boundaries.

In this section, my interview results in all three areas have reinforced and further developed the arguments that Poria et al. (2003) and Smith (2006, 2015) have made, that tourists' motivations for visiting, their behaviour during their visits, and the messages they had taken away were clearly linked to their sense of feeling. However, my interviews also shows that not only tourists have this sense of feeling, some local residents also express a deep sense of feeling. This interrelationship with another significant theme emerged from my research - the interaction between locals and tourists.

10.8 Interactions between Locals and Tourists

The interviews in all of my case studies have shown the complex interactions between locals and tourists. The sense of pride of local people was magnified when they had communicated with or made an emotional connection with tourists. In the case of West Lake (see Chapter 7), locals wanted tourists to experience or 'feel' their sites. Some of them hoped that tourists can gain cultural experiences, enjoy local customs or food from Hangzhou (e.g. WL061); some of them expect tourists could take their time to 'feel', to enjoy or 'taste' the poetic meaning of Hangzhou (e.g. WL093, WL076); and some of them hoped tourists could recognise or explore the culture and history beyond the authorised discourse. During my interviews with locals in West Lake, the majority of them were very engaged in the conversation we were having, and displayed strong emotional registers. I easily engaged with the narratives they were relating, as they were very sincere. Against much of the heritage literature and policies made by international and national authorities, who criticise the destructive nature of mass tourists to local communities, my research clearly shows the majority of locals were willing for tourists to come to West Lake, which was tied to their strong sense of pride.

At Xidi and Hongcun, the majority of locals' livelihoods depend on tourists. Clearly, the dramatic development of tourism has been influenced by World Heritage inscription (see Chapter 8 and 9). With the development of tourism, hostels operated by locals along with other tourism businesses have emerged. My survey reveals that nearly all of the local residents I spoke to were willing for tourists to come to their villages. Apart from economic factors, a sense of protection of both tangible and intangible heritage, and the locals pride as above noted, there is a sense of emotional connection between locals and tourists. The hostels (run by locals) were the places that magnified those emotional connections. Those types of hostels are normally traditional Huizhou dwellings renovated by the house owners (locals) to meet their personal needs. Many tourists have frequently booked local hostels using Social Networking Services such as '穷游 *Qiongyou.com*' or '携程网 *ctrip.com*'. They can write their own stories, experiences and inspirations during their visit and check other tourists' experiences before they set off. Therefore, the hostels provided places for communication or emotional engagements between locals and tourists or tourists themselves. Some of the communications or emotional engagements were shallow or banal. However, in many cases, the communications or emotional engagements were very deep, and some tourists had written

down (or sketched) their experiences and feelings and posted on the message board. Other tourists could be inspired, or have empathetic feeling during their visiting (Fig. 10.3 and 10.4).



Fig. 10.3 Message board in Xidi's local hostel (Photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig. 10.4 Message board in Hongcun's local hostel (Photo by Rouran Zhang)

I remembered the day I had a conversation as a tourist with HC051, who is the owner of a local hostel. She told me that interactions and communication with tourists could provide her with a great sense of pleasure and contentment:

HC051: In the early morning, I saw my neighbour emerged out of the mist, with some dirt on her shoes. She was carrying a basket of fresh vegetables from her farm to the morning market. I smiled and said hi to her and then I went to Mr Wang's house which is close to Moon Pool to have a cup of tea and some breakfast. From his house, I saw four women were washing clothes in the pool. They were chatting with each other, laughing. In the meantime, there are several elder people who were drinking porridge at the opposite site of Moon Pool. Suddenly, I heard a large group of footstep getting closer, which I knew meant today's first group of guests was coming. Some of these visitors were asking about the culture or the customs of the village from the local tour guide; and some of them were shooting photos of the pool, the houses, the reflections and the villagers. I like this kind of lifestyle. (HC051, local, female, 45-54,) (requoted from Chapter 9, page 295)

HC052, who is a local scholar, also operates a hostel, and wrote a book '*古村有梦 Dream of the old village*'. In his book, he mentioned that he had built a deep relationship with a Beijing tourist, Ms. Meng, who had been to Hongcun many times and witnessed and experienced the exceptional beauty of Hongcun, and 'spring's rape flowers, summer's lotus, autumn's red leaves and winter's "white village"' (Wang 2013:175). The touristic places in Hongcun and

surrounding areas did not attract her, 'the only reason she has come to Hongcun regularly is the deep interactions between the author and her' (Wang 2013:176). In Mr. Wang's book, he literally dreamed that he had an empathetic role as he turns into Ms. Meng, and dreamt how she would experience and enjoy contemporary life in Hongcun (Wang 2013:175-184). In Xidi, XD038 experienced a deep bonding with tourists, as she made 'close friends' and 'exchanges postcards' and 'fresh tea' frequently (see Chapter 9, page 254). Therefore, I argue that there is a great sense of pleasure and contentment, and even personal bonding occurred, when locals feel they had made a connection with tourists. Those interactions between locals and tourists keep the heritage alive, and it is an active process that creates memories between locals and tourists. As Smith (2006, 2012:213) has argued heritage was not 'frozen in time', but rather is a performance, the act of which keeps the historical and heritage meanings and the values they represent relevant to society. In Smith's work (2006, 2012) she examined the relevance of this performance to tourists/visitors, however, this work suggests that this performance is one that local residents also engage in and that, moreover, they take some meaning that reinforces their own identity and pride in that, from witnessing the performances of visiting enacted by tourists. The interconnections and performances between tourists and locals construct the meaning of heritage. As I conducted my survey at West Lake, I also witnessed this relationship build between locals and tourists in hostels run by locals (e.g. WL097 in Chapter 7).

From the tourists' perspective, the level of engagement with a sense of contentment seems magnified when tourists feel they had made a connection with locals and with the site (I will illustrate the connection with sites below). In the case of West Lake (see Chapter 7), some of them considered communicating with the locals (e.g. WL078, WL083, WL118), enjoying or participating in locals' activities (e.g. WL028), listening to the stories of Hangzhou from locals, or watching the elder locals' performances such as Tai Ji or Square Dance, were performances that elicited tourists' sense of belonging. At Xidi and Hongcun, my survey shows that the sense of contentment was also widely found when tourists are deeply engaged in communicating with locals. Some unremarkable details of the villages, such as 'preserved ducks hanging under the roof' (e.g. XD047), the busy morning market with fresh vegetables and food (e.g. HC040), and 'a simple poster posted on the wall of a resident's house, which indicates that the house owner is going to butcher a pig and hopes villagers will come to buy fresh meat at that time' (e.g. HC005), have made tourists feel that the heritage is alive. The

sense of being 'alive' is what tourists found as they visited the two villages, which facilitated their sense of contentment.

All the three areas in the two case studies reveal a similar process of interactions between locals and tourists. A sense of pleasure and contentment was generated between tourists and locals at both national significant heritage sites such as West Lake, and regionally significant sites such as Xidi and Hongcun. My research also finds that the government control or authorised tourism enterprises interrupt the sense of contentment and bonding that all the case studies have been showing, stemming from the cultural interaction between tourists and locals. What Xidi shows is that those cultural interactions among tourists, locals and physical sites become magnified if locals control tourism. The reason is linked to who has the right to manage heritage. The tourism management in Hongcun is run by Co. Jingyi Ltd, which is the external company authorised by the local government. From the perspective of local communities, the tourism company was only concerned to protect the historical and cultural appearance of heritage sites, which was required by national or international policies. Therefore, some regulations and rules have been imposed since Hongcun was successfully inscribed on the WHL. For instance, locals had no right to maintain their own building unless approved by locally authorised so called 'qualified' construction teams⁷⁵. However, based on their traditions, traditional houses were normally maintained by local construction teams. Another example is that:

HC028: ...many locals in Hongcun used to sell Chinese style baked rolls, melon seeds or other food from a small basket to villagers and tourists. This custom had been seen as 'pollution' to the aesthetic value of the heritage site, and local governments have forbidden this custom to ensure the protection of the site. (HC028, local, man, 54-65, local scholar) (requoted from Chapter 9, page 265)

Therefore, those management strategies were the invisible 'boundaries' that had resulted in locals' sense of alienation from their own culture. In Xidi, tourism management was run by locals for more than 20 years. However, in mid-2013, the state-owned enterprise Co. Huihuang Ltd took charge, though the new tourism company had, at the time the interviews were undertaken, limited influence on existing tourism management. The local governments and tourism company intended to copy Hongcun's tourism management experiences in order

⁷⁵ From my interviews with local residents, there would seem to be corruption problems involved with getting the authority to use a 'qualified' construction company.

to replicate Hongcun's tourism income. However, there were strong complaints and resistance from Xidi's villagers, as they feared both physical and cultural alienation from the state-run tourism company taking over management from locals. In Hongcun, local government, the tourism company and locals in Hongcun seem to have found a balance with each other, and are aware that breaking the balance might negatively influence their income. Therefore, some tourists who went to both villages considered Hongcun to be more 'unified' than Xidi, while XD047 considered Hongcun a commercial place, yet identified Xidi as 'alive':

XD047: Compared to Hongcun, which has already become a commercial place, Xidi is my preferred choice for visiting. I have a feeling that Xidi is alive. Locals are doing their own activities in their old houses which were built over 200 years ago. I can see many preserved ducks hang under the roof, and I can feel the slight smoke curling up from kitchen chimneys. (XD047, tourist, female, 24-35, teacher) (quoted from Chapter 9, page 236)

Poria et al. (2003), based on their research in Israel, argue that visitors engaged in an emotional register when they felt the heritage site relates to their family or ethnic connections. However, my research reveals that tourists with deep emotional registers and a poetic sensibility are responding to things which may not necessary connect to their family or ethnic identity, but rather connects to their sense of place. My research also further identified the sense of feeling, not just the issue of the tourists connection to the site, but extending to the concept of feeling when there is an interplay of identity with locals. My interview results in Xidi and Hongcun show that locals in Xidi had a strong feeling of the sites belonging to them, that it is a part of their identity. When the local governments took over the management from the locally run company, they expressed a deep depressed emotion about the feel their intimacy with their village. In another words their sense of place was blocked by the 'boundaries' set up by the local government. While in Hongcun, apparently, locals did not express a depressed emotion because their income is higher than Xidi's. However, they also did not report the deep sense of place I recorded in Xidi as well. Scholars such as Chen (2005), Liang and Wang (2005) and Ying and Zhou (2007) have documented a fierce conflict among locals, the local government and the external company about the ownership of the management rights (see Chapter 8 and 9). However, locals failed twice with legal challenges, and in the end did not have any choice but accept a situation they could not control. As I spoke to them about the management and ownership, they became cynical, which they tended

to ignore or simply complained about the management and then turned to comparing tourism income with Xidi. In this sense, the income became a buffer zone among locals, the local government and the external company in Hongcun. Locals had no choice but to ignore their sense of place, and put more emotional engagement into tourism. HC028 and HC052 are two local scholars I interviewed in Hongcun, who did not participate in any decision making about tourism management or the World Heritage listing process. HC028 was sincerely worried about the way government control constrained both locals and tourists' sense of freedom. HC052 avoided considering the local government control, rather he spent more than ten years writing his book, '古村有梦 *Dream of the old village*', which documents not only the history and customs of Hongcun, but also the positive changes that tourism brought to Hongcun.

Compared to Xidi and Hongcun, West Lake is much larger in size, as well as in the depth and complexity of its cultural and historical layers, than the two villages. However, the sense of bonding between locals and tourists was not as strong as in the two villages. The reason is not that the government control was stronger than in Xidi and Hongcun. Although the Hangzhou government intended to 'educate' tourists about the international and national discourse, the example of the West Lake museum as noted above illustrated that tourists have agency, and they did not easily accept the imposed AHD, and have their own personal understandings of heritage (see Chapter 6). The livelihoods of the majority of Hangzhou residents did not depend on tourism, so their interactions with tourists were primarily tied to a sense of pride. Some locals were engaged in hospitality, located around Maojiabu, the Linying Temple and the Longjin Tea Plantation Base, and I identified that they had similar experiences of emotional bonding between tourists and locals as I found in the two villages (e.g. WL097). However, because of the national significance of the cultural and historical layers of West Lake, tourists come to the site for a variety of reasons. The sense of contentment was not only elicited by the interaction between tourists and locals, but also generated by the connection between the tourists and the physical sites. My survey shows that the relationship between tourists and physical sites at West Lake was multi-dimensional, and tied to their sense of feeling, and stronger than in the two villages (see above in the feeling section).

Some locals in my two case studies mentioned the negative effects that tourism has. At West Lake, some locals considered tourists produced inflation of food or housing prices, commercialisation, bad traffic conditions and crowding during weekends and public holidays.

The management literature has emphasised the pollution and physical damage to sites that tourism can cause and notes that these impacts can erode local heritage values (see for example, Harrison 1994; Swarbrooke 1995; Hall and McArthur 1998; Leask and Yeoman 1999; McKercher and du Cros 2002; Pedersen 2002 among others). My research shows that, although locals at West Lake listed those negative impacts, and these are not something that can be ignored, the majority of them nonetheless considered the benefits that tourists contributed to the site carried more weight than the negative impacts. They knew how to minimise those negative impacts. For instance, WL005, WL058 and WL076 (see Chapter 7) mentioned that mass tourists had influenced their daily life, particularly during public holidays. However, they did not hate or curse mass tourists, rather they chose to leave the touristic places to the tourists and went to other places instead. The sense of pride that tourists brought to locals has influenced locals' attitude and performances. WL005 said that 'when they are visiting our site, I am always happy to tell them the stories and about the public transport systems of Hangzhou during their visit'. Some locals want tourists to know about the general stories of Hangzhou, such as the White Snake story, and stories of Yue Fei, Yu Qian and Sun Dongpo etc. Some locals wanted tourists to explore some hidden stories, such as the histories of the Republic period that were ignored or excluded from the Communist harmony discourse (e.g. WL007 and WL117). Many locals wanted tourists to be present at the physical sites and feel the poetic or romantic sense of West Lake. WL076 and WL093 nominated their sense of pride elicited by tourists who take their time to feel the Ten Poetically Named Scenic Places of West Lake, such as '断桥残雪 Lingerin Snow on Broken Bridge' or '三潭印月 Three Pools Mirroring the Moon'. Indeed, my interview reveals that both locals and tourists can feel the poetic meaning of West Lake (e.g. WL043[tourist] in Chapter 6, WL009, WL033, WL076 and WL093[locals]), however, being at the physical site did not elicit similar poetic feelings or thought processes from the ICOMOS experts .

From the dominating perspective of practitioners, the industrial transformation from tea farming to tourism services would change and erode the 'authenticity' of the site. Ironically, my survey at the both West Lake and the two villages shows that the majority of locals thought that tourists had brought positive changes, not only the economic benefit or cultural gain as identified above, but also a sense of bonding between tourists and locals. As WL051 states, tourists and tourism 'brought cultural diversity and vividness to the city.' The majority of locals I interviewed were explicitly aware that Hangzhou is an 'international touristic city',

and are proud of this title, and considered tourists are significant to the identity of Hangzhou city.

In addition, I was informed by the officials from local government and Co. Jingyi Ltd in Hongcun during my interviews that they planned to reform and unify the local hostels and handicraft shops in order to meet the World Heritage standards and provide a 'better' environment for tourists (Fig. 10.5). I also received messages recently from my friend who operates a hostel at West Lake World Heritage area that the provincial government has held an international conference to discuss investment in and development of local hostels (Fig. 10.6). She (WL097) posted on *WeChat*⁷⁶ that:

WL097: I am worried about the strategy that the provincial and local government is encouraging to bring external capital to local hostels. Those external companies only care for economic benefits, and the use of media and government resources to promote their business. The real local operators do not have any benefits from those government policies. The authenticity of the local hostel has been eroded (WL097, female, 25-34, human resource manager, bachelor degree).



Fig. 10.5 New handicraft shops in Hongcun (Photo by Rouran Zhang)



Fig. 10.6 International Island Tourism Conference, held in Hangzhou (sourced from WL097)

WL097 is worried that 'the authenticity of the local hostel has been eroded'. The authenticity she indicated is not about the physical authenticity of the site, rather an emotional authenticity that occurs between tourists and locals.

⁷⁶ The most popular Social Networking Service in China, similar to Twitter.

This section has argued that the significant interaction between tourists and locals, and the individual and interlinked performances of both tourists and locals, construct the contemporary meaning of heritage. There is a tendency to ignore the interaction that occurs between host communities and tourists, or to see it largely as a negative problem, or as largely a result of the naturalising effects of the AHD. Heritage tourists tend to be defined in heritage policy as passive consumers who are to be educated about the meaning of heritage as framed by the AHD, and used by local and national governments in response to UNESCO World Heritage requirements. Community participation in heritage management, interpretation and conservation work has been increasingly stressed in the heritage literature (see for example Hayden 1997; Newman and McLean 1998; Hodges and Watson 2000; Byrne et al. 2001; Smardz Frost 2004; Smith 2006:35, Smith and Waterton 2009; Waterton and Watson 2010, among others) although the extent to which this is really addressed in relation to World Heritage sites is still very limited (Labadi 2013). However, the literature on community participation has paid little consideration to the ways in which the communities and tourists may interact. This gap in the literature is largely a result of the naturalizing effects of the AHD, which consider heritage as an object frozen in time and space, displayed behind fences, rather than a changing process that tourists and locals may play an active role in.

10.9 Conclusion

Overall, the thesis argues that, yes, World Heritage listing does change the values afforded to Chinese sites. At the national level, the Chinese government has used ‘World Heritage’ as a tool, not only to actively participate in international heritage activities, but also to reshape and reformulate the heritage system nation-wide, and establish national and local discourses and visions of China’s historical continuity and cultural diversity, in line with Chinese Communist Party orthodoxy. At a local level, the local government edited out Chinese cultural values to make themselves ‘understandable’ within the UNESCO listing process. After the sites were successful listed on the WHL, the local governments in all three case studies reformulated local policies to fit both the UNESCO criteria and the Chinese Communist Party line.

The WHL also brought economic benefits, in particular for the two villages, and it is interwoven with the issue of tourism. These benefits are however counter-balanced by negative impacts such as pollution, crowding, increased food or housing costs, cultural commodification and commercial changes, which have been addressed in all three case studies. However, it also brought positive impacts, such as improved infrastructure and funding for conservation. It offered opportunities for local-tourist dialogue that augment local and tourist heritage values. While there were some exceptions (particularly at West Lake where local residents were relocated prior to listing), the majority of locals interviewed at the two case studies tend to have very positive views about tourists visiting their sites. Overall, the World Heritage listing and the presence of mass tourists had elicited a sense of pride in local residents. Locals wanted tourists to *'feel'* their sites, and they hoped that the tourists could invoke a sense of belonging or feeling for the site and communicate with locals. In return, tourists enjoyed communicating with locals. There is a strong sense of contentment that emerged when tourists felt that they had made a connection with locals. Third, the heritage tourists were very active during their visit; the values that they expressed about the sites they visited were often tightly linked to their personal identities. Tourists at heritage sites did not necessarily passively accept the authorised messages or governments' interpretations. They were actively working out, remembering and negotiating their own, often thoughtful and considered, cultural meanings. The fears of commodification and 'dumbing down' of culture and history often associated with mass tourism and associated changes to the value of WH sites (Hewitson 1987; McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Lowenthal 1996; Handler and Gable 1997; Shackel 2013) were not supported by the interviews with tourists.

Therefore, my research supports Smith's (2006, 2012) observation that *'heritage is a cultural and social process'*. The meaning of heritage and tourism are clearly interlinked in my two case studies. Smith (2006, 2012) argues that the process of visitation of each tourist constructs the meaning of heritage. My research reinforces her argument. I further argue that heritage is created by not only the 'cultural moment' from each visitation, but it is a process of feeling, a dialogue between past and present, and a communication between personal internal worlds and the outside world; it is also created by the 'cultural moment' of the interplay of locals, tourists and government control.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

The thesis started by asking the research question: **does World Heritage listing change the values and stakeholders' understandings of the sites, and if so how?** and if values do change, **what role does tourism play in the way the values may change at Chinese World Heritage sites?** Overall, the thesis argues that, yes, World Heritage listing does change the values people place on Chinese sites. This is done, in large part, so that the sites and their associated Chinese cultural values will be understood within the requirements of the UNESCO listing process. Tourism also changes the values given to sites by locals, but only in so far as existing values are augmented as locals gain pride and self-esteem, not simply through the listing process, but more specifically and importantly, through a process of sharing and communicating the values of the sites to domestic tourists. A sense of contentment emerged when both locals and domestic tourists 'feel' they are connected or bonded with each other. This is achieved more regularly and more strongly when locals are in control of local tourism operations. Overall tourism, often devalued in heritage management policy and practice as a negative problem at World Heritage sites (Ashworth 2009), is revealed as an integral and key value in and of itself to World Heritage sites. Tourists are revealed not as the main culprits in altering the values of heritage sites, but somewhat paradoxically, it is UNESCO itself and the frameworks provided by the OUV that results in the changes feared by those operating within the Authorized Heritage Discourse. The fears of commodification and 'erosion' of culture and history often associated with mass tourism and associated changes to the value of World Heritage sites (McCrone et al. 1995; Brett 1996; Handler and Gable 1997; Shackel 2013) were not supported by my interviews with tourists.

The idea that heritage is not a 'thing', 'object' or 'cultural production', but rather a social and cultural process (Smith 2006), was adopted in this research. My study shows that heritage discourse is not only constituted by the AHD, but also from tourists and locals' discourses and performances. Heritage is constructed at the international, national and local institution scale partly via political, management and conservation practices and its discursive utility as an economic resource replete with marketable cultural meanings. However, and to my mind more importantly, the process of heritage is constituted by local residents' and tourists use of

heritage, which entangles the significant themes I identified, such as sense of place, feeling, pride, contentment, and freedom. The macro process of government uses of heritage become entangled with individual ‘cultural moments’ created by tourists and locals, and constitute the dynamic, developing, and negotiated heritage process.

11.1 Study Summary

In Chapter 4 and 5, I identified the performances of various levels of national governments that construct heritage. Both the national and local governments are cynical, in that they explain and acknowledge that they play a ‘game’ within the framework of European rules and policies. Meskell et al. (2015) identified a new aspect of the World Heritage listing game, China’s use of political soft power to manipulate the result of World Heritage listing at an international level. This suggests a change in power relations in the decision making processes of the World Heritage Committee, and a weakening of the Eurocentric AHD and the rise of the political soft power of National Parties such as China (see also Askew 2010). However, at the national and local level, the performances of the Chinese governments during the WHL are not yet identified in the literature. My research has filled this gap. Against Meskell et al.’s (2015) arguments, my thesis in Chapter 4 reveals the way that the Chinese governments play the World Heritage game at a national level is largely conducted with reference to the Western AHD. During the World Heritage listing process in the case of West Lake, my research shows that the essential difference is that some Chinese values and ideologies often come into conflict with the Western AHD, and cannot fit into UNESCO World Heritage criteria and policies. Therefore, the Chinese government modified the Chinese values (including the harmony discourse) to fit into the Western AHD during the World Heritage listing process, which was also a self-conscious and active process often referred to by my interviewees in the bureaucracy as being a ‘game’.

My arguments in Chapter 4 support Yan’s (2012) observation that the Chinese government has used ‘World Heritage’ as a cultural tool to articulate and reshape the national system. However, Yan’s (2012) research only addressed the discursive influence of World Heritage issues by analysing the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) policies and their influences, but did not acknowledge another significant national Chinese heritage authority – the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (MHURD), and the significance of

how the international authorised heritage discourse caused dissonance in the administration of World Heritage sites between the SACH and the MHURD. In Chapter 5 and 9, my arguments also support Yan's (2015) identification of 'the Chinese harmony discourse', a Chinese version of the AHD. Based on his research on the Fujian Tulou World Heritage site, he argued that the Chinese local government and the Chinese harmony discourse privilege the expertise of experts and tends to ignore local voices. My two case studies, particularly in Xidi and Hongcun, revealed a similar local hegemonic process. The difference is that in Yan's (2012, 2015) research the local government used the traditional Chinese concept of 'harmony' to legitimate their hegemonic process, while in Xidi and Hongcun, as illustrated in Chapter 9, the local government utilised the so-called '*international standard*' to impose management policies on locals. Askew (2010:40) argues that the key role of UNESCO and its relevant international practice is as an 'iconic symbol' that serves 'to elaborate and organise an arena of status competition that centres on the multiple symbolic significance of its World Heritage List.' I argue against Askew's (2010) position; yes, it is an iconic symbol, but not only a symbol; its practices also have real power to influence national and local policies. At the national level, World Heritage policies (the AHD) facilitates national policy transformation, and causes disorder and dissonance in the existing system. At a local level, local governments use 'international standards' as an excuse to disengage locals, causing alienation of locals' sense of place. As Smith (2006:299) has identified:

The AHD is also powerful, not simply because of its institutional position but also because of the cultural work it does in legitimizing certain experiences and identities - it is powerful because it is a form of 'heritage' itself. The existence of an AHD, whatever its particular nuances or various across time and space, is part of the cultural and social process of heritage, and is itself constitutive of 'heritage'.

In Chapter 6 – 9, I demonstrated that the process of heritage was not only constructed by the practice of governments, rather it is a dynamic interaction among tourists, locals and heritage sites. In Chapter 6, I illustrated that governments at different levels intend to disseminate the authorised messages such as the concept of 'Cultural Landscape' to tourists and locals. However, the majority of my interviewees did not passively accept the AHD, rather they expressed an active sense of their understanding of heritage, and I stressed tourists and locals' discourses. Many of their discourses reflect an aesthetic thought process expressed with a poetic sense, which is firmly linked to Han's (2006:216) argument about the Chinese traditional view of nature:

Values of nature include intrinsic and instrumental values. These are determined and assigned by human ontological and epistemological positions. Nature is inescapably viewed through a cultural lens and the view of nature is filtered by a cultural lens. The view of nature is the nature presented in one's subjective consciousness. Values of nature differ between individuals, nations and cultures and are constantly and socially constructed. Contextual sensitivity, open-endedness, moral plurality and cultural diversity of values have been emphasised.

The Chinese sense of heritage is significantly different from the Western view, particularly with regard to the Chinese view of nature. My research further identified a poetic sense of feeling tourists experienced during their visits, influenced by this Chinese traditional cultural understanding, which is an important element of Chinese identity. This sense of poetic expression is also widely linked to one of the significant themes of my thesis – a sense of feeling.

In Chapter 7 and 8, I discussed the active sense of engagement by Chinese domestic tourists at heritage sites. My observation, based on research in a Chinese context, supports the sense of agency illustrated by Smith in her work with heritage visitors (2006, 2011, 2012), and other scholars (e.g. Coleman and Crang 2002; Bagnall 2003; Poria et al. 2003; Palmer 2005; Byrne 2009; Sather-Wagstaff 2011; and Waterton and Watson 2012, 2014) in Western contexts. The Chinese domestic tourists engaged with multi-dimensional and complex activities at heritage sites, and created a series of 'cultural moments' entangled with concepts such as identity, feeling, memory, remembering, place, performance, and dissonance. The sense of feeling is one of the significant themes I identified, and the domestic tourists were much more overt in acknowledging that they were having or seeking feelings, and they expressed their feelings in a far more self-conscious way than so far recorded in Western contexts (see, for instance, Cameron and Gatewood 2000, 2003; Poria et al. 2003; Smith 2006, 2011, 2015). The sense of feeling was evoked in two ways – through an encounter with the physical, or/and through connections and communications with local residents around heritage sites. Heritage sites, in this sense, were places where people felt – and in particular felt connected to something vital, such as a connection to land, their sense of place, or to local communities; it is also an engagement and a dialogue between the past and the present, and a communication between a personal internal world and the outside world. The sense of feeling also legitimated tourists' emotional authenticity and further influenced their performances at

heritage sites. I observed tourists' sense of emotional authenticity was sometimes influenced by the perceived physical authenticity of the site, sometimes not. I argue that the perceived physical authenticity is meaningful because it serves to elicit people's emotional engagement. My argument support scholars such as Bagnall (2003), Smith (2006, 2012) and Zhu (2012), who have also identified emotional authenticity as legitimising tourists' performances, which makes heritage meaningful.

In Chapter 7 and 9, I observed a complex local-tourist dialogue which constructed the 'cultural moments' at the heritage sites. As illustrated in Chapter 7, both the World Heritage Listing and the presence of mass tourists had generated a sense of pride in local residents. The majority of locals were proud that Hangzhou was an 'International Tourism City', and they wanted tourists to enjoy their journey, feel for the sites, and communicate with locals. Many of the domestic tourists I interviewed also told me that they enjoyed communicating with locals. The sense of contentment is overt, and both tourists and locals expressed this when local-tourist dialogue was sustained. In Chapter 9, there is a deep dimension to the local-tourist interactions in Xidi and Hongcun, where locals and tourists were bonded with each other in a deep emotional register. This was particularly overt in the case of Xidi, as locals expressed a strong sense of place. The deep active sense of the local-tourist dialogue has not yet been addressed in the literature.

In addition, as illustrated in Chapter 7 and 9, governments' control obscured the locals' sense of place, tourists' sense of feeling and further interrupted the local-tourist dialogue. Both tourists and locals' sense of freedom was blocked by physical boundaries such as 'gates', 'fences' and 'walls', and many interviewees considered their aesthetic appreciation, thinking and feelings were interrupted. However, the deep sense is that the invisible boundaries such as 'high entrance fees' and government control obscured the local-tourist dialogue. As identified in Chapter 9, tourists in both Xidi and Hongcun considered the villages had 'been managed' or were 'too commercialised'. Local residents were also extremely unsatisfied with the local government and tourism company who forced them to follow the so-called 'international standards'. Nevertheless, the dissonance caused by the local governments is a part of the heritage process.

In Chapter 10, I drew out four themes that emerged from my thesis, and examined these themes by comparing the two case studies, and contrasting each stakeholders' perspective on heritage and tourism. I concluded my observations on the relationship between heritage and tourism with the observation that: heritage is a process not only constituted by the binary 'cultural moments' between tourist and heritage sites, or between tourists' internal world and the outside world; rather the 'cultural moments' are multi-dimensional and created by the interactions between tourists, locals, governments, external companies and other active and passive stakeholders.

Overall, I argue that yes, World Heritage values do change through and after the World Heritage listing process, and that change is in fact part of the heritage performance. While much of the literature has expressed concern over the potential for destruction associated with tourism after a site is given World Heritage status, and/or that the presence of tourists results in a commoditised and narrowly marketable interpretation of sites, this is not necessarily the case. Rather, the prestige associated with World Heritage, government aspirations, and tourist and local interactions all combine to continually remake the values of World Heritage sites. Tourism and tourists also change the values given to sites by locals, but only in so far as existing values are accentuated as locals gain pride, self-esteem and contentment not simply through the World Heritage listing processes, but more explicitly and importantly, through a process of sharing and communicating the values of the sites to domestic tourists. In some cases, a sense of contentment emerged from both locals and tourists when they feel that bonds have been established with each other, no matter how fleeting or impermanent these bonds may be. This is particularly expressed when locals were able to participate in local tourism operations. The interrelations between heritage and tourism is a cultural and social process constructed by the interplay of multiple stakeholders' use of heritage.

11.2 Some Implications for World Heritage Practice

The tendency in the heritage and tourism literature is to simplify and over generalise touristic behaviour and tourists' relationships with locals. Theoretically, I hope my work will contribute to current debates within heritage studies and studies of tourism, by considering the social and cultural values of tourists. In terms of practice and policy, I think the ongoing and future development of policies and practices of the UNESCO World Heritage Program

and local and national management policies should be re-considered. I am not saying that the UNESCO World Heritage Program and its discursive practices are unnecessary. Indeed, I think the existing heritage practice is significant. As many researchers do, I situate myself within critical heritage studies to provide a considered and analytical understanding of heritage for both academic analysis and practice. If, as UNESCO states, World Heritage is constantly evolving (see Askew 2010), my thesis indicates that more bottom-up work needs to be done from sociological and anthropological perspectives to deeply understand tourists and local communities that are likely to be affected by the World Heritage Program, and what they do or feel at heritage sites. For instance, the poetic sense of place that is tied to Chinese traditional culture as Lin (1935); Zhang (1986); Wang (1990); Xu (1996) and Han (2006) have identified was the issue that the Norwegian expert could not make sense of within their expertise, and this was replicated in ICOMOS' recommendations not to include the tea plantation within the listing at West Lake. These instances are simply illustrative of a cultural divide between UNESCO/ICOMOS' understandings of heritage values and that of values expressed within China that need further consideration and research. A process to capture the views of tourists and local residents about their sense of place and feelings toward a site during the World Heritage listing is something that should be considered. Both tourists and locals' sense of feeling can be documented in the World Heritage nomination file and understood to be integral to how a site is valued. Values to tourists as well as to locals, and not just national values, need to be included in the 'OUVs' of World Heritage. Tourism is not something that can be defined as only happening after listing, but is integral to the values of World Heritage sites. Based on the existing WHL process documented in this research, it is clear that the Chinese experts understood the poetic meaning of West Lake to Chinese culture and history, but they are quite cynical about the listing process, in that they not only recognize they are playing a game, but that the game is 'played' under Eurocentric rules and terms, so they have 'edited out' those Chinese values, which could not be explained to Western experts, and utilised the discourses of international policy and expertise. For local governments, sometimes, they should step aside and involve locals in the decision-making process of heritage management.

11.3 Further Research

Winter and Daly (2012) identify what they define as the richness and distinctiveness of Chinese heritage practices, but it is impossible to consider and document all types of interrelations between tourism and heritage within one PhD thesis. Further research needs to be undertaken to identify the influence of World Heritage listing and tourism at different types of Chinese heritage sites. As I conducted this thesis, I interviewed 287 tourists and locals in two of my case study sites. Given the small size of the data cross-tabulations returned no statistically significance results, nor were patterns in the variation of interview results identified against any of the interview demographic results. Therefore, future research should conduct both qualitative interviews and quantitative questionnaires to map any statistically significant variations in tourists' and locals' responses to heritage in terms of gender, age, and education. In addition, as I conducted my thesis, I observed that the WHL process of the West Lake and Xidi and Hongcun caused significant changes to these sites. Therefore, further research also should be conducted at city or regional levels to identify how the relationship among tourists, locals, and governments unfolds at these levels.

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Appendix I: List of semi – structured interview questions for key officials from national governments, experts from UNESCO World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for Asia and the Pacific, and China Tourism Academy

Questionnaire

- How do you personally understand world heritage?
- What do you think about the UNESCO world heritage program?
- What were the reasons given for encouraging the local governments at West Lake, Xidi and Hongcun, or any other heritage sites, in applying for World Heritage status?
- Were there any difficulties during the listing process?
- Has World Heritage listing brought any changes to the site?
- Did local communities participate during the listing process of West Lake and Xidi and Hongcun?
- How important is tourism to local communities associated with the site?
- What is your perspective on tourism and tourists?
- How would you characterise the relationship between tourism and heritage at this site?
- Has WHL brought any changes of the management policies of the sites, and if so how?

Additional questions were asked during interview in response to issues raised by the interviewee.

访谈问题

1. 您个人是怎样理解世界遗产的?
2. 您是怎样理解联合国教科文组织世界遗产项目的?
3. 您认为促使中国各省、市、自治区申报世界文化遗产的主要原因是什么?
4. 在杭州西湖和安徽西递宏村申遗的过程中是否遇到了困难?
5. 申报世界遗产的过程对于遗产地（如杭州西湖/安徽宏村西递村）产生了什么改变?
6. 在世界遗产的申报过程中是否有提名地内当地原住民参与讨论?
7. 您认为旅游对于当地居民和遗产地的重要性是什么?
8. 您个人是怎么看待旅游和游客的?
9. 您认为旅游和遗产的关系是什么?
10. 您所期望得世界遗产提名给世界文化遗产地如杭州西湖/安徽宏村西递村的具体管理政策产生了什么影响

Appendix II: List of semi – structured interview questions for the key officials from local governments in West Lake and Xidi and Hongcun, experts from Institute of Architectural History, and tourist operators in Xidi and Hongcun

Questionnaire

- How do you personally understand world heritage?
- What do you think about the UNESCO world heritage program?
- What were the reasons given for encouraging the local governments at West Lake/Xidi and Hongcun in applying for World Heritage status?
- Were there any difficulties during the listing process?
- Has World Heritage listing brought any changes to the site?
- Did local communities participate during the listing process of West Lake/Xidi and Hongcun?
- How important is tourism to local communities associated with the site?
- What is your perspective on tourism and tourists?
- How would you characterise the relationship between tourism and heritage at this site?
- Has WHL brought any changes of the management policies of the sites, and if so how?

Additional questions were asked during interview in response to issues raised by the interviewee.

访谈问题

1. 您个人是怎样理解世界遗产的?
2. 您是怎样理解联合国教科文组织世界遗产项目的?
3. 您认为促使西湖（或）西递宏村申报世界文化遗产的主要原因是什么?
4. 在杭州西湖（或）安徽西递宏村申遗的过程中是否遇到了困难?
5. 申报世界遗产的过程对于杭州西湖（或）安徽宏村西递村产生了什么改变?
6. 在世界遗产的申报过程中是否有提名地内当地原住民参与讨论?
7. 您认为旅游对于当地居民和遗产地的重要性是什么?
8. 您个人是怎么看待旅游和游客的?
9. 您认为旅游和遗产的关系是什么?
10. 您所期望得世界遗产提名给杭州西湖（或）安徽宏村西递村的具体管理政策产生了什么影响

Appendix III: List of semi – structured interview questions for visitors (tourists) of West Lake Culture Landscape of Hangzhou and Ancient Villages of Southern Anhui-Xidi and Hongcun

Questionnaire (West Lake)

Code:

Location:

Time:

Preamble: Hello, my name is Rouran Zhang, and I am a PhD student from the Australian National University. I am conducting research into visitor reactions to West Lake. Would you be prepared to do an anonymous interview with me? It should take about 10-20 minutes.

1) Male/Female. 2. Age: A <17, B 18-24, C 25-34, D 35-44, E 45-54, F 55-64, G over 65

2) Occupation/ Occupation of main income earner in household:

3) Highest Educational Qualification:

4) Is this your first visit to visit? Y/N. If no, when did you last visit/how often do you visit?

5) Where have you come from?

6) Are you staying overnight locally or is this a day trip only? If a day trip where did you travel from?

7) Are you visiting the site as part of a tour group; on your own; or with family and friends?

NOTE: I now wish to ask you a number of open-ended questions, would it be ok if I turn on the recorder? this is a totally anonymous survey and the recording is just to help me take notes. If you would prefer, I can take written notes.

- What are your reasons for visiting West Lake?
- Were your expectations met?
- What experiences do you value on visiting this site?
- What messages about the heritage or history of the site do you take away?
- What does world heritage mean to you?
- What categories of world heritage do you think makes up West Lake?
- What do you understand the meaning of cultural landscape to be?
- Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?
- Is tourism important to you?
- What is the relationship between tourism and heritage?
- What do you think of the tourism management of the site?
- Did you come before it was a World Heritage site, if so have there been any changes to the site? (for returning tourists)
- What do you think of those changes? (for returning tourists)
- Is there anything you would like to add or tell me?

Thank you very much for your time.

访谈问卷（西湖）

访谈编号：

访谈地点：

访谈时间：

您好，我的名字叫张柔然。我是一名来自澳大利亚国立大学的在读博士研究生。我正在开展我的博士研究项目，既对杭州西湖的游客进行访谈。请问您能否接受我的访谈邀请，访谈过程会占用您 10-20 分钟时间。

性别：	
年龄：	A <17, B 18-24, C 25-34, D 35-44, E 45-54, F 55-64, G over 65
职业：	
受教育程度：	

1. 这是否是您第一次游览该遗产地？ 是/不是。如果不是您最后一次游览是什么时候？/您是否经常游览该遗产地？

2. 您来自什么地方？

3. 您计划的是几天的行程？如果是一天的行程，您是从什么地方过来的？

4. 您是跟团旅行、自己单独旅行或是和家人朋友一起旅行？

备注：我需要问您一些开放性的问题，访谈是采用匿名的形式，访谈期间需要使用录音设备，如果您不愿意录音的形式，我将会采用手写记录。

1. 西湖的什么因素吸引你来到这儿旅游？

2. 您的旅游期望达到了么？

3. 您的整个游览过程怎样？

4. 游览中有什么让您印象深刻的的景点，信息或是事情？

5. 您个人是怎样理解世界遗产的？

6. 您认为文化遗产和自然遗产的区别是什么？

7. 您个人是如何定义文化景观的？

8. 您认为世界遗产申报成功意味着什么？
9. 您认为旅游业重要吗？
10. 您怎样看待旅游与遗产的关系？
11. 您认为西湖的旅游管理怎么样？
12. 您在西湖申遗成功以前来过吗，如果来过您认为西湖有什么变化？（对于回头客）
13. 这些变化对于您的旅游经历有什么影响呢？（对于回头客）
14. 您还有什么需要补充的吗？

感谢您的时间，这是我研究项目的简介和联系方式，有什么需要补充的，或是有什么要求和建议请与我联系。

Questionnaire (Xidi and Hongcun)

Code:

Location:

Time:

Preamble: Hello, my name is Rouran Zhang, and I am a PhD student from the Australian National University. I am conducting research into visitor reactions to Xidi/Hongcun. Would you be prepared to do an anonymous interview with me? It should take about 10-20 minutes.

- 1) Male/Female. 2. Age: A <17, B 18-24, C 25-34, D 35-44, E 45-54, F 55-64, G over 65
- 2) Occupation/ Occupation of main income earner in household:
- 3) Highest Educational Qualification:
- 4) Is this your first visit to visit? Y/N. If no, when did you last visit/how often do you visit?
- 5) Where have you come from?
- 6) Are you staying overnight locally or is this a day trip only? If a day trip where did you travel from?
- 7) Are you visiting the site as part of a tour group; on your own; or with family and friends?

NOTE: I now wish to ask you a number of open-ended questions. Would it be ok if I turn on the recorder? This is a totally anonymous survey and the recording is just to help me take notes. If you would prefer, I can take written notes.

- What are your reasons for visiting Xidi/Hongcun?
- Were your expectations met?
- What experiences do you value on visiting this site?
- What messages about the heritage or history of the site do you take away?
- What does world heritage mean to you?
- Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?
- Is tourism important to you?
- What is the relationship between tourism and heritage?
- What do you think of the tourism management of the site?
- Did you come before it was a World Heritage site, if so have there been any changes to the site? (for returning tourists)
- What do you think of those changes? (for returning tourists)
- Is there anything you would like to add or tell me?

Thank you very much for your time.

访谈问卷（西递宏村）

访谈编号：

访谈地点：

访谈时间：

您好，我的名字叫张柔然。我是一名来自澳大利亚国立大学的在读博士研究生。我正在开展我的博士研究项目，既对西递宏村的游客进行访谈。请问您能否接受我的访谈邀请，访谈过程会占用您 10-20 分钟时间。

性别：	
年龄：	A <17, B 18-24, C 25-34, D 35-44, E 45-54, F 55-64, G over 65
职业：	
受教育程度：	

1. 这是否是您第一次游览该遗产地？ 是/不是。如果不是您最后一次游览是什么时候？/您是否经常游览该遗产地？

2. 您来自什么地方？

3. 您计划的是几天的行程？如果是一天的行程，您是从什么地方过来的？

4. 您是跟团旅行、自己单独旅行或是和家人朋友一起旅行？

备注：我需要问您一些开放性的问题，访谈是采用匿名的形式，访谈期间需要使用录音设备，如果您不愿意录音的形式，我将会采用手写记录。

1. 西递/宏村的什么因素吸引你来到这儿旅游？

2. 您的旅游期望达到了么？

3. 您的整个游览过程怎样？

4. 游览中有什么让您印象深刻的的景点，信息或是事情？

5. 您个人是怎样理解世界遗产的？

6. 您认为申遗成功或者是遗产这个称号对于西湖来说重要吗？

7. 您认为旅游重要吗？
8. 您怎样看待旅游与遗产的关系？
9. 您认为西递/宏村的旅游管理怎么样？
10. 您在西递/宏村申遗成功以前来过吗，如果来过您认为西湖有什么变化？（对于回头客）
11. 这些变化对于您的旅游经历有什么影响呢？（对于回头客）
12. 您还有什么需要补充的吗？

感谢您的时间，这是我研究项目的简介和联系方式，有什么需要补充的，或是有什么要求和建议请与我联系。

Appendix IV: List of semi – structured interview questions for local communities of West Lake Culture Landscape of Hangzhou and Ancient Villages of Southern Anhui-Xidi and Hongcun

Questionnaire (West Lake)

Code:

Location:

Time:

Preamble: Hello, my name is Rouran Zhang, and I am a PhD student from the Australian National University. I am conducting research into visitor reactions to West Lake. Would you be prepared to do an anonymous interview with me? It should take about 10-20 minutes.

- 1) Male/Female. 2. Age: A <17, B 18-24, C 25-34, D 35-44, E 45-54, F 55-64, G over 65
- 2) Occupation/ Occupation of main income earner in household:
- 3) Highest Educational Qualification:

NOTE: I now wish to ask you a number of open-ended questions. Would it be ok if I turn on the recorder? This is a totally anonymous survey and the recording is just to help me take notes. If you would prefer, I can take written notes.

- Do you come frequently to West Lake?
- What does world heritage mean to you?
- What categories of world heritage do you think makes up West Lake?
- What do you understand the meaning of cultural landscape to be?
- Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?
- What is the relationship between tourism and heritage?
- What do you think of the tourism management of the site?
- What aspects of West Lake are most valuable in your opinion?
- Has world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way you use and understand the site?
- Do tourists have any impact on your daily life?
- What are the messages or experiences that you hope visitors take away from the site?
- Is there anything you would like to add or tell me?

Thank you very much for your time.

访谈问卷（西湖）

访谈编号：

访谈地点：

访谈时间：

您好，我的名字叫张柔然。我是一名来自澳大利亚国立大学的在读博士研究生。我正在开展我的博士研究项目，既对杭州西湖的当地居民进行访谈。请问您能否接受我的访谈邀请，访谈过程会占用您 10-20 分钟时间。

性别：	
年龄：	A <17, B 18-24, C 25-34, D 35-44, E 45-54, F 55-64, G over 65
职业：	
受教育程度：	

备注：我需要问您一些开放性的问题，访谈是采用匿名的形式，访谈期间需要使用录音设备，如果您不愿意录音的形式，我将会采用手写记录。

1. 您经常来西湖吗？
2. 您是怎样理解世界遗产的？
3. 您认为西湖是什么类型的遗产？自然遗产还是文化遗产？
4. 您是怎样理解文化景观这个概念的？
5. 您认为申遗成功或者是遗产这个称号对于西湖来说重要吗？
6. 您怎样看待旅游和遗产的关系？
7. 您认为西湖的旅游管理怎么样？
8. 您认为西湖的什么特点最有价值？
9. 您认为申报世界遗产给杭州西湖带来了什么？实际情况是怎样的？
10. 您觉得游客或是杭州旅游发展影响您平时生活吗？
11. 您所期望的游客在旅游过程中关注遗产地的什么信息？

您还有什么需要补充的吗？

感谢您的时间，这是我研究项目的简介和联系方式，有什么需要补充的，或是有什么要求和建议请与我联系。

Questionnaire (Xidi and Hongcun)

Code:

Location:

Time:

Preamble: Hello my name is Rouran Zhang and I am a PhD student from the Australian National University. I am conducting research into visitor reactions to Xidi/Hongcun. Would you be prepared to do an anonymous interview with me? It should take about 10-20 minutes.

1) Male/Female. 2. Age: A <17, B 18-24, C 25-34, D 35-44, E 45-54, F 55-64, G over 65

2) Occupation/ Occupation of main income earner in household:

3) Highest Educational Qualification:

NOTE: I now wish to ask you a number of open-ended questions. Would it be ok if I turn on the recorder? This is a totally anonymous survey and the recording is just to help me take notes. If you would prefer, I can take written notes.

- What does world heritage mean to you?
- Do you think it is important that this site is on the World Heritage List?
- What is the relationship between tourism and heritage?
- What do you think of the tourism management of the site?
- What aspects of Xidi/Hongcun are most valuable in your opinion?
- Has world heritage listing process brought about any changes in the way you use and understand the site?
- Do tourists have any impact on your daily life?
- What are the messages or experiences that you hope visitors take away from the site?
- Is there anything you would like to add or tell me?

Thank you very much for your time.

访谈问卷（西递宏村）

访谈编号：

访谈地点：

访谈时间：

您好，我的名字叫张柔然。我是一名来自澳大利亚国立大学的在读博士研究生。我正在开展我的博士研究项目，既对西递宏村的当地居民进行访谈。请问您能否接受我的访谈邀请，访谈过程会占用您 10-20 分钟时间。

性别：	
年龄：	A <17, B 18-24, C 25-34, D 35-44, E 45-54, F 55-64, G over 65
职业：	
受教育程度：	

备注：我需要问您一些开放性的问题，访谈是采用匿名的形式，访谈期间需要使用录音设备，如果您不愿意录音的形式，我将会采用手写记录。

1. 您是怎样理解世界遗产的？
2. 您认为申遗成功或者是遗产这个称号对于西递/宏村来说重要吗？
6. 您怎样看待旅游和遗产的关系？
7. 您认为西递/宏村的旅游管理怎么样？
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10. 您觉得游客或是西递/宏村旅游发展影响您平时生活吗？
11. 您所期望的游客在旅游过程中关注遗产地的什么信息？

您还有什么需要补充的吗？

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